



THE JACOB RADER MARCUS CENTER OF THE  
AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

*Preserving American Jewish History*

MS-603: Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum Collection, 1945-1992.

Series D: International Relations Activities. 1961-1992

Box 64, Folder 4, Israel and Palestine Liberation Organization,  
1988.

TO: Ted Ellenoff, Leon Nevas, Richard Rice, Ira Silverman

FROM: Marc Tanenbaum

DATE: Nov. 16, 1988

RE: PNC AND PRESIDENT'S CONFERENCE

George Gruen and I today attended the morning meeting of the President's Conference called to examine the PNC meeting in Algiers and consider appropriate responses.

Ambassador Moshe Arad, Morris Abram, and later Ambassador Yochanan Bein spoke. Moshe gave the official Israeli line which is that the Algiers meeting and its resolutions are simply more of the same PLO ideology, only newly packaged in peace terms. He said that Israel believes that nothing essential has changed in terms of their attitudes to Israel's existence, nor to terrorism, and dismissed the PNC resolutions as sheer rhetoric. He said the PNC references to the 1947 Partition resolutions, and all "other UN resolution" - including the 1974 "Zionism equals racism" confirms that reading.

Moshe said Israel sees the entire PNC effort as intended to create the possibilities of a "direct dialogue between the PLO and Washington" and to circumvent direct talks between Palestinians and Israel. Moshe referred to an earlier Arafat statement in which he talked about the "Holy Land of Jesus and Mohammed" making no reference to the Jewish claims to Israel.

Israel, Moshe added, is heartened by the response thus far of the U.S. State Department to the PNC statements.

Enclosed are copies of statements by Israel and the Presidents' Conference issued at this morning's meeting.

Others, including myself, made several interventions indicating that the PLO-PNC clearly have mounted a massive peace offensive and that Israel and American Jewry need to think of responding in kind. It will get worse when Arafat comes to the UN, and when inevitably, European and Third World countries begin recognizing the Palestinian government.

I proposed that in addition to the statements and press conferences, we consider placing a full-page ad on PNC - Myths and Realities (something like that.) There was agreement in principle to do so. Morris Abram asked me to chair the President's Conference committee on organizing counter-propaganda and the ad campaign. I respectfully declined in light of my meetings beginning Nov. 21 at the Vatican (as IJCIC chairman) and then the Vienna congress. George is serving on a subcommittee to draft a statement and fact sheet, and I promised to help that group. Also, I am getting Hill and Knowlton to join the counter-propaganda group.

cc: Mort Yarmon

AJC STATEMENT ON NEW ISRAELI GOVERNMENT

The American Jewish Committee welcomes the announcement of the formation of a new coalition government in Israel. We hope that the new government will adopt new peace initiatives and that it will seek to work closely with the Reagan and incoming Bush Administration to coordinate their approach and policy toward ending the uprising in the territories and taking the first steps to lessen tensions and build mutual trust between Israelis and Palestinians.

Since this is to be a broadly-based government including both major parties, we expect that Likud and Labor will no longer feel obligated to make excessive concessions to the demands of the ultra-orthodox or ultra-nationalist parties.

We trust that the new government will soon be confirmed by the Knesset and that it will move quickly to respond to the challenges facing the country.

December 18, 1988

THE U.S. AND THE PLO - OPPORTUNITY OR CRISIS?

WINS RELIGION COMMENTARY

RABBI MARC H. TANENBAUM\* OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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The decision of the United States government to legitimize the PLO through direct dialogue is fraught with fateful ambiguity.

It is either a crisis that could become an opportunity for peace, or it is an opportunity that could explode into an even greater crisis.

There should be no confusion about Jewish attitudes. The majority of American Jews, I believe, trust President Reagan and Secretary Shultz. They are true friends of the Jewish people and of Israel.

The real issue is that practically no one trusts Arafat or the PLO. Arafat spent weeks working on a joint agreement with King Hussein of Jordan, and then publicly rejected their written understanding.

Arafat, in a circus of publicity, announces that he accepts America's conditions for a dialogue, specifically recognition of the State of Israel and a rejection of terrorism. At the very same time, the radical Marxist PLO factions of Habash and Hawatmeh tell the Arab press they will never give up terrorism or accept Israel. So who does Arafat really represent?

The critical issue, as I see it, is how to discover true moderate Palestinians who will work unambiguously for peace and not just engage in propaganda warfare.

America and the world have a great stake in being completely realistic and in not being trapped in verbal deceptions and massive hype.

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\*Rabbi Tanenbaum is director of the international relations department of the American Jewish Committee and presents a weekly religion commentary over WINS-Westinghouse Broadcasting System.

from Garmen

We hope and expect that in its dialogue with the PLO the US will call on the PLO to match words with deeds. Specifically (1. to end its attacks on Israeli civilians, 2. to urge the Palestinians in the territories to call off the uprising (intifada) in order to give the peace process a chance, and 3. to formally change the PLO Charter, which still calls for the dissolution of Israel.

It is also crucial that the United States engage in high level talks with Israel to coordinate their strategy in dealing with proposals to ~~XXXXXX~~ begin the search for a comprehensive peace. It should be recalled that the 1975 agreement between Secretary of State Kissinger and Israeli Foreign Minister Yigal Allon which set out the US conditions for talking with the PLO also committed the US to coordinate its position with Israel before the resumption of the Geneva international peace conference (which met briefly in 1973 after the Yom Kippur War). The US also ~~agreed that~~ at that time gave Israel a veto on the participation of any <sup>additional</sup> ~~new~~ state or organization that had not attended the 1973 talks.

This underscores the point that the PLO must allay the fears and suspicions of the Israelis that they are indeed a genuine partner for peace. ~~We are confident~~ that they have indeed transformed their objective and are a responsible and constructive partner for peace negotiations. We are confident that the US will keep Israel's security concerns in mind and that if they are indeed met a majority of the Israeli peace will support talks with the Palestinians in the context of broader talks with Jordan and other key parties.



קונסוליה הכללית של  
ישראל בני-יורק

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CONSULATE GENERAL  
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OXFORD 7-5500

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DATE: Dec 15, 1988

NUMBER OF PAGES 4 INCLUDING THIS COVER SHEET

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800 SECOND AVENUE  
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10017

CONSULATE GENERAL  
OF ISRAEL IN NEW YORK

OXFORD 7-8800

December 15, 1988

Dear friend,

The following two pages contain excerpts from a statement made by Vice Premier and Foreign Minister Shimon Peres this morning in response to the US government's decision to enter into dialogue with the PLO. This page contains statements by Ambassador Moshe Arad and Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin.

Ambassador Arad's statement yesterday evening:

" We regret the United States' decision to establish contact with the PLO. We do not consider that this step will advance the peace process in the Middle East.

" Israel will pursue its policy of searching for peaceful solutions to the conflict through direct negotiations with Palestinian Arabs and with Jordan."

The following statement was issued by Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin yesterday in response to Yassir Arafat's speech in the UN on Tuesday. Though this statement preceded yesterday's decision by the US, much of its content is representative of Israel's continuing policy towards the PLO.

" I support negotiations with Palestinians who are not held captive by the PLO's 'covenant' and who accept (United Nations Security Council resolutions) 242 and 338 as the sole and only basis for a resolution to the Arab-Israeli conflict in all its aspects, who abhor terrorism and refrain from acts of terror in any form or guise, including acts of violence in the territories, and who are prepared to enter into negotiations with Israel. If the PLO were to accommodate itself to these conditions, it would cease to be the PLO.

" At the same time, I am in favor of a dialogue with the residents of the territories, with their representatives, elected or non-elected. I believe that the residents of Judea, Samaria and Gaza would be fitting partners to such a dialogue. "

Sincerely,

*David Cheifetz*  
David Cheifetz  
Information Officer



CONSULATE GENERAL  
OF ISRAEL IN NEW YORK  
INFORMATION DEPARTMENT

## FOR YOUR INFORMATION

**EXCERPTS FROM A STATEMENT BY VICE-PRIME MINISTER AND  
FOREIGN MINISTER SHIMON PERES AT A PRESS CONFERENCE IN  
THE HILTON HOTEL, JERUSALEM, 15-12-88**

PEACE REMAINS THE CENTRAL HOPE FOR OUR COUNTRY. I DO NOT CONSIDER THAT THERE IS ANY OTHER ISSUE WHICH OVERSHADOWS THE IMPORTANCE AND THE CENTRALITY OF BRINGING PEACE TO OUR REGION.

WE BELIEVE THAT THE CONFLICT BETWEEN THE ARABS AND THE ISRAELIS, AND THE SOLUTION OF THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM, CAN BE REACHED ONLY DIPLOMATICALLY, POLITICALLY AND PEACEFULLY. WE DO NOT SEEK ANY MILITARY SOLUTION TO THESE PROBLEMS.

IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE PEACE WE ARE READY TO TALK WITH THE JORDANIANS AND THE PALESTINIANS JOINTLY, AND WE ARE READY TO TALK WITH THE JORDANIANS AND THE PALESTINIANS SEPARATELY. WE DO NOT MAKE ANY CONDITIONS: WE PREFER FACE-TO-FACE DIRECT TALKS, AND THE SOONER THE BETTER.

WE PREFER TO TALK WITH ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES RATHER THAN ARMED REPRESENTATIVES. AS A MATTER OF FACT,

**WITHOUT A PEACEFUL, DEMOCRATIC, FREE ATMOSPHERE, ONE SHOULD WONDER IF THERE IS A REAL CHANCE FOR A PEACEFUL SOLUTION.**

**WE CONSIDER OUR RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO BE FRIENDLY, DEEP, MEANINGFUL, AND TRUSTWORTHY, AS THEY USED TO BE OVER SO MANY YEARS, OVER SO MANY ISSUES. IT IS NOT THE FIRST TIME THAT WE MAY HAVE HAD A DISAGREEMENT WITH THE UNITED STATES. OUR FRIENDSHIP IS STRONG ENOUGH TO DEAL WITH DISAGREEMENTS AS WELL.**

**ONE OF THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN US AND SOME OTHER COUNTRIES IS THAT WHILE OTHER COUNTRIES ARE EXPRESSING THEIR VIEWS OUT OF SINCERE HOPE, WE EXPRESS OUR VIEWS OUT OF VERY BITTER EXPERIENCE. WE WERE THE ONES WHO FACED TERROR AND VIOLENCE AND DISAPPOINTMENTS TIME AND AGAIN, AND THERE IS NO BETTER JUDGE OR MEASURE THAN THE RECORD OF ACTUAL BEHAVIOR.**

**IF THERE WILL BE A PERIOD OF QUIETNESS, I AM SURE THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL, PRESENT AND FUTURE, WILL AGREE TO THE HOLDING OF COMPLETELY FREE ELECTIONS IN THE WEST BANK, SO THAT THE PALESTINIANS WILL BE ABLE TO ELECT THEIR OWN REPRESENTATIVES.**

**PEACE WITH THE ARABS AND FRIENDSHIP WITH THE UNITED STATES REMAIN TWO OF THE PILLARS OF THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL.**



Memo

TELECOPY INFORMATION

SANFAX 515 (212) 686-1353, New York, NY, USA

TO: George Gruen - AS Comm

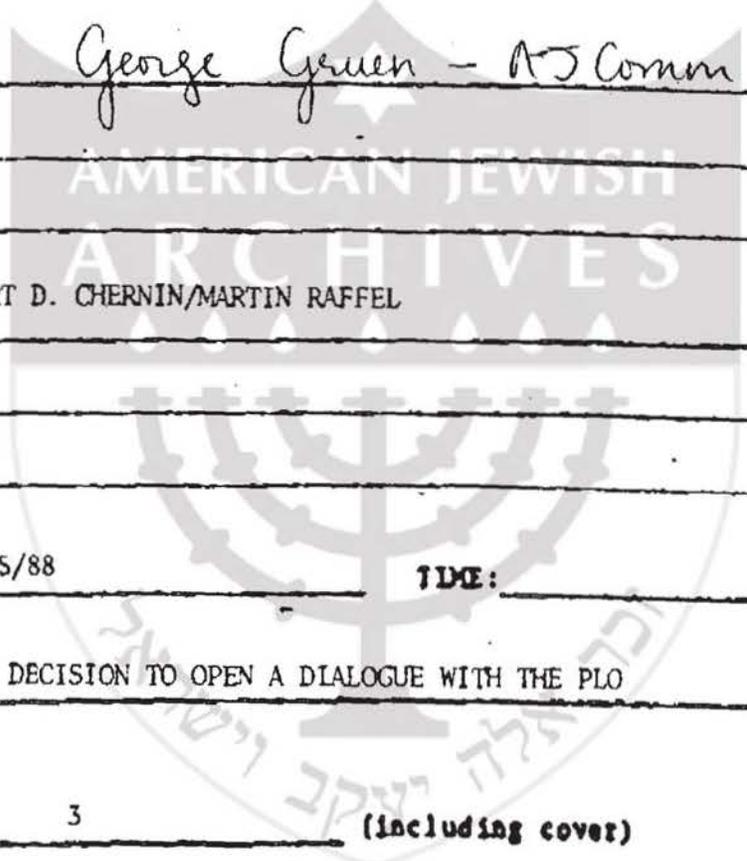
FROM: ALBERT D. CHERNIN/MARTIN RAFFEL

DATE: 12/15/88 TIME: \_\_\_\_\_

SUBJECT: U.S. DECISION TO OPEN A DIALOGUE WITH THE PLO

No. of Pages: 3 (including cover)

Comments: \_\_\_\_\_  
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NATIONAL JEWISH



COMMUNITY RELATIONS ADVISORY COUNCIL

443 PARK AVENUE SOUTH, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10016 • 684-6950

*Memo*

December 15, 1988

SENT VIA FAX

TO: NJCRAC MEMBER AGENCIES  
FROM: ALBERT D. CHERNIN, EXECUTIVE VICE CHAIRMAN  
MARTIN RAFFEL, DIRECTOR, ISRAEL TASK FORCE  
RE: U.S. DECISION TO OPEN A DIALOGUE WITH THE PLO

The following statement represents judgments reached through consultations we undertook last night in a conference call with Tom Dine, of AIPAC, Henry Siegman and Phil Baum of the American Jewish Congress, and George Gruen of the American Jewish Committee. Additional consultations were held this morning with the Anti-Defamation League and the Presidents' Conference.

## TEXT OF STATEMENT

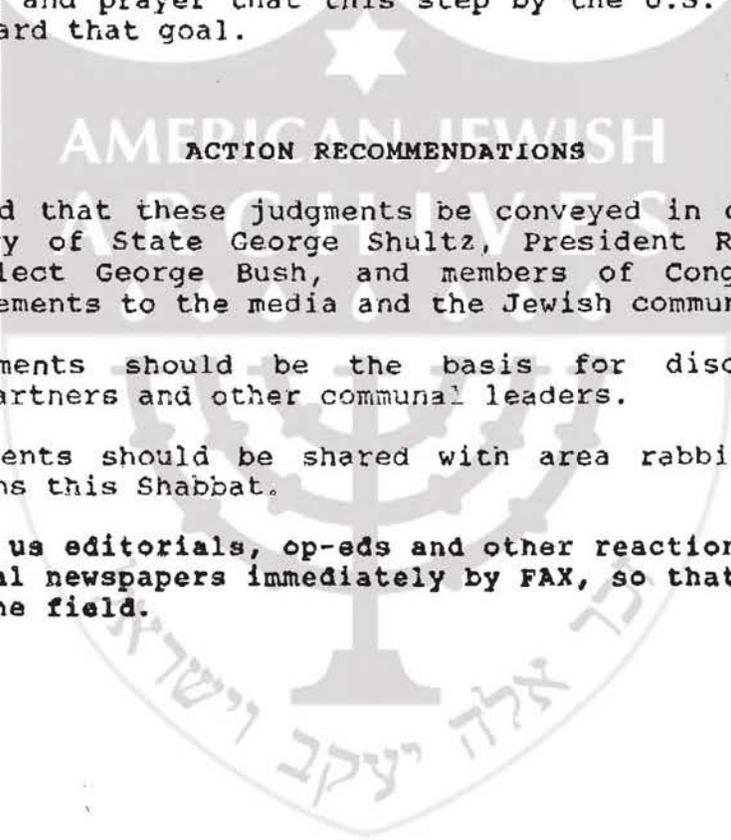
We understand why Secretary of State George Shultz arrived at the decision to open up a dialogue with the PLO in light of the statements made by Yassir Arafat at his press conference yesterday in Geneva. We believe it was the firmness of the American position that in the end led Arafat to make these long overdue statements. We understand that the decision to enter into a dialogue does not represent U.S. recognition of the PLO, and we welcome the Secretary's emphatic assertion that this action should in no way be taken as "acceptance or recognition by the U.S. of an independent Palestinian state."

We remain skeptical about the PLO's overnight conversion. We would have found Arafat's statements more credible had they been asserted in the text of the formal policy position adopted by the Palestine National Council in Algiers, and reiterated in his address to the United National General Assembly.

In the dialogue the U.S. must press the PLO to match its rhetoric with deeds. The U.S. must seek a repeal of those provisions of the PLO Covenant which call for the destruction of the State of Israel. The U.S. also must make it clear that it will hold Arafat and the PLO responsible for any act of terrorism linked to this conflict.

We are confident that the Secretary appreciates and respects Israel's profound concerns and fears about the PLO. He understands the history of the PLO's unrelenting campaign of terror and delegitimization against Israel. We also are confident that the U.S., particularly Secretary Shultz, recognizes that Israel, as a sovereign state, must act according to its perception of its own security.

The U.S. and Israel, we believe, will not allow differences regarding the American decision to meet with the PLO to undermine the deep relationship between them as allies. No one wants peace with security more than the Government and people of Israel. It is our hope and prayer that this step by the U.S. will move the process toward that goal.



### ACTION RECOMMENDATIONS

We recommend that these judgments be conveyed in communications to Secretary of State George Shultz, President Ronald Reagan, President-elect George Bush, and members of Congress, and in public statements to the media and the Jewish community.

These judgments should be the basis for discussions with coalition partners and other communal leaders.

These judgments should be shared with area rabbis for use in their sermons this Shabbat.

Please send us editorials, op-eds and other reactions that appear in your local newspapers immediately by FAX, so that we can share them with the field.



12/22

*Memo*

December 16, 1988

TO: NJCRAC Member Agencies

FROM: Martin J. Raffel, Israel Task Force Director

RE: CJF-NJCRAC SATELLITE PROGRAM ON US DIALOGUE WITH THE PLO

US DIALOGUE WITH THE PLO:  
PANEL DISCUSSION ON THE IMPLICATIONS FOR THE PEACE PROCESS,  
US-ISRAEL RELATIONS AND THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMUNITY

Thursday, December 22, 1988  
 4:30 p.m. - 5:30 p.m.

The Administration's decision to open up a dialogue with the PLO following Yasir Arafat's press conference in Geneva has raised new and important questions for Israel and the American Jewish community.

- \*\*\* How will this development affect US policy in the Middle East, particularly its approach to the peace process?
- \*\*\* What will be the substance of the US-PLO dialogue?
- \*\*\* Will this new situation affect US-Israel relations?
- \*\*\* How should the organized American Jewish community respond to these events?

Members of the panel will include key leaders from NJCRAC, AIPAC, AJCongress, AJCommittee, ADL and the Presidents Conference.

This special satellite program is being co-sponsored by NJCRAC and the CJF in order to be responsive to these and other concerns expressed by community leadership. We encourage you to be in touch with your federation to work out the details of your involvement.

We view this program as a national electronic working meeting in which your participation in every phase of the process is desired.

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Therefore, we request your CRC/federation do the following:

- (1) Identify specific issues or questions that you believe ought to be addressed by the panel. Please communicate these to NJCRAC as soon as possible, either by telephone or fax.
- (2) Monitor public expressions in your community in response to this development (editorials, op-eds, statements, etc.) and send them by fax to NJCRAC.
- (3) You are encouraged to select the individual/s from the CRC and/or federation to share the reactions of your community and questions during the course of the broadcast.

A reminder to those federations and CRCs who do not have a satellite hook-up -- if you wish to participate please contact a nearby city on the network and make arrangements to participate there.

We look forward to your participation in this national electronic meeting.

MR: mh



MEMO

from *Martin Raffel*

TO: NJCRAC Member Agencies

RE: U.S. DIALOGUE WITH THE PLO

I thought you might be interested in the enclosed selection of editorials and community statements on the above which have been faxed to our office in the last two days.

Not unexpectedly, the editorials stress the need for the PLO's deeds to match Arafat's words in Geneva. As you know, this was the main thrust of the NJCRAC statement which was faxed to many communities yesterday.

MR/lp

enclosure



# The New York Times

Founded in 1851

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## Listening to Arafat, Looking for Peace

The bewildering Middle East diplomatic gyrations have now brought a stunning breakthrough — direct contacts between the Palestine Liberation Organization and the United States. The prospects for peace are both frightening and heady.

Yasir Arafat now has said enough, barely, to justify the Reagan Administration's decision to begin talks with the P.L.O. The U.S. now has the necessary grounds, barely, to explore the tortuous negotiating trail ahead.

The essence of Mr. Arafat's peace plan is to go back to 1947, when the U.N. voted to partition Palestine and create a Jewish and an Arab state. What must now be fashioned is a peace based on the realities of 1988.

Israelis' shocked reaction to the U.S. step should come as no surprise. Israel cannot be expected to forget the last 40 years. There might not be much obvious difference between what Mr. Arafat said on Tuesday and on Wednesday. But President Reagan and President-elect Bush, strong supporters of Israel, have earned the benefit of the doubt for the tough decision to talk to the P.L.O. and plumb what could be a historic opportunity.

What exactly did Mr. Arafat say to bring about so favorable an American response? How should the U.S. capitalize on the opening?

The difference between the Arafat statements on recognizing Israel was more of context than detail. On both days he said he would recognize Israel if it recognized a Palestinian state. On Wednesday, he reformulated the point marginally to reiterate his support for U.N. Resolution 181 "as the basis for Palestinian independence." This was the 1947 resolution that affirmed the partition of Palestine, giving the West Bank and the Gaza Strip to the Palestinians, and a truncated state to Israel.

In this context, he affirmed the right of all parties in conflict to live in peace and security as called for by U.N. Resolutions 242 and 338, "including the state of Palestine, Israel and other neighbors. . . ." In calling this sufficient, Mr. Shultz rightly added that the U.S. does not accept a Palestinian state.

On terrorism, Mr. Arafat moved from "condemn" to "renounce." In addition, he did not repeat his usual distinction between terrorism and acts committed justifiably to gain national independence. That leaves open whether he continues to support violence within Israel and the occupied territories. One of the first things Mr. Shultz must do is to hold Mr. Arafat responsible for such acts.

The U.S. needs also to slow down the U.N. The General Assembly voted overwhelmingly yesterday to convene an international peace conference and "noted" the P.L.O.'s wish to put the occupied territories temporarily under U.N. supervision. Israel would simply not accept such a role for the U.N., which has hardly been evenhanded in Arab-Israeli matters.

Correctly, the Reagan Administration wants to focus on bringing about direct talks between Israel and the P.L.O. That will require time for — among other things — the Bush administration and a new Israeli government to take office. The U.S. and Israel, in turn, have to work out a negotiating process together, and then with the P.L.O. and Jordan. Such a process cannot begin, as Mr. Arafat insists, with Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories and with creation of a Palestinian state.

Even from the historic launch pad of the last few days, pursuing the trail ahead will take skill and wisdom. Hard judgments lie ahead, notably on whether to press for a comprehensive peace or to settle first for smaller steps, to replace hatred with trust. This diplomatic trail holds danger; but it must be explored.

# The Washington Post

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

## The Reagan Mideast Coup

**W**INDING DOWN, the Reagan administration has scored an unexpected diplomatic coup by drawing the PLO into formal acceptance of the state of Israel. It makes immediately possible an American-PLO dialogue and ultimately possible an Israeli-Palestinian peace negotiation.

It needs to be recalled that the conditions the United States set for recognizing the PLO in 1975 were not frivolous. They had, and they soon achieved, the vital strategic purpose of drawing a wary Israel into an accommodation with Egypt; this effectively ended any prospect of another large war. Now these conditions have also achieved their secondary purpose of inducing PLO compromises that Washington can honorably present to Israel as a basis for a Palestinian settlement. It came about now because Secretary of State George Shultz hung tough on the principled conditions of 1975; he sent an additional and, it seems, useful signal by denying Yasser Arafat a visa. Further, a way was found to let the PLO know it could not get easier terms from President-elect George Bush. At that point everybody leaned on Mr. Arafat, who moved.

The 1975 conditions were drafted at a time when Israel had a government prepared to exchange territory for peace, if there were a negotiating partner. Now there is a potential partner,

but Israel has a government that prefers territory to peace. This is unfortunate but need not be crippling. The Israelis are already caught up in choosing a new government. The American-PLO development puts pressure on them to get into a negotiating mode, but they must come along in their own way. Facing up to Palestinian nationalism will be traumatic even to those Israelis who believe doing so to be in their country's best interest. Continued American fidelity to the full range of 1975 conditions, which included American commitments on security, consultation and aid as well as on the PLO, is all the more essential now, and can ease the strain.

Those who have been urging Washington to reach out to the PLO always insisted this was the sure way to tame it. Now this proposition can be tested. For instance, given the American emphasis on getting Israelis and Palestinians to a table, why would the PLO insist any longer on calling a big international conference? How does the PLO intend to discipline followers who challenge its formal renunciation of terrorism? Many governments have a role to play in seeing the PLO develop responsible answers to the nitty-gritty questions. George Bush has his work cut out for him—and an opportunity to become a peacemaker in his own right.

"YOU HAVE JUST SAID THE M...  
— YOU ARE A WI..."



# The Miami Herald

JOHN S. KNIGHT (1954-1991)

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## Now it's time for deeds

**H**ISTORY will record the past 48 hours as among the most significant in the 40 years of Arab-Israeli hostility. With stunning suddenness, an epochal opening occurred on Wednesday in what, only the day before, remained the impenetrable wall that has prevented real progress toward Mideast peace.

Washington's decision to open "substantive dialogue" with the Palestine Liberation Organization enlarged the opening dramatically created only hours earlier by PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat. Mr. Arafat breached the wall by unequivocally renouncing terrorism and embracing United Nations Resolutions 242 and 338. Resolution 242 calls for Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories in exchange for recognition of its right to exist within secure borders; 338 calls for negotiations toward "a just and durable peace."

This joint step by Mr. Arafat and the Reagan Administration could be of inestimable significance — or for naught. Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir and his not-yet-formed new government vehemently oppose Washington's move. Mr. Shamir vows never to negotiate with the PLO. He dismisses Mr. Arafat's words as mere mouthings of an unreconstructable terrorist still committed to Israel's destruction.

Deeds, not words, must be the test of Mr. Arafat's newfound persona. He renounced terrorism by individuals, groups, and states. Let us welcome his words while awaiting the cessation of PLO terrorism. That alone can give his words credence.

### ALL EYES ON PLO, SHAMIR

Deeds also must be the currency by which the U.S.-PLO dialogue is valued. Mr. Arafat has met the preconditions by which Washington has stood since Henry Kissinger as Secretary of State created the terms in 1975. No further preconditions should be placed on the talks — save one: Let all discussions be preconditioned on the quest for true, equitable peace.

Deeds must be the coin of Mr. Shamir's realm too. He is caught up in a historic current whose volume and force cannot yet be measured. Yet it is obvious that he cannot resist it; it's too strong. He cannot continue to profess a desire for peace while rejecting the *only* agent — the PLO — capable of joining with Israel to create and sustain it.

Defiance of Washington's course only will make Mr. Shamir the wedge pushing Israel and its firmest ally apart. Instead of defiance, let Mr. Shamir summon the courage that Egypt's Anwar Sadat showed by visiting Menachem Begin in Jerusalem in 1977. That courageous act led to the 1979 Camp David Accords, whose peace terms Israel and Egypt observe to this day.

Are not Israel's stakes as high now, its potential rewards as great? Inarguably they are. And inarguably this breathtaking moment should be seized lest Israel forfeit the chance to find a way out of the wilderness of violence and three wars in which it has existed for all its 40 years as a nation.



DECEMBER 15, 1988

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

J.R.L. STERNE, Editorial Page Editor

• REG MURPHY, Publisher

• JAMES I. HOUCK, Managing Editor

## PLO Progress

A year ago, the Palestine Liberation Organization was irrelevant, nearly moribund, held in contempt by Arab governments, Israel and Palestinians alike. Now it is more formidable than ever in its history. The two reasons are its lurch toward moderation and the year-long *intifada* or grass roots rebellion in Israeli-occupied territories.

There is no secret to the sudden moderation of PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat. The Palestinians of the *intifada* demanded PLO action to improve their lives. They recognize Israel only too well. They have insisted to the world that the PLO speaks for them, but to the PLO that it start doing so. Mr. Arafat's contortions respond to pulls in two directions, toward moderation by those Palestinians, and toward the old extremism by expatriate groups that constitute the PLO and the Arab regimes that underwrite it. When Mr. Arafat speaks the words the U.S. State Department demands, he does so for the Palestinians of the *intifada*. When he uses code words for Israeli concessions to Syria first, he does so for Syria.

The U.S. and Israeli responses before the United Nations were contradictory. Their different rationales for shunning the PLO used to defend the same policy. Now they herald policy differences. Israel's Ambassador Johanan Bein said the PLO is unacceptable because it is the PLO. U.S. delegate Vernon Walters called for direct negotiations be-

tween Israel and Palestinians. Initially, the State Department said the PLO's words don't quite make it this time. But State reversed itself last night and decided to open direct talks with the PLO. The likely reason? President-elect Bush's remarks earlier in the day that set demands for the PLO the group can easily meet. Divergence of opinion between the U.S. and Israeli governments on how to proceed is inevitable, yet both countries should maintain a close relationship despite it.

Little attention has been paid to the substance of Mr. Arafat's three-point peace plan. It is a hard-line initial bargaining position for talks about talks, not a blueprint to be followed. Mr. Arafat calls for a U.N.-sponsored preparatory conference, no doubt to pressure Israel as the PLO in direct talks could not. Secondly, he calls for U.N.-supervised Israeli withdrawal from disputed land before a political settlement, which no one can realistically expect. Thirdly, he calls for a multilateral conference of all neighbors under Resolutions 242 and 338, which links an Israeli-PLO accord to an Israeli-Syrian peace which Syria spurns.

Mr. Arafat's plan is for consumption by his supporters, especially the more intransigent ones. There is nothing wrong with such a tactic for openers, as long as it is understood. Mr. Arafat has not proved the PLO's good intentions. He has, rather, earned having them tested.

## EDITORIAL/OPINION

# Our PLO gamble

**T**HE SUDDEN REVERSAL of U.S. policy toward Yasser Arafat's Palestine Liberation Organization could revive the comatose Mideast peace process. If that eventually leads to a settlement of the 40-year Arab-Israeli conflict, our PLO initiative will be worth the furor it has stirred up.

We had been pressing Arafat, through third parties, to accept our three conditions for a direct U.S.-PLO dialogue. And Wednesday he finally read the script the way we wrote it. He accepted the two U.N. resolutions declaring that all the Mideast states had the right to secure borders, he renounced all forms of terrorism, and he explicitly recognized the right of Israel to exist.

Yet these are words. As President Reagan stressed Thursday, it is deeds that will eventually determine whether anything will come of our decision to open direct contacts with the PLO.

Israel, stung by our decision, may be right in warning that it will not advance the cause of peace. But if the killing is ever to end, we and every other party to the Arab-Israeli conflict must be willing to test signs of moderation — even by the PLO, a Palestinian umbrella group that has terrorists in its highest councils.

President Reagan reiterated our commitment Thursday to guarantee Israel's safety. That is essential if we expect the Israelis to stake their future on negotiations. We have also put the issue of terrorism at the top of our agenda when we meet with the PLO.

Despite the U.N. General Assembly's 138-2 vote Thursday for a resolution to convene an international Mideast peace conference, we are nowhere near one, much less a solution to the region's long-festering problems. That same resolution also called for temporary U.N. supervision of the Israeli-occupied territories of the West Bank and Gaza, and even of Jerusalem, which it captured in the 1967 war.

Israel is not about to accede to that. It continues to tighten the lid on a year of civil unrest in the West Bank and Gaza, where the PLO's Palestine National Council last month declared an independent Palestinian state. It is that bloody uprising, however, that has focused U.S. and world attention on the need to break the stalemate in the Mideast peace process.

We may fail, but not for lack of trying.

## The Dallas Morning News

Friday, December 16, 1988

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### EDITORIALS

# PLO TALKS

## Getting Israel into negotiations won't be easy

No one ever said the pursuit of Middle East peace was a process without compromise and possibly even pain. But the stakes have become too high for the United States to do other than what President Reagan did on Wednesday, namely end the embargo on formal talks with the Palestine Liberation Organization. PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat met the official conditions for opening a dialogue — conditions that the U.S. and Israel had agreed upon 13 years ago — by stating explicitly and in English at a Geneva news conference that he renounced terrorism, and affirmed Israel's right to exist in peace and security.

It is unfortunate but not altogether surprising that Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir decried the American decision to begin talking with the PLO. But the U.S. move could hardly be interpreted as a betrayal of Israel.

It was a desperately needed breakthrough, promising substantive progress on the peace front. Mr. Shamir's reaction did, however, underscore the profound sense of insecurity that Israel continues to feel. That insecurity is understandable. Israel is a tiny sliver of a nation, surrounded by hostile neighbors, with a Palestinian uprising within the occupied territories that the Israeli military is not altogether able to control.

Given the fragility of Israel's geography, it would be difficult to conceive of any words that spokesmen for Palestinian na-

tionalism could utter that could allay Jewish fears and misgivings. But if any one issue is clear, it is that the present state of civil warfare in the occupied territories that has left 312 Palestinians and 13 Israelis dead could not continue indefinitely. For Israel had become the biggest loser in international public opinion as reports of police brutality against stone-throwing Arab youths continued to filter out.

The opening of dialogue with the PLO began Thursday morning with a brief telephone call that U.S. Ambassador Robert Pelletreau in Tunisia made to PLO headquarters. But this is merely the beginning of what undoubtedly will be an arduous process of coming to grips with the monumental problems that emanate from the clash of Israeli and Palestinian nationalism.

The pace of diplomacy is accelerating, especially at the United Nations. A General Assembly resolution was passed Thursday calling for the convening of an international conference on the Middle East and the temporary placement of the occupied territories under U.N. supervision. U.S. officials voted against the resolution, terming it "impractical and unrealistic." But that rejection at this very early stage in the United States' new posture vis-a-vis the PLO should not mean that those concepts are unattainable. As the actual dialogue goes forth, and Israel is coaxed into the process, such concrete measures should be reconsidered, as soon as possible.

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SHULTZ'S STATEMENT

An encouraging step toward Mideast peace

SECRETARY of State George Shultz's dramatic announcement yesterday that the United States "is prepared for a substantive dialogue" with the Palestine Liberation Organization must be hailed as a constructive step toward eventual peace in the Middle East.

And PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat deserves credit for his earlier statement making it "crystal clear" - his words - that his organization recognized the state of Israel's right "to exist in peace and security" and that "we totally and absolutely renounce all forms of terrorism - including individual, group and state terrorism."

Of course, there is a legitimate question as to just who Arafat means by "we." He does not speak for all Palestinians, and some hard-liners - George Habash and Abu Abbas come to mind - may be loath to abandon their terrorist tactics.

Also, Shultz made it clear that while he was speaking for President Reagan and President-elect Bush, he was not speaking for Israeli leaders. "Israel has its own views and policies," Shultz deadpanned. "U.S. conditions are not necessarily theirs." Indeed.

While the U.S. government is in a political-transition period, Israel is in a more difficult one. Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir is still trying to form a government; given the deep divisions in Israel, this development could further complicate that process.

Still, for Shultz and Arafat to move as far as each did will bring enormous pressure on both Israelis and Palestinians to move toward moderation. Granted, there is a vast diplomatic distance to be covered.

Arafat still wants immediate recognition of a Palestinian state, Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories, and an international conference under U.N. auspices. Shultz wisely avoided any commitments on those issues, and reaffirmed that U.S. support for Israel's security "remains unflinching."

As he said, this is just "one more step" toward the beginning of the direct negotiations between Israelis and Palestinians that will be necessary to bring lasting peace to that troubled region. But it's a big step - and in the right direction.

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## Talking with the PLO

It appears that what the Reagan administration rejected Tuesday, it accepted Wednesday.

According to the State Department, PLO leader Yasir Arafat, in his speech to the United Nations in Geneva on Tuesday, did not publicly pronounce the three statements the U.S. was requiring as a condition of carrying on direct talks with PLO representatives. Mr. Arafat was said not to have been "explicit" enough in his U.N. speech.

What Mr. Arafat said at a press conference on Wednesday, however, changed all that. Not that it is immediately obvious that what Mr. Arafat had to say on Wednesday was much different from what he had said, in various forms, in the days before. Again he denounced terrorism in "all forms," though this time he added that the rejection included "individual, group and state terrorism," and he recognized the right of all parties in the Middle East "to exist in peace and security" according to U.N. Resolutions 242 and 338. He also asserted the Palestinian "right of national independence according to (UN Resolution) 181."

Mr. Arafat seems to have changed the body of his public pronouncements less than Washington has suddenly changed its mind. Reportedly, pressure was put on Washington by the several Arab states as well as by many of our allies in Europe to concede that what the PLO was saying finally met the United States' conditions for removing the ban on meeting that organization's representatives.

The change in U.S. policy is, for the Middle East, a major development. Since 1975, the U.S. has refused to have direct relations with the PLO, or even to officially recognize its existence.

But the Reagan administration appears to have concluded that the state of affairs on the West Bank must be brought to a resolution and that only U.S. prodding is likely to break the deadlock that has frozen the Israelis and Palestinians in bloody fighting.

The Israelis, not without reason, have been reluctant to trust the PLO or, in particular, Yasir Arafat, who has over the years repeatedly vowed to push Israel into the sea. But the Israeli government's intractable, almost ossified, approach to the Palestinians on the West Bank, its failure to humanely address the uprising, and its inability to form a government, which reflects the division among the electorate, make it clear that some kind of outside help is needed.

In Algiers last month the Palestinian National Council made the first substantial gesture toward peace by recognizing, albeit implicitly and ambiguously, Israel's right to exist. In his speech before the U.N., Mr. Arafat called on Israel to open negotiations with the PLO for peace.

The Israeli government rejected the speech and the concessions as so much double talk. The following day Prime Minister Yitzak Shamir said he would not negotiate with the PLO under any conditions.

It was obvious that nothing Yasir Arafat said or could say would break the deadlock. Under the circumstances, the Reagan administration eventually came around to the conclusion that the only way out was to do what Israel refused to do: talk with the PLO.

Where this will all lead, who can say? Progress toward peace, if any, will probably be made during the Bush administration. But it may be that this change in U.S. policy is the catalyst that is necessary to start the peace process moving.

The change in policy, however, by no means marks a change in the way the U.S. perceives Israel. President Reagan underscored, in his statement on the PLO Wednesday, that the "United States' special commitment to Israel's security and well being remains unshakable." What the U.S. is offering is not a change in relations with its ally, but a new approach to resolving an old dispute.

# Editorial page

Tucson Citizen

EDITORIAL PAGE EDITOR, PETER BRONSON

16A

Thursday, December 15, 1988 •

## The mountain goes to Arafat

Yasser Arafat could not come to the U.N. in New York because the U.S. Secretary of State denied him a visa. So the U.N. went to Arafat in Geneva.

The U.N. has supposedly been strapped to make ends meet, but it spent millions to fly to a non-member nation and roll out the red carpet. We hope something good will come of it.

Arafat was told in no uncertain terms what would be needed to get U.S. cooperation for a new peace initiative with Israel. But it took him a while to get to the point.

He has been deliberately vague, grudgingly meeting the minimum standards for U.S. cooperation and recognition.

The leader of the Palestinian Liberation Organization was not so hazy in 1973.

During a phone call after the kidnapping of three diplomats in Sudan, Arafat didn't mince words — he ordered his Black September terrorists to kill two Americans and a Belgian because President Nixon refused to release Sirhan Sirhan, the assassin of Robert Kennedy, in exchange for the kidnap victims.

According to Stanley A. Blumberg, co-author of a book on Israeli intelligence, Arafat's command was captured on tape by U.S. and Israeli agents. When the execution was not carried out soon enough, Arafat asked, "What are you waiting for?"

The men were brutally beaten, then riddled with automatic weapons.

Arafat now loudly deplores "all forms of terrorism." But actions speak louder than words.

## Tucson Citizen

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# U.S. is right to give Arafat chance to deliver on his rhetoric

U.S. Foreign Policy President George Shultz is right to respond to recent welcome gestures by the Palestine Liberation Organization with an American gesture.

The PLO has said the words Washington has insisted upon for years — recognizing Israel and rejecting terrorism. Israel insists that these are only words. But words matter. When the American Declaration of Independence declared it "self evident" that "all men are created equal," an opponent of slavery might have pointed out that these were just words. The words never went away, though, and in the long run — too long, of course — their meaning either had to be embraced or the behavior of the nation had to be measured against them.

The PLO cannot take that long to give life to its words. It must restrain its most radical elements from committing further violence against Israeli civilians. If Chairman Yasser Arafat is unable or unwilling to do that, the progress toward better international relations could end here.

Having said the words, Chairman Arafat now can — and must — say to Palestinians that if they behave in a way that render his words only words, they devastate any chances

the Palestinians have of dealing with the world's great powers. Either he's in control or he's not worth dealing with.

There is little question but that Chairman Arafat is taking a risk with regard to internal PLO politics. He's got to be able to show PLO radicals that a moderate course works.

Jordan's King Hussein deserves some credit for these developments. His abnegation of any role in the Israeli-occupied West Bank territory gave the PLO an opportunity to step into an expanded role; that made it possible for Chairman Arafat to start making rhetorical concessions without looking as though he was desperate.

All the Israeli blood that has been shed by PLO terrorists remains shed. If Israelis are depressed and enraged over the Shultz action, that is understandable. But, whatever the history, the current fact is that either the West deals with the PLO or it deals with nobody, so clearly is the PLO the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. And if the PLO seems ready and able to deal — and demonstrates that — the friends of Israel must deal, too.

EDITORIAL  
DAYTON DAILY NEWS, DEC 16, 1988

"Justice, Justice, shall ye pursue." Deut. 16:20

NORMAN SIDER, President

MARCIA GOLDSTONE, Ph.D., Executive Director



1100 WEST 42nd STREET  
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December 15, 1988

**FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE**

The Jewish Community Relations Council welcomes all moves toward peace in the Middle East. Clearly, all parties to the conflict look to the United States for leadership in achieving that peace and it is within this context that the U.S.-PLO dialogue must be seen as a first small step.

The work which remains to be done is enormous and Israel is justifiably skeptical. The PLO Covenant remains committed to the destruction of the State of Israel and Arafat's statements must be seen within the context of unremitting hostility toward the Jewish state for over 40 years. Even as Arafat spoke in Algiers, two Fatah units were sent in terrorist raids against Israel. In fact, Secretary of State Shultz made clear that the first item on the U.S. agenda in its dialogue with the PLO would be precisely the subject of terrorism. Clearly, for Arafat's words to have genuine meaning, terrorism must be renounced in practice as well. Unfortunately, the texts of the Palestine National Council which are meant for Western public opinion, and are therefore rendered in English, are often at significant variance with Arabic texts produced for the benefit of the Arab world. One confidence-building measure which the PLO could undertake immediately is to halt this practice. We urge Ambassador Pelletreau to raise this issue in his initial meetings.

We hope that positive responses from other PLO spokesmen and from governments of moderate Arab countries will be immediately forthcoming. Clearly, there is no substitute for face-to-face negotiations among the parties to the conflict. We react to this new dialogue between our Administration and the PLO with cautious optimism in the hope that it will indeed lead to just such face-to-face negotiations, without which there can be no real peace. In this regard, we are confident that the differences between Israel and the U.S. over this decision by the Administration will not be allowed to undermine the strong U.S.-Israel relationship.

# the Jewish community relations bureau

# JCRB

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STATEMENT BY RABBI MICHAEL ZEDEK, CHAIRPERSON, ISRAEL  
COMMITTEE, JEWISH COMMUNITY RELATIONS BUREAU OF GREATER  
KANSAS CITY--

The Jewish Community Relations Bureau and the Jewish  
Federation of Greater Kansas City, with the caution that  
comes from an awareness of the violence associated with  
the PLO since 1964, nevertheless, supports the decision  
by the United States government to establish a dialogue  
with the PLO. We share the view of Dr. George Gruen of  
the American Jewish Committee that this is a "necessary  
first step toward seeing whether the PLO are suitable  
partners in the peace process".

The words, expressed by Chairman Arafat, have been  
interpreted to meet U.S. requirements for the establish-  
ment of a dialogue between the United States and the  
PLO. While we welcome the words, it will be the PLO's  
actions which will determine whether this is truly a

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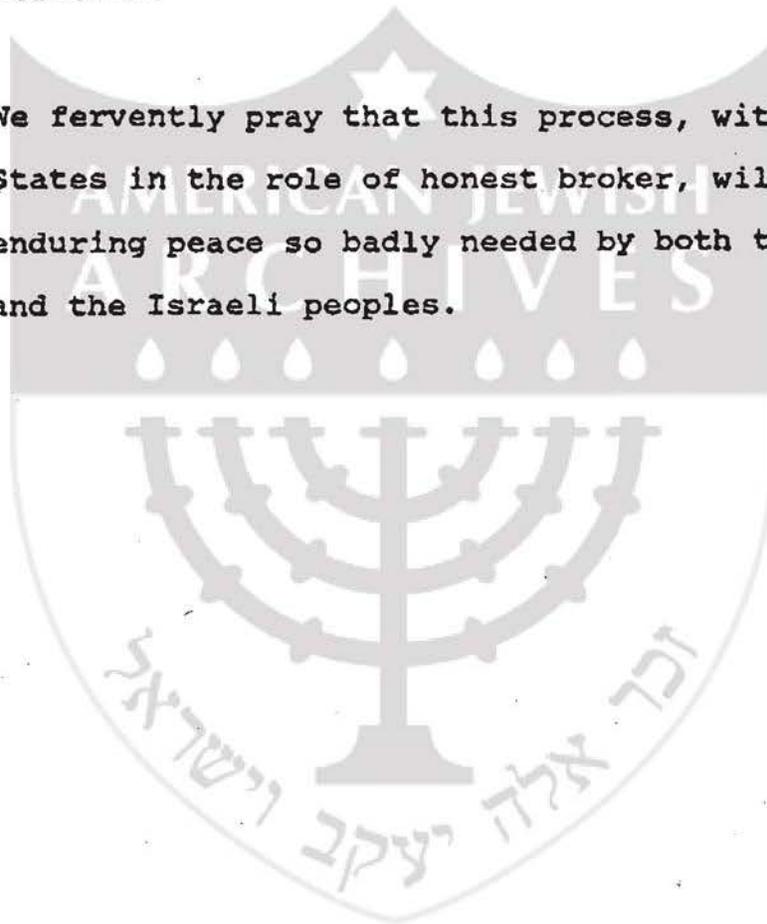
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movement toward peace.

We are encouraged by President Reagan's statement that "the United States' special commitment to Israel's security and well-being remains unshakable. Indeed, a major reason for our entry into this dialogue is to help Israel achieve the recognition and security it deserves."

We fervently pray that this process, with the United States in the role of honest broker, will lead to the enduring peace so badly needed by both the Palestinian and the Israeli peoples.



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## FLINT JEWISH LEADERSHIP STATEMENT ON MIDDLE EAST DEVELOPMENTS

We note, with sincere interest, concern, and understanding, the developments relating to our administration's decision to commence dialogue with the PLO. It appears that Mr. Shultz's actions relating to the denial of a visa to Mr. Arafat, and Tuesday's U.S. rejection of the Arafat speech to the United Nations in Geneva as being inadequate have created the necessary conditions for Arafat's statements renouncing terrorism and recognizing Israel's right to exist.

Furthermore, we share our administration's stated skepticism:

Will PLO deeds follow Arafat's words?

Is the overnight conversion of Arafat cosmetic or real -- why could Arafat enunciate this position at Algiers or his U.N. speech rather than at a press conference the next day?

Do his statements reflect the position of the PLO, and will the Palestinian National Council remove from its charter (covenant) the call for destruction of the State of Israel?

Will the PLO call for an end to the intifadah as a concrete step to a negotiated peace?

We are reassured by the clear reaffirmation of total and complete U.S. support for Israel by President Reagan and Secretary Shultz, and the administration's continued opposition to an independent Palestinian state and any other unilateral act or preconditions to direct negotiations between the parties to the conflict.

We understand why the U.S. and Israel have reacted differently, but are reassured by the depth of concurrence in the relationship between two great democracies, the United States of America and the State of Israel.

This statement reflects the position of the following signators:

Gary Hurand, President of the Flint Jewish Federation; Rabbi Peter Gluck of Temple Beth El; Roberta Gluck, Chair of the Community Relations Committee of the FJF; Peter Goodstein, immediate past President of the FJF; David Nussbaum, Executive Director of the FJF; Michael Pelavin; and Rabbi Paul Reis of Congregation Beth Israel.



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## JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL OF GREATER WASHINGTON

1522 K STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005 ■ (202) 347-4628

December 15, 1988

### FOR YOUR INFORMATION

Secretary of State George Shultz  
The State Department  
Washington, DC 20520

Dear Secretary Shultz:

I am writing to you on behalf of the 220 congregations and organizations which compose the Jewish Community Council of Greater Washington to express the hope that your decision to open a dialogue with the PLO will be proved by future events to be a signal accomplishment of the Administration.

Our community shares with you a wariness about whether the PLO has undergone a true transformation. The PLO's record of ill-deeds makes us suspicious about whether it has changed its goals. We are confident that the emergent dialogue will clarify the veracity of PLO's claims, and that the Administration will take concrete steps to hold the PLO responsible for both words and deeds.

Specifically, our community believes that American representatives must raise the following demands of Yassir Arafat:

- o Will Arafat support repeal of the Zionism-is-racism resolution?
- o Will he end the campaign to have Israel expelled from the U.N.?
- o Will he encourage Saudi Arabian and Jordanian recognition of Israel?
- o Will he urge an end to the Arab boycott of Israel?

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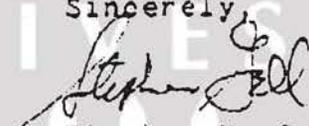
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- o Will there be an end to terrorist acts by Col. Hawari's group, Force 17, and other Fatah arms?
- o Will Arafat move to change the anti-Semitic and anti-Israel aspects of the Palestine National Covenant?
- o Will Arafat cease directing himself to third parties, and direct himself to the principals in the region, most especially to Israel.

The American Jewish community shares with the Administration a basic and unshakable commitment to Israel's security and sovereignty. Indeed, only the people of Israel and their elected representatives can be the final determiners of matters affecting Israel's security.

We trust that Administration spokesmen will make these and related matters emphatically clear in the next days and weeks.

Sincerely,

  
Stephen N. Gell,  
President



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AM-ISRAEL 2NDLD (WRITETHROUGH)

ISRAEL'S LIKUD, LABOR AGREE TO RIGHT-LED UNITY GOVERNMENT

(Eds: combines takes of urgent series, editing throughout) By  
Paul Taylor

JERUSALEM, Dec 19, Reuter - Israel's ruling Likud and Labor parties agreed / terms Monday for a new national unity government led by right-wing Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, politicians from both parties said.

Labor Party Secretary-General Uzi Baran said the parties overcame the last obstacles by agreeing to establish up to eight new settlements in the occupied territories in a year and that Labor would chair the powerful parliamentary finance committee.

Likud negotiator Moshe Katzav told reporters the parties had been spurred by the shock of last week's U.S. decision to open talks with the Palestine Liberation Organization, despite Israeli opposition.

"Out of a sense of responsibility for the fate of the state and given the latest developments, Likud decided to make an extra effort to bring about a broad, unity government headed by Prime Minister Shamir for four years," Katzav said.

Under the accord, Labor leader Shimon Peres will remain vice premier and switch from the Foreign Ministry to be finance minister, Labor's Yitzhak Rabin will remain defense minister and Likud's Moshe Arens will become foreign minister, political sources said.

The accord, which officials said would be initialled on Tuesday, came 49 days after the inconclusive Nov. 1 general election in which Likud won a one-seat edge over Labor with religious parties holding the balance of power.

Israel Radio said hardline Trade and Industry Minister Ariel Sharon quit the Likud negotiating team, accusing Shamir of breaking his word to far-right and religious parties.

The accord on new settlements could put Israel under fresh international pressure. The United States has condemned the settlements in the past as illegal and an obstacle to peace. Israel Radio said under the coalition accord, Labor and Likud undertook not to try to form a narrow government without each other during the lifetime of the new parliament.

It also said both major parties would have to agree on the participation of all other parties in the coalition, a clause that would apparently enable Labor to block the entry of extreme-right parties.

Likud parliamentarian Ehud Olmert, tipped for ministerial office in the new government, told reporters he did not believe any of the small rightist parties would join.

Israel has been ruled by a national unity government since tied elections in 1984, with Peres and Shamir alternating for two years each as prime minister.



**CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS  
OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS**

**Morris B. Abram**  
Chairman

**Malcolm I. Hoenlein**  
Executive Director

**To: Presidents and Executive Directors**

**From: Morris B. Abram, Chairman  
Malcolm Hoenlein, Executive Director**

Enclosed is background material regarding the recent Algiers conference and anticipation of the speech by Arafat in Geneva. We will reconvene the Conference or be in touch with you as developments occur.

I. We have received a number of inquiries about assistance for Armenian refugees. The Joint Distribution Committee has set up a fund to which money and checks should be sent to. The address is:

The JDC National Armenian Fund  
711 Third Avenue, 10th Floor  
New York, NY 10017

Please note on check: Armenia Relief.

II. We urge our member organizations to write to the Greek Ambassador to the United States and the Ambassador to the U.N., to express our outrage at the release of Al Zomar Ozama who was accused of the murder of Jews in Italy. The Greek authorities released Ozama to Libya ignoring a request for extradition by Italy. We will be meeting with the Ambassadors to further discuss measures to be taken.

**Mr. George Papoulias**  
2221 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20008

**Mr. Zepos Constantine**  
733 Third Avenue, 23rd Floor  
New York, NY 10017

III. The mission for the Presidents and Executive Directors will take place Feb.5th - Feb.9th. Beginning Sunday February 5th, through Wednesday February 8th we will be based at the Laromme Hotel. The total cost will be \$970.00, which will include airfare, hotel, transfers, registration and most meals. We urge that you let us know immediately.

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**CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS  
OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS**

**Statement by Morris B. Abram, Chairman  
Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations\***

"The first piece of business in the talks between the American ambassador and the PLO representatives in Tunisia should be a threshold demand by our country that the PLO repudiate its charter, the Palestine National Covenant. There can be no progress toward peace in the Middle East if the PLO insists on adhering to that Covenant -- its basic political document -- which calls on Palestinian Arabs 'to repel the Zionist and imperialist aggression against the Arab homeland' and demands 'the elimination of Zionism in Palestine.' (Article 15)

"Arafat's words in Geneva must now be translated into deeds -- and the essential deed must be to repeal the Covenant and its call to destroy Israel, whose establishment is described as 'entirely illegal, regardless of the passage of time' (Article 19) and which states that 'the Arab Palestinian people...reject all solutions which are substitutes for the total liberation of Palestine' (Article 21).

"Yasir Arafat does not have authority to change the PLO charter, no matter what he says in speeches to the UN or press conferences in Geneva. The Covenant itself (in Article 33) spells out how it is to be amended -- 'by vote of a majority of two-thirds of the total membership of the National Council of the PLO, taken at a

special session convened for that purpose.' When that meeting is called and that vote taken, when the PLO forswears statements like 'armed struggle is the only way to liberate Palestine' (Article 9), negotiations toward peace can begin – but not a moment before.

"Secretary Shultz is a man we admire and trust as a statesman of integrity, honor and decency. He understands full well the importance of the U.S.-Israel alliance, which he helped to strengthen. He recognizes the commonality of values, of friendship and of strategic interest that link our two countries. He will keep those ties strong and thriving."

\*The Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations is composed of the 46 largest national Jewish organizations.

12/14/88



Contact: Richard Cohen Associates  
(212) 758-6969

For Immediate Release

Morris B. Abram  
Chairman

Malcolm I. Hoenlein  
Executive Director

## MORRIS ABRAM ON ARAFAT'S SPEECH IN GENEVA - 'HE BLEW IT'

Commenting on Yasir Arafat's speech to the United Nations General Assembly, Morris B. Abram, chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, said this week:

"Yasir Arafat had an opportunity to break with the past and launch a new peace initiative. He blew it.

"In Geneva Arafat demonstrated once again that he could not bring himself to say those things that must be said if there is to be a settlement of the Palestinian Arab issue.

"Above all, he failed to state unequivocally his acceptance of Israel's legitimate statehood and rightful place in the Middle East.

"He failed to state that the Palestine National Covenant, which vows the destruction of Israel through a strategy of terror, is null and void.

"He spoke of resolutions 242 and 338 as the basis of an international conference, but conditioned such a conference on depriving Israel of its capital, Jerusalem.

"He claimed he was against terrorism, but reiterated the Palestine National Council declaration in Algiers, which affirmed "the right to struggle for...independence.

"He expressed his willingness to come to the negotiating table but insisted on playing with a stacked deck; two of the parties he wants to participate in the conference, China and the USSR, cut diplomatic relations with Israel more than 20 years ago. They are hardly likely to play constructive roles in such a negotiation.

"Yasir Arafat has revealed himself, again, to be unwilling or unable to make a clear and unequivocal statement of PLO intentions to live in peace with Israel.

"A new initiative indicating a fundamental change in PLO strategy and tactics was what the world and we were waiting for.

"Once more Arafat failed to deliver."

The Conference of Presidents is composed of 46 national Jewish organizations, both secular and religious, whose members constitute the overwhelming majority of American Jews.



CONSULATE GENERAL  
OF ISRAEL IN NEW YORK  
INFORMATION DEPARTMENT

## POLICY BACKGROUND

Reaction of the Spokesman for the Israeli Embassy in Washington to the Speech of Yassir Arafat in Front of the General Assembly of the United Nations, December 13, 1988

The speech by Yasser Arafat in Geneva is a continuation of an effort to create a perception of change in the PLO's position. The speech proves that the PLO and its Chairman continue to adhere to the Covenant and its objectives.

This speech was a crude attempt to distort the history of the past 40 years and of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Those who expected a clear and moderate message from Geneva should be disillusioned:

- \* The PLO Chairman repeated his qualified rejection of terrorism, referring to the Cairo Declaration, and gave himself a license to continue his policy of violence and terror against Israel.
- \* There was no explicit recognition of Israel's right to exist
- \* In referring to negotiations, Arafat again spoke of relevant U.N. resolutions such as Resolution 194 (the right of return) which amounts to the dismantling of the Jewish state
- \* His declaration of a Palestinian state with Jerusalem as its capital is a unilateral attempt to circumvent negotiations and to ignore reality

In short, we have not seen any new elements beyond the PNC resolution in Algiers. Israel continues to believe that in order to achieve peace in the region, the inhabitants of the territories should fully participate in the process. For that purpose, the GOI will continue to search for a peaceful solution through a dialogue with Palestinian Arabs residing in these territories.

STATEMENT BY THE PRIME MINISTER OF ISRAEL, MR. YITZHAK SHAMIR  
TUESDAY, 13 DECEMBER 1988

We are witnessing a monumental act of deception. In Algiers, Stockholm, Strassbourg and now Geneva, a mirage was created to deceive the international community by an illusion of moderation. However, in all his appearances, and in particular in the Algiers terrorist conference, the PLO chief repeats his basic position, in different versions. Its simple meaning is the rejection of Israel's existence, the continuation of terrorism and the encouragement of violence.

The United States has promised Israel that it will not recognize the PLO nor negotiate with it unless it recognizes Israel's right to exist, accepts U.N. Security Council resolution 242 and 338 and renounces terror and violence.

It is our conviction that the PLO has not accepted these conditions. In his Geneva speech Arafat did not announce that he recognizes Israel's right to exist. He ostensibly renounced terror but, at the same time, hailed what he calls a struggle of liberation. We do not believe that the PLO is inherently capable of accepting the United States conditions, that contradict its very existence and raison d'etre.

I hope that for the sake of promoting the chances of peace and advancing the struggle against terror and violence, the United States will never establish any contact with the PLO. Such a step will only encourage extremism and violence and will suppress the voices of those who are really interested in coexistence, negotiation and peace between Israel and its neighbours.

The Israeli policy is crystal clear. It is embedded in the basic guidelines of all its governments since 1973. We shall not negotiate with the PLO under any conditions, nor recognise it. From our point of view, the PLO is no partner for any peace process. It is a terrorist organization, aimed at undermining our national existence and bringing about the destruction of the State of Israel. The so-called Palestinian National Covenant bears witness to this.

Israel is a peace loving nation, yearning for peace with all its neighbours. We repeat our invitation to our neighbours including the Palestinian Arabs, to join us for genuine uninterrupted negotiations, among equals, with no preconditions, until peace agreements are achieved. Whoever truly desires peace will find us ready, as faithful partners to the attainment of this noble goal.



DECEMBER, 1988

# POLICY BACKGROUND

## REACTION TO THE STOCKHOLM COMMUNIQUE

1. IT IS TO BE REGRETTED THAT A GROUP OF SEVERAL SELF-PROCLAIMED AMERICAN JEWISH "LEADERS" HAVE LET THEMSELVES BE LURED INTO THE PROPOGANDA TRAP OF THE PLO. THE MEETING IN STOKHOLM DOES NOT SERVE ANY CAUSE OF PEACE, OF ISRAEL OR OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMUNITY; IT SERVES ONLY THE P.R. PURPOSES OF THE P.L.O.

IN THE JOINT COMMUNIQUE ISSUED IN STOCKHOLM, THE "AMERICAN PERSONALITIES STRONGLY SUPPORTED AND APPLAUDED" THE RECENT PNC MOVES. IT MAY BE RECALLED, HOWEVER, THAT THE PNC HAD PRODUCED A NUMBER OF AMBIGUOUS AND VAGUE DOCUMENTS. THIS AMBIGUITY CONTINUES IN THE PALESTINIAN "EXPLANATION" GIVEN IN THE JOINT COMMUNIQUE ISSUED IN STOCKHOLM.

1. THE PNC ACCEPTED RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338 AS A BASIS FOR AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ONLY IN THE FRAMEWORK OF ALL OTHER UN RESOLUTIONS RELEVANT TO THE PALESTINIAN CAUSE. THE PALESTINIAN "EXPLANATION" (IN STOCKHOLM) OMITTS THIS REFERENCE BUT INTRODUCES A NEW CONDITION TO RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338, NAMELY, THE RIGHT TO AN INDEPENDENT STATE. NOWHERE IN RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338 IS THERE A REFERENCE TO A PALESTINIAN STATE. THIS IS A WELL-KNOWN P.R. TACTIC TO INTRODUCE NEW ASPECTS TO WELL ESTABLISHED INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTATION. IT MAY ALSO BE ASKED, FOLLOWING THE STOKHOLM COMMUNIQUE, WHETHER THE P.L.O. NOW ACCEPTS RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338 WITHOUT ANY FURTHER LINKAGE, OR NOT.

IT STILL SEEMS, HOWEVER, THAT THE PLO IS EMPLOYING ITS ART OF DOUBLE-TALK. WHEN ADDRESSING WORLD MEDIA IN STOCKHOLM THEY APPEAR MODERATE. BUT WHEN THEY TALK TO THEIR OWN AUDIENCE THEY SPEAK MORE HONESTLY. THUS, IN A RECENT INTERVIEW TO THE ARABIC WEEKLY "ALYUM ALSABI" (NOV. 28, 1988), ARAFAT'S AID ABU-IYAD DESCRIBED THE PNC'S REFERENCE TO RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338 AS FOLLOWS: "THIS IS NOT A RECOGNITION OF ISRAEL. THIS IS A DE FACTO RECOGNITION OF SOMETHING ON THE GROUND. IT SHOULD NOT BE INTERPRETED AS IF WE ACCEPT IT OR ARE HAPPY ABOUT IT." HE ALSO SAID THAT THE PNC'S RESOLUTIONS WERE MADE "IN ORDER TO CREATE THE MECHANISM FOR THE PLO'S 'THEORY OF STAGES' (TO LIQUIDATE ISRAEL).

2. THE STOCKHOLM COMMUNIQUE MAINTAINS THAT THE PNC "ACCEPTED THE EXISTENCE OF ISRAEL AS A STATE IN THE REGION". THIS IS A CAREFUL AVOIDANCE OF THE NEED TO RECOGNIZE THE LEGITIMACY OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL.

3. DOES THE REJECTION AND CONDEMNATION OF "TERRORISM IN ALL ITS FORMS", AS THE STOCKHOLM STATEMENT CALLS FOR, REALLY MEAN THAT THE PLO DOES NO LONGER ACTIONS INSIDE ISRAEL, APPROVED BY THE PNC IN ALGERIS?

4. THE CALL FOR A SOLUTION TO THE REFUGEE PROBLEM IS SELF-RIGHTEOUS, CYNICAL AND UNREALISTIC. ON THE ONE HAND, ISRAEL IS THE ONLY COUNTRY IN THE MIDDLE EAST WHO EVER TOOK STEPS TO AMELIORATE THE PALESTINIAN REFUGEES' PLIGHT (FOR WHICH IT HAS BEEN CONDEMNED BY THE UN...). ON THE OTHE HAND, IT IS CYNICAL AND UNREALISTIC TO ASSUME AND DEMAND THAT THE REFUGEES CAN RETURN OR BE COMPENSATED. BY THE SAME TOKEN MORE THEN 800,000 JEWISH REFUGEES FROM ARAB COUNTRIES SHOULD BE GEVEN THESE RIGHTS; THEY SHOULD ESPECIALLY BE COMPENSATED FOR THE LARGE PROPERTIES AND VAST AMOUNTS OF MONEY THAT THEY HAD TO LEAVE BEHIND WHEN EXPELLED BY THE ARAB COUNTRIES IN 1948.

IN VIEW OF THE REAL DAMAGING MEANING OF THE STOCKHOLM MEETING, ISRAEL DOES

NOT REGARD IT AS ANYTHING MORE THAN ANOTHER STEP IN THE PR CAMPAIGN LAUNCHED BY THE PLO VIS-A-VIS THE AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION. INDEED FOREIGN MINISTER SHIMON PERES SAID TODAY: "WHAT IS NEEDED IS A CLEAR-CUT COMMITMENT ON PUTTING AN END TO TERROR AND VIOLENCE, AS WELL AS AN UNAMIGUOS AND LITERAL ACCEPTANCE OF RESOLUTION 242. WHAT IS NEEDED IS EXPLICIT, NOT IMPLICIT, RECOGNITION OF ISRAEL'S RIGHT TO EXIST. IN SWEEDEN, " SAID FOREIGN MINISTER PERES, "WE HEARD AN ADDITIONAL INTERPRETARTION OF THE PNC'S EVASIVE POSITIONS, AS IF THE ALGEIRS RESOLUTIONS CARRIED MORE THAN THEY REALY DID"

PREPARED BY BARUKH BINAH.





CONSULATE GENERAL  
OF ISRAEL IN NEW YORK  
INFORMATION DEPARTMENT

## POLICY BACKGROUND

### THE MEANING OF ARAFAT'S SPEECH AT THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY - 13-DEC-1988

IN THE LAST FEW DAYS AN INTENSIVE EFFORT WAS MADE TO BUILD UP EXPECTATIONS FOR NEW, BOLD STEPS ON THE PART OF PLO LEADER YASSIR ARAFAT. THE NEWS MEDIA WAS TOLD TO STAND READY FOR ARAFAT'S ACCEPTANCE OF THE U.S. CONDITIONS FOR INCLUSION OF THE PLO IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS IN THE MIDDLE EAST. AS CUSTOMARY IN PLO PRACTICE, HOWEVER, ALMOST NOTHING WAS DONE TO JUSTIFY THIS MEDIA BUILDUP.

IN HIS MORE THAN HOUR-LONG SPEECH ARAFAT, ONCE AGAIN, FAILED TO RECOGNIZE ISRAEL EXPLICITLY. HE ALSO FAILED TO RECOGNIZE ISRAEL'S LEGITIMACY, SOVEREIGNTY AND RIGHT TO EXIST.

IN THE SAME MANNER, ARAFAT DID NOT ACCEPT RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338 WITHOUT QUALIFIERS. IN TODAY'S SPEECH HE CONNECTED RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338 WITH THE RIGHT TO CREATE AN INDEPENDENT STATE. THIS NEW FACTOR IS NOT TO BE FOUND IN EITHER RESOLUTION 242 OR 338. AGAIN, MR. ARAFAT TRIES TO INTERJECT NEW COMPONENTS INTO INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTED DOCUMENTATION. IN ORDER TO ACCORD IT THE FALSE APPEARANCE OF LONG-STANDING ACCEPTABILITY.

AS FOR A RENUNCIATION OF VIOLENCE, ARAFAT ONCE AGAIN EXPRESSED CONDEMNATION OF TERRORISM. THIS COULD HAVE BEEN A WELCOME STEP IF NOT FOR THE QUALIFIERS EMPLOYED. ONCE AGAIN HE SPECIFICALLY LINKED THIS CONDEMNATION OF TERROR WITH THE CAIRO DECLARATION OF NOVEMBER 7, 1985, WHICH DID NOT EXCLUDE TERROR INSIDE ISRAEL AND THE TERRITORIES. HE ALSO REMINDED HIS AUDIENCE AT THE U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY TODAY THAT, WHILE FIGHTING AGAINST COLONIALISM, THEY WERE CONSIDERED TERRORISTS AS WELL. EQUATING THE PLO'S STRUGGLE AGAINST ISRAEL WITH THE FIGHT AGAINST TERRORISM JUSTIFIES TERROR ATTACKS IN ISRAEL.

WE WERE UNFORTUNATE TO RECEIVE ANOTHER REMINDER OF THE POSSIBLE OUTCOME OF THAT POLICY. TWO ISRAELIS, A SOLDIER AND A CIVILIAN, WERE KILLED TODAY NEAR NABLUS (NO FURTHER DETAILS ARE AVAILABLE AT THIS TIME PRIOR TO DUE NOTIFICATION TO NEXTS OF KIN).

ARAFAT ALSO EXPRESSED DISSATISFACTION WITH THE AMERICAN STANCE, CONDEMNING THE U.S. INSISTENCE ON THE PREREQUISITES THAT HE WILL RECOGNIZE ISRAEL'S RIGHT TO EXIST, RENOUNCE UNEQUIVOCALLY TERRORISM AND ACCEPT RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338 WITHOUT FURTHER LINKAGE.

IN SUMMARY, ARAFAT ONCE AGAIN FAILED TO RISE TO THE CHALLENGE OF PEACEMAKING. HE STILL USES THE OLD TECHNIQUES OF CONFUSION AND AMBIGUITY. WHILE HE IS TRYING TO CREATE THE IMPRESSIONS OF MODERATION AND PEACE, HIS AIDES TELL THE ARAB PUBLIC, IN ARABIC, WHAT THE PLO REALLY MEANS. HIS SECOND IN COMMAND, ABU IYAD, TOLD THE ARABIC-LANGUAGE WEEKLY "AL-WATAN AL-ARABI" (DECEMBER 4TH, 1988), REGARDING THE PNC: "THIS IS NOT A RECOGNITION OF ISRAEL. IT IS A DE FACTO RECOGNITION OF SOMETHING THAT IS ON THE GROUND. IT SHOULD NOT BE UNDERSTOOD THAT WE HAVE ACCEPTED IT OR ARE HAPPY ABOUT IT". LIKEWISE, THE PLO'S HEAD OF POLITICAL DEPARTMENT, FAROUK KADOUMY, TOLD THE TOKYO SHIMBUN ON NOVEMBER 8TH, 1988: "THIS DECLARATION [THE PNC] DOES NOT MEAN THE PLO'S RECOGNITION OF ISRAEL'S RIGHT TO EXIST".

December, 1988

Policy Background:

Talking Points: Arafat At the UN in Geneva

Opening Points:

On December 2, the General Assembly decided to transfer its debate on the "Palestinian Question" to Geneva, in order to provide PLO Chief Yasir Arafat with a forum to address the UN. That decision was reached after Arafat had been denied a visa to the United States because of his responsibility for PLO terrorist activities throughout the years. As leader of the PLO -- an organization which in seeking the elimination of one of the Member States of the UN has made terrorism one of its principal instruments -- and considering his own statements and activities, Arafat is not the kind of person who should be invited to address an international organization that has dedicated itself to furthering the cause of world peace.

Arafat Against Israel: Still adhering to the "Phased Program", Arafat and the PLO continue to refuse to recognize Israel -- its right to exist, its legitimacy.

UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338: Arafat and the PLO persistently avoid unqualified acceptance of these two resolutions.

Palestinian Statehood: A unilateral act which does not serve the cause of peace, the PNC declaration, if implemented, would pose an irredentist threat to Israel and its neighbors.

Arafat and Terrorism: Since its establishment in 1964, and especially since the FATAH under Arafat assumed control in 1968, the PLO has been responsible for numerous acts of terrorism which have claimed hundreds of innocent victims (see additional inserts). As head of FATAH, Arafat bears responsibility for that faction's terror operations...Arafat also bears responsibility for the actions of his partners-in-terror -- Habash, Hawatmeh, Abu Abbas, and others.

Concluding Points: The UN General Assembly decision to move its debate on the "Palestinian Question" to Geneva in order to host Arafat is highly regrettable and will not help to enhance prospects for advancing the peace process. Support for genuine moderation, not for extremists who camouflage their activities with vague terminology and soft language, is the only way to promote peace. Israel is always ready to talk with those who truly want peace.

For a more detailed analysis of the above, contact the Conference of Presidents office, or the Consulate.

One U.S. delegate said, "He did not go beyond what was said before and resolved at Algiers" where the Palestine National Council, or parliament-in-exile, on Nov. 15 declared the independent state and issued proclamations implicitly recognizing Israel's right to exist and rejecting terrorism.

State-run Israel Radio reported that U.S. Ambassador Thomas Pickering told Foreign Minister Shimon Peres that there was an

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(complete writethru \_ arafat proposals; israeli, deaegate reacts)

By JOHN A. CALLCOTT

UPI Senior Editor

GENEVA (UPI) \_ PLO leader Yasser Arafat made a dramatic appeal for peace with Israel Tuesday in an an emotional speech to an unprecedented session of the U.N. General Assembly away from its headquarters.

In an one-hour, 20-minute speech at the Palais des Nations, the world body's European headquarters, Arafat reaffirmed Israel's right to exist within-secure borders provided the same rights are accorded the state of Palestine proclaimed last month in the Israeli-occupied territories.

Arafat, the chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization, made several harsh attacks on the United States for supporting Israel and for refusing him a visa to address the assembly's annual debate on the Palestine issue.

The 159-member General Assembly voted to meet in Geneva after U.S. officials refused to grant the visa, barring Arafat from addressing the session in New York.

In his address, the bearded Arafat wearing a khaki military uniform with a black and white headdress running over his right shoulder proposed a three-point "peace initiative" on behalf of "the provisional government of the State of Palestine" :

The proposal included: ,

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\_ Immediate preparations for an international peace conference,

\_ Deployment of international forces in occupied Arab territories

"to protect our people and at the same time to supervise the withdrawal of Israeli forces from our country,"

\_ A comprehensive settlement among all concerned parties to the conflict "including the state of Palestine, Israel and other neighbors to guarantee ..... the right to exist in peace and security for all."

Dramatically raising his voice, gesturing and widely opening his eyes, Arafat then issued his direct challenge to Israel to do business with the PLO \_ a challenge immediately dismissed by the Israelis.

"I ask the leaders of Israel to come here, under the sponsorship of the United Nations, so that together we can forge peace," Arafat said.

"I say to them, as I say to you, that our people, who want dignity, freedom and peace for themselves and security for their state, want ther same things for all the states and parties involved in the Arab-Israeli conflict.

"And here I would address myself specifically to the Israeli people in all their parties and forces and especially to the advocates of peace among them.

"I say to them: Come, let us make peace. Cast away fear and intimidation. Leave behind the specter of the wars that have raged continuously in the furnace of this conflict for the past 40 years. Set

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aside all threats of wars to come, whose fuel could only be the bodies of our children and yours.

"Come, let us make peace. Let us make the peace of the bold, far from the arrogance of power and the weapons of destruction, far from occupation and oppression and humiliation and murder and torture."

There was no immediate U.S. reaction from Washington.

The Israeli ambassador to the United Nations, Pinhas Eliav, boycotting the Arafat address, reiterated Israel's refusal to have any dealings with the "terrorist" organization, let alone recognize it as the provisional Palestine government.

Jewish protesters demonstrated with coffins and black balloons outside the U.N. building, where the three-day debate was being held amid tight security.

Israeli and U.S. officials as well as many other Western delegates said they found nothing basically new in Arafat's speech apart from the drama of an appearance before the General Assembly.

One U.S. delegate said, "He did not go beyond what was said before and resolved at Algiers" where the Palestine National Council, or parliament-in-exile, on Nov. 15 declared the independent state and issued proclamations implicitly recognizing Israel's right to exist and rejecting terrorism.

State-run Israel Radio reported that U.S. Ambassador Thomas Pickering told Foreign Minister Shimon Peres that there was an

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"exchange" between the PLO and the United States on the text of the speech. The radio reported that Pickering also briefed Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir.

Arafat, given top billing as the first formal speaker at the three-day meeting, arrived with his bodyguards in Geneva from Baghdad just four hours before he was due to speak.

Before speaking, Arafat met for 20 minutes with U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar for what a U.N. spokesman called "a general discussion." A second meeting with Perez de Cuellar was scheduled for Thursday.

The U.N. session comes two weeks after Secretary of State George Shultz denied Arafat a visa to address the annual U.N. debate on Palestine in New York. The General Assembly then voted to hold the meeting at the organization's European office in Geneva — the first time it has moved outside New York since it established its headquarters there in 1951.

Only the United States and Israel voted against the expensive transfer costing an estimated several million dollars. Britain abstained.

U.N. spokesmen said representatives from more than 100 states would address the meeting, including 18 foreign ministers mostly from Moslem countries. Most nations were represented by their permanent U.N. ambassadors in New York, including U.S. Ambassador Vernon Walters.

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I. Recent press reports have portrayed Yasir Arafat's Stockholm and Geneva statements as evidence of a move toward moderation within the PLO. The press has failed to provide the full context for these remarks. The following excerpts from the (A) PNC Political Communique and the (B) Palestinian Declaration of Independence underscore the PLO's failure to recognize Israel and to renounce its avowed intention to eliminate the Jewish state. The enclosed statements by PLO officials reacting to the Algiers Resolutions reinforce their refusal to accept Israel's legitimacy. Moreover, the attached report from the Office of the Israeli Advisor on Countering Terrorism details Arafat's personal control of PLO's network of terror groups.

"In the land of heroic Algeria and as the guest of its people and its President, Chadli Bendjedid, the Palestinian National Council held its nineteenth extraordinary session -- the session of the intifadah (uprising) and national independence, the session of the martyr and hero Abu Jihad -- from 12 to 15 November 1988."

(A) "Behold the generations which have been bred on the purposes and principles of the Palestinian revolution and have lived through all its battles since its awakening in 1965, experiencing the heroic defiance of the Zionist invasion in 1982..."

"...a deep-rooted national unity which has been further and further strengthened through and around the intifadah, both inside and outside the homeland, together with its all-embracing loyalty to its national leadership, the Palestinian Liberation Organization, and adherence of our people to the objectives of defeating and eliminating Israeli occupation and attaining its inalienable national rights to return, to exercise self-determination and to establish the independent Palestinian State."

"...expressed during the Arab Summit Conference at Algiers and the resolutions adopted at that Conference, affirming that our people is not alone in confronting the racist Fascist assault..."

"The inhuman and abhorrent crimes and practices of the occupation have given the lie to the Zionist propaganda about democracy in the Zionist entity, which has deceived international public opinion for 40 years. The true face of Israel has been apparent: a colonialist, racist, Fascist State based on the seizure of Palestinian land, extermination of the Palestinian people and, in addition, threats, aggression and expansionism in neighboring Arab territories."

"With a view to putting this affirmation into practice, the PNC insists on the following:...(b) Israel's withdrawal from all the Palestinian and Arab territories which it has occupied since 1967, including Arab Jerusalem;...(c)...removal of the settlements established by Israel in the Palestinian and Arab territories since the year 1967;..."

"The PNC also affirms its solidarity with the Lebanese Islamic national forces in their struggle against the Israeli occupation and its agents in southern Lebanon."

(B) "The PNC hereby declares, in the Name of God and on behalf of the Palestinian Arab people, the establishment of the State of Palestine in the land of Palestine with its capital at Jerusalem."

For a complete transcript of the PNC communique and Declaration call the Presidents Conference or the Consulate.

II. \*\*\*\*\*POLL UPDATE\*\*\*\*\*

Poll: 54% agree with Shultz on Arafat.  
1,000 registered voters were interviewed 12/4-7 by Hotline/KRC.  
The margin error is 3%.

Question: Was Secretary of State Shultz right or wrong to deny Palestinian leader Yasir Arafat a visa to come to New York to address the United Nations?

	All Voters	Party			Sex	
		Dem	Ind	GOP	Male	Female
Right to deny	54%	50%	50%	61%	60%	48%
Wrong to deny	30%	33%	35%	26%	32%	29%

**TERROR ATTACKS (With Casualties) in Europe Against Israeli and Jewish Targets Perpetrated by Palestinian Terrorist Organizations (1985—1988)**

DATE OF INCIDENT	PLACE OF INCIDENT	CASUALTIES		DESCRIPTION OF INCIDENT
		WOUNDED	KILLED	
23.2.85	Paris	15	1	Bomb explodes at Marks and Spencer, Jewish owned department store, Abu Nidal Terrorist organization claims responsibility.
27.2.85	Madrid	5		Bomb explodes in travel agency with ties to Israel.
29.3.85	Paris	18	1	Bomb explodes in cinema showing Jewish films. Islamic Jihad claims responsibility.
23.8.85	Milan	3		Bombs explode near Jewish club and in building housing El Al office.
15.9.85	Copenhagen	78		Two bombs explode in businesses affiliated with Israel. Islamic Jihad claims Responsibility.
25.9.85	Larnaca, Cyprus		3	3 Israelis, one woman and two men, murdered aboard their yacht. Members of Fatah's "Force 17", who gave themselves up, admitted responsibility. Terrorists tried and sentenced to life imprisonment in Cyprus.
5.10.85	Barcelona		2	2 Israeli seamen kidnapped, tortured and murdered. Fatah's "Force 17" claimed responsibility.
7.10.85	At Sea		1	Terrorist hijack cruise ship "Achille Lauro" en route from Alexandria to Port Said, Egypt, murder 1 passenger (an invalid 69-year-old American Jew) and throw his body overboard. The terrorists, members of Abul Abbas' PLO-affiliated Palestine Liberation Front, arrested, tried and sentenced in Italy. Abul Abbas himself was later tried in absentia and sentenced to life imprisonment.
23.11.85	Malta	30	66	Egyptian plane hijacked on Athens-Cairo route; forced to land at Malta. Terrorists execute passengers according to nationality, first Israelis, then Americans, followed by Europeans, and so on, murdering 8 in all. During rescue operation a further 58 people killed. 1 surviving member of Abu Nidal group arrested.
27.12.85	Vienna	75	3	Terrorists attack El Al counter at Vienna airport, killing 3 (1 Israeli, 2 bystanders) and injuring 75 (including 2 Israelis, 23 Austrians, 1 Italian, 3 Nigerians, 2 Americans, 1 Chinese, 1 Hungarian). Abu Nidal terrorist organization responsible.

DATE OF INCIDENT	PLACE OF INCIDENT	CASUALTIES		DESCRIPTION OF INCIDENT
		WOUNDED	KILLED	
27.12.85	Rome	74	12	Terrorists attack El Al counter at Rome airport, killing 12 (5 Americans, 4 Greeks, 1 Italian, 1 Algerian, 1 Mexican), and injuring 74. In February 1988 a court in Rome sentenced Abu Nidal to life imprisonment for causing the massacre, and the sole surviving member of the terror group, Mahmoud Ibrahim Khaled, in Italian custody, to 30 years.
26.6.86	Madrid	13		A bomb explodes at El Al counter at Madrid airport. The bomb was placed in a suitcase and intended to detonate in midair. The perpetrator, from Abu Musa's Fatah splinter group, traced, arrested and sentenced to 47 years in prison.
6.9.86	Istanbul	3	24	Synagogue attacked by two gunmen who massacre congregation while at prayer. The perpetrators kill themselves upon the arrival of the police. Several organizations claim responsibility.
11.5.88	Nicosia	19	2	Booby-trapped car explodes 150 m. from Israel embassy. Omar Ahmed Hawillo, 28, confessed to involvement and membership in Islamic Jihad, was sentenced in Nicosia to 15 years imprisonment.

TERROR ATTACKS (WITH CASUALTIES) IN ISRAEL PERPETRATED BY PALESTINIAN TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS(1987-1988)

DATE OF INCIDENT	PLACE OF INCIDENT	CASUALTIES		DESCRIPTION OF INCIDENT
		WOUNDED	KILLED	
16.4.87	Galilee	3		Five Katyusha rockets fired at the Galilee panhandle. Three persons injured.
7.5.87	Kiryat Gat	3		An explosive charge goes off in the Commerical Centre of Kiryat Gat. Two Jews and an Arab injured.
23.6.87	Jerusalem	2		An explosion at a Jerusalem Supermarket injures 2 women.
27.6.87	Haifa	2		An explosive charge goes off at the Carmel Beach. One women (28) seriously injured and her son Yaniv (8) lightly injured.
27.6.87	Jerusalem	1		A firebomb thrown at an Israeli vehicle in Wadi Joz, near Mount Scopus. A baby girl lightly injured.
28.9.87	Beit Safafa	1		Three passengers attack a taxi driver.
29.9.87	Ramat-Gan	2		Two teenagers (14) beaten and stabbed in an orchard in Ramat Hasharon.
10.10.87	Jerusalem		1	A civilian shot to death in the Via Dolorosa in Jerusalem's Old City. 3 members of Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine sentenced to life imprisonment.
22.1.88	Jerusalem	1		Hand grenade explodes in an architect's office in Yemin Moshe neighbourhood, wounding one female employee.
5.3.88	Galilee	7		Katyushas hit apartment in Galilee settlement. 7 wounded, extensive damage.
7.3.88	Be'er Sheva	8	3	Three terrorists who had infiltrated from Egypt, take hostages on a bus on highway between Be'er Sheva and Dimona, demanding release of imprisoned terrorists. After execution of first hostage, security forces storm bus and kill terrorists; 2 women killed in rescue action. Fatah's Abu Jihad claims that terrorists belonged to his Western Section.
22.3.88	Jerusalem	1		A 15-year-old boy stabbed and seriously wounded in the Beit Israel quarter of Jerusalem. The assailant was apprehended.

DATE OF INCIDENT	PLACE OF INCIDENT	CASUALTIES		DESCRIPTION OF INCIDENT
		WOUNDED	KILLED	
26.5.88	Jerusalem	1		A Yeshiva student stabbed in the Jewish quarter. His attacker arrested by security forces in November 1988 and sentenced to 10 months imprisonment.
20.6.88	Shekef		1	A civilian from the Moshav Shekef brutally murdered, while spraying his vineyard at night.
20.8.88	Haifa	27		A handgrenade hurled at sidewalk cafe in Haifa, injuring 27, including a family of 4 grown-ups and 3 children. Abu Nidal And Fatah claim responsibility.
21.9.88	Akko		1	An Arab woman in her eighth month of pregnancy murdered by a terrorist who mistook her for a Jewess.
2.10.88	Jerusalem	3		Two bombs explode in stores in the Jewish Quarter and in the Mea Shearim neighbourhood hidden in loaves of bread. Three sisters, aged 5, 7, and 13 wounded.
30.10.88	Jericho	8	4	A mother and her three small children were burned to death and eight others wounded, when a fire-bomb was thrown at a bus north of Jericho.
8.11.88	Alfei Menashe	1		A woman resident of Alfei Menashe seriously wounded by stones thrown at her husband's taxi.

by MORTIMER B. ZUCKERMAN  
Editor-in-Chief

## THE MIRAGE IN THE SANDS

**T**he fuss over George Shultz's refusal of a visa to Yassir Arafat is a mistake only because it has diverted attention from the real issue. The idea is going around that the PLO leader has been prevented from coming to talk peace. The reality is that he is still talking war. The statement from the Palestine National Council was aimed not at all at Israel but at the U.S. and at international opinion so as to gather pressure to force Israel out of the West Bank. And it has succeeded only because the Western press is too often dazzled by image and bored by substance. ABC News yields perhaps the most disturbing example. Its lead on November 14 said, in effect: "In Algiers tonight, the Palestine National Council voted to reject terrorism, declare an independent Palestinian state and, for the first time, to recognize Israel's right to exist."

This is false to all with eyes to see—false in the large print of the statement and the small print of diplomacy. Arafat talked about Israel in front of a map of the Middle East from which all traces of Israel had been expunged. He talked about ending terrorism but wore a pistol on his hip. He spoke for the PLO executive committee, including Abul

Abbas, leader of the *Achille Lauro* terrorist group, who said in Algiers of the American invalid Leon Klinghoffer whom he had thrown overboard: "Maybe he was trying to swim for it." The world press not only closed its eyes and blocked its memory, it filed stories acclaiming a document that was supposed to mark PLO progress toward peace before release of the Arabic text, only to find out later that the document pretended to accept what the PLO does not and to disavow what it upholds.

Here is the truth. The PLO did not renounce terrorism and violence. It reasserted the right to "armed struggle" against any Israelis within "occupied Palestine." By "occupied Palestine," the PLO did not mean Gaza and the West Bank. To the PLO, Israel in its pre-1967 borders is "occupied Palestine." But didn't the PLO accept Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, which guarantee recognition of Israel's right to exist behind secure and recognized boundaries in return for withdrawal from some of the lands occupied in the 1967 War?



No, again. The PNC statement merely mentioned these resolutions in connection with an international conference and in the context only of other U.N. resolutions that pertain to the Palestinian issue—resolutions that an automatic anti-Israel majority passed to void Resolution 242 of real meaning.

The other resolutions endorse the rights of Palestinian refugees to return to their homes and properties. That might sound reasonable if one thinks of the West Bank, but the resolutions refer to pre-1967 Israeli land. They equate Zionism with racism; they demand internationalization of Israel's capital, Jerusalem, and a return of the Golan Heights to an extremist enemy, Syria, and they endorse the right of Palestinian self-determination, of an independent Palestinian state, contrary to U.S. and Israeli policy.

Some thaw! There is more. The PLO redefines 242 to call for withdrawal by Israel from all lands occupied in the 1967 War. The original language requires Israel to withdraw only from those lands that leave it with secure and recognized boundaries, the pre-1967 boundaries having proved notably insecure. Finally, the PLO statement declares that recognition of a Palestinian state is a precondition of accepting even the PLO version of 242, despite the intention of 242 that any political solution has to be the result, not the starting point, of negotiations.

Was there any movement in the PNC statement? Well, yes, there was, and the nature of it underlines the tragic nature of Arab intransigence. The PNC did finally accept Resolution 181, the 1947 U.N. resolution that provided for the original partition of Palestine. Then, five Arab countries invaded Israel and lost the Negev, much of Galilee and large parts of Tel Aviv, which are now irredeemably part of modern Israel. Forty years and much bloodshed make a return to the 1947 boundaries impossible: Hell; it is said, is a truth seen too late.

No wonder all political parties in Israel rejected the PNC results. Israelis know first hand the PLO record of terrorism; witness the fatal firebombing of a mother and her three children on a bus in Jericho three weeks before the PNC meeting. They know too well that the PLO charter remains unchanged.

Article 19 still says: "The partition of Palestine in 1947 and the establishment of Israel are fundamentally null and void, whatever time has passed."

Most important, Israelis understand Arabic. The dramatic thaw hailed by the Western press has not manifested itself in what the PLO said to its own people before or after Algiers. PLO spokesmen consistently emphasize that their goal remains the same "phased strategy" they adopted at a 1974 PNC meeting: "After its establishment, the Palestinian national authority will struggle . . . to pave the way for completing the liberation of all Palestinian soil." In other words, a PLO state in the West Bank and Gaza is a mechanism and a staging post for a phased irredentist attack on Israel.

Witness: On July 17, 1988, the speaker of the PNC, Sheik Abd Al-Hamid A-Saiyeh, told the Saudi newspaper *Al-Medina*: "The PLO agrees to establish the independent state on any part of the land of Palestine. . . . This does not constitute a renunciation of the other parts of Palestine. . . . This is the essence of the phased program."

Witness: On Aug. 4, 1988, the chairman of the PLO political committee, Nabil Shaath, was quoted in *Al-Ahali*, an Egyptian newspaper, to the effect that "the provisional government represents a phased realization of part of this plan [that demands] the establishment of a democratic state on the liberated land and the liquidation of Israel."

Witness: On Aug. 26, 1988, an Arafat adviser, Abu Mazin (a pseudonym used by Abbas), said in the Egyptian paper *Al-Mussawar* that the acceptance of a partition plan does not signify that "we have given up the Palestinian dream of establishing a secular democratic state. We still cling to it and will continue to do so after we have a state."

Witness: Arafat's principal deputy, Abu Iyad, called the 1988 PLO initiative "a mechanism for carrying out the incremental policy ratified [by the PNC] in 1974" and "only a short-term solution." And to make it quite clear, he declared: "It is inconceivable that we will recognize the right of an enemy to any piece of territory on Palestinian soil."

Witness: On Sept. 3, 1988, Arafat's chief legal adviser, Dr. Anis Al-Quassim, told the Saudi daily *A-Sharq Al-Ausat*: "Our right as Palestinians to sovereignty over our homeland is a historic right . . . whereas the Hebrew tribes came as invaders, and invaders have no rights."

Witness: After the PNC meeting, Ibrahim Souss, the PLO's Paris representative, assured Swiss TV that the Palestinian state declared in Algiers was to cover the entire area of Palestine, including Israel.

Witness: Farouk Kaddumi, the PLO's foreign minister, told a Kuwaiti newspaper that "all of the PNC opposes recognition of 242."

The rest of the world may ignore all this. Israelis cannot. They do not see the mirage of peace; they see the PLO as devoted to its original purpose, the destruction of Israel. They hear the hard truth in Arabic that lies behind the public-relations image in English. The vast majority of Israelis do not have an ideological problem; they have a security problem. They know that the strategic depth that the West Bank provides is the only thing that makes it possible for an Arab attack to be met by trading space for sufficient time to mobilize Israel's citizen army. Nor can they allow the West Bank to become a staging ground for the most radical Arab elements to launch terrorist attacks on a smaller, demoralized Israel.

What is America to do? It must continue to work for a Middle East settlement, but it must go on seeing things straight. It must go on making it clear that the PLO cannot get something for nothing. The U.S. will not be a party to a sham that renders Israel vulnerable to extremism. The PLO

must see the folly of its ways and stop dreaming of maps without Israel. Unless it can agree on a clear recognition of Israel and unless it explicitly gives that message to its people, it will forfeit the promise of international diplomacy.

These are dangerous moments. Imagination, subtlety and knowledge, as well as strength, will be required if America is to give a clear lead to international opinion and create conditions for eventual negotiation. The new U.S. President should appoint a special ambassador to foster the fragile hopes for the emergence of a genuinely moderate Palestinian leadership and a responsive Israeli leadership.

There is one man with the credibility, experience and detailed knowledge to change the limits that now exist in the Middle East, where the nuances of language are so important and where the reverse side always has another reverse side. And he has succeeded against the odds before. George Bush should send for Henry Kissinger. ■

**The United States needs a special envoy to the Mideast. Bush should send for Henry Kissinger**

TO: 1) Singer, 2) Dr. Kopelowitz, 3) Cwajgenbaum, 4) Abe Foxman

TRANSLATION

Athens, December 7, 1988

Mr. A.G. Papandreou  
Prime Minister of Greece  
Athens

Mr. Prime Minister,

The Greek Jewry feels since yesterday that in Greece its integrity and existence are in danger. Our life is at the disposal of any terrorist, who could murder us - individually or wholesale - having the legal covering of the Minister of Justice of the Greek government V. Rotis.

It is for the first time in the world annals that a Minister of Justice considers that the murder of innocent citizens in the Synagogue of a country is justified when suspicious circles "constitute it as part of the struggle for the liberation of their country".

We wish to remind you that the Palestinian terrorist Al Zomar Ozama, whose murderous acts were justified in an insensible, provoking and unhesitating way by the Greek Minister of Justice, is accused of: 1) having placed a bomb in the Jewish Synagogue in Italy in 1982, incident during which people were killed and injured, and 2) was arrested in the Greek-Yugoslavian borders holding explosives and guns.

We also wish to underline that the Court of Appeal of Athens and the Supreme Court had unanimously decided, following a juridical investigation, that the Palestinian terrorist should be extradited to Italy in order to be tried for his horrible crimes.

The Minister of Justice of our country, by justifying and aligning himself with terrorism, not only ignored the two unanimous decisions of the Greek Justice but insulted the national resistance against the Germans as well, by equating it with terrorist acts.

In his effort to justify things that cannot be ever justified, the fact that Rome does not belong to a State of the Palestinians and that the people praying in a Synagogue do not belong to occupation forces, as was the case of Kalavryta, slipped his attention.

Mr. Prime Minister,

Your deep knowledge of international affairs certainly allows you to know that it is unprecedented in any other country that a Minister of Justice justifies murders of citizens and indirectly encourages acts of terrorism, qualifying them as acts of a liberation struggle.

This provoking decision of the Minister of Justice of our country, obliges us to apply to our coreligionists all over the world and ask for solidarity, much more now when the government spokesman S. Kostopoulos unequivocally stated that "The government stands firm to Mr. Rotis' statements".

Very faithfully yours

Joseph Lovinger  
President

David Sarfatis  
Sec. General



קונסוליה הכללית של  
ישראל בניו-יורק

CONSULATE GENERAL  
OF ISRAEL IN NEW YORK

800 SECOND AVENUE  
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10017

December 9, 1988

OXFORD 7-5500

Israel News Update

To: Major Jewish Organizations

From: Information Department, Consulate General of Israel in N.Y.

Re: Operation Against Terrorist Headquarters in Lebanon

Last night there was a combined operation of Israel's ground, air, and naval forces against terrorist headquarters in the area between Damoor and Beirut, several miles south of Beirut, in Lebanon. During this operation, a number of bases of the Jibril organization, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine - General Command, were destroyed, as part of the ongoing mission to deter the deployment and organization of terrorist attacks against Israel.

During the mission, Lt. Colonel Amir Meital of the Golani Brigade, age 29, was killed, and three Israeli soldiers were wounded, one critically.

The battle took place in a region surrounded by hills. Because of the terrain, the operation was a very difficult one.

When the Israeli forces returned to their ships, they discovered that four soldiers were missing. Those four soldiers were rescued by helicopters, which located them, lowered ropes down to them, and then carried them back to their vessels.

According to foreign sources, 22 members of the Jibril organization, including a high ranking commander, were killed during the operation.

For your information, there was no contact with Syrian forces and no Druze involvement in the operation. Also, there were no Israeli soldiers captured during the operation.

Since the beginning of the year, Israel has lost 22 soldiers on the Northern border; this includes the car bombing several weeks ago. There were 200 terrorists killed. These casualties occurred during 40 incidents of confrontation between Israeli troops and terrorist forces on the Northern border and 17 attempts of penetration through the Northern border by guerrilla groups.



## CITY UNIVERSITY TELEVISION / CUNY-TV

City University Graduate Center • 33 West 42 Street • New York, N.Y. 10036 • 212 719-9128

### SERIES ON BIRTH OF ISRAEL IN AMERICAN PREMIERE ON CUNY-TV

Beginning on Monday, December 5, CUNY-TV will present the American television premiere of PILLAR OF FIRE, a 19-episode series on the birth of the State of Israel.

Produced in Israel, this English version includes some Hebrew narration with English subtitles. The series features rare archival film material from a dozen countries, most of it never seen before by a general audience.

Starting with an episode about the impact of the Dreyfus Affair on Theodore Herzl and the founding of the Zionist movement, the series details the fifty years of history leading to the declaration in 1948 of an independent State by David Ben-Gurion.

Each one-hour episode of PILLAR OF FIRE deals with a major period in the struggle for a Jewish Homeland, including the early settlements in Palestine and the Balfour Declaration, the gathering storm of repression in Germany, World War II, the Holocaust, and the United Nations partition plan.

Taken together, the 19 episodes constitute the most comprehensive documentary on the establishment of the State of Israel ever shown on television. Made available to City University Television by the World Zionist Organization, the series premiere is being shown on CUNY-TV coincident with the Jewish holiday of Hanukkah, which celebrates the rededication of the Temple in Jerusalem in the time of ancient Israel. The entire presentation also comes at the end of the 40th anniversary year of modern Israel's existence.

\* \* \* \* \*

Each week, one episode of PILLAR OF FIRE will be shown at the following times:

Mondays (beginning December 5) at 9:00AM, 1:00PM, 5:00PM and 9:00PM  
Saturdays (beginning December 10) at 9:00 PM

CUNY-TV is the cable television station of The City University of New York. It is carried on cable Channel A/14 in Manhattan; and on cable Channel 33 in Brooklyn, Queens and Staten Island.



# CITY UNIVERSITY TELEVISION / CUNY-TV

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## "PILLAR OF FIRE" CUNY-TV SCHEDULE

Each episode will be shown four times on Monday and once on the following Saturday.

On Mondays, each episode will be shown at: 9 AM, 1 PM, 5 PM, 9 PM.  
On Saturdays, each episode will be shown at: 9 PM.

<u>EPISODE</u> (minutes)	<u>SHOWDATES</u> (Monday/Saturday)
1 - "Destination Jerusalem" (52)	December 5/10, 1988
2 - "The Arab Awakening" (51)	December 12/17
3 - "Jewish People, Where Are You?" (47)	December 19/24
4 - "The Valley is a Dream" (52 min.)	December 26/31
5 - "The Most Peaceful Spot in the Middle East" (51)	January 2/7, 1989
6 - "The Crossroads" (49)	January 9/14
7 - "The Gathering Storm" (45)	January 16/21
8 - "Disorder and Revolt" (47)	January 23/28
9 - "Who's Afraid of a Jewish State?" (50)	January 30/February 4
10 - "Trapped" (46)	February 6/11
11 - "Soldiers without a Flag" (54)	February 13/18
12 - "The Final Solution" (59)	February 20/25
13 - "Holocaust and Revolt" (56)	February 27/March 4
14 - "The Forgotten Ally" (51)	March 6/11
15 - "The Hundred Thousand" (53)	March 13/18
16 - "The Struggle" (52)	March 20/25
17 - "The Tribunal of the Nations" (56)	March 27/April 1
18 - "The Silver Platter" (51)	April 3/8
19 - "We Hereby Proclaim the Establishment of the State of Israel" (53)	April 10/15



**CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS  
OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS**

**Morris B. Abram**  
*Chairman*

**Malcolm I. Hoenlein**  
*Executive Director*

For Immediate Release

**STATEMENT OF THE CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR  
AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS ON THE APPOINTMENT OF  
THOMAS PICKERING AS PERMANENT U.S. REPRESENTATIVE TO THE  
UNITED NATIONS**

We are pleased to learn of the appointment of Thomas Pickering. As a former ambassador to Israel, Mr. Pickering is a sensitive and knowledgeable observer of the Middle East scene, with an understanding of the people of Israel and a deep awareness of the solidarity of the American Jewish community with Israel's hopes and aspirations. Mr. Pickering leaves behind many friends in Israel; his friends at the Presidents Conference wish him every success in his new duties and look forward to working with him as we have in the past.

12/6/88

X

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X



Memo

December 13, 1988

(Sent by FAX to some communities)

TO: NJCRAC MEMBER AGENCIES  
 FROM: MARTIN RAFFEL, DIRECTOR, ISRAEL TASK FORCE  
 KENNETH BANDLER, DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC INFORMATION  
 RE: ADVISORY ON INTERPRETING ARAFAT'S U.N. ADDRESS

The following advisory was formulated in consultation with members of the Israel Task Force Strategy Committee:

While the text of PLO Chairman Yassir Arafat's address before the United Nations General Assembly today in Geneva requires further study and analysis, a preliminary assessment reveals that Arafat continued the pattern of the PLO and its leaders to avoid explicit language and to continue speaking in ambiguous terms. Once again, the PLO has avoided clearly, simply, and unequivocally doing what the U.S. has asked of it all along, particularly asserting Israel's right to exist.

The PLO has continued its pattern of trying to portray a different image of itself without fundamentally changing its longstanding policies aimed at the destruction of the State of Israel. Arafat's speech in the UN was part of this process. But, once again the PLO leader fell short of the high expectations generated in advance of his speech by the PLO. Such high expectations preceded the PNC meeting in Algiers as well.

The PLO, apparently, is still incapable of meeting the simple conditions set forth by the U.S. As State Department Spokesman Charles Redman said today: "The speech contains some interesting and some positive developments, but it continued to be ambiguous on the key issues which must be clearly addressed in order for the United States to enter a substantive dialogue with the PLO." After repeating longstanding U.S. conditions of a clear recognition of Israel's right to exist, unqualified acceptance of UN Security Council resolutions 242 and 338 as the basis for negotiations, and renunciation of terrorism in all its forms, Redman indicated that "the speech did not meet our conditions."

**1. Recognition of the right of the State of Israel to exist**

There still was no clear statement that the PLO recognizes Israel's right to exist as a sovereign state in the Middle East. The closest Arafat came to it was to cite UN Resolution 181, the 1947 Palestine Partition Plan to establish a Palestinian state and a Jewish state, which the Arabs repudiated when they launched a war to destroy the fledgling Jewish state. That policy is spelled out in the PLO Covenant to this very day.

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**2. Acceptance of U.N. Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338.**

Arafat calls for the convening of an international peace conference based on United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338. But, earlier in his speech, Arafat conditioned his acceptance of those key resolutions on "the safeguarding of the legitimate national and political rights of the Palestinian people, foremost among which its right to self-determination." This is typical of Arafat. He appears to offer something, but at the same time takes it away.

**3. Renunciation of Terrorism**

Arafat condemned "terrorism in all its forms, including state terrorism", but he contradicted this apparent rejection of terrorism in at least two instances. First, in rejecting terrorism, he also reasserted the PLO's commitment to the Cairo Declaration of November 1985, which condemned terrorism, but reserved the right of the PLO to engage in violence within the borders of Israel and the administered territories. The U.S. has never accepted the Cairo Declaration as an explicit and unambiguous rejection of terrorism. Second, immediately after "condemning" terrorism, he says "I condemn terrorism in all its forms, and at the same time, salute those sitting before me in this hall who, in the days when they fought to free their countries from the yoke of colonialism were accused of terrorism by the repressors and who today are the faithful leaders of their peoples." Arafat clearly does not include the activities of the PLO in his own definition of terrorism.

Please feel free to use these points of interpretation with media and other opinion-molders in your community.

Please share with us editorials and other public reactions to Arafat's speech in Geneva. Of course, feel free to consult with NJCRAC at any time.