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THE RESURGENCE OF ISLAM and THE JEWISH COMMUNITIES OF THE MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA

Introduction and Guide to Materials

The emergence of Islam as a political force in the contemporary world already has had -- and doubtless will continue to have -- significant effects for the United States, for Israel and for Jews still living in Muslim lands. With this development, for instance, has come the realization that much of the industrialized West's oil supplies are in the hands of Middle East regimes whose rulers are Muslims and whose attitudes toward the West may be influenced by Islamic as well as traditional economic and political factors. The replacement of a pro-Western, modernizing regime in Iran by a revolutionary leadership committed to the establishment of an Islamic republic governed in strict accordance with seventh century Quranic principles has given further impetus to Western attempts to understand this new phenomenon, so seemingly alien and anachronistic.

But, as Professor Bernard Lewis points out in his article "The Return of Islam," political action has always been an intrinsic part of Islamic religion and ideology. What we are facing today is not the emergence of a new phenomenon but the resurgence of classical Islamic ideas, albeit in new guise and with new allies, such as *al-Fatah* in the Palestine Liberation Organization. It should also be noted that while Americans tend to see militant Islam as a potential threat to United States interests, the ferment that it represents is even more a challenge to the existing regimes and societies in the Middle East. For example, the Grand Mosque in Mecca was seized last November by Muslim fundamentalists who charged that the Saudi ruling family had allowed corruption to spread and had betrayed Islamic principles in the drive toward modernization.

The Muslim world is by no means monolithic in its organization and is split among various sects. Moreover, political, social and personal differences have often been cloaked in religious terms. Iran's Ayatollah Khomeini has charged that Saudi hereditary rule is contrary to Islamic democracy. The Saudi royal family is Sunni (mainline orthodox), while Iran

**NOTE: If you would like a complete set of the source materials described in this introduction, please write the Foreign Affairs Department at the above address. (There is a nominal charge of \$2.50 per kit to cover printing and postage.)*

is ruled by Shi'i Muslims. Shi'i-Sunni rivalries have also been factors in communal clashes within Turkey and between Iran and Iraq, where a Sunni Arab minority regime rules over a majority of Shi'i Arabs. The fanatical Sunni Muslim Brotherhood has harassed Coptic Christians and opposed the peace initiative of President Anwar Sadat in Egypt. The Brotherhood has also been implicated in assassination attempts to overthrow the regime of Syrian President Hafez Assad, who is an Alawite (the name given to the Syrian Shi'i minority), as are most of his close associates in the government and officer corps.

The focus of the present collection of materials is upon the impact of Islam on the Jewish communities in the Middle East. A brief introductory essay, "Foundations for Oppression" by Rabbi Martin Cohen, examines the place of Jews within Islamic theology and illustrates the varying practices of Muslim rulers toward their Jewish subjects ranging from benevolence to persecution. Professor Albert Memmi, in an excerpt from his essay "What is an Arab Jew?", refutes the myths about the allegedly idyllic position of Jews in Arab lands before the introduction of modern Zionism to the region. This is useful background information, for Arab spokesmen sometimes seek to justify the massive exodus of Jews from Muslim lands in the past three decades as the natural consequence of the creation of the Jewish state of Israel in 1948.

In 1945 there were about a million Jews living in Muslim lands stretching from Morocco on the Atlantic to Afghanistan. Today this Jewish population has diminished to but a shadow of itself. Whole Jewish communities, some in lands where Jews had dwelt since Biblical times, have virtually disappeared. Others have shrunk to a few thousands, or even hundreds. And one, Iran, the largest remaining Jewish community still in the Muslim world, may well be in the process of disintegrating as Jews depart day after day, to escape the turmoil and pressures in that country.

While all population figures are estimates at best, the trend that emerges from the following table [see page 3] is clear. The Jewish population remaining in the Muslim countries of the Middle East and North Africa today is less than one-tenth of the number before 1948.

Treatment of Jews by Arab and Muslim governments and the conditions that have influenced Jewish departure have varied from country to country: Active persecution, like the hanging of Jews and tortures inflicted in Iraq; jailing of Jews in Egypt after the various Israel-Arab wars; Syrian policies forbidding emigration, and torture of those caught seeking to depart, or the families of those who succeeded; mob riot and murder, as occurred in Libya; psychological pressures and discomfort and fears as Arab populations in Tunisia and Morocco expressed their support of the Arab and Palestinian cause, even where the governments actively sought to protect the Jews.

ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION IN MUSLIM COUNTRIES

OF THE MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA

	<u>pre-1948</u>	<u>1980</u>
Afghanistan	5,000	70
Algeria	130,000-140,000	600
Bahrein	400	10
Egypt	75,000	300
Iran	90,000-100,000	35,000-50,000
Iraq	125,000	350
Lebanon	5,000	300- 400
Libya	38,000	15(?)
Morocco	265,000-300,000	18,000
Sudan	400	40
Syria	30,000 (1943)	5,000
Tunisia	105,000	6,000
Turkey	80,000	20,000-22,000
Yemen (including Aden)	55,000	1,000- 1,500
APPROXIMATE TOTALS	1,003,000-1,060,000	86,000-104,000

Other kinds of factors, of course, worked as well. The Biblical prophecy of returning to Zion on "the wings of an eagle" induced Yemenite and Turkish Jews to emigrate. In some Arab countries socialist economic measures hurt the Jewish middle class and professionals. Jews and other minorities were also hurt by nationalization measures that were xenophobically applied and treated minorities as "foreigners" rather than as native-born.

It has been noted that the total number of Jews who felt impelled for various reasons to leave their ancestral homes in Arab countries since 1948 roughly approximates the number of Palestinian Arabs who left the territory that became Israel. Since the majority of the Jews from Arab lands have settled in Israel there has in effect been an unofficial population exchange. However, the ways in which the two refugee problems have been handled have been quite different. The Palestinian refugees have continued to be recipients of large-scale international assistance administered through the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA), have won increasing international recognition of their national identity, and have organized militant groups under the umbrella of the Palestine Liberation Organization, which has rejected suggestions for resettlement and compensation, insisting instead on a right to return.

By way of contrast, the Jews from Arab lands have not sought to perpetuate their refugee status and have striven instead to be integrated within Israel and other host countries in Europe and North America. They have been helped to become full citizens in their countries of resettlement by the Government of Israel and by the Jewish communities around the world. As pointed out in the article "Situation: Precarious" by Dr. George E. Gruen, only a handful of Jews have accepted the "invitation" made by Iraq in 1975 and several other countries that they renounce Zionism and return to their countries of origin. There was a natural suspicion that the Iraqi offer was not genuine but motivated by propaganda considerations. The promise of equal treatment certainly seems hollow with memory still fresh of the hangings of innocent Jews in Baghdad scarcely six years earlier.

What Jews from Arab lands have demanded -- through such groups as the World Organization of Jews from Arab Countries (WOJAC) -- is that they receive adequate compensation for personal and communal properties left behind and that recognition be given to their contribution to the social and cultural development of their countries of origin. United Nations Security Council Resolution 242 of November 22, 1967, which is the basis underlying the Camp David peace process, affirms among the necessary elements of a comprehensive peace "achieving a just settlement of the refugee problem." American officials have stressed that this language deliberately does not use the word "Palestinian" or "Arab" to indicate that the claims of the Jewish refugees need also to be addressed.

Iran and Turkey are set apart from the other countries of the Middle East in that they are basically non-Arab in history and culture, although the majority of their population is Muslim. Until the overthrow of the Shah in Iran, the governments of both countries were pro-Western in outlook and had recognized the State of Israel. Ankara continues to maintain diplomatic relations with Israel, while Teheran broke its unofficial ties with Israel shortly after Khomeini came into power and permitted the Palestine Liberation Organization to take over the Israeli commercial headquarters, which had served as an unofficial embassy. In a special study, Dr. Harold Rhode examines the Religious, Cultural and Ethnic Tensions Underlying the Iranian Revolution and points out the extent to which Khomeini's anti-Israeli stance is not simply the result of pro-Palestinian sentiment but can

be traced back to his fundamentalist Islamic outlook which rejects the concept of a sovereign Jewish state coexisting with an Islamic state. Knowledge of this classical theological position helps one to understand Khomeini's declaration to Der Spiegel, January 22, 1979, that his Islamic Republic would break off relations with Israel "because we do not believe there is any legal justification for its existence. Palestine belongs to the Islamic space and must be returned to the Muslims."

Although the Islamic Republic's new constitution declares Jews to be a recognized religious minority entitled to religious freedom and other fundamental rights, Dr. Gruen's background memorandum on "Iranian Jewry and the Execution of Albert Danielpour" points out instances in which Jews have been subjected to arbitrary arrest and summary execution because of Zionist connections, which were quite lawful and innocent in the past -- e. g. the importation of honey from Israel -- but which are now being regarded as capital offenses. There is a growing concern that the distinction between anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism is being blurred and that government-instigated hostility toward Israel may be interpreted by the masses as a license to attack Iranian Jews.

In contrast to the Islamic revolution in Iran, the military officers who seized power in Ankara in September have reaffirmed Turkey's basic commitment to secularism and alignment with the Western world. The position of the Jewish community has been endangered not so much by overt anti-Semitism, which is restricted to small extremist fringe groups, but by the economic difficulties, political instability and left and right wing terrorism that beset Turkish society. How Turkey has attempted to cope with these problems and recent developments in Turkish-Arab and Turkish-Israel relations are examined in Dr. Gruen's special study, Turkey in Turmoil: Impact on the Jewish Community.

Finally, we include two pieces that reflect the range of the Jewish condition in the Arab world today. Abraham S. Karlikow's background memorandum on "the Jews of Morocco" describes this largest and relatively stable Jewish community and notes that the benevolent rulers of the country have always insisted on distinguishing between attitudes toward the Arab-Israel conflict and toward the local Jewish population. However, such efforts have not always been successful in shielding the Jewish community from mob action inflamed by extreme nationalists.

In contrast to the Moroccan Government's liberal policy, the Syrian Government has kept its Jewish community hostage, denying the right of emigration on the ground that Jewish emigrants might strengthen the military might of Israel, a far-fetched argument in view of the fact that the Syrian Jewish community numbers only 5,000, the majority of whom are married women or elderly. In addition to special anti-Jewish measures, Syrian Jews also suffer from the growing internal instability within the country. Thus, reports were received in June that two Jewish women were raped in Aleppo by men belonging to special security units while they were ostensibly engaged in a house to house search for members of the Muslim Brotherhood, who had been assassinating supporters of the Assad regime. In Damascus a Jewish man was wounded when he was caught in the crossfire during a terrorist attack on a police station.

As both recent and historical events amply demonstrate, Jewish life in the Muslim world is precarious at best and subject to sudden deterioration through change of regime or as a result of mob violence. These mercurial changes can also have a profound effect upon the position of the United States within this strategic region. We believe that the enclosed materials will prove useful in increasing understanding of the current issues and underlying problems within this perennially turbulent area.

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LIST OF SOURCE MATERIALS

1. "The Return of Islam" by Bernard Lewis, Commentary, January 1976.
2. "Foundations for Oppression" by Martin A. Cohen, Keeping Posted, January 1977, Vol. 22, No. 4.
3. "What is an Arab Jew?" by Albert Memmi, Ibid.
4. "Situation: Precarious" by George E. Gruen, Ibid.
5. Religious, Cultural and Ethnic Tensions Underlying the Iranian Revolution by Harold Rhode.
6. "Iranian Jewry and the Execution of Albert Danielpour," a Foreign Affairs Background Memorandum by George E. Gruen.
7. Turkey in Turmoil: Impact on the Jewish Community by George E. Gruen.
8. "The Jews of Morocco" by Abraham S. Karlikow.
9. "The Current Plight of Syrian Jewry," a Foreign Affairs Background Memorandum by George E. Gruen prepared for the Legal Coalition on Syrian Jewry.
10. Basic Bibliography compiled by Lois Gottesman.

Marc Tanenbaum

BEHIND THE ISLAMIC FAÇADE:

THE TAIF SUMMIT AND THE THREE MYTHS
OF ISLAMIC SOLIDARITY, ARAB UNITY AND SAUDI "MODERATION"

AMERICAN JEWISH
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A Foreign Affairs Department Report

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The recently concluded third Islamic Summit Conference in Taif, Saudi Arabia has laid to rest the myths of Islamic solidarity, Arab unity and Saudi moderation. Faced with a multitude of problems and threats from within and outside, as well as armed conflicts among themselves, the 38 participants in the meeting found little common ground for agreement on any political issue save for the Jerusalem and Palestinian question. And on this subject the summit resulted in a number of harsh and extreme anti-Israel resolutions that, if translated into concrete action, could be harmful not just to Israel but to the West as well.

The importance of the Islamic summit should not be underestimated. Given the badly split condition of the non-aligned movement and the Organization of African Unity, and the inefficacy of the Arab League, the deliberations of the Islamic Conference Organization (ICO) have become the focus of third world aspirations and power-flexing. Yet the ICO, too, is beset by numerous difficulties that may well render it as ineffectual as other groups, its rhetoric notwithstanding.

The Myth of Islamic Solidarity

The setting and timing of this Third Summit Conference of the ICO were calculated to instill a sense of Muslim solidarity that, it was hoped, would translate into joint action. The summit was planned to mark the onset of the 15th centennial of Islam and Saudi Arabia was chosen as the host country because of its guardianship of Islam's two holiest places, Mecca and Medina. The ceremonial opening of the summit actually took place inside the holy city itself, in the Grand Mosque (scene of an armed takeover by anti-Government Muslim fundamentalists in November 1979). The significance of choosing Mecca as the conference site was more than just symbolic of Muslim unity, however; traditionally, all warfare and dispute ceased during the annual pilgrimage to Mecca. Obviously the organizers of the summit hoped the same would occur now.

But the careful stress in public on Muslim unity could not hide the dissension beneath the facade. This latest attempt to unite Muslims came at a time when the Muslim world was most disunited. Two of the ICO's members, Iran and Iraq, were openly at war with each other and had been for months; several others were on the verge of or had been engaged in armed conflict (Somalia-Ethiopia; Libya-Chad; Morocco-Algeria; Syria-Jordan). One of the ICO's founding members, Egypt, had been suspended for making peace with Israel. Two other countries boycotted the summit altogether: Libya, because it had severed its diplomatic ties with Saudi Arabia (over the dispatch of American early warning planes to help safeguard Saudi oilfields), and Iran, because its foe Iraq attended the meeting. It should also be noted that some countries which sent representatives to the summit had no diplomatic relations with others of their Muslim brothers.

It was expected that the summit would devote some time to the issues dividing the member states of the ICO. Among the items on the agenda, in addition to the "question of Jerusalem and Palestine," were the Persian Gulf war, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, and economic cooperation among Islamic states. Yet from the beginning of the preparations for the summit disagreements were apparent. The Foreign Ministers' meeting preceding the summit was unable to agree on any of these agenda items except the Palestinian issue. Discussion of the Iran-Iraq war was protested by Iraq and made moot by the absence of Iran. In the end, the summit agreed to disagree on the Gulf war and arranged to send an "Islamic" mediation team to Iran and Iraq to bring off a peaceful settlement where the UN and the Arab League had both failed. The Islamic attempt to mediate the war has now also failed to bring about any agreement or cease-fire between the two combatants.

Afghanistan had been suspended from the ICO because it had been occupied by the Soviet Union for over a year and its government replaced by a Soviet puppet regime. A proposed debate on the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan met with objections from Syria and the Marxist People's Republic of South Yemen (both Soviet clients bound by treaties of friendship and cooperation), which had supported the USSR at the UN when Moscow's invasion was overwhelmingly condemned. Algeria and the Palestine Liberation Organization also sought to keep Afghanistan off the agenda, while appeals by Afghan resistance leaders for support in their "legitimate struggle for the liberation of their country" fell on deaf ears.

In its resolutions on the Afghanistan issue, the summit avoided any explicit condemnation of the Soviet Union and referred merely to the Russian "intervention" and called for the "immediate and total withdrawal of foreign forces." This position represented a significant weakening of Islamic resolve from the emergency session of the ICO just after the Soviet invasion which had strongly condemned the Soviet Union, urged Muslim nations to withhold diplomatic relations from the Soviet-installed regime in Kabul and threatened a Muslim boycott of the Moscow summer Olympics. Now even Pakistan, the leader of last January's move to condemn the Soviet Union, had weakened to the point where it went along with the resolution calling for a "political solution" based on negotiation with Kabul. Explaining the failure of the summit to denounce the Soviet aggression against a fellow Muslim state, Saudi Foreign Minister Prince Saud said: "We are realists. We cannot tackle a superpower like the USSR in the same way as we treat Israel."

On the issue of financial support for poor countries staggering under a crushing debt burden due to high oil prices, the summit agreed to subscribe more funds to the Islamic Development Bank

but would not even consider any concessionary oil prices for the hardest hit.

The Myth of Arab Unity

The Arab states attending the Islamic summit were also sharply divided among themselves. The past few months had seen an escalation of inter-Arab disputes that threatened at times to break into open war -- Syria-Jordan, Syria-Iraq, Egypt-Libya, the unresolved civil war in Lebanon, Morocco-Algeria, North Yemen-South Yemen. A November 1980 meeting of foreign and economic ministers of the Arab League in Amman, Jordan, which had been called to devise a common strategy against Israel, failed because of a boycott by six of its twenty members -- Syria, Lebanon, the PLO, Algeria, Libya and South Yemen -- among them parties directly affected by the subject under discussion. It was thus a prime objective of the Saudis, as chief bankroller and prime mover at the Islamic summit, to bring some semblance of Arab unity to the gathering. In this endeavor they were partially successful. With the exception of Egypt and Libya, all the Arab states attended the Taif meeting. Syria, which had boycotted the Arab League meeting in Amman because it claimed inter-Arab disputes threatened "the future of the Arab nation," this time gave in to Saudi pressure and came to Taif. The heads of state of Morocco and Algeria, which has backed the Polisario guerrillas' war against Morocco's annexation of the Western Sahara, publicly shook hands in the Grand Mosque in Mecca in a gesture of reconciliation. This, however, was later described as a one-time gesture only. Even the Syrian and Iraqi leaders, on opposite sides of the Gulf war and divided by ideological, economic, geopolitical and personal differences, managed to avoid any confrontation by studiously ignoring each other.

Other inter-Arab squabbles were not so easily glossed over. Lebanese President Sarkis (invited to Taif because of the large Lebanese Muslim population, though he himself is Christian) stunned the gathering by sharply criticizing the Arab states for their failure to live up to promises of aid to south Lebanon "to lessen Lebanon's burden and help it in shouldering the responsibilities." Sarkis bitterly referred to Arab promises "going with the wind." Sarkis also blasted the PLO for not fulfilling its commitments to restrict its terrorist activities in the south and its armed deployment which threatened "to destroy south Lebanon, all of Lebanon." And a proposal to hold an Arab mini-summit at Taif for the purpose of resolving Arab disputes died before it could get off the ground.

A major Saudi consideration in its efforts to gloss over inter-Arab

disputes, aside from the desire to present a united Arab front to the world, was to demonstrate its ability to bring Arab radicals and moderates together under a Saudi aegis (through the judicious use of economic incentives -- Saudi economic aid to the so-called "confrontation" states and the PLO has run into the billions of dollars over the past few years). With Egypt out of the picture (suspended from both the Arab League and the ICO because of its peace treaty with Israel), Libya in isolation and Iraq tied down in its war with Iran, Saudi Arabia seeks to assume leadership of the Arab as well as the Islamic world. The combination of lavish hospitality (the summit is estimated to have cost \$2 billion), efficient organization and skillful diplomacy displayed by the Saudis at Taif has enhanced Saudi Arabia's prestige. Saudi Arabia has now become the new president of the Islamic Conference Organization, and by virtue of this position, its oil billions and guardianship of the Islamic holy places, as well as the surface impression of the regime's stability, the Saudis' position within the Arab world has been enhanced.

The Myth of Saudi "Moderation"

The Saudi desire to translate this prestige into a position of dominance in the Arab world is illustrated by the use of harsh, extremist language by Saudi Crown Prince Fahd and Foreign Minister Prince Saud during the Taif summit. The image of a moderate Saudi Arabia exerting a positive influence on the Arab extremists contrasts with the reality of Saudi leaders endorsing the extremists' demands. The new willingness of Saudi Arabia to accede to the extremists' demands and, indeed, take them one step further, are signalled by such Saudi actions as calls for a *jihad* (a holy war) against Israel, measures -- including the use of "the oil weapon" -- against states supporting Israel, plans to extend the Arab economic boycott of Israel to all Islamic states and to push for Israel's expulsion from the UN, and proposals to increase aid to the PLO. By championing extremist demands the Saudis have placated the radical Arab states on their borders and established their credentials for Arab leadership, which in the past had been contested by radical states such as Iraq, Libya and Syria.

The Taif summit, planned, funded and orchestrated by the Saudis, was billed as the "conference of Jerusalem and Palestine." Indeed, on these two items alone of all the agenda items did the summit members appear to be in full agreement. The result was widely regarded as a PLO victory. PLO leader Yasser Arafat and his deputy, Faruq Qaddumi, head of the PLO's Political Department, were accorded roles as vice-chairmen of the Islamic summit. Working

papers prepared by the PLO and Syria and the PLO together with the *al-Quds* (Jerusalem) Committee of the ICO were adopted with but a few changes. (A Syrian-Palestinian proposal to "reopen all military fronts" against Israel was rejected after Jordan and Lebanon expressed their opposition.) The conference also agreed to increase aid to the PLO, rejected UN Security Council Resolution 242 as "inconsistent with Palestinian and Arab rights," and reaffirmed support for the "unquestionable national rights of the Palestinian people" and for the establishment of an "independent Palestinian state on its national territory, under the leadership of the PLO, its sole legitimate representative," with Jerusalem as its capital.

Also, the Islamic summit for the first time pledged what Saudi Crown Prince Fahd described as a "*jihād* with funds, self-sacrifice, information, economy and weapons if necessary" for the "liberation of Jerusalem and the occupied territories." (The summit itself never actually defined *jihād*, which has come to mean a holy war.) The call to *jihād* was originally included among the recommendations of the *al-Quds* Committee in August 1980 (and publicized by Fahd) and reaffirmed by the Islamic Foreign Ministers in their September 1980 meeting, both times on Saudi initiative. It should be noted that while the preceding two Islamic summits (the first in 1969, the other in 1974) made no mention of *jihād*, the fifth meeting of the Islamic Foreign Ministers in June 1974 was the first endorsement by the ICO of the long-standing PLO call for *jihād* against Israel. The third summit's support for *jihād* now made it official pan-Islamic policy.

While these resolutions are worrisome for Israel, which may now face not just twenty hostile Arab nations but some forty hostile Muslim ones, other resolutions of the Taif summit present a danger to the West. The threat of the use of "all economic potentials and natural resources," including the oil weapon, is serious given the great dependence of Western countries on Middle East oil. The fact that the Saudis were the initiators of the call to *jihād* "by all the means at our disposal" and are the major oil producers in the region may portend a Saudi cutoff of oil supplies to the West at some time in the future, though the summit stopped short of calling for an oil embargo. The summit also condemned the United States for its part in the Camp David "conspiracy" and for its "financial, economic and political backing" of Israel.

Thus, American expectations, expressed by the Carter Administration in 1978, that approval of the sale of advanced

weapons to Saudi Arabia would help win Saudi support of the American sponsored Middle East peace process remain unfulfilled. The Saudis not only failed to support the peace process, but have joined the Arab extremists in rejecting and even undermining it. As the latest Saudi statements in Taif show, Saudi Arabia has hardened, not moderated, its opposition to the American interest in strengthening the Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty and using Camp David as a framework for broader Arab-Israel reconciliation. In view of the failure of the earlier arms sale to Saudi Arabia to bring about a moderation in their policies, one must view with concern the latest Saudi request for even more advanced weaponry that would enable the Saudis to launch a *jihād* against Israel.



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APPENDIX

I. HIGHLIGHTS OF THE MECCA DECLARATION

The official communique summarizing the decisions taken at the summit, known as the Mecca Declaration, was drafted largely by Saudi Arabia and adopted unanimously. The main points covered in the declaration are highlighted below.

* Affirmation of belief in and adherence to Islam and pan-Islamic solidarity;

* Determination to "wage a *jihād* by all the means at our disposal in order to liberate our occupied territories;" (repeated three times)

* Denunciation of the "Zionist aggression that has usurped the land of Palestine and the other occupied territories" and "the policies which make this aggression possible and which extend to it political and economic aid, manpower and military aid;"

* Rejection of any initiative "that does not adopt the Palestinian option, which consists in a just settlement to the Palestinian question based on the re-establishment of the unquestionable national rights of the Palestinian people, including its right to return, to self-determination and to set up an independent Palestinian state on its national territory, under the leadership of the PLO, its sole legitimate

representative;"

* A specific pledge of *Jihad* "for the liberation of Jerusalem and to make this liberation, the principal Islamic issue, the responsibility of this generation of our nation so that, with God's help, Jerusalem will be liberated together with the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories and returned to their lawful owners;"

* Determination to find a political solution to the Afghanistan crisis "based on the immediate and total withdrawal of foreign forces from Afghanistan and respect for the political independence and territorial integrity and the nonaligned nature of Afghanistan, as well as the respect of the inalienable rights of the heroic Afghan people to self-determination without any foreign interference or any pressure;"

* Call for non-alignment in the face of the "growing rivalry between the two superpowers for spheres of influence;"

* Support for the human rights of Muslim minorities throughout the world;

* Condemnation of "Israel and the countries which have been violating the principles of the UN Charter;"

* Call for an end to poverty and injustice in economic relations;

* Pledge to strength and support the ICO and other Islamic organizations;

* Call for peaceful relations within the "Islamic nation, states and peoples."

The operative resolutions outlining specific actions to be taken on the question of Jerusalem and Palestine are contained in the recommendations of the *al-Quds* Committee of August 1980, approved by the Islamic Foreign Ministers in September 1980, and unanimously accepted by the Taif summit in January 1981.

II. EXCERPTS FROM THE RESOLUTIONS OF THE AL-QUDS COMMITTEE

The conference has adopted the following resolutions:

1. To adopt the recommendations and resolutions of the Jerusalem Committee...and to insure that their implementation is undertaken by all Muslim countries.

2. To affirm the commitment of the Islamic countries to use all their political, financial, oil and military capabilities to face up to the Israeli decision to annex Jerusalem and to apply economic and political boycotts against countries which recognize the Israeli decision, contribute to its implementation, or establish embassies in Jerusalem.

3. To call upon countries of the world not to have any dealings with the Israeli authorities in any form that could be construed by these authorities as recognition of the de facto conditions in Jerusalem and the other Palestinian and Arab occupied territories...
4. To welcome UN Security Council Resolution 478 adopted in August 1980 and to ask the council to adopt the necessary measures to impose military and economic sanctions against Israel as provided for in the UN Charter.
5. The conference expresses its full satisfaction over the response shown by the various countries in withdrawing their embassies from Jerusalem as an admission by them of the invalidity of the Israeli decision and the unlawfulness of that decision....
6. The conference records with satisfaction the attitude of the Swiss Federal Government in refraining from signing an agreement with Israel in Jerusalem and hopes all other countries will follow suit.
7. To affirm the Islamic countries' support for the PLO by all means and to provide it with all necessary help to face up to the aggressive war waged by Israel against the Palestinian people in occupied Palestine and southern Lebanon with a view to liquidating and annihilating them....
8. To provide support for the Palestinian people inside and outside the occupied Arab homeland both politically and materially and to strengthen their capabilities in the face of the autonomy plot and their resistance to the occupation and racist practices.
9. To ask the member countries of the Islamic conference who have previously accorded recognition to Israel to withdraw such recognition and to sever all political and economic relations with them.
10. To continue to resist the process and accords of Camp David until they collapse and to close all doors leading to them.
11. The conference affirms its denunciation of the U. S. policy which supports Israel in its colonization practices and its aggressions against Islamic sanctities in the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories and its stand in international circles on the side of Israel and against Palestinian rights...The conference considers this a defiance of the Islamic world.
12. Not to accept any political settlement aimed at solving the Palestinian question and the Israeli-Arab conflict under the conditions of the imbalance of power resulting from the Camp David accord, U. S. policy and the Israeli practices; to consider UN Security Council Resolution No. 242 as being inconsistent with Arab and Islamic rights because it does

not provide a suitable basis for solving the Middle East crisis, particularly the Palestinian question;...

13. To make a political move in the United Nations and among the big powers, foremost the European group, to win further support for the Palestinian question and to tighten the noose of isolation around Israel.

14. To work for the adoption of a resolution by the current session of the UN General Assembly which establishes the right to consult the International Court of Justice concerning Israeli practices and measures which infringe upon the established national rights of the Palestinian people and also concerning the acts of aggression committed by the Israeli authorities against the Palestinian people in Palestine and other occupied Arab territories...

15. To call on the UN General Assembly not to accept the credentials of the Israeli delegation to the United Nations because it represents a government that has aggressed against international legitimacy and turned Jerusalem into its capital.

16. To ask the big powers and the international organizations to shoulder their responsibilities and to counter the Israeli challenge by the adoption of sanctions against Israel in accordance with the UN Charter.

17. To ask all the world's countries to work for banning Jewish immigration to occupied Palestinian and Arab territories in light of the Zionist colonization policy in these territories...

18. To establish contact with the Vatican and other Christian circles with a view to expounding the Islamic attitude toward the Israeli decision and to ask them to support the established rights of the Palestinian people and to recognize the PLO.

19. To initiate a wide-scale information campaign condemning the Israeli decision and to work for implementation of the information plan drawn up to counter the Israeli challenge.

20. To call upon the member countries to stop all loans and contributions to the IMF and the World Bank unless they accept the PLO as an observer member.

21. To establish an Islamic bureau for the boycott of Israel in compliance with the resolutions of the Islamic conference in this respect, provided that there should be coordination between it and the main office for the boycott of Israel of the Arab League secretariat general.

22. To contribute to the capital of the Jerusalem fund and to bolster it.

23. The Islamic countries declare their commitment to the *jihad* because of what it embodies in its broad dimensions on the ground that it constitutes steadfastness and confrontation against the Zionist enemy on all the fronts: military, political, economic, information and cultural

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AP Associated Press

George W. Cornell
Religion Writer

Aug. 6, '82

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum
AJC

Dear Marc,

Thanks for the telephone talk the other day. As I told you, I was putting together a piece on what a segment of Christianity is saying, but needed some of your knowledge. A copy of the story enclosed for your interest, but confidentially, as some response may be added through foreign desk before the story moves.

I'm heading for the short-grass country of Oklahoma this weekend, and be back in September early.

All the best,

George



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AM-Israel issue, Adv 08,1,050
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Many Christian Leaders Defend Israel, Charge Media Bias
By GEORGE W. CORNELL=
AP Religion Writer=

Many Christian leaders contend that the news media are presenting a biased, misleading picture of Israel's military action in Lebanon.

They say news reports have exaggerated casualties, misplaced blame and ignored broad Lebanese support for the effort to root out terrorism in the region.

"The Lebanese look on the Israelis as liberators, freeing the country from terrorists," the Rev. Franklin Graham, U.S. head of World Medical Missions, said in a telephone interview from that area. "That side of the story is not being told."

While mainline denominational officials have sharply criticized Israel's operations, many other U. S. Christians say Israel's purposes are justified, its tactics carefully restrained and news reports often are slanted against it.

"Israel is being mauled by the media," said the Rev. Franklin H. Littell, a noted United Methodist theologian at Temple University. "I don't think there's ever been so much lying about another country's action, not even in World War II about the Germans."

While U. S. Jewish leaders widely charge unfair, twisted reporting about Israel's action, more striking has been the extent of such criticism among Christian thinkers and evangelists.

More than 100 of them, Protestants and Roman Catholics, conservative evangelists and mainline scholars, signed a half-page ad in the New York Times Aug. 2, protesting media portrayals of the conflict.

They said casualty figures have been "highly exaggerated" and recurring references made to Hitler-type "genocide".

"We are deeply troubled that this technique of the 'big lie' has had such strong impact on the media coverage of the Lebanon situation," the group said.

While such protests have come from a wide Christian spectrum, sympathetic to Israel, such criticism has been particularly pronounced among conservative pastors, television evangelists and others speaking across the country after trips to besieged Beirut.

"The entire press coverage of the Lebanese situation has been distorted in favor of the PLO," says the Rev. Jerry Falwell of Lynchburg, Va., a television evangelist and head of Moral Majority.

He says the whole press emphasis has been on damage and casualties done by Israel, often inflated, instead of on the fact that killings by Yasir Arafat's Palestine Liberation Organization "are responsible for the entire incursion."

There seems to be a sort of "pact mentality in many media people" against Israel, he says. "They forget that those in the PLO are terrorists, who for years have spread terror and trained and exported terrorism worldwide."

"What Israel is doing is to liberate the people from terrorism," he said in a telephone interview, likening the action to what the United States inevitably would do if terrorist bands in Canada for years had slain Canadians and shelled and raided U. S. border cities.

MORE/////

"If the PLO doesn't leave Lebanon unconditionally, Israel has no choice but to go in and clean out the terrorists."

He said that although press reports ignore it, "the Lebanese people throughout the land are supportive of Israel's action despite the tragedies all around, and rejoice at the hope of becoming a self-governing nation again."

"It's hypocritical of the United States to be critical of what Israel is doing. It's doing a real service for the entire free world."

About 50 U.S. clergymen, about 30 Christians and the rest Jewish, are leaving Monday for Lebanon for a five-day look "at what's really happening," Falwell said, returning Friday to report on it in 50 cities.

Hal Lindsey of Los Angeles, noted for his Bible prophecy books, visited Lebanon in July and has since spoken widely, saying the Lebanese consider the Israelis liberators from the PLO which had "hijacked the nation," killing about 100,000 of its people since 1976.

In a telephone interview, he said news reports about it "have been slanted against Israel, manipulated and in some cases flagrantly misrepresent what is going on there."

Graham, of Boone, N.C., son of evangelist Billy Graham and head of an organization providing medical personnel and supplies in needy areas, charged an instance of misreporting last Sunday when in Beirut at the time of an Israeli shelling of PLO strongholds.

"The PLO retaliated not against Israel positions but by shelling the Christian sector of East Beirut and up to 30 miles to the north. The news reports talked only of the Israeli bombing, not the PLO killing."

He said the PLO has "held Lebanon hostage since 1976," turning "their guns on the Lebanese," slaying thousands, keeping them in constant fear. He said he visited many of them in Beirut and in outlying villages and even those whose homes or shops were wrecked by Israeli shells said "it's a small price to pay to be freed."

"They're thankful to Israel," he said. "But nobody reports that."

Among specific media distortions charged by the U.S. Christians were reports of heavy Israeli destruction in Tyre and Sidon, and early reports of 600,000 made homeless in southern Lebanon when only about 400,000 even live there."

"Places that have been reported totally destroyed are totally intact," said Littell, citing Tyre and Sidon. "What was reported as total destruction in an area was no more destroyed than inner Philadelphia."

Falwell said casualty figures are given out daily by the "Red Crescent," a Beirut humanitarian organization often confused as the Red Cross, but headed by Arafat's brother. "You can imagine why figures are so exaggerated and distorted against Israel," Falwell added. "Certainly the press knows this. It must want distortions."

Also cited was the town of Damour, south of Beirut, where reports told of heavy civilian casualties, but the religious critics say the town was seized by the PLO in 1976, 12,000 of its people slain, the rest put to flight, and the town made a PLO base.

"Now its people are moving back from where the PLO made them flee," Littell said.

Also charged were TV scenes early in the Israeli incursion, showing damage from the 1975-76 civil war, without saying so, implying it was newly done by Israel.

"The PLO is to blame for every innocent being hurt in Lebanon," Falwell said. "If Arab leaders were speaking candidly, they'd be rejoicing and thanking Allah for what Israel is doing. The Arabs are scared to death of the PLO, far more than of Israel."

2nd Adv AM Sun Aug. 3. Sent --AP--NY-03-06 2026EDT

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date August 11, 1982
to Area Directors
from Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
subject AP STORY ON CHRISTIAN REACTION TO MEDIA BIAS ON LEBANON CONFLICT

George Cornell, religion editor of the Associated Press, has just written an excellent story reporting on Christian leaders who have criticized "the news media (for) presenting a biased, misleading picture of Israel's military action in Lebanon."

This AP column is usually carried in some 450 newspapers across the country, as well as overseas, and therefore represents an important response to the wave of anti-Israel "media chic" reporting in recent weeks.

I bring this to your attention with the suggestion that you may wish to bring this story (of course, without the covering letter) to Christian and Jewish leadership in your community.

I would appreciate your sending me copies of any clippings of this story as it appears in your local press.

MHT:RPR

Enclosures

82-700-64

"Israel expresses its shock over the fact that Pope John Paul II granted an audience to Yasser Arafat the man who heads the organization of murderers which stands at the centre of international terrorism.

Israel expresses profound disappointment at the fact that the audience took place despite appeals from numerous individuals and bodies the world over urging the Pope to refrain from meeting the head of an organization that has perpetrated countless crimes against the Jewish people and against the citizens of many states.

This decision of the Pope contradicts the declaration enunciated by the Pope himself, on 1 January 1980, in favour of peace and against violence.

It shall now be recorded, in the national memory of the State of Israel and of the Jewish people, that the spiritual leader of millions of believers the world over, did not recoil from the revolting act of meeting with the head of an organization that has written into its constitution as a central aim the annihilation of the Jewish State.

The raising of Arafat's stature by the Pope's meeting with him is a grave act also because it harms the peace process that constitutes the avowed personal wish of the Pope himself as well as a supreme aspiration of the State of Israel.



לני אבג!



Gideon Steinhilber

9.16.82

Memorandum from

WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS

One Park Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016 • (212) 679-0600

TO: Members of IJCIC

September 17, 1982

FROM: Mark Friedman

Enclosed please find the official press release of the Vatican, concerning the Pope's meeting with Yassir Arafat.

My best wishes to you and your family for the New Year.

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES
Mark Friedman

MF:rp



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SEPTEMBER 16, 1982

FOR DR. RIEGNER

FOLLOWING TELEX JUST RECEIVED FROM VATICAN QUOTE

(2024 DIRGENTE VA)

DR GERHART RIEGNER
CHAIRMAN IJCIC
GENEVE

TELEX N. 28 98 76

I HAVE THE PLEASURE OF SENDING TO YOU THE FOLLOWING OFFICIAL
PRESS RELEASE:

PRESS RELEASE
PRESS OFFICE OF THE HOLY SEE

THIS AFTERNOON, WEDNESDAY 15 SEPTEMBER, 1982, BEFORE THE GENERAL
AUDIENCE, THE HOLY FATHER, PROMPTED BY HIS CONSTANT CONCERN TO
PROMOTE THE DIFFICULT PROCESS OF PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST,
RECEIVED MR YASSIR ARAFAT, WHO HAD COME TO ROME TO TAKE PART IN
THE CONFERENCE OF THE INTERPARLIAMENTARY UNION.

DURING THE CONVERSATION, THE HOLY FATHER SHOWED HIS GOOD WILL
TOWARDS THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE AND HIS PARTICIPATION IN THEIR
PROTRACTED SUFFERINGS. HE EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT AN EQUITABLE
AND LASTING SOLUTION OF THE MIDDLE EAST CONFLICT WOULD SOON BE
REACHED. SUCH A SOLUTION SHOULD EXCLUDE RECOURSE TO ARMS AND
~~VIOLENCE OF ALL KINDS, ESPECIALLY TERRORISM AND REPRISALS. IT~~
SHOULD INVOLVE THE RECOGNITION OF THE RIGHTS OF ALL PEOPLES,
PARTICULARLY THOSE OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE FOR A HOMELAND OF
ITS OWN AND OF ISRAEL FOR ITS OWN SECURITY.

TURNING TO THE LEBANON TRAGEDY, WHERE SO MANY PALESTINIANS STILL
DWELL, A TRAGEDY INTENSIFIED BECAUSE OF THE TERRIBLE DEATH OF
THE PRESIDENT ELECT, BESHIR GEMAYEL THE HOLY FATHER, INTENSELY
~~DEPLORING SUCH AN UNSPEAKABLE ACT OF TERRORISM,~~ EXPRESSED THE
HOPE THAT THE URGENT WORK OF RECONSTRUCTION OF THE COUNTRY SOULD
NOT BE STOPPED AND COULD BECOME A VALUABLE STEP TOWARDS
STABILITY AND PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

15 SEPT. 1982

WITH GREETINGS.

BISHOP TORRELLA

UNQUOTE

REGARDS
RUTHY.

H. Tannenbaum

THE ARCHDIOCESE OF MIAMI

FROM THE RISING TO THE SETTING OF THE SUN IS THE NAME OF THE LORD TO BE PRAISED

OFFICE OF THE ARCHBISHOP

September 22, 1982

Mr. Shepard King, President
Miami Chapter and
Ms. Faith Mesnekoff, Chairperson
Interreligious Affairs Commission
The American Jewish Committee
3000 Biscayne Boulevard
Miami, Florida 33137

Dear Mr. King and Ms. Mesnekoff:

I wish to acknowledge receipt of your letter of September 15 expressing concern over the Holy Father's meeting with Arafat.

I believe the enclosed reflects my own reaction. I cannot understand the attempts to interfere with the Pope's peace making role, the questioning of his motives, or aligning with the intemperate remarks of Mr. Begin that were offensive to your friends here in the States.

Very sincerely yours,

Edward A. McCarthy

Edward A. McCarthy
Archbishop of Miami

EAM:mm
Enclosure

Archbishop Edward A. McCarthy
September 17, 1982

I am grateful to The Miami Herald for the opportunity to express my views relative to Menachem Begin's and The Herald's criticism of the Holy Father for seeing Yasser Arafat.

While being offended by Begin's outburst, I can understand it. I cannot understand the position of The Herald. Begin's angry, defiant, independent, militant character can be understood in the light of his personal tragic and turbulent experiences. His father, his mother and his brother were all murdered by the Nazis. It is reported that he grew up on the teachings of Vladimir Jabotinsky, a Zionist "revisionist" who advocated a militant posture of self-defense for Jews. At the age of 15, he joined a paramilitary youth organization in Poland, an experience which, according to Time magazine, was to shape his life. "A new specimen of human being was born," Begin wrote later, "a specimen completely unknown to the world for over 1800 years, the fighting Jew." Begin soon became a leader of the violently anti-Arab and anti-British campaigns of the Jewish underground organization, the IRGUN, in Palestine of that day. For 26 years, he led the opposition party in the Israeli Knesset. Begin seems to be indelibly marked by the Holocaust almost to the point of obsession. His militancy would seem to be reflected in the bombing of the Iraqi nuclear reactor, the bloodshed in Lebanon, the intransigence on the West Bank situation, the recent defiant response to President Regan's peace proposals.

What I cannot understand is The Herald's and others introducing such offensive and divisive reactions into our own community.

I am told other prominent American newspapers did not react in this fashion. If there is anything our multifaceted community needs at this stage in our history/^{it} is to strengthen our unity, mutual respect, and human relationships. The insults of Begin against the Catholic Church and the Holy Father, the arrogance of lecturing the Holy Father as to how he should conduct his role as peacemaker, the questioning of the Pope's motives are not the issues that should be injected into the community relations of South Florida. Thank God the relationships between Catholics and Jews in this community are good, and they should remain that way. To this I have been personally committed and I reaffirm that commitment as our Jewish brothers and sisters celebrate their New Year Feast.

Criticism of the Holy Father in this instance, I fear, could actually induce a reaction against the Jewish community which I would deplore.

I feel in these sensitive issues involving people of good will the first requirement is mutual respect, giving each other the benefit of the doubt. It seems to me that the Holy Father saw Arafat, who was in Rome for the meeting of 95 nations, because he saw here an opportunity to use his role in asking all parties to reconsider their positions. The Holy Father, in his concern for all men, was pleading that they not prolong violence, no longer tolerate violence as a solution to conflict. In his deep commitment to peace and the ending of violence, he was willing to meet, courageously and despite the protests, even with Arafat, not as a recognition of Arafat or what he proposes, but simply as an apostle of peace and of concern for the thousands of innocent Palestinians whose tragic situation of being without a homeland has not been

resolved. Reports are that the man who attempted to take the Pope's life was trained by the PLO. It has been considered that, according to polls, the vast majority of Palestinians regard Arafat as their spokesman. The Pope's courageous willingness to dialogue should be followed, not criticized. The Vatican was careful to make clear that the Holy Father's meeting was "without any political significance, particularly as regards the character of representation for these (Palestinian) people as claimed by the PLO."

A very disturbing part of Begin's angry outburst which has been repeated in the media was his reflection on the morals of the Catholic Church and his inference that Pope Pius XII failed to protest the treatment of the Jews during World War II. Again, I feel that repeating these ugly and irresponsible statements is feeding discord and anti-Semitism in our community and is an under-the-belt approach to dialogue.

It happens that Monsignor Walter Carroll, brother of the former Archbishop of Miami, Archbishop Carroll, was a highly placed Vatican official in the years of the Second World War. His papers are in the possession of the Archdiocese and a book is currently being prepared which will reveal new, previously unpublished information and will help in dispelling the insulting reflection on the Pope's and the Church's concern for the human rights of Jews and of all men.

Much needs to come to light about the Church's concern for the suffering of the Jews--a suffering which was shared as well, even to the extermination ovens, by a great number of clergy, religious and Christian faithful. It would be well to read the encyclical "Mit Bennender Sorge," published already in March 14, 1937, in German by Pope Pius XI, strongly condemning the atrocities against

the Jews. It would be well to reflect that Pius XII, a papal legate in Berlin before becoming Pope, was especially protective of its Jewish people, as was our present Pope those days in Poland, and as was Cardinal Roncalli (later Pope John XXIII) in Paris, where it was said, "in France every Catholic home harbors a Jew." (Edward Flannery, "Anguish of the Jews") Pius XII was confronted with the fear that the mad Hitler would retaliate by further atrocities should he respond by public statement rather than other means.

Though he could not have been aware of the full extent of the Nazi atrocities toward the Jews, the Pope was in constant touch with the German Bishops, urging them to be outspoken. Cardinal Faulhaber was an outspoken critic of his government. There are extensive reports of the protection by the Church of Jews in Italy, such as "The Assisi Underground" by A. Ranate who teaches at the University of Tel Aviv. Interesting as well are Rhodes "The Vatican in the Age of the Dictators," Derek Holmes "The Papacy in the Modern World," and the publications of the Catholic League for Religious and Civil Rights, by Robert Graham, S.J., which details the Vatican's extensive diplomatic efforts to avert shipment of Jews to Nazi concentration camps, its concealment of thousands of Jews in Church institutions, and its distribution of thousands of false documents which helped Jews escape the Nazis. Father Graham's monograph also documents many instances of coordination of papal and Jewish rescue action and it includes letters of appreciation from several Jewish organizations and prominent Jewish community leaders.

The April 30, 1982 issue of The Voice, the newspaper of the Archdiocese of Miami, reports on a new biography of Raoul Wallenberg, a Swede who with the support of the Papal Nuncio in Budapest is credited with saving 100,000 Hungarian Jews from the Nazi Holocaust.

Tibor Baranski, secretary to the Archbishop and Executive Director of the Jewish Protection League, who was honored as a Righteous Gentile by the Israeli Yad Voshem Remembrance Authority for his work in saving Jewish lives, has written, "It is a disservice and distortion of history to say that the Pope did nothing." He added that plays like "The Deputy," portraying Pius XII as neglecting the plight of the Jews, are untruthful. He added, "I myself have seen correspondence from the Pope himself as well as from other offices of the Vatican. I saw handwritten letters from the Pope to the Nuncio instructing him to do everything in his power to help the persecuted Jews. This included food, shelter and protection." One telegram to the papal representative from the Vatican said the Pope was relying on him to protect the persecuted Jews, "The Holy See relies upon your constant action, Your Excellency, and upon the episcopate for every possible protection for the persecuted." That theme must be the united effort of all men of good will. We must not permit ourselves to be divided or our efforts weakened by lack of mutual trust, respect and collaboration. As The Voice editorial states, "The reaction of Jews and other concerned persons to any possible aggrandizement of the tormentor of Israel is understandable, but we hope they will hold off judgment and assume worthy motives of the Pope. Christian-Jewish relations have come too far to become polarized over misunderstandings or difference of opinion over this event.

"Years of bombs and angry words have not brought peace to the Mideast. Perhaps a willingness by a great spiritual leader to confront evil in person, analogous to Pope Leo's confrontation with Attila the Hun in the fifth century, can accomplish what the sword, so far, has not."

Matter of Opinion

Blood and irony in the Mideast

Such ironies.

It is ironic that so much suffering and death has taken place in the Middle East, the cradle of Christianity, Judaism and Islam. It is the area of the world that should be a showplace of love and harmony, a beacon to the rest of the world.

It is ironic that Yasser Arafat, who has lived his life by the sword and by terrorist tactics likens himself to St. Peter merely because he journeyed to Rome from the Middle East.

It is ironic that Menachim Begin, whose dominant life experience has been the Holocaust, should now say, in effect, "Am I my brother's keeper?" in response to the massacre in Beirut that took place as Israeli troops stood by.

It is ironic that the men who actually carried out the

EDITORIAL

massacre are referred to as "Christian" militiamen when they are, in fact, as anti-Christian as Nazi butchers.

In the face of all this conflict, there are those who would wonder just what good religion is if it leads to so much bloodshed. We can only grope uncertainly for answers, but one answer is that in many so-called religious conflicts it is not the religions which are in conflict but the timeless struggle

for power, territory, money, dominance which tend to occur along the lines of ethnic or religious identity which have formed over the centuries. And history (as well as God) must judge religious leaders by their actions during those periods.

Human beings will find reasons to fight. The various countries of Europe, for instance, have fought each other for centuries even though they were all of the Christian identity, and likewise, tribes of no faith before that.

It is the underlying human frailty as well as active evil in human affairs which lead to conflict, along with man's seeming inability to apply the true demands of authentic religion to his practical affairs in the temporal world.

We can only hope and pray that this most recent tragedy, the methodical murder of innocents gathered in refugee camps, will have a catharsis effect that will lead all parties in



Growing ground for terrorists

the area to come to their senses, to realize that every faction must give a little, to settle for less than total victory in achieving their various goals so that the ultimate goal of peace may be reached.

Opinion

Miami News

Tuesday, September 14, 1982

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ISRAELI PRESS HIGHLIGHTS

A REVIEW OF WEEKEND NEWSPAPERS
by the Israel Office of The American Jewish Committee

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York, N.Y. 10022 • 212/751-4000 • Cable Wishcom, N.Y.

Mac Jarensbaum

BETTER LATE THAN NEVER

(Press Summary, September 30, 1982)

The Government of Israel gave the go-ahead this week to a judicial board of inquiry that is expected to shed new light on what really happened in West Beirut over the Rosh Hashana weekend. The decision appeared to be welcomed by all Israelis, including President Yitzhak Navon, who had led the public demand for an official investigation of the Beirut massacres. Mr. Navon, however, did not conceal his disappointment that the decision had not come earlier.

The Government's announcement served to cool tempers in Israel and is a first step toward national reconciliation among the major political parties. The immediate result was that the opposition Labor Alignment consented to drop a Knesset debate intended to voice a vote of no-confidence in Defense Minister Ariel Sharon. At the same time, the ruling Likud Party agreed to call off a mass rally in support of the government's policy to counter the one organized by the opposition and attended by some 400,000 protesters against the war in Lebanon.

The Government's belated decision was criticized by Ha'aretz in an editorial calling for the resignation of Ariel Sharon. "It is not possible to avoid expressing complaint and annoyance that the government required no less than four sessions -- and more than a week -- to reach a decision that should have been taken at the conclusion of Rosh Hashana. It is impossible to evaluate the extent of the additional damage that has been caused to the State of Israel because of the needless delay in appointing a board of inquiry. Throughout the world this procrastination was received as firm proof of Israel's official intent to cover up or blur its role in the responsibility for the crime."

The newspaper noted that circumstances being what they are, there is little hope that Israel may emerge unscathed from the events of West Beirut, but an immediate decision to fully investigate the events would have lessened "the extent of responsibility that we share in the eyes of the enlightened public," which has been "blown out of proportion."

Regardless of the outcome of the investigation, Ha'aretz believes that decisions taken before the tragic events in West Beirut are the responsibility of Israel's defense system and must result in the dismissal of the defense minister.

"Even if during the investigation process it becomes evident that the defense minister did not personally participate in the decision nor in giving the orders ... there is still the matter of ministerial responsibility, which in enlightened societies requires that a minister in whose area such a catastrophe occurs must resign," the editorial concludes.

Davar also criticized the belated decision of the government in an editorial entitled "One:Zero, in the Public's Favor."

"Had the decision been taken without delay, it would have weakened much of the sting of world hostility toward Israel's role in the Phalangist atrocity," the newspaper contends.

The editorial saw "a ray of light" in the public reaction to the events in Beirut, especially from "those sectors not usually involved in day-to-day political activity," such as academicians, lawyers' associations, religious groups, members of kibbutzim and others who published statements, adopted resolutions and demonstrated for the establishment of a public board of inquiry.

Davar expects the investigation to take several weeks. Yet, it claimed that although Israel "may allow itself to wait for the results of the work of the board of inquiry ... it cannot allow the continued stay in office of Ariel Sharon as defense minister." Davar accused Mr. Sharon of "irresponsibility" in his use of the Israel Defense Forces and recommended that the appointment of a board of inquiry "not be the alibi for delaying his dismissal from office."

The Jerusalem Post, in its editorial entitled "Inquiry is half the matter," warned against the "distortion of the role and purpose" of the board of inquiry. It noted that the decision of the government was being used by ministers and officials as reason to "end the political crisis," with the argument that the board must "get on with its work in relative quiet." The Post argued that the investigation does not lessen the responsibility of both Prime Minister Menachem Begin and his defense minister. It called upon them "to do what they ought to have done before: accept their ministerial responsibility and go."

The editorial in Hatzofeh, entitled "Board of Inquiry and Clearing the Air," agreed that if the Government had decided sooner on the formation of a board of inquiry it would "have blunted the spearhead of the campaign conducted in opposition quarters against the Government and against the I.D.F."

At the same time, Hatzofeh believes that such a step by the Government, at the very first moment, would not have prevented the opposition from joining those accusing the Government of wrong-doing in the West Beirut tragedy. The board of inquiry, however, now "lets the wind out of the opposition's sails."

The editorial claimed that the Government's decision to appoint a board of inquiry was not necessarily due to opposition pressures. "The fact is that

various quarters in the coalition, led by the National Religious Party ministers, immediately after Rosh Hashana had called for a full investigation," Hatzofeh recalled.

The newspaper appealed to the public to practice restraint and refrain from interfering in the work of the board of inquiry in accordance with the legally imposed limits on the media and others in matters pending before a court of law. Hatzofeh noted that the opposition has already judged the government before the facts are in and writes that it is time "to clear the air." The newspaper does not believe that the board of inquiry will bring about a total change in divisive public opinion but it could serve as a welcome recess in the current exchange of accusations and counter-accusations.

Meanwhile, legal experts and others are debating the rights of the media now that the investigation is almost under way. Government spokesmen are anxious to call a moratorium and Justice Minister Moshe Nissim has already indicated that the subject is now sub judicie, pending the conclusions of the judicial board of inquiry.

Amnon Rubinstein, head of the opposition Shinui Party, and a moving force in the effort to bring about the departure of Messrs. Begin and Sharon from the Government, is also a legal expert, and he argues that the establishment of a board of inquiry does not limit the public's right to information at this time.

On the other hand, Dr. Amnon Goldenberg, chairman of the Israel Bar Association, is of the opinion that the investigation does place certain limits in those instances where the possibility exists that publicity may unduly influence the board's work.

Ironically, both sides seek their precedent in the Agranat Commission -- the board of inquiry that investigated the Yom Kippur War of 1973, and ultimately led to the collapse of Golda Meir's government. The comparison between the events in Beirut and the Yom Kippur War is another reminder of the traumatic experience both represent for Israel.

אלה יעקב

Gershon Avner

Edited by Lois Gottesman

Ha'aretz is an independent liberal newspaper.

Davar is affiliated with the Histadrut and the Labor Party.

Hatzofeh is published by the National Religious Party.

October 10, 1982

Rabbi Marc Tannenbaum
165 East 56th Street
New York, N.Y. 10021

Dear Rabbi Tannenbaum:

I am appalled by your criticism of Prime Minister Begin on Channel 5 Oct. 5, 82. Your statement (defense?) that "he is a product of Eastern Europe...where he faced pogroms..." had a strange undertone. May I remind you that Jews, products of Western and Central Europe, too, were exposed to antisemitic attacks and the Nazi-Holocaust. Only Jews being an American Product are some of the few exceptions.

As an American Jew, you are fortunate not having experienced what most European Jews had and, therefore, lack understanding for Mr. Begin's attitude and compassion. There ARE Jews who do remember the anti-Semitism, the pogroms, the Holocaust and realize that it can happen again but must never happen again.

Most Israelis remember the many military and guerilla attacks by the Arabs since and before the War of Independence. They, headed by Mr. Begin, know best what is right for Israel's security. It is not for the American Jews snugly sitting here to criticize and preach to Mr. Begin. He is a deeply religious, orthodox man and Israel's survival is closer to his heart than to yours and many other American Jews.

May I call your attention to Rabbi Rackman's and Schindler's columns in the JEWISH WEEK and the editorials particular in the JEWISH PRESS. Rabbi Schindler was the only rabbi writing a column supporting Israel in a daily paper (NYPost).

Heading the international relations of Jews and Christians, you failed in your task to unite the diaspora Jewish community in support of Israel, and improve relations. Those publicly opposing Mr. Begin play into his enemies' hands.

Yours truly,
Charlotte Wahle

644 West 185th St. Charlotte Wahle.

American Jewish Committee

Agenda

Interreligious Affairs Commission

Tuesday, October 19, 1982

1. IAD Budget 1982-83

Proposal for National Institution (Catholic-Jewish Education)

Robert S. Jacobs

St. Anna House East

2. Pope John Paul's Meeting with Yasir Arafat - Implications for Catholic-Jewish Relations

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum

3. Christian-Jewish Relations After Lebanon

Rabbi A. James Rudin
Judith H. Banki
Inge Lederer Gibel

4. Discussion

Nov. 1 - Bishop Armstrong reception
in them

Sam Weintraub

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

memorandum

date December 13, 1982

to Area Directors

from Sonya F. Kaufer

subject

King Hussein of Jordan is scheduled to arrive in the United States for a meeting with President Reagan and other members of the Administration, beginning on December 20th. Attached are three op-eds bearing on this visit which, we hope, you will try to place as widely as possible within the next week.

Please be sure to send me copies of any pickup you get on these.

Happy New Year!

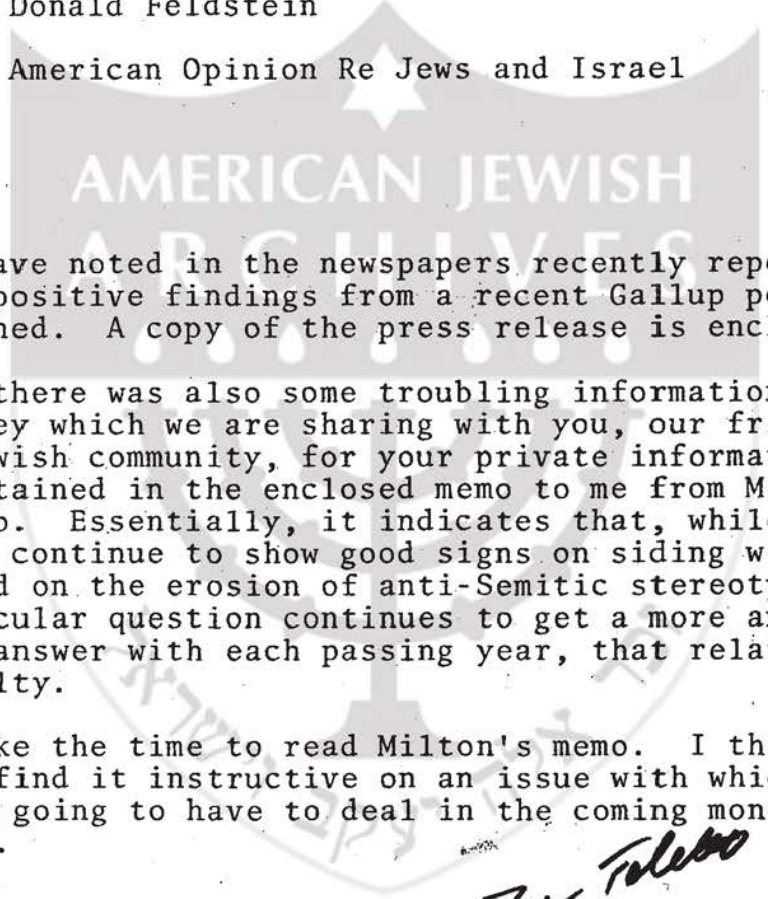
sfk/dr
att.
82-965-23



A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Sonya', is written over a faint circular seal of the American Jewish Committee. The seal features a menorah in the center and Hebrew text around the perimeter.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date March 3, 1983
to Interested Parties
from Donald Feldstein
subject American Opinion Re Jews and Israel



You may have noted in the newspapers recently reports of the very positive findings from a recent Gallup poll we commissioned. A copy of the press release is enclosed.

However, there was also some troubling information in that survey which we are sharing with you, our friends in the Jewish community, for your private information. It is contained in the enclosed memo to me from Milton Himmelfarb. Essentially, it indicates that, while all the polls continue to show good signs on siding with Israel and on the erosion of anti-Semitic stereotypes, one particular question continues to get a more and more negative answer with each passing year, that related to dual loyalty.

Please take the time to read Milton's memo. I think you will find it instructive on an issue with which all of us are going to have to deal in the coming months and years.

Joe Telebo

DF:mt/Enclosures
83-500-9



See Jan. 28th update on p. 3.

94 Princeton-Hightstown Road
Princeton Junction, New Jersey 08550

DATE: December 24, 1982

TO: Maynard I. Wishner, President, The American Jewish Committee

FROM: Rabbi Nathaniel H. Zimskind, Central New Jersey Chapter

PURPOSE: To promote consultation within the American Jewish Committee between the national Board of Governors and the local chapters on the subject of President Ronald Reagan's Middle East peace initiative, which calls for a freeze on further Israeli settlements in the West Bank and Gaza, full territorial autonomy (including responsibility for internal security) for the Palestinian inhabitants, and some sort of "association" of these territories with Jordan, the whole thing being described by Secretary of State George Shultz as "trading land for security."

QUESTIONS FOR THE BOARD OF GOVERNORS:

I. In view of the Palestine Liberation Organization's dedication to the destruction of the State of Israel and the creation of a more "democratic" Palestinian state, and

In view of the December 14, 1982 joint PLO-Jordanian response to President Reagan's peace initiative, wherein the PLO and Jordan state that they will continue "political moves together on all fronts to try to recover Palestinian rights....in the light of a mutual concept of the special and distinctive relationship between Jordan and a liberated Palestine" (New York Times, December 15, 1982, p. 4), and

In view of the fact that on December 14, 1982 Jordanian sources were quick to point out that, according to the New York Times, Jordan would "back any sort of arrangement that would induce the United States to put pressure on Israel to withdraw from the occupied territories" (same article), and

In view of the fact that the chief PLO delegate to the talks that produced the December 14, 1982 joint PLO-Jordanian statement added, "We are for the confederation," the PLO's word for President Reagan's "association" of Jordan with a territorially autonomous West Bank and Gaza situated on two sides of Israel (same article),

Does the national Board of Governors of the American Jewish Committee think that Israel's security interests are best served either in Washington or the Middle East by AJC's widely published intention of supporting President Reagan's call for a freeze on Israeli settlements in the West Bank and Gaza provided that Jordan enter the negotiations? (See in enclosed letter of December 12, 1982, New York Times clipping on your statement to this effect released to the press on September 10, 1982. As you know, the national Board of Governors, which conducts AJC business and whose spokesman you are, is neither elected by nor answerable to the general membership, and you published the "AJC" settlement-freeze policy without consulting the local chapters. Some thoughts on

improving the representativeness of official AJC positions are contained in the enclosed letter of December 12, 1982.)

In other words, what happens to Israel if the Reagan Administration, encouraged by AJC and other American Jewish support of its ban on further Israeli settlements in the West Bank and Gaza, decides as a last resort to withhold significant amounts of military and economic support (while continuing to arm the Arabs?) until Israel agrees to a settlement freeze? Or if, because of the pressure -- including the AJC's -- Israel submits to the settlement freeze, what happens when, without enough strategically placed settlements (and lacking control over internal security as well?), it finds itself one day facing a West Bank-Gaza entity sufficiently strengthened by its "special and distinctive relationship with Jordan" to "try to recover Palestinian rights" by military means? (Isn't this what the PLO delegate had in mind when he proclaimed in Jordan on December 14, 1982, "We are for the confederation"?)

II. In light of Israel's legitimate claims to the West Bank and Gaza, not to mention its security concerns,

What is the national Board of Governors' critique of Begin Government Foreign Affairs and Defense Committeeman Ehud Olmert's thinking on the West Bank-Gaza problem, which rejecting the Reagan plan's concept of "trading land for security" envisages the association of the disputed territories with Jordan in administrative rather than territorial terms?

What is needed, therefore, is a different kind of compromise based not on a partition of land but on a division of administrative functions between Israel and Jordan.

Such a division would enable Israel to maintain the military strength it feels it needs in the territories, as well as civilian settlements and small cities. Such a compromise would also allow the Palestinian inhabitants of Judea, Samaria and Gaza a political outlet in Jordan -- where they are citizens. For Palestinians, this would mean representation in Jordan's Parliament and a return to meaningful citizenship in a state in which they would be free to travel. For the Likud Party, this is the only conceivable linkage between the West Bank and Jordan. We hope that this sort of linkage can eventually emerge from Mr. Reagan's Middle East initiative.

I believe that an understanding about Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district should include the following provisions: First, evacuation of the Israeli military administration from the cities in the territories. Second, a redeployment of the Israel Defense Forces in strategic positions needed for defensive purposes. Third, the establishment of a new Palestinian political leadership -- an administrative governing body -- based on free elections. Fourth, continuation of the open-bridges policy between the West Bank and Jordan under the civil control of the new leadership. Fifth, augmentation of the Israeli settlements on the West Bank -- in the future, as until now, only on land owned by the state.

The war in Lebanon shattered the concept that any political agreement on the West Bank and Gaza requires participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization. As the only political organization that calls officially in its charter for the destruction of Israel and dismantling of the state, the P.L.O. was the real obstacle to any political agreement based on mutual compromise. Its defeat in Lebanon opens, for the first time in many years, a chance that a new leadership, more moderate and open to peaceful co-existence with Israel, will emerge from within the Palestinian people.

If such new leaders do emerge and learn the lesson that Yasir Arafat and his colleagues refused to accept for so many years -- that extreme methods are ultimately counterproductive and lead nowhere -- Israel will be prepared to treat them with considerable generosity and flexibility.

Cooperation between Israel and a new generation of Palestinian leaders could lead to what Moshe Dayan once called "unilateral autonomy" -- an arrangement that would not directly involve the United States or Egypt, if they chose not to be part of it. Such an arrangement would not depart from the basis of Camp David but would be implemented directly by dealing with the local population.

(Excerpts from Ehud Olmert's "Sharing with Jordan" on the op-ed page of the September 10, 1982 New York Times.)

73 Having learned of "the Administration's firm commitment to the principle of (Israel's giving up) territories for peace and...that many good friends of Israel in and out of Congress supported that view, which is perceived as in conflict with the Begin position," why do leaders with considerable AJC experience warn that "Israel's hard-line rejection of the Reagan initiative could revive charges of dual loyalty unless American Jews put some distance between their positions and Israel's in this controversy"? Doesn't this raise questions about the importance for AJC policy of appeasing non-Jewish interests? (The two quotations here are from an account of a discussion appearing in the official November 22, 1982 report "to AJC Leaders" on the November 4-7, 1982 AJC convention in Beverly Hills, California, pp. 3-4.)

KING HUSSEIN'S CHOICES

King Hussein's visit to the United States in December for talks with President Reagan provides a new opportunity to get the stalled autonomy talks going again. The King of Jordan has demonstrated more than once his awareness that peace is an indispensable prerequisite for the security and welfare of his country and his people.

But if any progress is to be achieved, King Hussein must permit himself more independence than he has so far. As long as he remains bound by the rigid rejectionism of the Palestine Liberation Organization, he cannot provide the leadership and flexibility needed to find workable solutions that will assure the rights of the Palestinians while safeguarding Israel's safety and security.

Over 60 percent of Jordan's population are Palestinians, with strong kinship ties to the Palestinians of the West Bank and Gaza. King Hussein, in consultation with West Bank Palestinians, is in a better position to negotiate agreements with other sovereign states than a terrorist organization committed to the destruction of one of the principals in those negotiations.

A declaration of independence by the King is a necessary first step in working out acceptable autonomy arrangements between Israel and the Palestinians.

FILLING THE EMPTY CHAIR

The visit of King Hussein of Jordan to Washington this month once again spotlights President Reagan's bold plan to get the Middle East peace process moving again. So far the King has hesitated to take the leadership urged upon him by the Reagan Plan, though there is reason to believe that, in his nation's interest and in the interest of peace, he would like to undertake that role. And as long as he continues to let the PLO and the rejectionist Arab States call the tune, the Jordanian chair at the negotiating table will remain empty -- as it has been since the Camp David Accords.

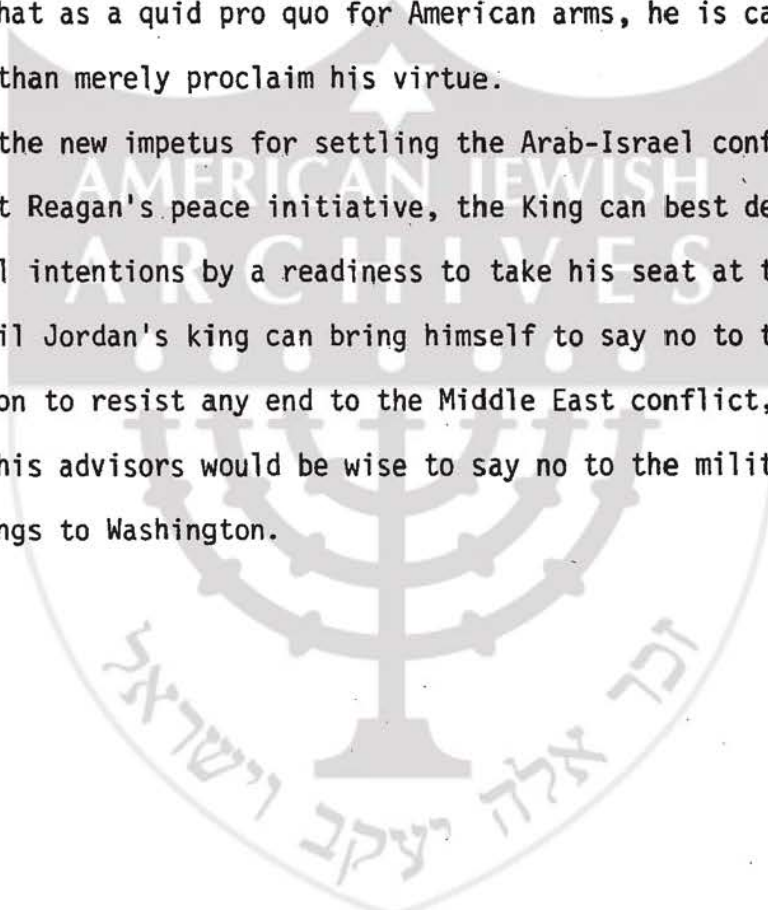
With the Reagan Plan now on the front burner, King Hussein has a golden opportunity to break the deadlock in Middle East negotiations, reclaim his central role in the region, and move toward a meaningful Palestinian autonomy agreement before the time for such negotiations runs out.



HUSSEIN'S CHANCE TO PROMOTE PEACE

King Hussein of Jordan, who will arrive in Washington later this month to meet with the Reagan Administration, undoubtedly will be bringing a "shopping list" for sophisticated planes and missile systems. The King will no doubt assure his hosts that Jordan has no intention of turning these weapons against Israel but needs them solely to protect itself against destabilizing elements in the region. But one hopes that as a quid pro quo for American arms, he is called upon to do more than merely proclaim his virtue.

Given the new impetus for settling the Arab-Israel conflict provided by President Reagan's peace initiative, the King can best demonstrate his peaceful intentions by a readiness to take his seat at the negotiating table. Until Jordan's king can bring himself to say no to the PLO's determination to resist any end to the Middle East conflict, President Reagan and his advisors would be wise to say no to the military wish list he brings to Washington.



NEWS

FROM THE

COMMITTEE



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE Institute of Human Relations, 165 E. 56 St., New York, N.Y. 10022, (212) 751-4000

The American Jewish Committee, founded in 1906, is the pioneer human-relations agency in the United States. It protects the civil and religious rights of Jews here and abroad, and advances the cause of improved human relations for all people.

MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

FOR RELEASE AFTER 11 A.M.
THURSDAY, FEB. 24, 1983.....

NEW YORK, Feb. 24... The American Jewish Committee released today the findings of a new Gallup poll indicating that the sympathies of the American public had returned to pre-Lebanon-crisis proportions: In favor of Israel, 49 per cent; in favor of the Arab nations, 12 per cent.

In a statement prepared for a news conference at Committee headquarters where the findings were announced, AJC President Maynard I. Wishner said:

"Underlying sympathies of the American people have always been this way because they have been able to distinguish between those whose ultimate national aspiration is to live in peace and freedom, and those who have yet to veer from a tragic course that calls for destruction."

Dr. Donald Feldstein, the Committee's Executive Vice President, stressed the natural bond between Americans and Israelis.

"Americans, like Israelis, have a variety of opinion on nuances like autonomy and self government," Dr. Feldstein said. "But one overwhelming truth is still clear to them: Israel, in the Middle East conflict, is prepared to make peace and live in peace, and the Arab states, except Egypt, are not yet prepared to do so."

Personal interviews were conducted by the Gallup organization between January 21 and January 30, 1983, with a nationally representative sample of 1,515 adults aged 18 and older. The poll was commissioned by the American Jewish Committee.

The following tables detail the poll findings:

- more -

Sympathies in the Mideast Situation

The Question: *In the Mideast situation, are your sympathies more with Israel or more with the Arab nations?*

The American public continues to support Israel (49%) more than the Arab nations (12%). The large change that appeared in September 1982 was no doubt due to the Beirut massacre that had occurred just prior to that time. The trends since 1980, with this exception, show little change in sympathies among Americans.

Demographic analysis reveals that income and education are strongly associated with sympathies with Israel; the higher the income and the more the formal education, the more likely people are to say they sympathize with Israel. People in the West are significantly more likely to sympathize with Israel than are those in other regions.

All Respondents, Trend in Attitudes

	Oct. 1980	July 1981	Sept. 1982	Jan. 1983	Change In % Points '82 - '83
<u>Sympathies Are:</u>	%	%	%	%	
More with Israel	45	49	32	49	+ 17
More with Arab nations	13	10	28	12	- 16
Neither	24	20	21	22	+ 1
Don't Know/No Answer	18	21	19	17	- 2
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	
Number of Interviews	(1593)	(551)	(605)	(1515)	

Demographic Analysis of Where Sympathies Lie

	Sympathies Lie With:					Number of Interviews
	<u>Israel</u>	<u>Arab Nations</u>	<u>Neither</u>	<u>Don't Know/ No Answer</u>	<u>Total</u>	
	%	%	%	%	%	
All Respondents	49	12	22	17	100	(1515)
<u>Sex</u>						
Male	48	14	24	14	100	(731)
Female	51	10	20	19	100	(784)
<u>Age</u>						
18 - 24 years	46	13	23	18	100	(186)
25 - 34 years	55	11	21	13	100	(357)
35 - 49 years	53	12	22	13	100	(343)
50 - 64 years	46	14	21	19	100	(361)
65 & over	47	8	25	20	100	(263)
<u>Education</u>						
Less than high school graduate	42	11	20	27	100	(363)
High school graduate	50	12	23	15	100	(615)
Some College	55	14	23	8	100	(268)
College Graduate	56	13	22	9	100	(267)
<u>Religion</u>						
Protestant	52	10	21	17	100	(854)
Catholic	43	16	23	18	100	(451)
Jewish*	94	0	6	0	100	(28)
Other	45	13	26	16	100	(182)
<u>Region</u>						
East	46	15	24	15	100	(413)
Midwest	46	14	21	19	100	(420)
South	51	9	21	19	100	(412)
West	57	9	23	11	100	(270)

* Percentages based on fewer than 100 responses should be interpreted with extreme caution.

Founded in 1906, the American Jewish Committee is this country's pioneer human relations organization. It combats bigotry, protects the civil and religious rights of Jews at home and abroad and seeks improved human relations for all people everywhere.

* * * * *

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date February 25, 1983

to Donald Feldstein

from Milton Himmelfarb

subject Our January 1983 Gallup survey

In the fourth week of January 1983 Gallup asked four questions for us. The answers to one of the two questions about Israel--"sympathy"--showed striking improvement, and the answers to the second--"reliable ally"--were also encouraging. The answers to one of the two questions about American Jews--"too much power"--were quite satisfactory, while the answers to the other--"more loyal to Israel"--were disquieting.

A more comprehensive analysis will follow this brief summary and comment.

1. Israel and the Middle East

1.1. "In the Mideast situation, are your sympathies more with Israel or more with the Arab nations?"

	<u>Oct.</u> <u>1980</u>	<u>July</u> <u>1981</u>	<u>Sept.</u> <u>1982</u>	<u>Jan.</u> <u>1983</u>
	<u>Per cent</u>			
More with Israel	45	49	32	49
More with Arab nations	13	10	28	12
Neither	24	20	21	22
Don't know/No answer	18	21	19	17

In January 1983 there was a return to the previous strong preference for Israel over the Arab nations, which had practically disappeared in September 1982 after the Phalangist massacre in the Palestinian refugee camps. The ratio of sympathy with Israel to sympathy with the Arab nations is something like four to one.

One or both of two things may account for Israel's present recovery from its low point in September 1982: the passage of time since the massacres, and admiration for a democracy vigorous enough to expose and condemn its own government's commissions and omissions.

- 1.2. "I'm going to mention the names of some foreign countries. For each, I'd like you to tell me whether or not you think that country is a reliable ally of the United States--one that can be trusted to cooperate with the United States, in almost any circumstances."

<u>Country</u>	<u>Is a reliable ally</u>	<u>Is not a reliable ally</u>	<u>Don't know/ No answer</u>
	<u>Per cent</u>		
Canada	89	4	7
West Germany	58	23	19
Israel	41	38	21
Egypt	33	28	29
Jordan	16	48	36
East Germany	7	73	20
Syria	5	57	38

(East Germany was inserted to provide a base line for sheer ignorance.)

Israel now leads Egypt and is far ahead of all other Arab countries. On the other hand, with respect to being "a reliable ally" Israel has far to go before recovering the favorable position--64 per cent--reported by ABC in October 1981. (See Appendix A.)

2. American Jews

- 2.1. "Which if any of the groups listed on this card do you believe have too much power in the United States?"

	<u>Group has too much power</u>
	<u>Per cent</u>
Oil companies	60
Labor unions	50
Business corporations	38
Arab interests	36
Blacks	12
Catholic Church	11
Jews	10
Born-again Protestants	6
None of these	10
No answer/Don't know	1

(About oil companies and labor unions, the response varied with two different ways of placing them on the list. See Appendix B1.)

Once again, Jews are almost at the bottom of the list of groups resented for having too much power in the United States. Of groups not exclusively economic, "Arab interests" continue to be highest on the list. Fitting a graph line to the 1981-82 responses, we may say that three times as many Americans attribute too much power to Arabs as to Jews. (See Appendix B2.)

2.2. Now for the bad news.

"Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following statement: Most American Jews are more loyal to Israel than to the United States."

	<u>Aug.</u> <u>1979</u>	<u>Apr.</u> <u>1980</u>	<u>Oct.</u> <u>1980</u>	<u>Nov.</u> <u>1981</u>	<u>Mar.</u> <u>1982</u>	<u>Jan.</u> <u>1983</u>	<u>Change in</u> <u>% points</u> <u>1982-1983</u>
	<u>Per cent</u>						
Agree	29	34	29	34	30	37	+ 7
Disagree	50	47	46	49	43	42	- 1
Don't know/ No answer	21	19	25	17	27	21	- 6

Fitting a graph line to these figures, we find a rise in those who agree that most American Jews are more loyal to Israel and a decline in those who disagree, with the gap narrowing to our disadvantage.

This is consonant with the Yankelovich study, Gregory Martire and Ruth Clark's Anti-Semitism in the United States: A Study of Prejudice in the 1980s (New York: Praeger, 1982).

3. Education

To conclude on a positive note, educated Americans remain more favorable than the less-educated to Israel and to American Jews.

APPENDIX A

Tell me whether you think this country is a reliable ally of the U.S.--one that can be trusted to cooperate with the United States (ABC)

<u>Country</u>	<u>1981</u> <u>10/18</u>	<u>Reliable</u>		<u>Not reliable</u>			<u>No opinion</u>			
		<u>1982</u> <u>8/17</u>	<u>9/26</u>	<u>1981</u> <u>10/18</u>	<u>1982</u> <u>8/17</u>	<u>9/26</u>	<u>1981</u> <u>10/18</u>	<u>1982</u> <u>8/17</u>	<u>9/26</u>	
		<u>Per cent</u>								
Canada	92	89	88	4	6	7	5	5	5	
France	59	53	58	27	36	30	14	12	12	
Egypt	59	39	41	24	41	40	17	19	19	
Israel	64	44	40	24	42	45	13	15	15	
Saudi Arabia	33	28	28	45	57	56	21	15	16	
Jordan	*	26	21	*	44	48	*	30	31	
Syria	*	9	10	*	64	62	*	27	27	
Libya	8	11	10	71	66	69	20	23	21	

* Not asked

APPENDIX B1

The table below shows the per cent who in January 1983 felt each group has too much power in the United States. The order in which the groups appeared on the card was reversed for Form II

<u>Position on card</u>		<u>Group</u>	<u>Per cent</u>		<u>Difference percentage points</u>
<u>Form I</u>	<u>Form II</u>		<u>Form I</u>	<u>Form II</u>	
1	8	Business corporations	38	38	0
2	7	Arab interests	36	36	0
3	6	Blacks	11	12	1
4	5	Oil companies	56	65	9
5	4	Jews	10	10	0
6	3	Catholic Church	9	13	4
7	2	Born-again Protestants	5	7	2
8	1	Labor unions	47	55	8
9	9	None of these	12	8	4
		No answer	1	1	

APPENDIX B2

Per cent who feel group has too much power

	<u>Nov.</u> <u>1981</u>	<u>Mar.</u> <u>1982</u>	<u>Jan.</u> <u>1983</u>	<u>Per cent</u> <u>Change '82-'83</u>
		<u>Per cent</u>		
Oil companies	70	*	60	--
Labor unions	46	43	50	+ 7
Business corporations	*	42	38	- 4
Arab interests	30	24	36	+ 12
Blacks	14	12	12	0
Catholic Church	9	8	11	+ 3
Jews	11	9	10	+ 1
Born-again Protestants	10	9	6	- 3
None of these	4	8	10	+ 2
No answer/Don't know	9	13	1	- 12

*
Not asked

TELEVISION

Sunday, March 20, (ABC) "Directions" — Ways colleges and universities are dealing with the growing ethical problems in sports are reviewed. (Please check local listings for exact time and station in your area.)

Sunday, March 20, (CBS) "For Our Times" — Changing religious scenes in the nation's second city, Chicago, are portrayed. (Please check local listings for exact time and station in your area.)

Sunday, March 27, (ABC) "Directions" — Reports on religion are featured. (Please check local listings for exact time and station in your area.)

Sunday, March 27, (CBS) "For Our Times" — The show features a special Passover program examining religious freedom in America, with Rabbi Israel Singer and Jesuit Father Robert Drinan. (Please check local listings for exact time in your area.)

RADIO

Sunday, March 20, (NBC) "Guideline" — The conclusion of Father Fenton's interviews with country-western singer and born-again Christian Jeannie C. Riley is aired. (Please check local listings for exact time and station in your area.)

Sunday, March 27, (NBC) "Guideline" — Father Thomas Gallagher, secretary of the U.S. Catholic Conference Department of Education, is interviewed about the future of Catholic education. (Please check local listings for exact time in your area.)

END

14-3-10-83

POLISH CARDINAL CONFIRMS PAPAL TRIP JUNE 16-22 (260)

By Father Kenneth J. Doyle

ROME (NC) — Poland's Roman Catholic primate, said March 10 that Pope John Paul II's planned visit to his Polish homeland has been officially scheduled for June 16-22 of this year.

The primate, Cardinal Jozef Glemp of Warsaw and Gniezno, made the announcement as he arrived in Rome for a week of meetings with the pope and Vatican officials.

"I am happy to be in Italy," Cardinal Glemp told reporters at Rome's Fiumicino airport, "particularly now that the Holy Father's trip to Poland from June 16-22 has been officially decided."

On the previous day the cardinal had met in Warsaw with Poland's martial law chief, Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski, to discuss the papal trip.

The pope visited Poland in 1979, shortly after his election as pontiff. Another trip, planned for August of last year, was postponed, reportedly because the martial law regime feared that the pope's presence would spark anti-government activities.

The program for the pope's June visit, according to Polish sources, will be announced within a few days. It reportedly includes stops in Warsaw, Czestochowa, Poznan, Wroclaw and Cracow. Also said to be included is Piekary Slaskie, a mining center in Silesia where a popular Marian shrine is located.

At first, according to Polish sources, the military government was unwilling to allow the pontiff to visit the mining area, where sympathy for the government-outlawed Solidarity labor union is strong. Stricken by the government from the pope's preferred itinerary, according to the same sources, was Gdansk, the Baltic city where Solidarity was born.

END

15-3-10-83

EVANGELICALS' STAND ON ISRAEL NOT GAUGE FOR CATHOLICS, CARDINAL SAYS (820)

By A.E.P. Wall

CHICAGO (NC) — Members of the Jewish community should not use the kind of support for the state of Israel expressed by evangelical Christians in the United States as a gauge for measuring Catholic support for Israel, Cardinal Joseph Bernardin told Jewish leaders of the Chicago area on March 7.

(MORE)

on-several who may or may not be the IBMs of the future.

Editors: There will be no TV Film Fare this week.

Herx is on the staff of the U.S. Catholic Conference Department of Communication.

END

12-3-10-83

POPE LANDS IN ROME, ENDING HISTORIC TRIP (460)

By Father Kenneth J. Doyle

ROME (NC) — Pope John Paul II arrived back in Rome 30 minutes early after his historic 18,000-mile journey to eight nations of Central America and the Caribbean.

The pope's trip, the 17th foreign missionary journey of his four-year pontificate, began March 2 and ended at Rome's Ciampino military airport at 3:15 p.m. (9:15 a.m. EST) on March 10, half an hour ahead of his scheduled arrival time.

As the pope deplaned from the Alitalia DC-10, which also had carried a small staff of papal advisers and 50 journalists, he looked surprisingly fit and spry after the nine-hour flight from Haiti.

The pontiff had slept for five hours on the plane. Then he rose and, after praying for a period, went to the rear compartment of the plane to greet what he called his "journalistic entourage."

He thanked the reporters, photographers and cameramen for accompanying him on his "lenten journey." Contrary to his normal custom, however, he did not hold an informal press conference. He told them, "I know that you have questions, but many of these contain their own answers."

On hand to greet the pope at the airport were two Polish church leaders, Cardinal Jozef Glemp of Gniezno and Warsaw and Cardinal Franciszek Macharski of Cracow.

Pope John Paul was driven by car not to the Vatican but to the papal summer residence at Castelgandolfo, 15 miles south of Rome, where he was scheduled to remain for three days of rest.

He was slated to return to Rome on Sunday, March 13, for his usual noontime Angelus message from his apartment window overlooking St. Peter's Square.

Planned for that occasion was a special welcome by Catholics of Rome. In issuing the invitation on March 9 Cardinal Ugo Poletti, the pope's vicar for the Diocese of Rome, suggested that such a welcome would help to erase the memory of heckling at the pope's Mass in Managua, Nicaragua, on March 4.

In Managua backers of the Sandinista government had interrupted the pontiff several times by chanting political slogans and, according to Vatican officials, had interfered with the sound system transmitting the liturgy.

The Nicaraguan disorders, said Cardinal Poletti, had caused "a sense of sadness in the faithful."

In a reference to dangers Pope John Paul faced in visiting several strife-torn countries, Cardinal Poletti praised the pontiff for "not fearing still another time to offer his life for the love of Christ and his brothers and sisters." He also lauded the "Gospel impetus of the denunciation of injustices in Central America" by the pope.

Cardinal Poletti called for prayers in all of Rome's Catholic churches on March 12 "for the people of Nicaragua who could not express their full participation in the sacred celebration" of March 4.

END

13-3-10-83

RELIGIOUS BROADCASTING HIGHLIGHTS (230 — Film and broadcasting material)

NEW YORK (NC) — The following religious broadcasting highlights were compiled by Marist Father Joseph Fenton of the U.S. Catholic Conference Department of Communication:

"Israel," the cardinal said, "will never play the kind of role in our theology" that it does for some U.S. evangelicals who relate their interpretation of biblical prophecy to the modern state of Israel.

"While Catholics may retain a strong commitment to Israel, we cannot be expected to speak about this commitment in the same theological language as they (the evangelicals)," he said.

Some members of the Jewish community seem to make the kind of support for Israel given by some evangelical groups "the barometer for Jewish relations with mainline Christian churches, including the Catholic Church," Cardinal Bernardin said.

"This could create a problem for Catholic-Jewish relations," he added.

Spokesmen for the Catholic Church in the United States, the cardinal noted, have expressed concern about the right of Palestinians to a homeland while calling for "recognition of the state of Israel within secure and recognized boundaries."

He said there is concern about Israeli and other foreign troops in Lebanon, about the status of the occupied territories and about Jerusalem.

The meeting with members of the Chicago Board of Rabbis and of the Jewish Federation of Metropolitan College was held at Spertus College, a Jewish school. Issues discussed included:

- The meeting between Pope John Paul II and Yasser Arafat, leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization, last year.
- Proselytism of Jews by Christians.
- The Middle East.
- Tax relief for parents who send their children to Catholic schools.
- Human rights in the Soviet Union and elsewhere.
- World peace.
- Chicago's mayoralty election.

Cardinal Bernardin noted that the Second Vatican Council's "Declaration on the Relationship of the Church to Non-Christian Religions" ("Nostra Aetate") called for "mutual understanding of and respect for our respective religious traditions."

The council gave impetus to Catholic-Jewish dialogue locally, nationally and internationally, the cardinal said. "In the United States, Catholics and Jews have worked together more than in any other country."

But while united "in many of our perspectives," Catholics and Jews "also differ on some of them," the cardinal said.

"We both agree on the overriding need for peace, particularly in the Middle East," he said.

"I believe that Catholics generally support Israel and have positive attitudes toward it. Catholics relate sympathetically to Israel as a democracy in an increasingly totalitarian world.

"Moreover," the cardinal continued, "Catholics are beginning to understand the religious and cultural factors which tie all Jews to the land of Israel."

Cardinal Bernardin noted that the U.S. Catholic bishops, in formal statements in 1973 and 1978, called for recognition of Israel's right to a secure existence and the right of Palestinians to a homeland.

The cardinal acknowledged the displeasure of the Jewish community at the pope's meeting with Arafat last year. But he said he has "reason to believe that when the pope did meet with Arafat, he urged him to recognize Israel and abandon terrorism."

Concerning proselytism, Cardinal Bernardin said Catholics "believe in Christ as the risen Lord and quite naturally invite all persons to join us in our community of faith. To deny or to hide this would destroy our integrity as committed Christians."

But witness to this belief "is to be distinguished from proselytism and is to be guided by the rules of justice and love," the cardinal said.

With regard to protests over the treatment of Jews in the Soviet Union, the cardinal said such protests should be broadened whenever possible to include all whose human rights are violated anywhere.

"I am thinking, for example," he said, "of the people of Lithuania who have suffered greatly because of their religious convictions since their annexation to Russia in the 1940s."

(MORE)

All who enjoy freedom should condemn persecution and oppression, the cardinal said.

Concerning tax relief for parents who send their children to Catholic schools, Cardinal Bernardin said: "The anguish and hurt felt by Catholics at the systematic economic discrimination against them in their efforts to maintain what they consider their right to 'free' exercise of religion is very real and very deep.

"While there is still considerable opposition from the Jewish community" to measures to aid Catholic and other religiously affiliated schools, "I am encouraged," he said, "that some Jewish leaders have begun to call for a reassessment of the traditional line of opposition to any form of relief for parents who use their God-given and constitutional right to send their children to the school of their choice."

The cardinal called for interfaith cooperation in overcoming fears and prejudices that have surfaced in connection with the mayoral race in Chicago in which a black Protestant Democrat is running against a white Jewish Republican.

END

16-3-10-83

REAGAN URGES NEW MILITARY AID FOR EL SALVADOR (540)

By Jim Lackey

WASHINGTON (NC) — Saying it is "nonsense" to accuse his administration of seeking a military solution in El Salvador, President Reagan urged Congress March 10 to approve \$110 million in new military aid for the Salvadoran government to protect democracy there.

Reagan, in a half-hour speech to the National Association of Manufacturers, said the military situation in El Salvador is "not good," and said protecting Central America from communist takeover is vital to U.S. security.

In the speech Reagan twice referred to Pope John Paul II's visit to El Salvador four days earlier. He noted that the pope had called for a new climate of democracy in El Salvador "far from terror" and had prayed for "orderly and peaceful progress" for the nation.

"My fellow Americans, we in the United States join in that prayer for democracy and peace in El Salvador," Reagan said.

Reagan said \$60 million of the \$110 million is needed because the budget procedure followed by Congress last December resulted in a 1983 appropriation of less than half of what was provided in 1982.

An additional \$50 million is needed, he said, to train the kind of army El Salvador needs to hold off the guerrillas while respecting human rights.

Reagan also urged another \$20 million in "regional security assistance" to help El Salvador's neighbors.

Reagan said that while new leaders in Central America "want a new and better deal for their peoples," an "aggressive minority" in the region has looked to the Soviet Union and Cuba "to help them pursue political change through violence."

According to Reagan, Soviet military theorists see the potential in Central America for forcing the United States to concentrate more of its defenses on its southern border "and so limit our capacity to act in more distant places."

While U.S. policies to protect Central America and promote democracy have begun to work, Reagan said, the military capability of guerrilla movements "has kept political and economic progress from being turned into the peace the Salvadoran people so obviously want."

Reagan denied that he was seeking to "Americanize" the war in El Salvador and complained that "some people still seem to think that our concern for security assistance means that all we care about is a military solution.

"That is nonsense," he said. "Bullets are no answer to economic inequalities, social tensions or political disagreements. Democracy is what we want."

Reagan said he supports negotiations in El Salvador aimed "at getting all parties to participate in free, non-violent elections," but opposes negotiations "that would be used as a cynical device for dividing up power behind people's back."

Besides military assistance Reagan said his administration would also continue to work for human rights in El Salvador

(MORE)

TO ALL JOURNALISTS STILL CONCERNED WITH "JOURNALISTIC ETHICS" ON
MARCH 17, 1983 *TWISTING THE NEWS AT CBS* TV NEWS-SHOWS.

029-3277

HY FENSTER
17 WEST 20TH STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10011

RECORDING ENGINEER

Tonight there was an incredible, open-and-shut-display of 'Yellow Journalism' at its best on the DAN RATHER CBS TV NEWS, IN WHICH A TOTALLY DISTORTED impression was created with dramatic subtlety by CBS News "producers" and writers.

Hardly able to contain his excitement and enthusiasm in obvious eager expectation of what he was to triumphantly announce, almost before the last letter of the "Good evening" etc. was past his lips, Mr. Rather launched into the CBS script "set-up" for the next scene of the U.S. Marine Commandant in Lebanon reciting his letter to Sec. Weinberger, with accompanying CBS printed words or sub-titles printed across their TV screen, followed by Mr. Rather then taking up the recitation of the words -- apparently in case there were some of us who could not read as well as hear. This was one anti-Israel bit CBS wanted to make sure NO one would miss, including the deaf.

The CBS camera then flashed to Weinberger, to get his in-person views and perhaps some more recommendation for some medals for "bravery" to those who dutifully resist setting up communication/liaison with or "fraternization" with our "ally", as with those who load their gun and point it at a 45 degree angle at Israeli tank colonels.

The CBS CAMERA, not SURPRISINGLY, did NOT seek out an Israeli Army spokesman IN-PERSON, preferring to leave it to the by now bored, who-cares voice of the network's Mr. Rather to "quote" a faceless Israeli official who asked that communication between the "allies" be established to avoid "dangers" such as described. (Mr. Rather's editors carefully left out the part about how the Italian and French forces DO have liaison with the Israel forces and that there has been not a single incident. CBS Editors of course didn't treat us to words upon the screen by the Israeli answer, either, for reasons that follow.) An In-Person Israeli interview WAS shown on ANOTHER network, which shows that an Israeli spokesman was available for our networks' "graphics".

Then, with no pause, after quoting the dangers our marines were subjected to by the Israelis, Mr. Rather CBS went on to say that 5 of our marines were wounded by a grenade thrown at them and that soldiers of the Italian army as well were attacked and wounded! ALL THE FOREGOING NEWS WAS LUMPED TOGETHER GIVING THE IMPRESSION TO TV'S VAST AUDIENCE THAT THOSE MARINES AND SOLDIERS WERE WOUNDED BY-- the ISRAELI army! (my wife, who seldom watches news, said: "What? Is he saying that the Israelis are throwing grenades at the marines?")

AT NO TIME did Mr. Rather say WHO the grenade attack upon those forces were attributed TO. After all the accusations and the saturation graphics/sub-titles and Reading of The Letter that had preceded, we were given the indubitable impression that the GRENADE attack was ONE of those incidents referred to, in "The Letter".

Why did Mr. Rather fail to mention the facts which he surely knew! All OTHER NEWS SOURCES reported that the LEBANESE GOV'T. APOLOGIZED to the U.S. for the wounding of the marines (and to the Italian Gov't.!) because evidence pointed to the attackers being a Lebanese Islamic group wanting ALL foreigners out of Lebanon.

Rather left that out because, it would seem, he'd rather his listeners were continued on the "Lose Sympathy for Israel" diet that the 7P.M. CBS News team has been dishing out since Walter Cronkite was taken off.

ANO - CBS ANTI-JEW PROPAGANDA

RATHER: The Israeli military occupation of west Beirut has compounded an already badly strained relationship between the United States and Israel. But the Israeli leadership insists that this longtime relationship should not be swayed by anything it does. This is the subject of Bill Moyers' commentary tonight. Bill?

BILL MOYERS: Prime Minister Begin has suggested that Americans have no right to mix into Israeli politics. American Jews critical of Mr. Begin's policies are also being told by fellow Jews in this country and in Israel to keep quiet too, on the premise that only Jews who actually brave the hazards of life in Israel are entitled to decide affairs of the Jewish state. That would be more convincing counsel if it worked both ways. It doesn't. The Jewish community is a powerful force in American politics in Israel's behalf—so powerful that when President Reagan warned Mr. Begin on his last visit to the White House of mounting opposition in Congress to the invasion of Lebanon the Prime Minister was quoted in the press as saying, "I can take care of Congress." He can too. It's a fact of life created by history, common ties, moral sensibilities, and sheer political muscle. It's also a one-way street: let an American President try to assert an American interest not identical with Israel's and Mr. Begin cries foul.

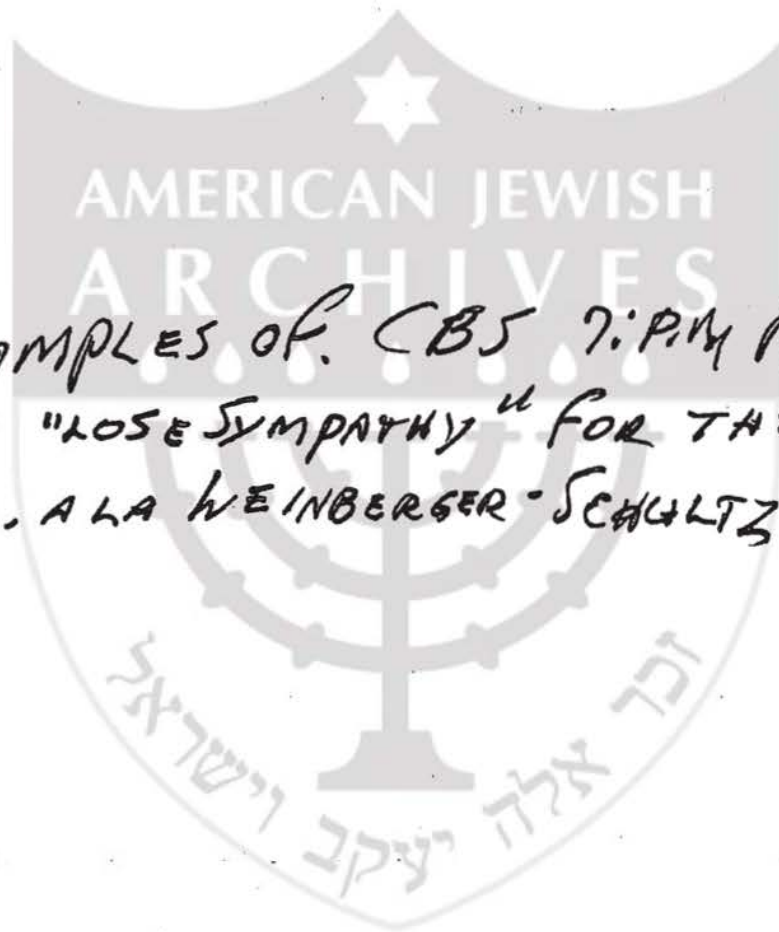
This lopsided relationship invites U.S. politicians to mix in Israel's politics when supporting Israel, but to remain silent when not, at the fear of political reprisal. And it's a situation ripe for demagoguery. Former Secretary of State Haig brought an influential Jewish audience to its feet this week by declaring, "When we are true to Israel we are true to ourselves." Well, this is good theater perhaps, but not good logic, good policy, or good friendship. The United States is committed to Israel's survival, but not to Mr. Begin's biblical interpretation of his prophetic destiny or his treatment of Arabs in the occupied territories. Good friends do not ask folly of one another. They ask, "What is true for me? What is true for you? And how shall we accommodate the difference?"

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Above is the CBS EDITED VERSION OF BILL MOYERS' "COMMENTARY" DENOUNCING WHAT HE CALLS "INFLUENTIAL AMERICAN JEWS."

In his subtle anti-Jew propaganda, delivered on U.S. public airwaves, he fails to note that if "American Jews" were really that "influential", the BECHTEL TEAM OF SCHULTZ/WEINBERGER (not ONE pro-Arab Bechtel Corp. officer, but TWO yet) would never have been accepted by our "Jewish-influenced" Congressmen and Senators to chart our sympathies and directions in foreign countries.

He didn't mention the Arab Lobbies, the Oil Lobbies, the Bechtel strength or any other "powerful forces" and influences. Only "The Jews" have sinister influences! Where have we heard that before! He feels it's enough that we are "committed to Israel's survival." But where were "we" when Egypt ordered us AND the U.N. out of the Sinai and with other Arab nations mounted a co-ordinated attack upon Israel from all sides?



EXAMPLES OF CBS 7:PM RATHER, MOYERS
& COMPANY "LOSE SYMPATHY" FOR THE JEWS
CAMPAIGN. A LA WEINBERGER-SCHULTZ-BECHTEL

JUST A SHORT



March 17, 1983

Dear Gentlemen News Presenters:

CBS TV News Producers and Editors managed to present the 7P.M. Rather segment, not surprisingly, in such a way as to give the incorrect impression that it was the Israelis who were responsible for the throwing of a grenade that injured U.S. marines as well as for an attack upon the Italian peacekeeping force, (see letter attached) never mentioning, as OTHER news sources DID, that those attacks were in fact attributed to an Islamic group wanting "all foreign forces" out.

In Rather's incredible presentation, which was far out of keeping with any principles of honest journalism, CBS showed its continued personally biased theatrical movie-making campaign designed to clobber Israel while convincing us all that Arafat (and his PLO) is a genial, kindly, benign, child-loving man.

(ex. when the CBS camera dutifully follows HIM around as it often does with Respectful commentator voice of CBS, one NEVER hears mention of the fact that he and his "fighters" PREMEDITATEDLY dynamited an Israeli SCHOOL-bus, massacring 24 Jewish children (or were they just 'zionist' children?) and maiming 12. And when is the U.S. going to prod the PLO into an investigation to find "who is responsible" for that massacre of little Israeli children at Maalot?)
as the saying goes: "Don't hold your breath, CBS."

NEWS

FROM THE

COMMITTEE



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE Institute of Human Relations, 165 E. 56 St., New York, N.Y. 10022, (212) 751-4000

The American Jewish Committee, founded in 1906, is the pioneer human-relations agency in the United States. It protects the civil and religious rights of Jews here and abroad, and advances the cause of improved human relations for all people.

MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

NEW YORK, April 7...President Reagan recently said that the solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict will have to include some kind of homeland for the Palestinians. There have been countless other efforts to bring about peace in the Middle East - none of them successful.

What are the prospects of ending the stalemate and making progress toward solving the Palestinian question?

Dr. Aaron Miller, an analyst on Palestinian affairs for the State Department who is currently an International Affairs Fellow with the Council on Foreign Relations, and Dr. George Gruen, Director of Middle East Affairs for the American Jewish Committee, and an Associate of the Columbia University Seminar on the Middle East, will discuss the current status of the Palestinians on Jewish Dimension, a public affairs presentation of WPIX-TV (Channel 11) on Wednesday, April 13, from 10:00 to 10:30 a.m.

Laurie Chock will host the half-hour discussion which is produced by the American Jewish Committee.

Founded in 1906, the American Jewish Committee is this country's pioneer human relations organization. It combats bigotry, protects the civil and religious rights of Jews at home and abroad, and seeks improved human relations for all people everywhere.

* * * * *

83-960- 114
4/6/83
RTV-R, JL
NC-J, NYL

Maynard I. Wishner, President; Howard I. Friedman, Chairman, Board of Governors; Theodore Ellenoff, Chairman, National Executive Council; Robert L. Pelz, Chairman, Board of Trustees.
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MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

NEW YORK, April 7...Serge and Beate Klarsfeld, the husband-and-wife Nazi-hunters who tracked down Klaus Barbie, head of the Gestapo in Lyons, France, today charged that U.S. State Department and Army Intelligence protected Barbie and other Nazi war criminals in order to use them as agents against Communists.

The Klarsfelds made their revelations at a news conference at the national headquarters of the American Jewish Committee. They charged that after U.S. Army intelligence had hidden Barbie in a "safe house" in West Germany, they allowed him to escape to South America where he remained until his recent arrest in Bolivia.

After the Klarsfelds located Barbie in Bolivia, they revealed his true identity to the French and German governments, and stalked him for 11 years until the French government finally forced his return to France, where he is to stand trial for his crimes against humanity.

"Whatever we may think of the ethics of governments that protect Nazi criminals," Serge Klarsfeld said, "it is sad to see a man like Barbie who was involved in the murder of thousands of Jews and French resistance fighters being employed by democratic governments."

It is time, Klarsfeld added, "that the people should understand how Nazi criminals escaped justice." He said that he and Mrs. Klarsfeld had repeatedly supplied information about Barbie to the British, French and U.S. officials, but nothing was ever done. On several occasions, he said, they seemed to accept the excuse that "Barbie was not guilty because he did not know Jewish children he had had deported from France would be killed."

During the cold war, Klarsfeld stated, "there was constant cooperation between Barbie and the United States, which used him to travel in the Soviet zone gathering information."

Almost 80,000 Jews were killed in the Nazi occupation of France, many of them young children who were deported while their parents were being deported with other groups. The records indicate many instances of young children taking care of their even younger brothers and sisters while they were on the way to extermination, Mrs. Klarsfeld said.

-more-

Mrs. Klarsfeld gave additional details of the search for Barbie. She had found the most notorious member of the Gestapo in France, in his hiding place in South America. He was living in Lima, Peru, under the name of Klaus Altmann. As chief of the Gestapo of Lyon, Barbie had, among his many other crimes, ordered Jean Moulin, the Chief of the French domestic resistance, tortured to death.

It required the use of the endless documentation they had painstakingly gathered, Mrs. Klarsfeld stated, before they succeeded in getting the French government to seek Barbie's extradition. Up to that time there had been the familiar record of delay and evasion by governments who would have preferred to forget the past.

According to the Klarsfelds the role of the Vichy government in war crimes has never been fully disclosed. Thousands of Jews were hounded to death in the so-called Free Zone, they said, where there were no Germans. Mrs. Klarsfeld anticipated that the facts would be revealed at legal proceedings that she said would commence in the near future.

Responding to a query regarding the presence of Dr. Mengele, the notorious Nazi medical experimenter, the Klarsfelds said he was probably in Paraguay but his exact whereabouts were unknown.

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* * * * *

83-960-117

4/7/83

A, REL, EJP, COL, FOR, GER, Z



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MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

FOR RELEASE AFTER 10 A.M.
THURSDAY, APRIL 7, 1983

NEW YORK, Apr. 7....The first comprehensive listing of the almost 80,000 Jews who were killed in the Nazi occupation of France, together with notes in English about the 78 convoys that carried them to their deaths, was published in the United States today.

This is the work of Serge Klarsfeld who, with his wife Beate, helped bring Klaus Barbie to justice. Many of the atrocities committed by Barbie as head of the Gestapo in Lyons are documented in the book.

Both Mr. and Mrs. Klarsfeld participated in a news conference at the national headquarters of the American Jewish Committee here to launch the American edition of the book, "Memorial to the Jews Deported from France 1942-1944." Also present was Susan Cohen Hellman, who spent two years preparing the American edition, which is available from the Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, P.O. Box 137, South Deerfield, MA 01373 at \$35 a copy. Theodore Ellenoff, chairman of AJC's National Executive Council, presided at the news conference.

The 704-page volume, first published in France in 1979, contains a detailed description of each of the 78 convoys that carried Jews from detainment camps in France to the Nazi killing centers -- in most cases, to Auschwitz. It gives the name of each person in the convoy, together with his or her birth date, place of birth, and nationality. It also contains many hitherto unpublished photographs, eyewitness accounts of the horror, and reproductions of documents from the period that testify to the active role played by the French as well as by the Germans in the deportations.

The lists reveal that Jews ranging in age from newborn to 95, and coming from almost 60 countries, were victims of the deportations. The majority came from Poland and France itself, but others were from places that seem as unlikely as Ireland, Turkey, and Tahiti. Most of those who came from other countries had sought refuge in France from Nazi and other persecution, only to find, instead, a debarkation point to the death camps.

"For many of the families wiped out altogether in the deportations from France, their names in the Memorial are the only tombstone they will ever have," Mr. Klarsfeld declared in his comments at the news conference.

-more-

Maynard I. Wishner, President; Howard I. Friedman, Chairman, Board of Governors; Theodore Ellenoff, Chairman, National Executive Council; Robert L. Pelz, Chairman, Board of Trustees; Donald Feldstein, Executive Vice President

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He also pointed out that the book was a "potent legal weapon," and that the Klarsfelds planned to enter it as evidence at the upcoming trial of Barbie. It was accepted, shortly after its publication in France, as evidence at a trial in Cologne of three top Nazis active in France, he said, and explained:

"When one of the defendants in the Cologne trial claimed that he had arrested Jews in the belief that they would be sent to 'work camps,' we confronted him with a list of Jews he had arrested -- all of them elderly people taken from their sickbeds in the Rothschild Hospital in Paris. It was obvious that the Nazis would never have considered them suitable fodder for work camps."

Mr. Klarsfeld told the story of how the lists of deportees had been created and how he had come upon the only remaining copies.

"Each time a convoy left France for the killing centers in the East," he said, "a list of the names of the victims was, by Nazi order, prepared in quadruplicate. Two copies of the list accompanied the convoy and were eventually destroyed. A third copy was kept by the Germans at the detainment camp, and was also lost. The fourth copy was kept by the captive Jewish community council in Paris. When the Germans fled that city in 1944, they were in such haste that they simply neglected to get back and destroy those fourth copies."

Mr. Klarsfeld went on to say that he had found the "fourth copies, faded and crumbling" in a crate in a French Jewish archive only a few blocks from his office in Paris.

"When I realized what I had found," he said, "I knew how Professor Sukenik must have felt when he first saw the Dead Sea scrolls."

The Memorial book presents far more than a list of the dead. In the annotations on each of the convoys, including the texts of telexes that passed between German officers in France and their superiors in Berlin, it offers a stark picture of the ruthless efficiency of the Nazis and their French collaborators.

The book also offers many poignant observations from eyewitnesses and comments from the victims themselves. One such comment is in the form of a poem by Benjamin Vecsler, a Romanian-born poet who wrote under the name of Benjamin Fondane, and was deported in Convoy 75. It concludes with the following lines:

"But when you trample this tuft of nettles
which was I, in another century,
in a history which will seem to you long lost,
remember, only, that I was innocent
and that, just like you, mortals of your time,
I had, as well, a face, marked
by anger, by pity, and by joy,
a man's face -- nothing else."

Another example, which Mr. Klarsfeld said "serves as a cry from all the victims," is a letter written by Liliane Gerenstein, arrested by Barbie at age 11. Though she did not survive the deportation to Auschwitz in Convoy 71, her letter was preserved. She addressed it "to God." It read as follows:

"God? How good You are, how kind, and if one had to count the number of goodnesses and kindnesses You have done us he would never finish...God? It is You Who command. It is You Who are justice, it is You Who reward the good and punish the evil. God? It is thanks to You that I had a beautiful life before, that I was spoiled, that I had lovely things that others do not have. God? After that, I ask You one thing only: MAKE MY PARENTS COME BACK, MY POOR PARENTS, PROTECT THEM (even more than You protect me) SO THAT I SEE THEM AGAIN AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. MAKE THEM COME BACK AGAIN. Ah! I could say that I had such a good mother and such a good father! I have such faith in You that I thank you in advance."

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3/25/83
83-960-105
A, REL, EJP, BOOK, COL, FOR, GER, Z



NEWS

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MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Statement by Maynard I. Wishner, President, American Jewish Committee:

We believe that, unfortunately, President Reagan erred in two ways with his statement yesterday that American F-16 fighter jets cannot be sent to Israel now, given U.S. law.

The first error is in sending the wrong signal on Middle East security at a time when the Soviets are pouring new weapons into Syria -- including missiles the U.S. government itself has declared are a source for concern. This is a time to strengthen, not rebuke, the one sure American ally in the Middle East.

The second, we believe, is in his interpretation of the law, which requires that American weapons may only be used "for defensive purposes." It is no accident that even at the very height of the fighting in Lebanon the U.S. Government realized the defensive nature of the Israeli action against PLO terrorist bases and did not invoke that law. To use it now, even as negotiations are progressing to assure both Lebanese sovereignty and Israel's legitimate security concerns, is to construct an unnecessary obstacle to movement.

President Reagan's record is one of greater understanding. We would hope for rapid clarification to undo such damage as can be undone, particularly at a time when Israeli-U.S. relations had been moving into smoother waters after a somewhat turbulent time. The right signal to the Russians and others who would obstruct peace in the Middle East today would be the sending, not the withholding of the promised F-16s, in America's own interest.

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* * * * *

83-960-107
April 1, 1983
A, EJP, REL, FOR,

Maynard I. Wishner, President; Howard I. Friedman, Chairman, Board of Governors; Theodore Ellenoff, Chairman, National Executive Council; Robert L. Pelz, Chairman, Board of Trustees; Donald Feldstein, Executive Vice President

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MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

NEW YORK, April 8....Maynard I. Wishner, President of the American Jewish Committee, today issued the Position Statement on the Middle East that had been unanimously adopted after extensive discussion by the AJC's Board of Governors at its recent March meeting. Mr. Wishner stressed that in light of "the historic opportunity now available for progress toward peace in accordance with the Camp David Accords," the American Jewish Committee urges King Hussein of Jordan "to seize the opportunity offered him to join unequivocally and without preconditions in peace negotiations with Israel." If he does so, "the American Jewish Committee would be prepared actively to urge the Government of Israel to be flexible in such negotiations and to make significant compromises for the sake of peace, as it did in response to the peace initiative of President Sadat of Egypt."

"On the other hand, if King Hussein and moderate Palestinians once again reject the opportunity for full participation offered them by President Reagan or if their acceptance is hedged by crippling preconditions then it should be made clear to the American public that the absence of peace is due not to Israel's settlement policies or alleged 'intransigence', but rather to the fundamental refusal of the Arab world to accept the permanent reality and legitimacy of the State of Israel."

The AJC President added that while the Statement of Position had been issued before President Reagan's comment last Thursday declaring that he was suspending the sale of promised F-16 jet fighters to Israel until Israel completed its withdrawal from Lebanon, Mr. Wishner noted that the AJC Statement of Position had emphasized that "the United States should refrain from applying unilateral pressure on Israel and should not slow down or stop the shipment of military equipment to Israel, our most important strategic ally in the Middle East." The statement also pointed out that Israel could not be

(more)

Maynard I. Wishner, President; Howard I. Friedman, Chairman, Board of Governors; Theodore Ellenoff, Chairman, National Executive Council; Robert L. Pelz, Chairman, Board of Trustees; Donald Feldstein, Executive Vice President

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expected to withdraw from Lebanon until effective arrangements for its security against terrorist attack from Lebanon had been negotiated and Syrian and PLO forces had also agreed to withdraw.

In a separate statement on April 1, Mr. Wishner charged that President Reagan had erred in his unfortunate remarks in Los Angeles announcing the delay in F-16 shipments by "sending the wrong signal on Middle East security at a time when the Soviets are pouring new weapons into Syria." Moreover, since the United States had acknowledged the essentially defensive character of Israel's action to root out terrorist bases, the President's statement could "construct an unnecessary obstacle to movement" in the current Israeli-Lebanese negotiations.

The texts of the AJC Statement of Position on the Middle East and Mr. Wishner's Statement on the F-16 issue are appended:

Founded in 1906, the American Jewish Committee is this country's pioneer human relations organization. It combats bigotry, protects the civil and religious rights of Jews at home and abroad, and seeks improved human relations for all people everywhere.

83-960-116
April 8, 1983
A, EJP, REL, FOR,



AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

POSITION STATEMENT ON THE MIDDLE EAST

The American Jewish Committee believes that in the aftermath of the war in Lebanon and with continuing efforts by our government to encourage the parties to the conflict to resolve outstanding issues, it should set forth the positions it supports on some of the current issues in the quest for peace in the Middle East.

The American Jewish Committee has previously issued statements regarding the status of Jerusalem, which must remain undivided and be recognized as the capital of Israel. We have repeatedly called attention to the terrorist activities of the Palestine Liberation Organization which threaten not only Israel, but the rest of the civilized world. We therefore support the position of our Government that the United States will not recognize or negotiate with the PLO so long as it "does not recognize Israel's right to exist and does not accept Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338."

Israel is a force for democracy in the Middle East, a staunch ally of the United States that shares our common values and has demonstrated a willingness to make sacrifices in defense of those values. We believe, therefore, that Israel's independence and security merit our full support and that of our government.

Thirty years after the creation of the State of Israel and after four wars between Israel and her Arab neighbors,

the United States, Israel and Egypt agreed at Camp David on a framework for peace in the Middle East. This led to the signing of a peace treaty between Israel and Egypt. Israel exchanged territory, oil, bases and settlements for peace and the hope of normal relations with Egypt. This peace process must now be strengthened by the further extension of normal relations between the two countries. Egypt should further the peace process by implementing full diplomatic, business and tourist relations with Israel.

In other respects the Camp David framework remains unfulfilled. The Camp David Accords called on Israel, Egypt and Jordan and the Arab inhabitants in the West Bank and Gaza* to proceed with negotiations on the future status of these areas. The refusal of Jordan and the Palestinian representatives to participate in such negotiations has been the major impediment to achieving the broader peace foreseen at Camp David.

The American Jewish Committee believes that the United States can be helpful in the peace process by using its good offices to foster the primary objectives of direct negotiations between Israel and its neighbors. In so doing, the United States should refrain from applying unilateral pressure on Israel and should not slow down or stop the shipment of military equipment to Israel, our most important strategic ally in the Middle East.

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Last September President Reagan called for a "fresh start" toward achieving an Arab-Israeli peace. In his initiative the President went beyond the terms of the Camp David Accords and set forth specific new American positions on the composition of the peace terms. The American Jewish Committee supports many elements in the Reagan plan although it is opposed to certain aspects and has been critical of the manner in which it was announced, without adequate prior consultation with Israel. The American Jewish Committee believes that the Camp David principles must remain the framework for reaching a just, comprehensive and durable settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

The American Jewish Committee calls upon Jordan and the Palestinian inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza to join in direct negotiations, as called for in the Camp David Accords. The American Jewish Committee is confident that an expression of willingness on the part of Jordan to commence negotiations--with or without participation by the Palestinian inhabitants of the West Bank--would be met by Israeli flexibility and willingness to make the necessary compromises to achieve peace, consistent with its security needs. Jordan, too, would be expected to make compromises. Therefore, no party should set preconditions to the negotiations envisaged at Camp David, for they serve only to delay their commencement.

The American Jewish Committee believes that U. N. Security Council Resolution 242 embraced in the Camp David Accords, as applied to the West Bank and Gaza, ought to lead

to territorial compromise through negotiations and to full peace between Israel and her neighbors. As negotiations commence, we can expect the parties to place maximal positions on the table including their respective claims to sovereignty. These positions will have to be compromised in the course of such negotiations. Therefore, we view acts by Israel which could limit the flexibility necessary to enable the parties to reach agreement on the future status of the areas as being unhelpful to the peace process. Moreover, the American Jewish Committee shares the concerns of many Israelis that the continuing and indefinite Israeli administration of the West Bank and Gaza, with governance over the lives of more than a million Arabs who are not citizens of Israel, could in the course of time undermine the democratic and humane principles of the State of Israel.

The American Jewish Committee believes that in the absence of negotiations concerning the West Bank and Gaza, it may well be that Israel's current settlement policy, if continued, may make withdrawal at a later date no longer a viable option for any Israeli government. There is an urgent need, therefore, for Jordan to enter into negotiations with Israel now.

Israel has a legitimate interest in a stable Lebanon and in the ability of the Lebanese government to prevent terrorist activity from within Lebanon directed against Israel. There cannot be a stable government in Lebanon as long

as PLO and Syrian forces remain within its borders. Israel cannot be expected to withdraw its forces from Lebanon except in conjunction with a total withdrawal from the country of all PLO and Syrian forces and the establishment of the necessary safeguards to assure that southern Lebanon will not again become a staging area for terrorist attacks against Israel.

Israel and Lebanon have neither territorial claims against each other nor other outstanding disputes. Therefore, the withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanon should be accompanied by the establishment of normal economic, cultural and other relations between the two nations. As recognized at Camp David, security is enhanced by the relationship of peace and cooperation between nations which enjoy normal relations.

The primary requisite for peace in the Middle East is that Israel's neighbors recognize the sovereign legitimacy of Israel and the benefits to be derived from a full peace. We urge them--particularly Jordan--to heed President Reagan's call of September 1 to "accept the reality of Israel, and the reality that peace and justice are to be gained only through hard, fair and direct negotiations."

* * * * *

April 8, 1983
83-580-10

(Adopted by the Board of Governors on
March 21, 1983)

A, EJP, REL, FOR,

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date April 8, 1983

to Executive Committee, FAC Steering Committee

from Don Feldstein

Mac Larenbaum

subject

memorandum

Enclosed is a very significant policy statement on the Middle East approved unanimously at the March 21 Board meeting. Also enclosed is the statement that we issued on the F-16 matter and the accompanying press release.

I am sure we will be discussing these matters at the Annual Meeting. See you there.

cc: Area Directors

DF/EL

83-580-11



NEWS

FROM THE

COMMITTEE

ajc

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE Institute of Human Relations, 165 E. 56 St., New York, N.Y. 10022, (212) 751-4000

The American Jewish Committee, founded in 1906, is the pioneer human-relations agency in the United States. It protects the civil and religious rights of Jews here and abroad, and advances the cause of improved human relations for all people.

MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

NEW YORK, April 8....Maynard I. Wishner, President of the American Jewish Committee, today issued the Position Statement on the Middle East that had been unanimously adopted after extensive discussion by the AJC's Board of Governors at its recent March meeting. Mr. Wishner stressed that in light of "the historic opportunity now available for progress toward peace in accordance with the Camp David Accords," the American Jewish Committee urges King Hussein of Jordan "to seize the opportunity offered him to join unequivocally and without preconditions in peace negotiations with Israel." If he does so, "the American Jewish Committee would be prepared actively to urge the Government of Israel to be flexible in such negotiations and to make significant compromises for the sake of peace, as it did in response to the peace initiative of President Sadat of Egypt."

"On the other hand, if King Hussein and moderate Palestinians once again reject the opportunity for full participation offered them by President Reagan or if their acceptance is hedged by crippling preconditions then it should be made clear to the American public that the absence of peace is due not to Israel's settlement policies or alleged 'intransigence', but rather to the fundamental refusal of the Arab world to accept the permanent reality and legitimacy of the State of Israel."

The AJC President added that while the Statement of Position had been issued before President Reagan's comment last Thursday declaring that he was suspending the sale of promised F-16 jet fighters to Israel until Israel completed its withdrawal from Lebanon, Mr. Wishner noted that the AJC Statement of Position had emphasized that "the United States should refrain from applying unilateral pressure on Israel and should not slow down or stop the shipment of military equipment to Israel, our most important strategic ally in the Middle East." The statement also pointed out that Israel could not be

Maynard I. Wishner, President; Howard I. Friedman, Chairman, Board of Governors; Theodore Ellenoff, Chairman, National Executive Council; Robert L. Pelz, Chairman, Board of Trustees; Donald Feldstein, Executive Vice President

Washington Office, 2027 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036 • Europe hq.: 4 Rue de la Bienfaisance, 75008 Paris, France • Israel hq.: 9 Ethiopia St., Jerusalem, 95149, Israel
South America hq.: (temporary office) 165 E. 56 St., New York, N.Y. 10022 • Mexico-Central America hq.: Av. Ejercito Nacional 533, Mexico 5, D.F.

CSAE 1707

expected to withdraw from Lebanon until effective arrangements for its security against terrorist attack from Lebanon had been negotiated and Syrian and PLO forces had also agreed to withdraw.

In a separate statement on April 1, Mr. Wishner charged that President Reagan had erred in his unfortunate remarks in Los Angeles announcing the delay in F-16 shipments by "sending the wrong signal on Middle East security at a time when the Soviets are pouring new weapons into Syria." Moreover, since the United States had acknowledged the essentially defensive character of Israel's action to root out terrorist bases, the President's statement could "construct an unnecessary obstacle to movement" in the current Israeli-Lebanese negotiations.

The texts of the AJC Statement of Position on the Middle East and Mr. Wishner's Statement on the F-16 issue are appended:

Founded in 1906, the American Jewish Committee is this country's pioneer human relations organization. It combats bigotry, protects the civil and religious rights of Jews at home and abroad, and seeks improved human relations for all people everywhere.

83-960-116
April 8, 1983



AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

POSITION STATEMENT ON THE MIDDLE EAST

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* * * * *

April 8, 1983
83-580-10

(Adopted by the Board of Governors on
March 21, 1983)

NEWS

FROM THE

COMMITTEE



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE Institute of Human Relations, 165 E. 56 St., New York, N.Y. 10022, (212) 751-4000

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MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Statement by Maynard I. Wishner, President, American Jewish Committee.

We believe that, unfortunately, President Reagan erred in two ways with his statement yesterday that American F-16 fighter jets cannot be sent to Israel now, given U.S. law.

The first error is in sending the wrong signal on Middle East security at a time when the Soviets are pouring new weapons into Syria -- including missiles the U.S. government itself has declared are a source for concern. This is a time to strengthen, not rebuke, the one sure American ally in the Middle East.

The second, we believe, is in his interpretation of the law, which requires that American weapons may only be used "for defensive purposes." It is no accident that even at the very height of the fighting in Lebanon the U.S. Government realized the defensive nature of the Israeli action against PLO terrorist bases and did not invoke that law. To use it now, even as negotiations are progressing to assure both Lebanese sovereignty and Israel's legitimate security concerns, is to construct an unnecessary obstacle to movement.

President Reagan's record is one of greater understanding. We would hope for rapid clarification to undo such damage as can be undone, particularly at a time when Israeli-U.S. relations had been moving into smoother waters after a somewhat turbulent time. The right signal to the Russians and others who would obstruct peace in the Middle East today would be the sending, not the withholding of the promised F-16s, in America's own interest.

Founded in 1906, the American Jewish Committee is this country's pioneer human relations organization. It combats bigotry, protects the civil and religious rights of Jews at home and abroad, and seeks improved human relations for all people everywhere.

* * * * *

83-960-107
April 1, 1983

Maynard I. Wishner, President; Howard I. Friedman, Chairman, Board of Governors; Theodore Ellenoff, Chairman, National Executive Council; Robert L. Pelz, Chairman, Board of Trustees; Donald Feldstein, Executive Vice President

Washington Office, 2027 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036 • Europe hq.: 4 Rue de la Bienfaisance, 75008 Paris, France • Israel hq.: 9 Ethiopia St., Jerusalem, 95149, Israel
South America hq.: (temporary office) 165 E. 56 St., New York, N.Y. 10022 • Mexico-Central America hq.: Av. Ejercito Nacional 533, Mexico 5, D.F.

memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date April 14, 1983

to Area Directors

from Sonya F. Kaufer

subject

Hussein's refusal to enter the Middle East negotiations provides an excellent opportunity to underscore where the blame for the continued stalemate lies. Attached are four suggested op-eds, which should be disseminated as widely as possible while the Hussein decision still occupies major headlines.

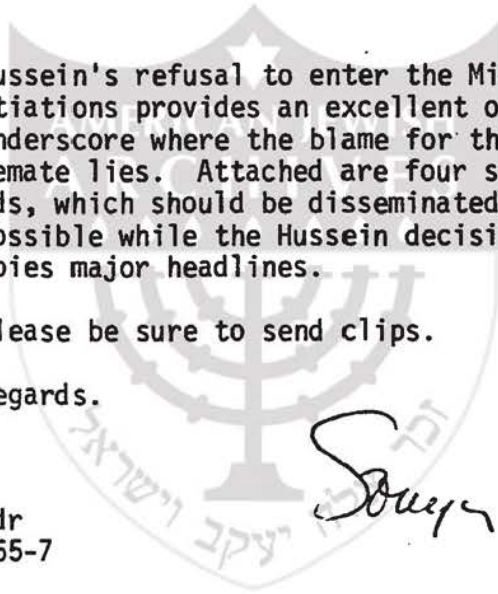
Please be sure to send clips.

Regards.

sfk/dr
83-965-7
att.



Sonya



Arab Intransigence

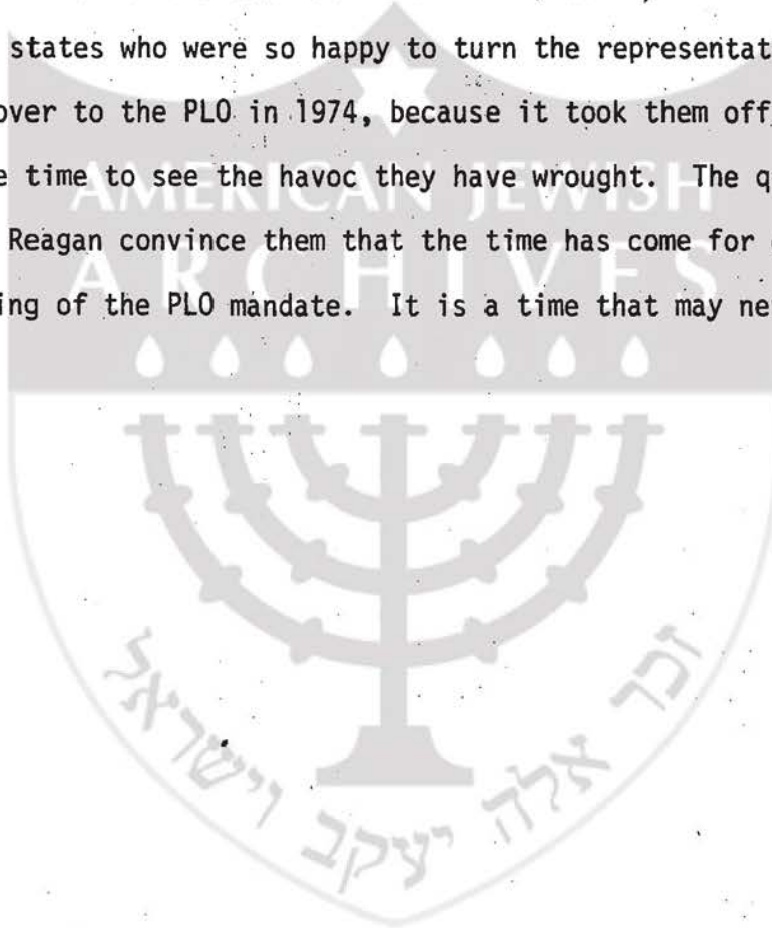
Jordan's refusal to enter the Middle East peace talks spotlights a fact the Arab world has sought to bury under a barrage of anti-Israel rhetoric: What stands in the way of a peaceful solution to the Palestinian issue is not alleged Israeli intransigence, or its settlement policy, or Prime Minister Begin's expressed desire to hold on to the West Bank, but the refusal of the Arab world to sit down at the negotiating table with Israel and hammer out such a solution.

As Egypt can testify, the Israelis have shown they can compromise-- and sacrifice--for peace in the context of face-to-face negotiations, however hardnosed their rhetoric may be beforehand. What the Arabs, and especially the terrorist PLO, are apparently unprepared to risk is the negotiating process itself, because in such a setting they too would have to trade some of their cherished political dreams in return for an achievable reality. That's where the intransigence really lies.

Wanted: Arab Statesmanship

When push came to shove on the latest U.S. peace initiative in the Middle East, President Reagan and Jordan's King Hussein discovered what the Israelis, and many of the Palestinians, have known for years. The PLO doesn't want peace, it wants martyrs and scapegoats, because that's the only way the terrorists can maintain their power.

The Arab states who were so happy to turn the representation of the Palestinians over to the PLO in 1974, because it took them off the hook, have had ample time to see the havoc they have wrought. The question is, can President Reagan convince them that the time has come for courageous Arab rethinking of the PLO mandate. It is a time that may never come again.

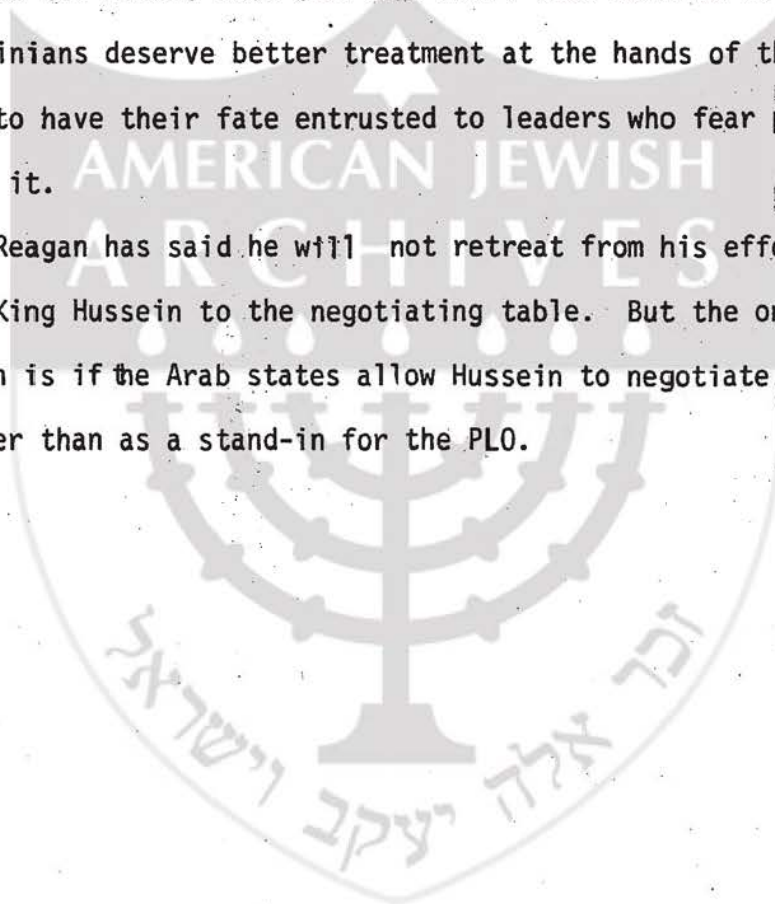


Where The Blame Lies

Now that PLO chief Yassir Arafat has slammed the door on the Reagan peace initiative, the President has finally said out loud what many knowledgeable leaders in the U.S. and elsewhere have been saying privately -- that the Arab states were wrong to make the terrorist PLO the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and that there will be no solution to the Middle East conflict until that mandate is rescinded.

The Palestinians deserve better treatment at the hands of their Arab neighbors than to have their fate entrusted to leaders who fear peace, rather than search for it.

President Reagan has said he will not retreat from his efforts to bring Jordan's King Hussein to the negotiating table. But the only way that will happen is if the Arab states allow Hussein to negotiate as a principal, rather than as a stand-in for the PLO.



Who's Blocking The Peace?

The latest cliff-hanger in the Middle East has ended with few surprises. PLO chief Yassir Arafat has vetoed both the Reagan peace plan and any move by Jordan's King Hussein to enter the peace negotiations. Faced with this setback to his peace initiative, President Reagan has correctly laid the blame at the door of the PLO.

If the Reagan plan is to be rescued, the Administration will have to press the Arab states to withdraw their blank check to Arafat. That will permit Hussein and those Palestinians who want to end the conflict to sit down with Israel, Egypt and the U.S. and seek ways to do so. It is a policy shift long overdue.



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date April 15, 1983
to Michelle Goldstein
from Sam Rabinove
subject Sikhs and the U.S. Armed Forces

In connection with our recent conversation regarding the request of the Sikh community in Los Angeles for our support against alleged U.S. Army discrimination against Sikhs, your attention is invited to the case of Sherwood v. Brown, 619 F.2d 49 (1980). In this California case, a three-judge Federal Court unanimously affirmed a U.S. District Court ruling upholding the constitutionality of the action of the Navy in discharging a Sikh who had insisted on his right to wear a turban while on duty. The Court reasoned that military security and safety must prevail over religious conviction. The Court said, in pertinent part:

"A Sikh cannot, for religious reasons, wear a helmet. Absence of a helmet poses serious safety problems both for the unprotected sailor and for the crew that depends on him. Pilots and aircrewmembers are required to wear specially protective helmets. Sailors working on an aircraft carrier flight deck or around operating aircraft must be similarly protected. All personnel at battle stations wear helmets to protect themselves from missiles such as shrapnel and to cushion their impact with bulkheads and overheads caused by a lurching vessel. A turban does not meet these safety requirements necessitated by both the ordinary and extraordinary activities of the modern, mechanized Navy."

cc: M. Tanenbaum, J. Rudin, H. Applebaum

*Respectfully,
Sam*

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

American Association for Ethiopian Jews

Eastern Office
340 Corlies Avenue
Pelham, New York 10803
(914) 738-0956

NATIONAL OFFICE
2789 OAK ST.
HIGHLAND PARK, ILL. 60035
(312) 433-8150

Western Office
304 Robin Hood Lane
Costa Mesa, California 93627
(714) 851-2049

May 5, 1983

Dear Friend,

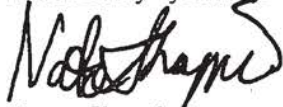
Recently a letter written by B. Zimna, an Ethiopian Jew in Israel, was distributed nationally in the Jewish community criticizing an obituary published by the American Association for Ethiopian Jews. This was sent under the direction of Robert Schroyer, Chairman of the National Community Relations Advisory Council Committee on Ethiopian Jewry. We believe the obituary to be accurate and so state in the enclosed article which appeared in the Sentinel. The article was in response to a further attack on the AAEJ by Israeli Consul General Emanuel Zippori.

The AAEJ believes there are dedicated Jews throughout the United States who would like to see Ethiopian Jewry quickly brought from the refugee camps in Africa to freedom. The AAEJ also knows that no Jew wants to see another Jew condemned to famine and starvation in Ethiopia. We do not believe it serves any purpose for a letter to be written by a bureaucrat in the Jewish Agency (as Zimna's letter was), signed by an Ethiopian Jew and distributed nationally by a Jewish organization without first learning whether or not the charges made are true. They are not.

We also enclose a letter to Mr. Abe Bayer of NJCRAC written by an Ethiopian Jew regarding other published material which was distributed to Jewish leadership through "official channels." Dr. Howard Lenhoff, past president of the AAEJ and I, when in Israel in April, personally contacted four of the six signatories, all of whom stated the letter was changed without their knowledge, after they signed it.

We hope that you will register your concern and disapproval of these tactics and insist that concerted efforts be made to fulfill the mandate of the Jewish community which is to save Jewish lives.

Sincerely yours,



Nate Shapiro
President

NS/ad

Richard Cohen Associates

PUBLIC RELATIONS COUNSEL

30 East 60th Street
New York, N.Y. 10022

March 1984

(212) PL 8-6969

Dear Friend:

You may recall our sending you an article last month by Professor Daniel Elazar, president of the Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, titled "Time for an Israeli UJA." This was the first of several we'll be sending based on the periodic reports prepared by the Center, an independent think tank in Israel headed by Professor Elazar.

The second in the series which we had planned to mail you was based on a study titled "Shared Rule: The Only Realistic Option for Peace." It is, many observers believe, an original and provocative proposal for dealing with the future of the West Bank and Gaza. To our delight, the summary we had prepared to send to you was published February 13 on the Op-Ed page of The New York Times and also on the editorial page of the International Herald Tribune. The clipping from The Times is enclosed.

The proposal for a system of shared rule of the territories by Jordan, Israel and the Palestinians is important not only because of its practical approach to a thorny problem, but also because it was prepared by a group (chaired by Professor Elazar) representing an unusually wide spectrum of political viewpoints in Israel. Among the members of the group were Benjamin Akzin, professor emeritus of law and political science at Hebrew University and an ideologue of the Revisionist movement; Zalman Shoval, a founder with Moshe Dayan of the Telem Party; Haggai Eshed, a member of the Labor Party's directorate; Yosef Lanir, a Labor Party leader and executive of the United Kibbutz Movement; and Shmuel Sandler, a member of the National Religious Party.

If you wish to receive a copy of the full report on "Shared Rule," or if you would simply like to comment on and respond to it, we hope you will write to Professor Elazar at the Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, 12 Moshe Hess Street, Jerusalem 94185.

Sincerely,

Richard Cohen

Richard Cohen

rc:ak

Enc.

The New York Times

Founded in 1851

ADOLPH S. OCHS, *Publisher 1896-1935*
ARTHUR HAYS SULZBERGER, *Publisher 1935-1961*
ORVIL E. DRYFOOS, *Publisher 1961-1963*

THE NEW YORK TIMES, MONDAY, FEBRUARY 13, 1984

A21

JERUSALEM — The future of Judea, Samaria and Gaza has proved to be a major stumbling block to peace in the Middle East. All approaches thus far have failed because they have been neither practical nor acceptable to all the parties in the dispute. Three basic proposals have been put forth.

First, withdrawal by Israel to its pre-1967 borders. Unacceptable, says Israel, citing the military danger of the territory's falling into terrorist hands and the political danger of a Palestine Liberation Organization state that would be too small and poor to be viable and could not help but be a nest for anti-Israel activity.

Second, annexation of the West Bank unilaterally by Israel. Unacceptable, say the Arabs and most of the international community. Also against this option are many Israelis, who see absorption of one million Palestinian Arabs as a serious threat to the Jewish character of the state.

Daniel J. Elazar is president of the Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, a research organization.

Third, repartitioning the territory. Unacceptable, say both Arabs and most Israelis. The Arabs stand firm on not ceding even one inch; the Israelis find that it poses strategic threats to Israel in terms of vulnerable borders and potential danger to Israel's water resources. Hence, partition (accepted by the Jews of Palestine in 1947 but rejected by the Arabs then) has been effectively jettisoned by the Camp David accords. The growing economic interdependence of the territory with both Jordan and Israel also inhibits the placing of political barriers in the region.

How to cut this Gordian knot? The only realistic option is a federated solution that grants full autonomy to the residents of the territories under joint Israeli-Jordanian administration.

The possibility of putting such a plan into effect is enhanced by the current weakness of Yasir Arafat. With the P.L.O. sharply split into pro-Syrian and pro-Arafat factions, the Arab League's 1974 Rabat, Morocco, agreement giving the P.L.O. the sole right to represent the Palestine Arabs may be a dead letter. With Mr. Arafat

West Bank — Share Power

By Daniel J. Elazar

himself in need of all the friends he can get, he may give King Hussein of Jordan permission to negotiate in the Palestinians' behalf, a step Hussein appeared willing to take last spring but which Mr. Arafat vetoed.

Given the conflicting Jewish and Arab claims and the current demographic and political realities, shared rule is the only option that is realistic and fair and has a chance of being accepted by all sides. Joint Israeli-Jordanian administration with self-rule for the Palestinian Arabs would fulfill the following essential needs: The right of Jews to reside in the territo-

ries; sufficient Israeli military presence to guarantee Israel's security; free movement of Israelis, Jordanians and Palestinian Arabs into and out of the territories; the right of all residents to choose their citizenship — either Israeli or Jordanian — and to live within a normal framework that gives citizenship meaningful expression; and substantial economic integration of Israel, Jordan and the territories.

The truth is that de facto shared rule is already in place in Judea and Samaria. Israel basically controls security and the economy, while Jordan provides residents and groups with a legal identity and representation in the reconvened Jordanian Parliament, furnishes the curriculum used in schools and controls trade relations with the rest of the Arab world.

In short, the territories are already in joint tenancy, with local residents enjoying considerable autonomy in their internal matters and in their daily lives. What is needed is to end the state of occupation and work out broader self-rule for the residents under a permanent solution.

Politically, shared rule would

create a Palestinian Arab entity that would not be a sovereign state but would be linked to Israel and Jordan. These states would share in providing the structural and institutional cement for the entire arrangement. The allocation of water resources, the development of tourism, the creation of a customs union — these are just a few examples of the kinds of responsibilities the two states would share while maintaining their separate independence as political sovereignties.

Such an arrangement would enable Jews and Arabs living in the West Bank and the Gaza district to express their national identities. Having chosen Israeli or Jordanian citizenship, they would enjoy voting rights either in the Knesset or the Jordanian Parliament, in addition to having voting privileges in local elections.

Every other formula designed to define the status of the West Bank and Gaza has foundered. The moment may be near for the parties to sit down and discuss seriously a plan for shared rule to remove a major roadblock to peace in the Middle East.



ISRAELI PRESS HIGHLIGHTS

A REVIEW OF WEEKEND NEWSPAPERS
by the Israel Office of The American Jewish Committee

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York, N.Y. 10022 • 212/751-4000 • Cable Wishcom, N.Y.

The Anniversary of a Cold Peace

(Press Summary - March 25, 1984)

This week marks the fifth anniversary of the Camp David Accords, signed in Washington on March 26, 1979, by Israel's Prime Minister Menachem Begin and Egyptian President Anwar Sadat, and witnessed by U.S. President Jimmy Carter. The event was to have been observed in Israel by a special T.V. documentary on Israeli-Egyptian relations during the past five years, but the program was rescheduled as developments related to early elections in Israel dominated the news.

Yosef Goel, a Jerusalem Post columnist, recently returned from a visit to Egypt. He notes that both Egyptian and Israeli officials periodically reaffirm their commitment to the peace treaty, but he questions the viability of the pact. "An all-important question - especially for Israel - is whether the commitment to 'no more war' could easily be reversed by Egypt at any time in the future. Five years have not been sufficient to provide conclusive evidence that the breakthrough that Anwar Sadat made will not be reversed by some future Egyptian leadership," writes Goel.

Goel recalls that it was the Egyptian Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Dr. Boutros Ghali, who coined the term "cold peace" as the appropriate description for the current state of Israeli-Egyptian relations.

In an interview last week in Cairo with the Post correspondent, Dr. Ghali listed all of the Egyptian disappointments with Israel's "deception" from the Camp David Accords, including Israel's attack on the Iraqi atomic reactor only a few days after the historic meeting between Begin and Sadat at Sharm el-Sheikh; the Israeli annexation of the Golan Heights and East Jerusalem; "foot-dragging" in the West Bank autonomy talks; the war in Lebanon; the "provocative" settlement policy on the West Bank; and, the boundary dispute over Taba, near Eilat.

Israeli officials view the relationship differently. Dr. Eliahu Ben-Elissar, who was Israel's first ambassador to Egypt and is now chairman of the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee, told Goel that "whether the peace is 'hot' or 'cold' depends entirely on the Egyptians." He explained that Israel committed no "double cross" on the Palestinian issue. Israel repeatedly told the Egyptians that "there will never be a Palestinian state west of the Jordan," says Ben-Elissar, but the Egyptians hoped that the U.S. would help them overcome Israel's position. It was Sadat who suspended the autonomy talks when he became convinced that President Carter would not apply pressure on Israel in an election year, he says. In formal terms, Dr. Ben-Elissar adds, "we agreed to legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, not to their self-determination."

As far as Lebanon is concerned, Dr. Ben-Elissar says "that no government in the world, including Egypt's, would have stood by idly in the face of the threat to her citizens by the PLO in Lebanon." He also asserts that a Lebanon free of Syria is a "true interest" of Egypt.

Goel concludes his first of a series of articles that will assess the past five years with a quotation from an unidentified Israeli official who was very close to the events that led to peace between Israel and Egypt. "We Israelis are totally unreasonable in our expectations. We forget what we got. We no longer marvel. I still do, despite the daily problems that I confront in the implementation of the peace," says the official.

Gabbi Zohar, a columnist for Al Hamishmar, also visited Egypt recently and finds it "a breath of fresh air" compared with any visit to Lebanon by an Israeli in these troubled times. The term 'cold peace', writes Zohar, is the "invention of statesmen, politicians and the media, but does not exist in the Egyptian lexicon as far as relations with Israel are concerned." Instead, Egyptians have overcome "the process of eliminating preconceptions and whatever brainwashing they underwent towards Israel. The most convincing proof is the way Egyptians treat the Israeli visitor, which is no different from their attitude towards other tourists," writes Zohar.

Zohar was told that thousands of Egyptians want to visit Israel and will certainly do so the moment they are allowed to by the Egyptian authorities. He has no doubt that the visit of Egyptians to Tel Aviv, Haifa, Jerusalem and other places would contribute to a similar breath of fresh air for the Egyptians when they meet Israelis inside Israel. For the time being, however, Zohar and other Israelis must wait until Egyptian officials give their approval.

Shmuel Segev, writing in Ma'ariv, is concerned with the so-called 'cold peace' that he claims began with the new president of Egypt, Hosni Mubarak, on the day after the assassination of Anwar Sadat on October 6, 1981. "Besides the fact that there are embassies of Israel and Egypt in Tel Aviv and Cairo, and besides the small trickle of Israeli tourists who still visit Egypt, it cannot be said that an especially warm atmosphere exists in the relationships of both countries," writes Segev.

Segev notes that the government of Israel recently made several attempts to "defrost" the cold peace by overtures made "directly" and through other parties to arrange a summit meeting between President Mubarak and Prime Minister Shamir, but to no avail. Israel also attempted to get the autonomy talks underway but the Egyptian response was that "we have no interest in holding such talks until their success is guaranteed, and until there is a substantial change in the Israeli position."

Despite this pessimistic description, Segev quotes Israeli officials who believe that the peace with Egypt has not been "wasted." They believe that the past five years have proven the stability of the Camp David Accords, which have never been rejected by the Egyptians "despite the pressures applied upon Presidents Sadat and Mubarak." They add that although the Egyptians withdrew their ambassador from Tel Aviv, they "have not violated the letter of the treaty with Israel, even if they did not breath into it the exultant warmth of life." Despite Israel's war in Lebanon, the Egyptians did not violate the agreement on limiting the number of its soldiers in the Sinai, nor did they close the Suez Canal to Israeli shipping. In fact, the Arab boycott of Israel no longer exists in Egypt and the Israeli tourist feels secure in the streets of Egypt.

What does disturb Israeli officials, however, is that the Egyptians have not developed economic ties with Israel as was expected. "Following the signing of the peace treaty, there was great hope in Israel that meaningful economic relations would develop for the sake of both countries. This hope was based, for the most part, on the fact that Israel purchases two million tons of crude oil from Egypt every year, and it was natural to expect reciprocal purchases by Egypt in Israel," writes Segev.

The "gem of the Nile" is the term Israel's ambassador to Egypt, Moshe Sasson, uses to describe a little-known center of activity in Cairo in a conversation with Arye Luba Eliav, who writes about Egypt in a second installment in Yediot Acharonot. The "gem" is the Israel Academic Center in Cairo, headed by Professor Shimon Shamir, a noted Middle East expert, associated with the Shiloah Center at Tel Aviv University. The Center in Cairo got off to a bad start when many intellectuals, professors and students, according to Eliav, were hesitant to visit while Beirut was being shelled by the Israelis. Nevertheless, due to Professor Shamir's engaging personality, the Center has become "a beautiful island on the banks of the Nile that is a meeting place for members of both peoples, who respect each other's culture," writes Eliav.

Eliav writes that he had the good fortune to visit the Center on a day when some thirty Egyptian students, male and female, met with an equal number of Israeli students who are studying Arab literature and language at Tel Aviv University. The lecture was conducted in a mixture of Hebrew and Arabic and was devoted to Israeli writers who were born in Arab countries and who have written about their experiences in their countries of origin.

The Israel Academic center in Cairo, Eliav points out, is "a small but unparalleled important model that indicates what can be the content and circumference of the relationships between us and our largest neighbor."

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Edited by Kenneth Bandler

Jerusalem Post is an independent newspaper, generally supporting the Labor Party.

Al Hamishmar is affiliated with the Socialist MAPAM Party.

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THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

CONSULTATION ON U. S. STRATEGIC INTERESTS
IN THE ARABIAN PENINSULA & PERSIAN GULF

March 29, 1984

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CONFIDENTIAL

International Relations Department
Israel and Middle East Division

**CONSULTATION ON U.S. STRATEGIC INTERESTS
IN THE ARABIAN PENINSULA & PERSIAN GULF**

March 29, 1984

SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS & RECOMMENDATIONS

1. It appears unlikely that the Straits of Hormuz will be totally blocked and the export of oil cut off. If there was such a cut off, however, there could be serious consequences. The real danger is not loss of supplies, since available reserves together with expanded production by non-Gulf producers could make up the shortfall, but the psychological impact on the international oil market. Panic buying could drive up spot prices, as occurred after the Iranian revolution in 1979, and this could result in an increase in long term prices. This underscores the need for coordinated contingency planning by the Western industrial powers and Japan.
2. The Reagan Administration is only now beginning to think about how and under what circumstances to use our Strategic Petroleum Reserve. How long into a crisis should we wait before drawing on SPR oil? Should the oil be sold only to U.S. companies or also to foreign firms? Guidelines for using the SPR need to be drawn up. A definitive U.S. policy would help avert "panic buying" by our allies in the event of a cut off of Gulf oil. (The 390 million barrels currently stored in the SPR would be sufficient to make up the lost supply to Europe and Japan for more than three months or to replace total U.S. oil imports for four months.) The SPR, however, is untested and there remains some uncertainty as to how effectively and at what cost we can draw the oil from the salt caverns.
3. The Iraqi-Iranian war is likely to continue. A principal lesson of this conflict is that we should not underestimate either the ability of rulers in crisis situations to survive despite severe setbacks or the national cohesiveness of a country's population. Through a combination of appeals to nationalism, the launching of development projects in Shiite areas, and the use of coercive measures, the regime of Saddam Hussein has prevented any effective pro-Iranian revolt by the Shiites of Iraq. Similarly, the Arab-speaking residents of the Iranian province of Khuzistan did not actively support the Iraqi appeals to rise up against Khomeini.
4. Neither an Iraqi nor an Iranian victory is in the interest of the U.S., Saudi Arabia, the sheikdoms or Israel. While a limited American tilt toward Iraq might appear to make some sense in terms of averting an Iranian breakthrough, such a move is not advisable. Since no one is convinced that a tilt to Iraq could be carefully calibrated, it has inherent dangers for U.S. strategic interests in the Middle East. The increasing evidence that

Iraq has used illegal chemical warfare is also likely to militate against Congressional or public support for any significant improvement in American-Iraqi relations. While the spread of Islamic fundamentalism, and in particular the joining of radical and fundamentalist elements in anti-Western terrorism, poses a serious threat to American interests and conservative Arab regimes, the weak Gulf states still remember that Iraqi ascendancy used to be a major concern. They are therefore only reluctantly supporting Baghdad and are not eager to see Iraq emerge as the predominant Gulf power. The unstated hope in many quarters is that the war will continue indecisively, weakening both sides.

5. Although one can not exclude the possibility of a major escalation in the conflict, most participants discounted the prospect of a doomsday scenario in which the West and the Soviet Union would be dragged into a conflict that could escalate into World War III. Both the Soviet Union and the United States have exercised considerable restraint in the Iran-Iraq war. Although Moscow has been critical of American threats to use force if necessary to keep the Straits of Hormuz open, the USSR is unlikely to take military action to prevent the re-opening of the Straits, especially in view of Russia's traditional championing of the principle of free passage through international straits (e.g. the Dardanelles).
6. While Saudi Arabia has been characterized as a stable country in the 1960's and 1970's, it is now moving into an era of instability. There are new groups and new classes in Saudi society that did not exist until the late 1960's. At present, there seems to be no imminent threat to the regime. Nevertheless, given the paucity of information about what is going on in high levels of Saudi society, it is very difficult to measure forces of stability and instability, or to predict the future course of Saudi political development. The presence of large numbers of foreign workers, the generational gap between the western-educated youth and their traditional elders, and the impact of opening higher education to women are among the developments that are likely to increase strains within Saudi society in the next decade.
7. The U.S. should encourage the Export-Import Bank to extend credits to Iraq for the building of an oil pipeline to the Jordanian port of Aqaba. The pipeline, which could be constructed in a period of less than six months, would greatly aid Iraq's ailing economy. Israel is not likely to obstruct Iraqi oil exports. It also has not blocked ships going to Aqaba with supplies for Iraq. The U.S. and Israel should discuss Red Sea security arrangements and such discussions might lead to some tacit Iraqi-Israeli understanding and the eventual weaning of Iraq away from the radical Arab anti-Israel confrontation front.
8. It was agreed that the U.S. did not want to make direct use of Israeli armed forces in any local military action in the Gulf. Moreover, Israel itself would be very reluctant to play such a role. There was much disagreement among the participants, however, on what indirect role, if any, Israel could play in promoting U.S. strategic policy vis-a-vis the Gulf. A supportive role might involve intelligence gathering, providing additional air cover for the U.S. Navy in the Eastern Mediterranean, and countering Syrian threats to Jordan so that a Jordanian rapid deployment force could be deployed to the Gulf area.

9. It was suggested that Turkey could play a useful role to help the U.S. protect its interests in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf. America's other NATO allies should also be more actively involved in contingency planning to meet potential military threats in the Gulf region. Egypt is currently also a moderate pro-Western state that shares American strategic concerns, but there was dispute among the participants as to whether Egypt would be willing or able to send a military expeditionary force to help Gulf states in trouble or whether Egyptian military forces would be welcomed. (The unfortunate Egyptian intervention during Nasser's time in the Yemeni civil war has resulted in a measure of hesitation on both sides.)
10. The Gulf and the situation in Lebanon has taken precedence over the Arab-Israeli conflict in U.S. Middle East attention during most of the past two years. As a result, the current government in Israel has been afforded greater freedom of action vis-a-vis the West Bank and U.S.-Israeli differences have been minimized. This does not mean, however, that those differences have been resolved or that U.S. and Israeli Middle East perceptions are identical on these issues, which are likely to assume a higher priority following the Israeli and American elections.
11. Recommendations for AJC follow-up activities:
 - a. Publicize and condemn human rights violations committed by Iraq and Iran.
 - b. In places where exaggerated reports of Israeli military assistance to Iran have been used to fan anti-Israel feelings in the American public, provide background information that will put the limited Israeli supply of spare parts into perspective and explain the factors (e.g. the vulnerable Jewish community in Iran) why Israel does not adopt an openly hostile position to the anti-Zionist Khomeini regime.
 - c. Encourage the Administration to support Export-Import Bank credits for the Kirkuk-Aqaba pipeline, which would provide a channel for Iraqi oil not subject to interruption by closing of the Straits of Hormuz.
 - d. Express through private channels concern over the harmful consequences to U.S. strategic interests of attempts by the American pro-Greek lobby to cut off U.S. assistance to Turkey. Turkey is an important regional power, with close ties to Western Europe and the Islamic world, as well as a measure of friendly relations with Israel.
 - e. While pointing out the very limited extent to which the United States can rely upon the Saudis either politically, diplomatically or militarily, we should not argue publicly that Saudi Arabia is really unstable. This only strengthens the

counter-argument that close U.S.-Israeli relations increase Saudi instability by making the Saudis vulnerable to radical criticism and that increased American military supply to Saudi Arabia is necessary to shore up the regime.

- f. It was also suggested that the AJC sponsor an expanded two-day conference in the fall to assess the options for U.S. Middle East policy in the Arab-Israel area as well as in the Gulf in the period following the Israeli and American elections.

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TAKING SIDES IN THE GULF WAR

Amazia Baram, THE JERUSALEM POST, 6 March 1984

The writer is a lecturer on Middle East Studies at Haifa University and a specialist on Iraq.

(...) The most likely result of a major Iraqi setback is a coup d'état in Baghdad. This, most likely, would be staged by a coalition of factions inside the Ba'ath Party élite and army officers. The new leadership could be expected to try to come to an agreement with Iran and Syria. If this proved a success, relations between Iraq and Iran would improve and so would relations between Iraq and Syria. It should be noted here that since the early seventies, Saddam Hussein and his close circle within the party, though ideologically committed to the destruction of Israel, have been much more pragmatic about it than many of their peers; they were not ready to sacrifice Iraq, or party-hold over Iraq, on the altar of the liberation of Palestine.

In the same vein, their rivalry with Syria, more often than not, came first and prevented them on more than one occasion from sending troops to the Golan Heights. At least once, in 1976, on the pretext of their commitment to the Palestinian cause, the Iraqis amassed troops on their border with Syria with the intention of invading Syria, not Palestine.

(...) A more farfetched, though not necessarily improbable, scenario is that of a total collapse of the Iraqi army and Iranian occupation of Baghdad. This does not seem likely in the near future, but it may happen within a year or two. In such an event Khomeini would impose on Baghdad a fundamentalist Shi'ite regime, which would be a mirror-image of his own. (...)

How would such a development affect Israel? One may assert that Israel would hardly be affected at all. Khomeini would next turn to Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, and thus would become an American, not an Israeli, problem. (...)

This may or may not be true: Khomeini's ideological commitment to liberate Jerusalem is at least as binding as his commitment to change the regime of Saudi Arabia. Anyway, a series of Khomeini-style revolutions in the Gulf can hardly appeal to any Israeli, even if one sees it as primarily an American problem. (...)

What should Israel do, then? Admittedly, there isn't much Israel could do, even if it wanted to, and there is much to be said for caution. (...)

However, at the present moment Israel's first step should be to stop all arms sales to Iran if they are still going on. (...)

Iraq through its economic strategy is proving right now that it may be ready for substantial

modification of previous stances. It is planning to build a huge oil pipeline from southern Iraq to the Red Sea through Saudi Arabia and another one through Jordan to Aqaba. These pipelines are proof that Iraq is ready to place some of its major strategic assets at the mercy of royalist pro-American regimes that only six or seven years ago topped its list of Arab regimes that should be toppled. Then again, a gradually heavier reliance of the Iraqi economy on outlets on the Red Sea brings Iraqi interests, at least geographically, closer to those of Israel. One can hardly believe that Iraqi strategists are not aware of the political significance of their economic planning.

WEST BANK FIGURES MEET WITH ARAFAT IN JORDAN

Roni Shaked (Arab affairs reporter), YEDIOT AHRONOT, 6 March 1984

"We ask you, as head of the PLO, to work out a strategy, together with King Hussein, that will lead to the end of the occupation and give us our rights - before it is too late." With these words East Jerusalem lawyer Issam al-Anani presented Yasser Arafat with a petition signed by 80 personalities from Judea-Samaria and Gaza. The petition, set out by a master scribe on parchment, was the message of the residents of the territories to the PLO chief; the occasion was a meeting last week between 31 West Bank representatives and the PLO leader at the Jordanian government's residence for VIPs in Amman. (...)

In welcoming the mission Arafat assured its members: "This time you may be certain that the joint communiqué issued by King Hussein and myself will be to your liking - you will not be disappointed."

At the request of the West Bank representatives, the media were barred from covering the event. A number of West Bank delegates decided at the last moment not to take part in the meeting, explaining that they had given a promise to that effect to the Israeli military governors. Arafat, finding himself in a relaxed atmosphere, spoke calmly and confidently, without slogans; leaving his audience with the conviction that he did indeed intend to adhere to a political solution in partnership with King Hussein.

The first speaker was delegation head Hikhmat al-Masri, of Nablus, Speaker of the Jordanian Senate. Greeting Arafat, he praised his courageous stand in Tripoli and his meeting with Egyptian President Mubarak. "We represent all the residents of the West Bank," al-Masri said, adding that "although Gaza residents were prevented from attending, their signatures also appear on the petition."

Anwar al-Hatib of East Jerusalem, former governor of the Jerusalem District, had sought to serve as head of the delegation but finally yielded, after much pressure, to his older colleague from Nablus. To Arafat, al-Hatib said: "We ask you to assist the King in launching constructive negotiations that will lead to the building of a just peace - through political negotiations and not by military means."

For Bethlehem Mayor Elias Freij, one of the leading members of the delegation, this was not the first meeting with Arafat. Bluntly, he told the PLO leader: "Time is working against peace and hence against us, the Palestinians. The peace that can be achieved today is better than the peace that can be achieved tomorrow. Therefore we are asking Your Excellency to join in the efforts of the King."

After listening attentively to his guests, Arafat gave them an account of his departure from Tripoli and his visit to Egypt, hinting that it had been by way of a preparatory trip for his mission to Amman and the opening of a dialogue with King Hussein. He assured his interlocutors that he would make every effort to arrive at a joint position with King Hussein that would meet the wishes of the residents of the territories. (...)

Most of the delegates have by now returned to the West Bank with the feeling that their position has been strengthened and that they will be able to exert an influence on future developments. Summing up the meeting yesterday in tones of quiet confidence, Hikhmat al-Masri said: "The

meeting has given added weight to the role of the residents of the West Bank in finding a solution to the conflict."

ISRAEL AND THE USA: THREE VIEWPOINTS

I. MK Yitzhak Zeiger (Likud-Herut), HA'ARETZ, 8 March 1984

(...) A strong Israel is a bastion of the West in the Middle East and a guarantee of the continued flow of oil to the West. The Americans know that a weak and disintegrating Israel would place Jordan and Saudi Arabia in immediate danger - thus obligating the US to station tens of thousands of troops in the Middle East and to disburse trillions of dollars there every year. Such a heavy financial burden would undoubtedly give rise to considerable economic difficulties in the US. Moreover, it's unlikely that the present size of the US armed forces would be adequate to the task. The US would probably have to reintroduce the draft - a highly unpopular step. (...)

There is no doubt that the US benefits from Israel's military strength. The trouble is that Washington pays too little for what it gets. In fact, the existence of a strong Israel is costing the US only about \$2.5 billion per annum: that is the sum of the military and civilian aid we receive, and a large part of it is actually an interest-bearing loan that Israel discharges promptly. At that relatively low cost Israel, by its very existence, saves the US vast amounts and relieves it of political and economic difficulties at home and entanglements abroad. For the Americans it's a bargain - and don't they know it! It's the Israelis who are the dupes, for by not demanding due recompense they are effectively subsidizing the US. (...)

We ourselves should realize, and then get it over clearly to the US Administration and American public opinion, that we are producing "security", and doing so by imposing a tremendous burden on our own citizens - one that is virtually unparalleled anywhere else in the world. The Americans must be made to understand that it is in their own interests to help us, since any deterioration of Israel's political and economic situation is liable to weaken the country militarily, thus adversely affecting Western interests and throwing a major burden on the US. In short, we must convince Washington that little Israel can no longer subsidize the great United States.

II. Yuval Elitzur (senior economic correspondent), MA'ARIV, 12 March 1984

(...) In his article in HA'ARETZ, MK Zeiger argues that Israel's existence is preventing a Soviet take-over of our region and permitting the free flow of oil to the West. In his view, the Americans should be made to understand that it is in their own interests to help us, since any deterioration of Israel's economic situation will weaken us militarily. (...)

With regard to the argument about Soviet encroachment, it should be borne in mind that in the view of many US observers the lesson to be drawn from the events in our region is precisely the opposite: that it is Israel's existence and US commitment to it that have brought about a situation in which Arab leaders, who might have been staunch American allies, are receiving Soviet military aid and abetting the USSR's strategic penetration of the Middle East.

The same argument could also serve to demonstrate that Marxism has not managed to dominate any of the major Arab States, starting with Egypt and Syria; and that those countries, along with Saudi Arabia, Iraq and perhaps even Libya, might constitute a more important "strategic asset" to the US than Israel, if the latter were to disappear from the map. (...)

As for the moral argument: if our balance of payments deficit were caused solely by our defence outlay we might be able to ask Uncle Sam to foot the bill. But given the fact that in recent years the civilian deficit has also been steadily rising and that we have expected the Americans to subsidize the ravages of the "correct economics" which MK Zeiger supported in the Knesset, we have turned our "strategic asset" into a mere commodity.

Anyone who accepts MK Zeiger's logic must view the Israelis as mercenaries of the US, and Israel as a State devoid of creative verve, one characterized by scrounging and dependence on others. Such a State cannot thrive; it will stagnate and fall apart.

III. Dr Gabi Shefer (Truman Institute, Hebrew University), HA'ARETZ, 14 March 1984

The US and Israel are an "odd couple" in the international constellation. An asymmetry exists between them in virtually every sphere, yet the special relationship they have formed persists. The most surprising aspect of the situation is that Israel is seeking to increase its dependence on the US - and the latter is responding favourably. (...)

The Israel government does not learn from experience. As in other areas of foreign and defence policy in which unrealistic positions have been adopted, errors of judgement abound in the matter of the country's dependence on the US - errors which other small countries set out to avoid. It is precisely under the Likud government that Israel's dependence on the US has grown by leaps and bounds. Thus it is no coincidence that these days the US ambassador to Israel has come to be known as the "high commissioner". This increased dependence is the result of Israel's desire for a rapprochement with the US, American willingness to maintain and increase its aid to Israel and the ongoing alienation of Israel from Europe as well as the Third World.

(...) There are two main causes of the cool relations with Europe. One relates to fundamental differences between Israel and Europe regarding a solution to the Palestinian problem. The second is Israel's failure to understand that differences in this sector do not necessarily preclude the possibility of dialogue on other matters. The prevailing view in the Israeli political hierarchy and among the public is that "Europe is a lost cause". (...)

Even if the policy designed to draw Israel closer to the US and increase its dependence on Washington has not yet generated any political disaster, in the medium and long term it will give rise to a number of thorny problems for Israel, which already has a sufficiency of other problems to cope with. No one disputes that economic and military dependence on the present scale is an unhealthy state of affairs for Israel's society and economy. Initiative and the will to make changes are sapped when dependence is so overwhelming. The situation will never be remedied as long as the country's leaders know that they may expect prodigious inflows of unilateral funds. Nor is Israel's political dependence on the US a good thing. The greater that dependence grows, the more likely Israel is to become embroiled in actions and circumstances not in line with its own interests, while the basic problem - namely, a solution to the Palestinian problem - remains unresolved. (...)

Israel must so far as possible reduce its exclusive dependence on any one element. Like the smaller European countries, it must seek to diversify its aid sources and imports, as well as its export markets, in order to arrive at a state of affairs in which its decisions will be prompted by independent considerations.

SHAMIR'S WET PEACE PIPE

Editorial, THE JERUSALEM POST, 9 March 1984

(...) Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir's sharp attack against Egypt in the Knesset on Wednesday reflects the deep sense of disappointment that has settled upon the government regarding relations with that country.

Unfortunately that feeling does not include the ability to understand that a similar sense of dismay about Israel has settled upon Cairo. Both sides feel let down and aggrieved by the other, just as they are about to mark the fifth anniversary of the peace treaty.

(...) This gap is not a promising reality on which to build the peace - though it must be acknowledged that the military aspects of the peace agreement have been meticulously observed.

But more is at work than simply a gap of understanding. Both parties also have an interest in

nourishing their grudges. The Egyptians find it a useful way to restore their position in the Arab world; the Likud government deploys the argument of Egyptian perfidy against those who press it to get on with a peace process embracing Jordan and the West Bank.

For Egypt, such use of the cold peace may be sharp tactics in the shifting sands of inter-Arab politics. But Mr Shamir's attempt to hold up the peace as a warning against future agreements is simply an invidious method of justifying the Likud's policy regarding Judea, Samaria and Gaza. That policy contains within it enough explosive potential for Israel's future. It does not need to be supplemented by further alienation of Egypt.

Instead of dwelling self-righteously upon what has not been achieved in relations with Egypt, the government would do better to expend its energies encouraging those relations. That they will not bloom in the ways trumpeted five years ago will, however, unfortunately remain the case as long as Israel's government has no better alternative to offer on the West Bank than the status quo.

THE PERES PLAN

Hirsh Goodman (defence correspondent), THE JERUSALEM POST, 9 March 1984

(...) Peres, on television earlier this week, presented an alternative way of looking at things: instead of waiting for the impossible to happen, make it happen. Instead of waiting for a political reality that will allow an IDF withdrawal to emerge from the quicksands of Lebanon's political jungle, ignore the need for a political solution and defend Israel from the international border by pursuing an active and aggressive defence policy.

As Peres sees it, if we patrolled the skies of southern Lebanon; if we patrolled Lebanon's coast; if we maintained a small but efficient intelligence infrastructure in southern Lebanon that would give early warning of a PLO return; if we continued to have an "executive" relationship with the army of the late Major Sa'ad Haddad; and if the terrorists understood that they would be hit every time they tried to set up a base in territory Israel considers off limits - then Israel's security in the north could be ensured. There would be only a few hundred Israeli security personnel in Lebanon at any given time, and the IDF could be brought back home.

There are few flaws in the logic. All the ideas put forward by Peres can be carried out. Israel could patrol Lebanon's skies and shores with impunity, unless the Syrians decided to become involved and risk total war with Israel claiming to uphold a principle regarding Lebanon's sovereignty. Haddad's army could be used effectively to man roadblocks, keep an ear to the ground in the towns and villages of the south to pick up any surreptitious return of terrorists. Specialist Israeli security personnel and sophisticated electronic equipment could bolster that ear's capability. If these measures were not a sufficient deterrent, Israel could resort to the selective use of force to pre-empt any significant terrorist build-up. (...)

Chief-of-Staff Levy is right in saying that there are no miracles on the horizon. But he is wrong in assuming that the logical conclusion to his statement is that the army has to remain a policeman in a hostile land until the impossible happens. The chief-of-staff should be the last person in this country counselling that the IDF remain in an environment where only more enemies can be made; where no alliances are permanent; and where only more casualties can be expected. (...)

"NEVER SAY THAT AGAIN."

MK Yossi Sarid (Alignment-Labour), MA'ARIV, 9 March 1984

The meeting at Harvard University was, of course, a political event. They were five Palestinian Arabs, we were five Israeli Jews. But the Harvard meeting was also a personal encounter of ten human beings. (...)

The tone was different this time. There was a different kind of music: all of us strove not to

play the same old worn-out, scratchy records, not to emit the old jarring noises. And we succeeded. No tune was played to rouse the snake of Original Sin. For three days we sat together, and that snake never slithered out of the basket of old history. Except once.

On the second day, one of the Palestinian representatives, a young man, described the situation in the West Bank. It was a harsh depiction, but faithful to the reality there. His tone became increasingly heated until, at the culmination of his impassioned remarks, he said: "The West Bank is the Auschwitz of the Palestinian Arab people." (...)

I asked for the floor.

The situation in the West Bank is dreadful, I said. The occupation there must not be allowed to continue. Israel, even if it tries, will never succeed in inventing a new kind of occupation - an enlightened occupation. Even if at the outset there were plenty of good intentions, the latter stages have become exceedingly ugly and brutal. We five Israelis and our comrades will not rest until that situation is ended, so that you may be rescued from humiliation and oppression, and we ourselves from corruption and brutalization.

But anyone who evokes Auschwitz is in fact saying that the West Bank is one great extermination camp. And that is an outright lie.

Anyone who evokes Auschwitz is saying that Israel, my country, is Nazi Germany. A mad lie.

Never say that again, I demanded.

We are trying together to save your lives, our lives, by extricating ourselves from the bog of prejudice and calumnies and sacred fallacies. But you are once more invoking the evil spirits that will shatter our lives beyond repair.

Never say that again, I repeated. (...)

I saw that Professor Walid Khalidi was asking for the floor to respond to my comments. I prayed with all my heart that he would say nothing that might sever the thread that was uniting us. (...)

Turning to his Palestinian colleague, Prof. Khalidi said: Never say that again. Never again compare the West Bank with Auschwitz. The analogy is false and arbitrary. I have told you a thousand times not to draw that comparison. The holocaust of the Jews was unique, unparalleled, and nothing can be likened to it. There was nothing like it before, and there must never be anything like it again.

This was said by a Palestinian professor.

Nothing to do with territories or borders, mutual recognition or coexistence, but nevertheless the most important political statement I have ever heard from a Palestinian. (...)

AN ARMY WITHOUT A GOVERNMENT

Shulamit Hareven, YEDIOT AHRONOT, 12 March 1984

The government has an army. A good army. The army has no government.

The IDF has carried out all its missions in Lebanon. Unfailingly. Willingly or otherwise. Angrily, in a spirit of sacrifice, with gritted teeth and gallons of blood. The failure of the Lebanon war is not the IDF's failure; it is the government's failure.

The IDF, just as it was able to enter Lebanon through planning and resourcefulness, knows how to leave Lebanon with planning and resourcefulness. Only the government doesn't know how.

Our soldiers are moving about in Lebanon in a kind of frozen, schizophrenic trance - something that's never happened before. The soldiers have changed. They eat less. They sing less. There are fewer jokes. Operating under coercion, stiffly like automata, all they want to do is go home. At first they would kiss the earth at Rosh Hanikra when they crossed back into Israel. Now they don't even do that. It's afterwards, in Israel, that the fury erupts. It's all

shouting. It's all macho. They drive like maniacs and smash each other up. Some emotional faculty, something precious has been lost. Officers, seeing what's happening, speak with concern about the "Phalangization" of the IDF. Has that phrase come to the ears of anyone in the Cabinet? The recovery will take a long time. To feel something again. To connect head and heart. Now it's one great dichotomy.

The Cabinet sits tight. It loses no sleep. Another week, another meeting. Ariel Sharon delivers paid lectures: ten thousand dollars a time. Business as usual. They are not suffering from schizophrenia. Maybe they don't have personality enough to be split.

The IDF knows how to safeguard the northern border with as much security as is feasible. The government is afraid to decide. The IDF never said "No more Katyushas." They know that is unrealistic.

A government that didn't hesitate for a moment when it decided to send young people into this idiotic war is now incapable of deciding to get them out. What are they waiting for? The resurrection of Bashir Jemayel? (...)

THE LAST OPTION

Arye Dayah, KOTERET RASHIT, 14 March 1984

(...) The following passage, taken from the draft of Meron Benvenisti's study, is based on the most comprehensive data research survey ever conducted in the West Bank, and it has a direct bearing on the future and the character of Israel:

"The processes that are at work to complete the annexation of the West Bank and Gaza are more powerful than those working against the assimilation of the territories into the Israeli system. The difference in strength between the opposing forces is bringing about a state of affairs in which political, military, socio-economic and psychological conditions are turning annexation into an irreversible fact. In statistical terms the situation has not yet reached the point of no return. However, an examination of the dynamics of the forces at work and the time factor shows that the critical period is already behind us." (...)

Seven years of Likud rule have radically transformed the situation that existed in the West Bank in 1977, Benvenisti says. The Likud's geostrategic goal - in contrast to that of the Alignment, which sought to implement the Allon Plan - was to forge a situation which would facilitate future annexation. In Benvenisti's view, that goal has been achieved. (...)

"It would not be a serious proposition," he adds, "to offer the West Bank Arabs the right to vote in Israel's elections at a time when they themselves oppose such a move. I support everything the West Bank Arabs want which is consistent with my own humanitarian norms." Benvenisti says the doves in Israel must begin to take a realistic view of the situation and reformulate their position vis-à-vis the West Bank. "If they don't," he explains, "Yossi Sarid and his colleagues may one day be faced with a state of affairs that will faze them: while they are speaking of withdrawal from the territories, the Arab residents of those territories will be demanding their annexation to Israel."

MK Yossi Sarid terms Benvenisti's contribution to the struggle of Israel's doves a "negative" one. Unintentionally, and perhaps through misjudgement, says Sarid, Benvenisti has played into the hands of his political opponents and helped their case. If the reality were as Benvenisti portrays it, Sarid says, he too would acknowledge the Likud's achievement. But Sarid does not agree with Benvenisti's assessment: "The Likud wants to create the impression that there is a *fait accompli* in the West Bank, that what has been done cannot be undone. It is interested in promoting that impression among the Israeli public, and more particularly abroad. In this the Likud has now received an unexpected, tremendously powerful boost from an expert witness in the shape of Benvenisti. From the Likud's point of view, he is certainly an excellent authority to lean on." (...)

According to Sarid, political, global and regional circumstances in recent years have facilitated the settlement drive of Gush Emunim and the Israel government. However, he sees several indications that the tide is about to turn. "Meron Benvenisti claimed to be engaging in forecast analysis. /Instead, what he has done is to examine a given state of affairs which is not necessarily an accomplished fact. The situation could change tomorrow, and the given situation will then become a non-given one."

Sarid says that Israeli doves have not always been correct in their attempts to determine Gush Emunim's true goal. He believes their objective was to effect a significant change in the demographic balance of the West Bank in order to scuttle any possible negotiations on the future of that area in advance. According to the data collected by Benvenisti, some 27,000 Jewish settlers resided in the West Bank at the end of 1983 (excluding the new neighbourhoods around Jerusalem), or about 3 per cent of the West Bank population. "Is Benvenisti justified in claiming that that 3 per cent constitutes a new reality that can block the opening of negotiations on the future of the West Bank?" Sarid asks. In terms of domestic Israeli politics, he points out, 27,000 settlers amount to no more than one seat in the Knesset. "Since those votes will be divided among the Likud, Tehiya, Tzomet, the NRP, Orot and who knows what, we may confidently assert that that population is of no political significance."

Sarid says we are now approaching the end of the settlement era. The past seven years, he says, were the good years for the settlers; now will come five or seven bad years. "The situation that has prevailed in recent years, one of generous outlays for the territories, cannot continue. State and public investment there will undoubtedly be reduced. Ariel Sharon said this week that a settlement freeze had been imposed in concurrence with the Americans. I don't know about American concurrence but in fact he's right: the settlements have already been frozen."

Sarid agrees with Benvenisti that Gush Emunim has exhausted its potential. "They are incapable of establishing more than one or two settlements a year." However, unlike Benvenisti, Sarid believes that the get-rich-quick settlement boom is also on the wane. "That kind of settlement has gained a reputation for speculation and bankruptcy, and perhaps also for fraud and wrongdoing. After the Nofim fiasco /in which the builder of a heavily-promoted settlement of villas in Samaria went bankrupt and the government refused to bail him out/, you no longer see people lining up to lose their assets for the sake of improving their standard of living. When you add the stone-throwing at settlers and the phenomena described in the Karp Report /see Israel Press Briefs No.22, March 1984/ - none of that can possibly attract settlers who lack ideological motivation." And there is another factor which Sarid believes militates against the settlement effort of Gush Emunim and the government: "The settler of 1984 is no longer the clear-eyed youth once admired by all and for whom the people were ready to make economic sacrifices. Even the slum neighbourhoods and development towns have begun to realize that the settlements are depriving them of resources. The government is acutely sensitive to this, and I am sure it will take it into account. It won't want to commit suicide for the sake of Gush Emunim, either." (...)

Sarid has little good to say about Benvenisti's study - and that little relates to his collection of data. "The problem is that he has moved from facts to assessments." Much of the data presented by Benvenisti in his study are irrelevant in political terms, Sarid says. "The legal status of the residents of the territories, military government decrees, the expropriation of land and its designation as State domain - all of that can be reversed instantly when the political situation changes." (...)

POLITICAL TERRORISM / RELIGIOUS FANATICISM

Staff Reporter, KOTERET RASHIT, 14 March 1984

Interview with Prof. Moshe David Herr, of the Hebrew University's Department of Jewish History. In the introduction to the interview, Prof. Herr, aged 48, is described as an observant Jew and expert on the Second Temple period. See also Israel Press Briefs, No.20, January 1984, p.2.

(...) Q: Can you point to similarities and differences between our time and the period of the Second Temple ?

A: The differences are manifest. At the end of the Second Temple period political terrorism was directed mainly against Roman oppression. There were sporadic outbreaks of terrorism aimed at the internal Jewish regime or against plutocratic strata of the Jewish aristocracy. But the main thrust of the terrorism was aimed at the idea and the reality of Roman subjugation. Today, thank God, we do not live under foreign rule and therefore the difference between the two periods is obvious.

The similarity resides in the very combination of political terrorism and religious fanaticism. Those who murder Arab children, fire at Arab buses or try to blow up mosques on Temple Mount resemble the fanatics of the late Second Temple period in another way: in their conviction that they know exactly what God wants.

Yet another similarity: a terrible, unbounded hatred of Gentiles and anyone who is not Jewish. In that respect we are now witnessing even more extreme manifestations than those of the past. Today, too, the impression is that these manifestations emanate from ephemeral, marginal groups, but it seems to me that their reverberations are far greater than is generally recognized. The utterances of that man who calls himself a rabbi, Meir Kahane, to the effect that Arabs must be killed because that is what the Torah commands and /that such killing/ constitutes sanctification of the Name, are an ignorant perversion of the Torah, a desecration of the Name and a desecration of the memory of all those Jews down the generations who gave their lives to sanctify the Name. The contention that there is a difference between Jewish and Gentile blood, because we are a chosen people, is also deeply disturbing. Not only are such utterances in violation of the law of the land and a breach of the humanistic ethic; they are first and foremost *halakhic* violations. The murder of Arab children, firing on a bus carrying labourers to work, attempts to blow up mosques on Temple Mount - all this, like the destruction by Jews of a café in desecration of the Sabbath, is quite simply in violation of the *halakha*. (...)

Q: How do you account for the fact that the religious establishment does not condemn such anti-*halakhic* manifestations outright?

A: I am appalled that I have heard no serious arguments from rabbis and yeshiva heads or from religious politicians - although from the latter I expect much less from the outset. There have been a few scattered comments, but I have heard nothing of substance. The truth is that the religious public, like the secular public, is divided in its views, its leanings and its behaviour. If persons from the religious public do not openly take issue with the extremists, that is because there is great fear for their skins among the religious public, but little fear of heaven. The moderates among the religious public are afraid of being vilified - or worse - by the extremists. Moderates are always at a disadvantage. A moderate will not telephone an extremist in the middle of the night to pour into his ear a stream of words culled from the lexicon of the lavatory or the brothel. An extremist, on the other hand, will not only do this, he will abuse the moderate in the street and in the newspapers and in pamphlets. (...)

It is not easy to deal with such people. Everyone is fearful of the possible consequences of opening his mouth. Nor are these theoretical dangers - they are all too real. Before more people pluck up courage to speak out against terrorism and fanaticism - and this applies to all forms of terrorism and fanaticism - genuine leaders must arise, bold and God-fearing leaders who will set an example and have the courage to say, "Follow me." Even then not all will follow, and a fierce struggle will ensue; but at least there will be a struggle. (...)

ANSCHLUSS ANALOGY IN BEIRUT

David Landau, THE JERUSALEM POST, 16 March 1984

(...) One of the most active of our retired statesmen, Gideon Rafael is off to Egypt on Sunday as the guest of Osama el-Baz, brilliant and acerbic political aide to President Mubarak. The two men met at President Carter's Mideast Colloquy in Georgia last November.

With the fifth anniversary of the treaty coming up, Rafael poses the fundamental question: is the Egypt-Israel peace a transient expedient, or is it a permanent fixture ?

"Many influential people here in Israel seem to believe it is the former," he says. "If it is the latter - if it is, as the Egyptians often say, 'strategy' rather than 'tactics' - then this obliges both governments to be much more active in the many areas that all together comprise the fabric of peace."

The basically lopsided equation of tangibles for intangibles remains at the basis of the treaty in the eyes of many Israelis, and Egypt must understand that. Hence the special importance of trade and other ties.

At the same time, Israel should recognize that there was a genuine manifestation of emotion in Egypt's decisions to recall its ambassador after the Sabra and Shatilla massacre - just as the outpouring of emotion at that time by hundreds of thousands of Israelis "saved the honour of the country - history will prove it."

Neither country, however, can afford the continuing rupture. "Diplomatic relations, Churchill once said, are designed not to confer a compliment but to secure a convenience. Our two countries need that convenience, need an ongoing high-level dialogue in a relationship fraught with misunderstanding."

Israel should see the relationship "in the right proportions," says Rafael. "We are not the centre of the world, or even of the Middle East. Egypt continues to live in its own environment."

"When Sadat came to the Knesset, he invited us to join the club, to become an accepted part of the region. But that doesn't mean we have to be chairman of the club. It would be nice if we could just be an ordinary member." (...)

JUMBLATT: ISRAEL'S FOSSILIZED LEADERSHIP

Interview with Walid Jumblatt, Lebanese Druse leader, by Edwin Eitan, YEDIOT AHRONOT, 16-March 1984.

Walid Jumblatt believes that Israeli policy in Lebanon is a "total failure" and that exclusive blame for this state of affairs falls on the Israeli political and military establishment.

When I first met Jumblatt, some four months ago, during the first Lebanon reconciliation conference in Geneva, he still thought that Israel held major cards in Lebanon. Since then, however, Lebanon has abrogated its May 1983 agreement with Israel, and Syria now rules the roost throughout Lebanon. Jumblatt's present view is that Israel has only limited influence in the country. "Certainly that is not the situation in the south, which is under Israeli rule, but in the rest of the country Israel has little say in matters." (...)

Most observers consider that Jumblatt and his Shi'ite ally Nebi Beri are emerging as the main beneficiaries of the recent fighting, and to some extent also of the Lausanne negotiations. He readily confirms that the situation has been radically transformed since the Geneva conference. "When you Israelis were 'inside', the Syrians were on the outside. Now the Syrians have taken over almost completely, and you are on the outside." According to Jumblatt, Israel has only itself to blame.

"When I look at your leaders, I feel as if I am looking at the mirror image of our own living fossils such as Pierre Jemayel or Camille Chamoun - relics of an earlier time, with their petrified thinking and their vested interests. It's not just a question of age but also of mentality. With an establishment like yours it's no wonder that Israeli policy in Lebanon since May 1982 has been a dismal failure. One might blame Menachem Begin or Yitzhak Shamir, but without a doubt the main responsibility for the abject failure devolves upon Ariel Sharon:

"Even your experts - both military and civilian - have made one mistake after another. The only

thing they know and the only method they understand is force. You dispatch a military column, armoured vehicles and tanks, across the Awali, into the very heart of Lebanon, sometimes as far as Khalde, and no one seems to know why. Moves of that kind are simply ineffective. They frighten no one and impress no one. People get used to such phenomena, and lately they've hardly bothered to give a second glance out of their windows at the passing tanks." (...)

Jumblatt added: "Israel only has a few cards left in Lebanon. The occupation of the south is not only problematical, it is weakening your influence elsewhere in the country; not necessarily for moral reasons - though those exist as well - but through the continuation of what you call terrorist activities in the south which are giving heart to all the anti-Israeli forces. You will find the Shi'ites a very thorny problem - you may even find them a more complex problem than the Palestinians." (...)

SARY NUSSEIBEH ON THE ICPME DIALOGUE IN JERUSALEM

Interview by Eti Ronal with Dr Sary Nusseibeh, lecturer at Birzeit University, on the Israeli-Palestinian dialogue in Jerusalem sponsored by the ICPME (Dr Nusseibeh read out the opening statement at the dialogue on behalf of the Palestinians), AL HAMISHMAR, 19 March 1984

Q: Quietly, without the press, Israeli MKs - representatives of Mapam, Labour, Shinui and the Citizens' Rights Movement - met over the weekend with Palestinian representatives in an encounter which may be regarded as a continuation of the dialogue that began at the Harvard symposium. Is that a fair description?

A: Yes and no. The problem is that for some of those present it was more important to expound their views than to conduct a genuine dialogue. At Harvard, for example, we refrained from going into the question of who had suffered more. At the same time, I sensed an atmosphere of candour and goodwill, and a considerable convergence of approaches. So I came out of the meeting much encouraged. Ultimately, it was a continuation of the atmosphere of the Harvard symposium.

Q: Is it true that until the last minute it wasn't certain that your group would show up for the encounter?

A: Yes. As Palestinian nationalists we have always had a problem talking to the Alignment, which spoke - and still speaks - in terms of the Jordanian option. We therefore preferred to meet with groups that were closer to us, such as the Council for Israeli-Palestinian Peace. We were apprehensive that this was another Israeli attempt to find an alternative to the Palestinian leadership in the West Bank, or to bring up the Jordanian option. So many were hesitant, and some did not come. Those who did, of course, represent an excellent, more realistic approach that calls for a settlement on the basis of the Palestinian - not the Jordanian - option.

Q: Did the meeting have any concrete results?

A: Several suggestions were made, and it was decided to hold a similar meeting next month at which the discussion would focus on the three principles put forward /originally at the Harvard symposium/ by /MK/ Yossi Sarid and which refer to: simultaneous mutual recognition by the Israelis and the Palestinians of each other's rights; negotiations /by Israel/ with any Palestinian who accepts that principle, including the PLO; and decision by the Palestinians themselves on the form of self-determination they want. I must say that I have never before encountered such an Israeli position, and I feel - as do my colleagues - that this might produce an honourable and fair peace for both sides.

Q: Mapam also proposes a formula of simultaneous mutual recognition.

A: This seems to be a development that is embracing the core of the Alignment establishment. The Palestinians have undergone a similar development: over the years we have developed a willingness to accept and recognize Israel.

Q: Then why don't you do that ?

A: Personally, I believe the only political path that I as a Palestinian can take includes my recognition of Israel and its right of self-determination. But if you ask me whether the PLO should recognize Israel, I will tell you: I have to think about it. Unlike /Bethlehem Mayor/ Elias Freij, who says we must recognize Israel immediately, I say: We will do it, but in our own time. These talks between Palestinian nationalists and Israeli Zionists are also very important because they are a form of mutual recognition. We are not talking with Matzpen but with Mapam - and for your part you are also talking here with advocates of the Palestinian option.

Q: What does your father, Anwar Nusseibeh, who favours the Jordanian option, think about your mutually-contradictory positions ?

A: We argue, but I respect him very much and feel humility towards him.

HUSSEIN REJOINS THE FOLD

I. Editorial, HA'ARETZ, 20 March 1984

In a brief television interview yesterday, King Hussein spelled out bluntly what should have been apparent from his recent moves: he is in no hurry, and the risks of entering into negotiations outweigh any possible benefit he might derive from them. Close perusal of his remarks fails to turn up anything new. As usual, he did not completely rule out a possible shift of approach in the future. He said what we may expect to hear from him or any other Arab leader, no matter how moderate in the accepted sense: Israel must agree to withdraw from all the territories, grant the Palestinians self-determination and put a stop to the settlements. Has King Hussein ever suggested that he would enter into negotiations if Israel froze the settlements ? However, since Israel has never taken such a step, Hussein need not trouble himself with its implications. (...)

The Israel government will find it convenient to seize on the King's words in order once again to hammer home the impossibility of a West Bank political settlement. But there is actually nothing new in what King Hussein had to say. Sadat said the same things over and over again - even in the midst of the autonomy talks. In the past bold steps, backed strongly by one of the superpowers, have broken the ice. Today boldness is in short supply. Israel is not ready to make the slightest gesture of goodwill, while the United States is in no position to offer support. This is the cause of the stalemate, and not any interview with King Hussein. As long as this state of affairs remains unchanged, mere verbiage will rule the day.

II. Zvi Barel (West Bank reporter), HA'ARETZ, 20 March 1984

"The Palestinian problem is not like milk that must be finished quickly in case it goes sour. So what's the big rush ? Let history run its course and it will eventually run in our direction." It was with a certain relief that my interlocutor - an active member of the Palestinian Communist Party - spoke of King Hussein's blunt interview with *The New York Times*. "At last the King has come to realize that he will gain nothing from rash moves or leaning on the Americans. As for myself, I never shared any of the illusions of those 'comrades' in the pro-Jordan lobby in the West Bank. After all, it's self-evident that anyone who pins his hopes on the Americans is in for a hard fall. Have they been able to stop the settlements ? Can they bring about an Israeli withdrawal ? Are they capable of exerting economic pressure on Israel ? And what about those 'vital American interests in Lebanon' ? It is absolutely clear to me that any political move predicated on an American initiative was doomed to failure. Hence I am patient and do not despair. The only ones who are in despair are those who went to Jordan to appeal to the King." (...)

The gauntlet Hussein sought to throw down at Reagan was: "I, Hussein, represent Arab sanity vs. an aggressive Jewish/Israeli lobby." But given the current situation in the US, that is an impossible challenge. Reagan has chosen Israel; the Congress has opted for the Jewish

lobby. However, in the present state of affairs Hussein is on solid ground and has the upper hand. Jordan can forgo American Stinger missiles, but the US cannot do without Jordan in any conceivable political process. This also seems to have been Hussein's view of things in his *New York Times* interview. (...)

THE TRANSFER SOLUTION

Profile of Zvi Shiloah, aged 70, newly sworn-in as Knesset Member on behalf of the ultra-right-wing Tehiya Party in place of Hanan Porat: by Gideon Levy, HA'ARETZ, 23 March 1984

(...) Zvi Shiloah is extremely sensitive about the demographic factor, though his solution is rather different from that of Ben-Gurion: "(...) I advocate a transfer. The difference between Meir Kahane and myself is that I am speaking of a transfer with Arab and international agreement. (...) It could take place as part of a natural wartime process, as is now happening in Lebanon. But under normal conditions expulsion is not feasible, so Kahane's call to expel the Arabs isn't practical. A transfer isn't such a terrible thing. After all, how far is Nazareth from Damascus? History has already known transfers in cases where the problems and the distances were far greater."

How, then, is the vision to be realized? It's really quite simple. "If the Arabs come to recognize that the State of Israel is a *fait accompli*, and if they find it uncomfortable to live in a Jewish State as second-class citizens, they might well say: 'Let us come to an arrangement - we will accept money and go to live in another country.' Tripoli could absorb the entire Palestinian people." (...) "If, for example, the Jordan River bridges were to be closed, I am sure the process of emptying the West Bank would be immeasurably speeded up. The Arabs of Israel? There we have a knotty problem. Perhaps things could be left to develop naturally until matters reached a point of confrontation where it would no longer be worth their while to stay on. But we are a liberal State. Maybe that's not such a good thing, but that's the Jewish character." (...)

Shiloah constantly vilifies and abuses the Left. 'Fifth column', 'Mafia of the Left', are two epithets for the Israeli Left which he claims to have patented. His comments on the Left, intellectuals, the media, make the blood run cold.

"The greatest national disaster we have had in the history of Zionism are these protest movements. For us, war is an organic part of our lives - not like in America, where peace movements can be tolerated. If people start to regard the fallen victim as a matter for incitement, and asking when it will all end - when we know it will never end - we shall find ourselves in a situation in which we cannot stand firm as we have done throughout the history of Zionism." (...)

"There is no immediate way to dispose of Peace Now. To ban them is impossible. All you can do is struggle. Peace Now is the disaster. Once there were obscure movements - Rakah, Matzpen. They were beyond the pale. There was no danger. Now, they too have received legitimization, and suddenly, from within the camp, from among us, our senses are being blunted daily to make us forget that justice is on our side. 'Better peace than the whole Land of Israel.' Think about it: peace is more important than the homeland. That's how all the doubts arise - so perhaps we were wrong from the beginning, as Matzpen says?" (...)

And Mapam: Mapam is the fount of all evil. He, Shiloah, left the Labour Party because of Mapam. The Alignment was defeated because of Mapam. The Labour Party today is Mapam. "Mapam is a very serious group. An élite. Very educated people, with very high IQs. With a very serious genetic code. They are highly dangerous because they are gifted." (...)

Zvi Shiloah, be it known, this week became a member of the Knesset's Education and Culture Committee.

FIVE YEARS LATER

Yosef Goell, THE JERUSALEM POST, 23 March 1984

Have the past five years done justice to the glowing words with which former prime minister

Menachem Begin, assassinated president Anwar Sadat and ex-president Jimmy Carter graced the signing ceremony of the Egypt-Israel peace treaty on the White House lawn? Is the very banality of being able to hop on the regular evening plane to Cairo an indication of the success of the peace contracted by the two parties? Or are the mutual recriminations of a cold peace, and even of a mutual double-cross, more representative of the atmosphere between the two countries half a decade later? (...)

The Egyptian Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Dr Boutros Ghali, who coined the term "cold peace", spoke to *The Post* about a fortnight ago in his ornate office in the Foreign Ministry about Egypt's "deep disappointment" over what he termed Israel's "deceptions". (...)

Ghali went on to say that whereas Egypt continued to insist on a total Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon, that was no longer a sufficient condition for the return of the Egyptian ambassador to Tel Aviv and for an unfreezing of the normalization process. What was also essential was that Israel begin talks with the Palestinians on the fate of the territories - this was an integral part of the Camp David agreements.

Returning to the question of Lebanon, Ghali said that the feeling in Egypt was that Israel had "betrayed the whole peace process. The perception in Egypt is that the next West Bank will be in southern Lebanon. There is the old idea of Israel wanting the waters of the Litani River, and a fear that Israel intended to annex that area too."

He spoke calmly but bitterly of Israeli "deceptions" in this regard. The fact that the Labour Party had in effect supported the Likud government's broader war aims in Lebanon was one such deception. The fact that the Likud government launched that war was in itself another deception.

(...) On the Palestinian issue, Ghali complained that the Israeli military occupation of the West Bank was more oppressive than before the signing of the peace treaty. "The situation there is worse, and the Palestinians' perception of it is that it is ten times worse than it had been." (...)

Ghali's sense of chagrin was especially sharp in the context of Egyptian perceptions that all the Israeli policies had served to strengthen the arguments of the Arab rejectionists against the Egyptian peace initiative. (...)

Enlarging on the claimed understandings that had been reached at Camp David on the Palestinian issue, Ghali said that Menachem Begin "in private conversation, had conceded that maybe we shall have to give it (the West Bank) back, but not in my time."

Stressing the potentially all-important role of Egypt in furthering the peace process, Ghali noted that Egypt had been the one that broke the ice in concluding an armistice agreement with Israel in 1949. Egypt was also the first to conclude a separation-of-forces agreement with Israel in 1974-75. In both cases her lead had been followed by the other Arab belligerents, including Syria. That was the model that should have developed in the present case too, he implied.

Ghali concluded the interview by giving his "realistic assessment" that there would be no Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon, and thus no change in the state of relations "before new elections in Israel".

Dr Eliahu Ben-Elissar, whom we interviewed before leaving for Egypt, was director-general of the Prime Minister's Office during the entire period of the negotiations and subsequently Israel's first ambassador to Cairo.

Ben-Elissar, now chairman of the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee, clearly has a different view of events. (...)

On Lebanon: "No government in the world, including Egypt's, would have stood by idly in the face of the threat to her citizens from the PLO in Lebanon. But when you take a closer look, Egypt's true interests in Lebanon are not that far from Israel's, having a Syria-free Lebanon."

On autonomy and the Palestinian issue: "Sadat, not Israel, suspended the autonomy talks. We

are ready to resume them at any time."

On the Palestinian issue. "There was no double-cross. They had hopes - or rather illusions. But we told them, repeatedly, 'There will never be a Palestinian State west of the Jordan. Israel will continue to rule there.'

"They were fully aware of our stand. But they hoped that the Americans would help them overcome Israel's position. It simply didn't work out that way. We didn't permit it to.

"The reason that Sadat finally suspended the autonomy talks was that he was convinced that Jimmy Carter couldn't apply pressure on Israel in an election year.

"We always told them that our interpretation of the autonomy concept, to which we had committed ourselves, was that of *personal* autonomy, to the inhabitants not to the territory.

"In formal terms we agreed to 'legitimate rights of the Palestinian people', not to their 'self-determination'." (...)

PEACE AGED FIVE

Editorial, DAVAR, 26 March 1984

On the fifth anniversary of the signing of the peace treaty between Israel and Egypt - the most important Arab country - it is clear that to date not all the hopes raised on both sides on that occasion have been realized. (...)

Nevertheless, the peace that was established in Washington on 26 March 1979 stands firm, witness the existence of two authorized diplomatic legations, air routes, freedom of navigation in the Suez Canal and the tens of thousands of Israeli tourists who visit Egypt every year. From the perspective of a generations-long Arab-Israel enmity, five years is a relatively brief period; yet with all its shortcomings, the peace agreement remains a major achievement. The work of the three leaders and of the other key figures who were involved will not be forgotten, even if they also made mistakes. Let us only hope that an Alignment-led government will be able to extricate the only important Israeli achievement during the Likud period from its present impasse.

Background

Many Israelis were shocked and dismayed in mid-April when Ariel Sharon, former defence minister and architect of the Lebanon war, won 42 per cent of the vote - against 56 per cent for Prime Minister Shamir - in the Herut Party's contest to decide who would lead the party as its candidate for Prime Minister in the forthcoming election. Sharon, whose reputation for recklessness and cynical disregard for ethical conduct spans his entire military and political career, had been expected to garner no more than 15 to 20 per cent of the Herut vote. Among the many press commentaries which appeared as the import of the vote began to sink in, the following two were notable. It is especially significant that the author of the second article, Arye Naor, is a member of the Herut Central Committee and served as government secretary under Menachem Begin.

THE FORTHCOMING WAR WITH JORDAN

Yoel Marcus (senior correspondent), HA'ARETZ, 16 April 1984

There was only one person in Israel who could have brought about the political demise of Ariel Sharon - and whose duty it was to do so - long before the Herut contest. But that person, Menachem Begin, has faded tragically from the scene, in no small measure because he had let himself be dragged after Sharon, lacking the physical or mental will to act against him. Now it is too late.

Last Thursday [12 April] was, in my estimation, a momentous day for Israel. It was a day on which the Likud entered a new era: the Sharon era. And heralds an insidious return to the era of "The Leader"... All that talk about the "victory of democracy" and "collective leadership" when the stunning outcome was announced - with everyone smiling, though the smiles looked more like grimaces - all so much hot air. It is only a matter of time, and perhaps not too much of that, before Ariel Sharon takes over Herut, a party which evidently cannot function unless it is headed by a leader who is part demigod, part windbag. (...)

Sharon's achievement is fraught with implications, short- and long-term. In the short term, we may now expect an election campaign of a nature which the Alignment will find it difficult to cope with. Sharon, who has untiringly travelled the length and breadth of the country visiting local Herut branches, has drubbed Shamir and Deputy Prime Minister David Levy because he knows how to talk to ordinary people. He knows what they want to hear and he knows what to tell them. He is a vulgar version of the more sophisticated Beginist brand of demagogy. The town squares will come alive, ethnic incitement will flourish and the slogans "traitors" and "PLO-supporters" will set the tone.

However, it is in the long term that the real danger lies. If the Likud wins the election, Sharon, stronger than he ever was under Begin, will seek to achieve his goals using all his formidable talents as the 'national bulldozer'. Knowing, as we do, that Sharon has never failed to do what he said he would do (please clip and save this passage), we know that Sharon will lead the country into a new war, this time against Jordan, in order to realize his old dream of establishing a Palestinian state in that land. And who will be able to stop him? Can Shamir stand up to a Sharon with 42 per cent where Begin - with his 100 per cent - failed? So we may expect more of the bleak same - more killed, more disabled and more deception, after the shattering of the Lebanon illusion with a war that solved neither the problem of Lebanon itself nor that of terrorism. (...)

ARIEL SHARON: THE PARADE BEGINS

Arye Naor, HA'ARETZ, 18 April 1984

It has not happened yet, but only the unthinking would say that it cannot happen here. The Herut Central Committee elected Yitzhak Shamir and not Ariel Sharon as the party's candidate

for Israel's next prime minister. But anyone who witnessed the hysteria that gripped Sharon's followers in the wake of his 42-per-cent achievement, anyone who saw the strange glitter in their eyes - eyes that welled with hate for those who did not back Sharon; anyone who heard the raucous voices hurling abuse, curses and profanities at Sharon's opponents (for anyone who opposes Sharon is in their parlance either a traitor or a poltroon) can well imagine what would have taken place in that auditorium had Sharon actually emerged victorious. Or what would have occurred outside the hall. A tremendous roar would have gone up from the masses - whom Sharon terms "rabble" if they support the Alignment. A few musclemen bearing a striking resemblance to their demigod, with their windbreakers and boots, would have started to chant monarchist slogans, and the masses would have been right behind them. Then the parade would have begun.

It has not happened yet, but only about fifty Central Committee members stood between Sharon's 42 per cent and a majority; and anyone who was able to lead twenty Cabinet members astray can easily confound fifty more committee members. Make no mistake: that is what Sharon will attempt to do in the coming months. (...)

Sharon has already demonstrated that he does not scruple to mislead a Cabinet to which he belongs or to spring surprises on a Knesset to which he has sworn allegiance. Suffice it to recall what happened during the Lebanon war. By means of trickery he was able to get the Cabinet to work his will, so that the "grand design" in Lebanon, which the Cabinet had rejected, was the one that was finally implemented. In his final television appearance, the late Simcha Ehrlich confirmed that there had been provocation. Mr Begin, whose silence stems from a sense of honour which Sharon hardly deserves, said during the siege of Beirut, "I am informed of everything - sometimes in advance and sometimes after the fact." Had Begin known everything - about the plans, the ruses, the provocation - in advance, things might have been otherwise, and perhaps even the contest within Herut would not have taken place since Mr Begin would still have been leading the party. Be that as it may, to conceal information from the prime minister or to withhold it until "after the fact" was a stratagem designed to mislead him directly and, indirectly, the entire Cabinet. Even if Sharon had emerged from the Kahan Commission report as pure as the driven snow, that deception should have been enough to persuade him to sit (as he so colourfully put it) on his tractor down on the farm, instead of seeking renewed glory for himself. (...)

ALIGNMENT CONTINUES TO LEAD

A public opinion survey published in the daily HADASHOT (18 April) shows a 5-per-cent gain for the Alignment as compared with March. If elections were held in mid-April, the survey shows, the Alignment would win 38.5 per cent of the vote (up from 33.4 per cent the previous month) - more than twice as much as the Likud, for which support held steady at just over 18 per cent. Other parties would have garnered 13.6 per cent of the vote (including about 2 per cent for Ezer Weizmann's new party, Yahad), as against 10.3 per cent in March. The proportion of "don't-knows" was down 8 per cent from March - with none of that percentage having gone to the Likud. (This poll was conducted before the Herut Party Central Committee vote in which Sharon gained 42 per cent).

* * *

NEWS

from

WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS

ONE PARK AVENUE

NEW YORK, N.Y. 10016

679-0600

Refer to:
Mr. Elan Steinberg

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
May 2, 1984

PERES TO WJC: CAMP DAVID NEED NOT BE BASIS FOR NEGOTIATIONS WITH JORDAN

JERUSALEM, MAY 7, 1984

The leader of Israel's opposition Labor Party, Shimon Peres, today told the International Executive of the World Jewish Congress that if he is elected Prime Minister in the coming elections his government will not insist that the Camp David Agreements be the necessary basis for negotiations between Israel and Jordan and declared that a Labor government would stop all Israeli settlements in densely populated Arab regions on the West Bank.

The twenty-member WJC Executive, under the chairmanship of its President, Edgar M. Bronfman, is currently in session in Jerusalem where they are to consider policies on the Middle East, Soviet Jewry and the rise of global anti-Semitism. Following private discussions with Bronfman, Peres held a closed-door meeting with the Executive as a whole. Bronfman will be meeting with Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir tomorrow in the course of a series of meetings the WJC Executive will have with the other key governmental officials in Israel -- including Defense Minister Moshe Arens -- as well as the leaders of the other main political parties in the country.

In his remarks, Peres said that a Labor government would, within one hundred days of coming to power, unilaterally halt Jewish settlement activity in densely populated Arab areas, while maintaining a security zone in the region. As a means of inducing the Jordanians to enter the peace process he said that King Hussein would be offered three different options. First, negotiations could begin without prior conditions from any side. Alternatively, if there must be a basis to such negotiations, Labor would not insist that it be the Camp David Accords but would be willing to base negotiations on U.N. Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, which the Jordanians have already accepted.

As the third option being offered the Jordanians, Peres said he was willing to accept the Reagan Middle East initiative as the basis for negotiations while recognizing the differing interpretations concerning the proposal. Peres added

he did not mind if Palestinians were part of a Jordanian delegation involved in negotiations, so long as they were willing to recognize Israel and rejected terrorist methods.

Peres said that he would end the confrontation in Lebanon and immediately upon taking office return the basis of Israeli defense of its northern boundary to a flexible line on the Israeli border rather than trenches and emplacements in Lebanon. "It is not wise to keep our army abroad where they sit as a target for hostile forces," he said.

Peres expressed willingness to start fresh with the Egyptians on the Palestinian autonomy talks and was ready to begin first on the question of Gaza which the Egyptians had indicated might be more productive. He made clear his desire to see Egypt participate positively in the peace process and did not want to exclude them from future negotiations.

He proposed that Israel, Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Jordan conclude a "Red Sea Pact" which would guarantee free and open navigation through the waterway and would provide for the "thinning out" of all military installations along the body of water.

A Labor government, he concluded, would change current Israeli governmental policies on the West Bank and Gaza by limiting its interest to matters of security and foreign affairs in the area. He did not agree to the present policy of separation of civilian and military administration on the West Bank. Israel, he said, sought to be a "contributing country" instead of a "confronting country."

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Refer to:
Mr. Elan Steinberg

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
May 3, 1984

ISRAELI PRIME MINISTER, WJC PRESIDENT AGREE TO COORDINATE ACTIVITIES

JERUSALEM, MAY 3, 1984

The Prime Minister of Israel, Yitzhak Shamir, and the President of the World Jewish Congress, Edgar M. Bronfman, agreed during a meeting today to coordinate diplomatic and political efforts, the Executive Director of the WJC, Israel Singer, reported here.

Bronfman, who is in Israel to preside over a meeting of the WJC Executive, was accompanied by ranking WJC officials during the hour-long meeting with the Prime Minister and senior staff at the Knesset. Earlier, the WJC leaders had met with Defense Minister Arens and the leader of the opposition Labor Party, Shimon Peres.

In their talks, Shamir and Bronfman reviewed the current state of Soviet Jewry and the efforts on their behalf. Bronfman disclosed an invitation had been renewed to him from the Soviet government to pay an official visit to Moscow. A WJC spokesman said no decision had yet been made as to whether to accept the invitation.

An in-depth discussion on the results of Bronfman's meeting last month in Bonn with German Chancellor Helmut Kohl took place and particular consideration was given to the proposed sale of arms from Germany to Saudi Arabia. Bronfman informed the Prime Minister that Kohl had told him that no decision on whether to go ahead with the arms deal would be made until the fall. "The German Chancellor undertook certain commitments regarding the type of weapons and restrictions on their transfer to other Arab states, if the arms sales were to be approved," Singer said.

Bronfman told Shamir that because Egypt's Ambassador to Israel had been withdrawn he had declined several invitations to meet with President Mubarak in Cairo. The two discussed Bronfman's forthcoming visit to Morocco where he is to be the guest of the Jewish community next week. A WJC source confirmed that a meeting with King Hassan is expected.

(more)

Shamir told the four regional chairmen of the WJC in attendance that he was concerned by an increased lack of a unified approach in global Jewish matters by the worldwide Jewish community. Gerhart Riegner, Co-Chairman of the Governing Board, told the Prime Minister that the WJC had expressed its serious concern to individual Jewish organizations who had unilaterally sought out ad hoc meetings with the Pope when the strain in Catholic-Jewish relations, arising from the Pope's meeting with Arafat, had not been repaired.

The Chairman of the Latin American Branch, Gregorio Faigon, reported on recent developments affecting the Jewish communities in the region, stressing the salutary impact of the return to democracy in Argentina.

Maurice Grynfogel, European Branch Chairman, warned of the rise of neo-Nazism in Western Europe. He said that rightist extremists had become more subtle and proclaim their friendship for Israel while declaring they have nothing against Jews but "hate the paintings of Chagall" (the well-known Jewish artist).

Sol Kanee, Chairman of the North American Branch, reported on his meetings with Pierre Trudeau which he said revealed the Canadian Prime Minister to be, despite independent stands, a true friend of Israel. In discussing conditions in the United States, great stress was laid by all parties on the need to repair black-Jewish relations.

Singer said that following the meeting technical arrangements were being further developed and improved to strengthen the degree of coordination between the WJC staff and Israeli officials. To facilitate the process, Singer is to hold talks tomorrow with the Director-General of the Israeli Foreign Ministry, David Kimche.

ANNUAL 78TH MEETING

BACKGROUND

THE TURBULENT MIDDLE EAST

Background Memorandum for
Plenary Session, Sunday, May 6, 10:00 A.M.

The past year has seen an intensification of volatility in the Middle East. The peace between Israel and Egypt does represent an important element of stability; yet, the prospects for broadening the peace process between Israel and its Arab neighbors can seem less hopeful in the midst of the ongoing Iraqi-Iranian war, destabilized Lebanon and numerous inter-Arab conflicts.

In addition, the heavy influx of sophisticated Soviet weapons to Syria has enhanced President Assad's capacity to block American peace efforts, and also poses an increasingly serious threat to Israeli population centers. Although the PLO has been militarily weakened and remains sharply divided politically, Yassir Arafat still remains a factor, as indicated by his recent meetings with Egyptian President Mubarak and Jordan's King Hussein. After the Lebanese government's abrogation of its May 17, 1983 agreement with Israel, the failure of the renewed Lebanese reconciliation talks in Switzerland, and King Hussein's scathing attack in mid-March on U.S. Middle East policy, the Reagan Administration needs to reappraise its approach to the entire region. However, with elections pending in both Israel and the U.S., it is unlikely that the Administration will undertake any new Middle East initiatives this year.

Despite the unremitting bloodshed in the Middle East, there are some encouraging signs in Arab-Israeli and Arab-Jewish relations. Although Egyptian-Israeli relations remain cool and Egypt has not returned its ambassador to his station in Tel Aviv, Israel and Egypt maintain functioning embassies and officials of the two states continue to meet periodically. The Israeli-Jordanian border remains relatively free of terrorism, and the 'open bridges' policy permits Jordanians and Palestinians to enjoy a measure of peaceful co-existence with Israel.

With respect to Arab and Jewish extremism, prominent West Bank Arabs have begun expressing opposition to PLO terrorism and the Israeli government has begun to crack down on Jewish extremists who engage in violence against West Bank Arabs and on religious fanatics who have threatened to destroy Moslem and Christian institutions.

Directions For AJC

Although AJC joined in opposing the sale of Stinger missiles to Jordan and Saudi Arabia, we are also conscious of the American interest in meeting the legitimate security needs of Jordan, Saudi Arabia and the smaller Persian Gulf sheikdoms. We have been consulting with academicians about the threats to American interests in the Gulf posed by Islamic fundamentalism in Iran and by Soviet-backed radical Arab states. The impact of proposed Joint Logistical Planning Program, which would establish a Jordanian rapid deployment force to help repel invasions or insurrections in the Gulf area, is still being evaluated.

AJC continues to advocate stronger ties between the U.S. and Israel. We actively support Senator Moynihan's efforts to move the U.S. embassy to Jerusalem. We favor the creation of a free trade area between the U.S. and Israel. We welcome the Administration's decision to provide aid to Israel in the form of grants, and, indeed, we encourage all measures designed to increase economic, political and strategic cooperation between the two nations.

Maintaining U.S. support for a secure and economically viable Israel continues to be a top priority for AJC. AJC's opportunities to provide persuasive analytical input toward this end can be maximized over the next few months as both Israel and the U.S. prepare for elections. And, we shall continue to expand contacts with voluntary groups in Israeli society who share our interest in encouraging religious pluralism and respect for civility and healthy intergroup relations within Israel.

Questions for Discussion

- 1) Taking into consideration the developments in the Arab-Israeli area during the past year, should AJC formulate a new statement regarding the Middle East?
- 2) What steps can AJC take to help groups in Israel encourage tolerance of religious pluralism and civility in Israeli society?
- 3) Can and should AJC play a role regarding American policy in the Persian Gulf, or should we limit ourselves to the Arab-Israeli area?
- 4) What specific steps or actions can we take to further advocate the strengthening of U.S.-Israeli ties?



CONSULTATION ON THE MIDDLE EAST

November 11-12, 1984

"OPTIONS FOR UNITED STATES POLICY AFTER THE ELECTIONS"

SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This consultation was made possible by a generous grant from the Ruth U. Samuel Institute for International Programs in Inter-religious Relations

On November 11 and 12, 1984, the Israel and Middle East Affairs Division of AJC's International Relations Department hosted an informal, off-the-record consultation on the Middle East. More than 40 academic and government specialists on Middle East affairs and AJC lay leaders and staff participated. The purpose of this two-day conference was to assess the current situation in the Middle East, to evaluate options for U.S. policy in the region, and to derive recommendations for AJC research and programmatic activities.

The consensus of the participants regarding options for U.S. policy was that the U.S. should pursue a cautious, wait-and-see posture toward the Arab-Israel conflict, as well as the Iraq-Iran war. While the U.S. Administration should prepare itself for all possible contingencies in the Arab-Israel area, the President should not yield to the temptation of launching major new public initiatives in the absence of clear evidence that the parties themselves are ready and willing to move the stalled peace process forward. For AJC, several recommendations were made, which are listed below at the end of this summary.

This summary provides brief synopses of major points of discussion and conclusions during the sessions.

THE PEACE PROCESS

Now that the American Presidential election contest is over and the Reagan Administration has received a popular mandate for another four years, there are high expectations in the Middle East that the U.S. will launch new initiatives to help break the deadlock in the search for a comprehensive solution to the Arab-Israel conflict. Recent developments in the region, in particular the rapprochement between Egypt and other Arab countries, as well as the emergence of a National Unity Government in Israel headed by Labor Party leader Shimon Peres, have served to fuel some of those expectations. However, such high expectations may lead to bitter disappointment.

The Administration seems reluctant to engage in renewed peace efforts. The consensus of the consultation participants was that a major breakthrough towards resolving the Arab-Israeli conflict is highly unlikely in the near future. Several participants pointed out, however, that should Assistant Secretary of

State Richard Murphy prove successful in obtaining tacit Syrian approval for a Lebanese-Israeli security arrangement, the climate might be favorable for a new broader peace initiative. There are also some prominent Israelis, such as Abba Eban, who advocate a more activist U.S. diplomatic posture now.

Recent developments of a positive nature include: 1) the resumption of diplomatic relations between Egypt and Jordan on September 25, and the subsequent visit of President Mubarak to Jordan to meet with King Hussein (and the return visit by Hussein to Cairo in December-ed.); 2) the possibility that Iraq will do the same; 3) the relatively muted opposition by Saudi Arabia to the Jordanian action; 4) the convening of the Palestine National Council (PNC) in Amman, and the possibility, albeit remote, that it would give Hussein the green light to negotiate with Israel; 5) the emerging de facto "moderate" alliance of Egypt, Jordan, and Iraq, and possibly the Arafat wing of the PLO, with Saudi Arabia playing a supporting role. These developments could further isolate Syria and other radical Arab states.

From the American standpoint, there is also some encouragement from the efforts by Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres to reach out to King Hussein to talk peace, and to President Mubarak in order to improve the Egyptian-Israeli bilateral relationship, as well as Peres' indicated willingness to improve conditions for the Palestinians in the territories and to consider elements of the Reagan peace initiative of September 1, 1982. Some also see hope of a more positive stance in Damascus reflected in the tacit Syrian agreement to the holding of talks between Israeli and Lebanese military delegations at Naqura, aimed at bringing about a withdrawal of Israeli forces with adequate guarantees for a secure Israeli-Lebanese border.

The resumption of Egyptian-Jordanian diplomatic ties, however, was not a surprise. It was the natural outcome of a series of steps taken by both countries to move closer together. While there may be high hopes that Egypt's rapprochement with the Arab world could lead to some progress in the peace process, the tensions between Syria and Israel, and between Syria and Jordan, the volatile situation in southern Lebanon, and the political divisions and power struggle within the PLO impede the chances of any progress being made. The conclusion from these factors is that events on the ground have to work themselves out before any American or third party initiative can seriously be put forward with any realistic hope of a positive response from the parties to the conflict.

One event which will be a barometer for the prospects for peace is the outcome of the PNC meeting in Amman in late November. King Hussein invited the PNC to meet in Amman because he wants to neutralize Palestinian discontent and to avoid the Balkanization of Jordan. For Arafat the main purpose of the meeting is to reaffirm his position as recognized leader of the PLO. But even if he retains his nominal leadership role, Arafat will have to choose among hard alternatives: a) to remain in Tunis and become more and more irrelevant, b) to yield to Syrian demands and thereby prevent a formal split within PLO ranks, or c) to demonstrate greater affinity for Jordan and Egypt, which may split the PLO, but could also lead to a revival of the Reagan plan or some other formula for Israeli-Jordanian (Palestinian) negotiation.

Syrian President Assad, who wants to exert greater control over the PLO and has made it clear he wants Arafat replaced, has been exerting pressure on Jordan to cancel the PNC meeting and will prevent radical PLO elements based in Damascus from attending, and may encourage some terrorist incidents in Amman and

against Jordanian diplomats abroad during the meeting. Nevertheless, discord in the Arab world and divisions within the Palestinian camp itself make it unlikely that King Hussein will reverse his earlier rejection of Shimon Peres' offer to engage in direct peace negotiations without preconditions. (The PNC meeting refused to endorse Hussein's call for an international peace conference based on UN Security Council Resolution 242 and with the participation of a PLO delegation.-ed.)

In any event, the virtual collapse of the PLO as an effective military force and the internal political divisions within the PLO have led Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza to begin seeking a way of achieving autonomy by themselves. While these Palestinians will in all likelihood continue to publicly reject Camp David and similar diplomatic initiatives, surveys have indicated that they want to disassociate themselves from the external Palestinian leadership and work towards establishing transitional arrangements which will ensure their economic, social and political interests. Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza are not only concerned about Israeli intentions, but also are worried that an Islamic fundamentalist movement might disrupt their movement toward modern society or that increasing radical Palestinian terrorism might lead to more repressive measures by Israel. Both Prime Minister Shimon Peres and King Hussein, each for his own reasons, appear to be encouraging the West Bank Palestinians to exert greater independence from external Palestinian groups and leaders.

In addition, the recent announcement that a group of prominent Arab and Jewish Americans had been formed to invest in the West Bank has provoked some debate. On the one hand, it is argued that this group represents a genuine private humanitarian effort to improve the economic and social situation in the West Bank. On the other hand, it was pointed out that West Bank residents might perceive this private group of Americans as being connected to the U.S. government, and, therefore, might view the entire program of improving the quality of life as an American-supported effort to draw the West Bank Palestinians away from King Hussein rather than encourage them to move closer to him. It was concluded that even well-intentioned private economic initiatives in this politically charged area need to be pursued with sensitivity and sophistication so as to allay unfounded rumors and suspicions.

ISRAEL AND SYRIA

Participants debated at some length the intentions of Syrian President Hafez al-Assad. On the one hand it was argued that Assad genuinely wants some arrangement with Israel worked out to facilitate an Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon which would at the same time protect Syrian hegemonic interests there. Syrian tacit approval of the Naqura talks between Israel and Lebanon, as well as the precedent of the Red Line arrangement worked out by the U.S. between Israel and Syria in 1976, were cited as examples of this pragmatic Syrian behavior.

On the other hand, it was argued that Assad has no interest in dealing directly with Israel in any form. Syria has already succeeded in forcing the exit of U.S. Marines and other members of the multi-national peacekeeping force from Beirut, and the abrogation of the May 17, 1983 Lebanese-Israeli agreement. In addition, Israel withdrew from the Shouf Mountains without waiting for a Syrian pullback, and appears likely to carry out a unilateral withdrawal from the rest of Lebanon. In short, Assad feels he does not have to pay any price for an Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon. It was pointed out that another "Red Line" type of arrangement is not likely, because in 1976 Israel tacitly agreed

to the Syrian intervention and Syria was interested in assuring that Israel would not itself intervene. In 1984, Syria is already there and wants Israel to leave. It is interesting that in their discussion with Americans, the Syrians have not linked the Golan Heights issue with Lebanon. It was further suggested that Syria would have an interest in keeping Israel bogged down in Lebanon, because if Israel were to leave it could help bolster Jordan in its conflict with Syria. In this argument, the assumption that Assad fears Israeli guns emplaced some 20 miles from Damascus was discounted. Given the Israeli experience in Lebanon and the lack of a public consensus in Israel for a continued presence, Israel is at a strategic disadvantage vis-a-vis Syria because its deterrent capability lacks credibility.

If Syria does not deal with Israel and reach some kind of agreement or tacit understanding, Israeli forces could remain in the Bekaa as a sign of Israeli strength and as a form of pressure on Damascus. Such Israeli action might help to rebuild its deterrent credibility, but concern was expressed that to make this point Israel might have to be prepared to engage in a confrontation with Syria, and any military clash risks the danger of escalation and unforeseen consequences.

One of the participants stressed that any peacekeeping arrangement in south Lebanon must be linked to a disengagement of Syrian and Israeli forces in the Bekaa. Though the prospect now appears slim, one should not exclude the revival of Syrian interest in a Golan-type disengagement arrangement. One possibility would be a U.S. brokered Bekaa disengagement agreement, which sets up a buffer zone (under nominal civilian authority of Beirut) policed by the UN, either by moving part of UNDOF from the Golan into the area or by setting up a new UNDOF-type presence.

The consensus of the group was that the situation in Lebanon and Syria's involvement there are too fluid for clear predictions of any future evolution. While Syria has certain interests in Lebanon, President Assad cannot ignore the power struggle which threatens his own political survival. And one cannot assume that the Lebanese Shia community will continue to be led by the "moderate" group headed by Nabih Berri. Any change in the balance of power within the large and increasingly influential Shia community will impact on Syria, Israel and the course of events affecting cooperation or confrontation between the two countries.

Regarding the role of the UN in southern Lebanon, there has been a marked reversal in Israel's attitude towards UNIFIL troops, which in the past was one of thinly disguised contempt for it as ineffective. Indeed, there is now a danger that Israel is overestimating what UNIFIL can accomplish. The lessons of past experience are that a successful UN peacekeeping operation is possible only if there has been resolution of local conflicts and an agreed political framework before UN troops arrive. The chances of internecine warfare expanding in Southern Lebanon after an Israeli withdrawal are high.

ISRAEL-LEBANESE SHIA RELATIONS

The current situation in southern Lebanon is very much like a thick web in which the interests of local Lebanese factions, the Lebanese national government, Syria, Israel, and Iran are entangled. Contributing to the anarchy in southern Lebanon is the power struggle in the Shia community between religious fundamentalist elements and the Amal movement, led by the relatively more moderate Nabih Berri, who is currently Minister for southern Lebanon in the

national government. Compounding the difficulties of reaching a workable solution are the conflicting demands of the central government, which is attempting to extend its authority to the areas currently held by Israel, the Israeli insistence on obtaining adequate security guarantees, including a role for the South Lebanon Army (SLA), before withdrawing from Lebanon, the Syrian interest in maintaining significant influence over the affairs of Lebanon, and the Iranian efforts to use the unstable situation in Lebanon and the Israeli presence there to increase support among the Shiites for its Islamic revolution.

The consensus of the participants was that the increasing radicalization of the Shia community and the persistent terrorist attacks on Israeli forces in southern Lebanon result primarily from Iranian efforts to extend their militant Islamic revolution to other Middle Eastern countries. Iran is seeking to transform the Shia community from a local Lebanese interest group, which has real and longstanding demands for improvement in their economic and social situation and for greater participation in the political process, into an ideological movement aimed at furthering the regional and global interests of fundamentalist Shia Islam.

Growing resentment among the Shi'ite population of southern Lebanon against the Israeli presence in Lebanon has undoubtedly contributed to this radicalization process, but it has not been the major cause of it. The seeds were already in place. Because no domestic Lebanese faction nor any outside power has been able to control the evolving situation in Lebanon, Iran has been able to effectively exploit the situation on the ground to advance its own political goals. While a speedy Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon might help Berri maintain control or even increase his influence over the multiplicity of enemies he faces, an Israeli withdrawal would not end the civil strife in Lebanon.

Indeed, fears have been expressed that intercommunal violence might intensify in the absence of the Israeli restraining influence. Whether Shia terrorist cells would carry out kamikaze operations against Israel, by rocket attacks or infiltration, after an Israeli withdrawal is unclear. Nevertheless, as the rivalries within the Shia community unfold, the Government of Israel and the IDF will have to prepare for all contingencies, including the possibility of having to confront a fundamentalist, radical Shia enclave emerging in southern Lebanon.

Despite his reputation as a pragmatic and relatively moderate leader, Nabih Berri has been adopting an increasingly hard line, presumably to retain the allegiance of his supporters in the face of the challenge to his leadership from the militant fundamentalists. For example, although Syria sanctioned the recent talks at Naqura, Berri, under apparent Iranian pressure, initially opposed them. If Berri loses his position of predominance in the fractured Lebanese Shia community and the fundamentalist elements gain in influence, the harmful impact would be immense within Lebanon itself and would compound the difficulties of reaching a peaceful modus vivendi between Lebanon and its neighbors.

This will also have a negative impact on Syrian-Iranian relations. While Syria supports Iran in its war against Iraq, it opposes the efforts by Teheran to exploit the situation in Lebanon. Iran and Syria have a common enemy in Baghdad. But in Lebanon their interests are competing. President Assad, a member of the Alawite minority in Syria, has good reasons to fear the increase of Islamic fundamentalism, since he and his regime have been targets of assassination attempts by the Muslim Brotherhood. Even though the Brotherhood is Sunni, not Shi'ite, Assad naturally feels that any militant Islamic group poses

a threat to his essentially secular Baathist regime. Syria has tried to curtail the activities of Iranian revolutionary guards sent to Lebanon and there have been clashes between Syrian troops and the Iranian Pasdaran. Syrian dependence on Iranian oil, however, limits Assad's freedom in controlling the Iranian involvement in Lebanon, especially among the Shi'ites.

PERSIAN GULF

1. Impact of Iraq-Iran war on Arab-Israel Conflict

The Iraq-Iran war is impacting on Israel in a number of ways. From the Israeli perspective, continuation of the war is advantageous because two avowed enemies of Israel are fighting each other. Iraq is effectively out of the Arab-Israel conflict, at least temporarily. The war has further polarized the Arab world, opening the door for Egypt to return to the Arab fold without having to abrogate its peace treaty with Israel, and further isolating Syria due to its support of Iran. The Gulf conflict has diminished the relative importance of the Palestinian problem.

There are, however, a number of negative factors. A decisive victory by either Iran or Iraq would not be good for Israel. (In fact, neither Iranian nor Iraqi ascendancy would be in the interest of Saudi Arabia, the Gulf states, or the United States.) The growing ties between Iran and Syria, despite the tensions and problems between them, could pose new threats to Israel. Despite the apparent moderation of Iraq's stance towards Israel, as indicated by Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz's statement that Iraq will not actively oppose peace between Israel and its Arab neighbors, and Iraq's current preoccupation with Iran, Iraq may well remain a threat to Israel. Baghdad has scores to settle with Israel regarding the bombing of the Osirak nuclear reactor in 1981. In addition, the Iraqi army has been expanded and is gaining significant combat experience. Furthermore, the possibility of a temporary reconciliation between Iraq and Syria cannot be completely discounted.

It was suggested that Israel could take advantage of the continuing Gulf conflict to further its own strategic aims. Until now, Israel's regional strategy has been based on Ben-Gurion's conception of building relations with periphery states such as Turkey, Iran and Ethiopia, and with minority ethnic groups, such as the Druze, Maronites and Kurds, which have been oppressed by various Arab regimes. Participants discussed whether or not, given the divisions in the Arab world, it is an opportune time to change this conception. Some believed Israel should take a more active role in the inter-Arab balance, throwing its weight behind pro-Western countries like Egypt, Jordan, and Morocco. Others suggested that the time was ripe for Israel to launch a new initiative for the West Bank that could lead to a resolution of the problem while satisfying Israel's security and strategic interests.

2. Saudi Arabia

The perception of Saudi power and influence in the region is changing as a result of the drop in oil prices, the declining Saudi position in OPEC, and the decline in Saudi leverage over other Arab countries. Although nothing has changed in actual Saudi power during the last five years, the American perception is now undergoing a transformation from viewing Saudi Arabia as being able to play an important role in the Middle East to a view that Saudi Arabia cannot be very influential.

In recent months Saudi Arabia exercised no effective leverage or influence in the conflict between Syria and the PLO and their attempts at reconciliation, the reconvening of the Palestine National Council, the talks between King Hussein and Yassir Arafat, and the Soviet treaty with North Yemen. In addition, King Hussein reportedly did not consult with Saudi leaders before announcing the re-establishment of diplomatic relations with Egypt.

Contrary to U.S. expectations, Saudi Arabia has proven incapable of influencing Syria regarding the situation in Lebanon. In the Saudi-Syrian relationship, Syria actually is the dominant partner. Although Saudi Arabia opposes Syrian efforts to control the PLO and Syrian opposition to rehabilitating Egypt, Riyadh has been reluctant to challenge Syria while it takes the lead in confronting Israel.

The current status of Saudi Arabia within inter-Arab politics demonstrates that it can exert very little influence in a polarized Arab world. In 1976, Saudi Arabia could play a role in influencing events in Lebanon because there was at the time consensus in the Arab world. Thus, for the past two years, Saudi Arabia has been sitting on the fence and is reluctant to take any initiative, as it did in August 1981 with the Fahd Plan for resolving the Arab-Israel conflict.

The change in the American perception of Saudi Arabia could impact negatively on Saudi Arabia's relations with other Arab countries. Many Arab countries have viewed Saudi Arabia as a channel to Washington; if the Saudis are now seen as having lost that link, then their clout in the inter-Arab arena would also be further diminished.

3. Decline in Oil Revenues

The declining oil revenues in Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states are beginning to have an impact on economies throughout the region. The exact effects of declining oil revenues on domestic Saudi politics is difficult to determine. However, a decline in the Saudi economy, in particular, will have severe consequences for the Egyptian economy, as well as Jordan and other Arab countries that depend on Saudi Arabia for aid, trade and employment for their migrant workers:

In addition, the declining oil economies will have an impact on the West Bank. Palestinians are returning to Jordan and the West Bank. There already is high unemployment of educated West Bankers. The West Bank universities will continue to produce graduates, over 60 percent of whom will not be employed in the West Bank; over 80 percent can expect not to be employed at the level of their education. This will have profound political implications for Israel as well as Jordan.

SOVIET POLICY

The Soviet Union seems likely to continue its current policies regarding the Arab-Israel conflict. Moscow will seek to gain support for its recently revived proposal to hold an international conference -- cosponsored by the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. and with the participation of all parties, including Israel and the PLO -- and may bring this proposal formally before the United Nations in an effort to embarrass the U.S. The basic Soviet position calls for Israeli withdrawal to the 1967 boundaries, a Palestinian state in the West Bank and

Gaza, and an end to the state of war between the Arab countries and Israel. Recent additions to this basic position have included calls for the dismantling of Israeli settlements on the West Bank, compensation for Palestinian refugees and the right of return for Palestinians originating from the West Bank, and international guarantees of Palestinian rights. There seems to be some indication that the Soviet Union might also accept an arrangement for the Palestinians within a confederation with Jordan.

Moscow is trying to stall or reverse the process of Egypt's rapprochement with Arab countries. In an effort to isolate Egypt, the Soviet Union is eagerly strengthening its ties to Syria and is trying to woo the centrist Arab states (Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Jordan, Yemen Arab Republic, Morocco, Tunisia, Iraq, United Arab Emirates, Bahrein, and Qatar). Moscow wants to prevent the centrists from moving towards Egypt, and encourage them to move towards the more radical, so-called "Steadfastness Front," consolidated in 1979, of Syria, Libya, PLO, Algeria, and the Marxist People's Democratic Republic of Yemen.

The resumption of diplomatic ties between Egypt and Jordan, and the likelihood of a further split in the PLO, however, represent serious setbacks for the USSR. Moscow has urged the PLO factions to come together. Moscow has also been trying, unsuccessfully thus far, to bring about a rapprochement between Assad and Arafat. However, if as a result of the continuing conflict between the PLO and Syria, the Soviet Union must choose between its two clients, it will choose Syria. This choice would indicate the basic continuity of Soviet policy, of backing a key Arab state. The Soviets will continue actively to court Jordan, and will try to capitalize on the chill in U.S. - Jordan relations. At the same time, Moscow has hedged its bets through normalization of its own relations with Cairo, a pointed reminder to Damascus that Syria is not the only option for the USSR.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR AJC

1. The AJC should take a more active part in raising public consciousness of the seriousness of the threat international terrorism poses to democratic societies. In the debate on these issues consideration needs also to be given to the moral implications of various anti-terrorism measures being considered by the U.S. Administration. While Secretary of State Shultz has been advocating the use of force, even if it leads to loss of some innocent lives, the Administration is divided on how to effectively meet the growing threat of terrorist actions carried out by a variety of organizations, some actively supported by independent states, such as Iran, Libya and Syria. The U.S. will not be able to carry out a successful campaign against terrorism unless there is a broad public awareness of the problem and a national consensus, as there is in Israel, to adopt a tough stance against terrorism. The AJC will also have to monitor efforts to adopt domestic legislation against terrorism and be prepared to point out when such proposed laws inhibit civil liberties. The AJC should continue to call for greater cooperation among Western governments and with Israel and the U.S. in devising effective strategies to prevent and counter terrorist acts.

2. The U.S. government should be encouraged to play a more active role in fostering a warmer Egyptian-Israeli relationship. Reciprocal measures need to be found which could bring about a resumption of talks on outstanding issues, such as Taba and West Bank autonomy, as well as increasing the levels of trade and cultural exchanges.

3. Regarding American aid to Israel, the AJC should continue to point out in its materials for wide public distribution the benefits the U.S. accrues from this important relationship. In addition to Israel's strategic value, information on Israel's economy, U.S.-Israel commercial relations, and the Free Trade Area needs to be disseminated, especially in preparation for the impending congressional debate on U.S. economic assistance to Israel. A comparison between the standards of living in Israel and the U.S. would also be useful.

4. While recognizing the hollowness of the argument that arms sales to Arab countries help encourage the peace process, the AJC nevertheless should try to moderate the blanket opposition of other Jewish organizations to all arms sales to Jordan. Jordan, as well as other Arab countries, have legitimate security concerns. Proposed arms sales should therefore be evaluated on a case by case basis. A case in point is the transfer of AWACS to Saudi Arabia, scheduled to take place in 1986. At the time of the original sale the Reagan Administration assured Congress that no transfer would occur until agreement had been reached with the Saudi authorities on measures to prevent unauthorized sharing of AWACS information with other Arab states for potentially hostile purposes against Israel. The relevant Congressional Committees should make sure that reliable arrangements have in fact been made before any actual transfer from the U.S. to Saudi Arabia takes place.

5. AJC should consider ways in which United Nations or other multinational peace-keeping forces could be enlisted to play a useful role in helping resolve disputes in the Middle East.

6. There is a need to watch the emerging "axis" of Egypt, Jordan, Iraq and possibly the Arafat-wing of the PLO. If this leads to a more pragmatic policy by Iraq and the PLO, this is to be welcomed. The U.S., however, should not make the mistake, as it did in the case of Saudi Arabia, of overemphasizing the extent to which these shifts represent a genuine sharing of American values and objectives, especially regarding a peaceful settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict and the readiness to cooperate with the U.S. in countering Soviet expansionism and fundamentalist-backed terrorism.

7. The dangers inherent in the Soviet plan for an international conference to resolve the Arab-Israel conflict need to be pointed out. Jordan and Egypt have been giving support to the idea, partly in the hope that this will provide a formula for bringing a tamed PLO into the peace process. AJC should stress that a basic transformation in the PLO has to occur before they can be considered suitable participants in the peace process. Moreover, while a comprehensive settlement of all issues appears a good idea in principle, in practice bringing all Arab parties together has in fact given a veto power to the most extreme participants and has impeded the achievement of workable solutions. Real progress toward peace has to come through direct bilateral negotiations between Israel and individual Arab states. The U.S. can play a useful role in facilitating an Arab-Israeli agreement but no outside power can achieve peace in the absence of a genuine readiness by the parties in the region to make peace.

(Prepared by Kenneth Bandler and George E. Gruen)

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NEAR EAST REPORT

WASHINGTON WEEKLY ON AMERICAN POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

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EDITORIALS

"There You Go Again . . .

"There you go again, King Fahd." That line, a close relative of the one used by candidate Ronald Reagan in his 1980 debate with President Jimmy Carter, would have served President Reagan well when he talked with Saudi Arabia's King Fahd at the White House last week.

The King, according to the *Washington Post*, Feb. 12, has not changed his tune. He told the President: "The Palestinian [Arab] question is . . . the one problem that is the root cause of instability and turmoil in the region." But conflict in the Arab world is endemic. It includes the Iraq-Iran war, tension between Libya and Egypt, the southwest Saharan war between Morocco and the Algerian-backed Polisario and Syrian threats against Jordan.

Fahd also blamed Israel for the plight of the Palestinians "who were never aggressors or invaders [yet] found themselves, through no fault of their own, the victims of unjust aggression." Palestinian Arabs were indeed the victims of aggression: the invasion of Israel by five Arab armies, supported by Saudi Arabia, in 1948. By choosing war the Arabs created, and perpetuated, their own refugee problem.

President Reagan did not say, "There you go again, King Fahd." But, for the first time in memory, an American President did say to an Arab head of state, in public, that "the security of Israel and other nations in the region and the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people can and should be addressed in direct negotiations."

Secretary of State George Shultz said, "After all, if we're going to get some place in the peace process, an Arab negotiator has to sit down with an Israeli negotiator and try to work out answers." Later he cited Camp David as an example.

But Saudi Arabia opposed Camp David. And it has yet to give Jordan's King Hussein—whom the Saudis subsidize (along with the PLO and Syria)—approval to enter direct talks with Israel. What President Reagan called "a great sticking point"—the PLO's refusal to recognize Israel's right

to exist—applies to Saudi Arabia as well.

Stripped of its royal glitter, Fahd's visit looks like another lost opportunity, another tactical delay by a country still clinging to the misnomer "Arab moderate."

. . . And Again"

With transparent timing, PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat and Jordan's King Hussein announced last week that they had "reached agreement on the formula of the joint Jordanian-Palestinian move for attaining a just and peaceful solution" to the West Bank and Gaza Strip issue. Just as Saudi Arabia's King Fahd was meeting with President Reagan, Arafat and Hussein came on stage to pull the long-awaited rabbit—a joint PLO-Jordanian negotiating position—out of the hat, or at least to get a grip on its ears. But the trick is old, the rabbit never really appeared, but this time the audience was leery.

Two years ago it also seemed that Hussein and Arafat were closing ranks. But then the PLO chief bolted. This time around, however, he apparently agreed with the King on a Palestinian Arab state in the West Bank and Gaza with Jerusalem as its capital.

There is not much new here. The PLO has not endorsed U.N. Security Council Resolution 242. It has not recognized Israel's legitimacy nor renounced the use of terrorism. Most important, there's no indication that either King Hussein or Arafat is prepared to sit down and negotiate directly with Israel. And by insisting that the PLO-Jordanian "joint move" be endorsed by a united Arab summit meeting, Arafat ensures that this maneuver will remain stillborn.

The State Department said of the reported agreement that the key question is whether the peace process will be based on "Security Council Resolution 242 and whether the Arab side is willing to engage the Israelis directly."

The announcement from Amman does neither of those things. Regrettably, there they go again . . . □

VIEWING THE NEWS

Iraq Aids PLO

A contingent of the Palestine Liberation Army, parading near Baghdad in celebration of the PLO's 20th anniversary, displayed heavy weapons received from Iraq (*Voice of the PLO*, Feb. 6). About 1,000 members of the force "are now training with the most modern weapons, which this Iraqi Army and its leadership have donated," PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat an-

nounced in a speech delivered at the parade.

The procession included Soviet-made anti-aircraft guns, howitzers, multiple rocket launchers and Brazilian-manufactured Cascavel armored combat vehicles (*Associated Press*, Feb. 7). The PLO lost all its heavy weapons when the Israel Defense Forces attacked it in Lebanon in 1982. Baghdad reportedly will arm an Iraqi-based 5,000-man PLO brigade.

A State Department spokesman said the Administration has "taken notice of this report. It is hard to see how developments of this sort lead to peace in the area." The United States removed Iraq from the list of countries which sponsor terrorism—and are subject to American trade and diplomatic sanctions—in 1983. The spokesman said he did not know if action would be taken to return Iraq on the list of states

(Continued)

N.E.R. REPRINT

More Military Aid for Saudis?

King Fahd of Saudi Arabia [who visited Washington last week] brought a shopping list for arms totaling at least \$3 billion. He is asking for F-15 fighter airplanes, Sidewinder missiles, M-1 tanks, Airborne Warning and Control Systems (AWACS) and a great many lesser weapons. The Reagan Administration has decided to institute a comprehensive review before responding to his request.

What will follow should the United States agree to sell the King what he is seeking? Paradoxically, the two countries' ties will not improve; more likely, they will be damaged.

This is exactly what happened after Saudi Arabia won the right to purchase five AWACS in October 1981. Although supporters of the sale predicted an upturn in relations with Saudi Arabia, the reverse took place: the Saudis immediately undertook unfriendly steps. They charged \$2 more per barrel of oil just one day after the Senate vote, forcing the price to an all-time high of \$34 a barrel. Within a month, they gave more than \$28 million to the Palestine Liberation Organization and participated in an urgent campaign against Oman's agreement to cooperate militarily with the United States.

These three policies—raising oil prices, aiding the PLO, and sabotaging American defense efforts in the Persian Gulf—were then repeated many times in subsequent years.

Saudi leaders also went out of their way to associate themselves with America's enemies, including Syria, Libya, and the Soviet Union. They supported the Syrian occupation of Lebanon and called for the withdrawal of American forces. Diplomatic relations with Libya were resumed in Janu-

ary 1982; contact with the Soviet Union began in mid-1983 for the first time in many years.

In addition, the Saudis obstructed the Reagan Administration's two major initiatives for the Middle East. They pressured Jordan not to accept the Reagan plan and they endorsed Syrian opposition to the Lebanese-Israeli agreement of May 1983.

In return for the United States agreeing to sell its most advanced weaponry to Saudi Arabia, the latter responded with an outpouring of unfriendly acts. Why?

Ingratitude and perfidy are not the explanation. Rather, the answer lies in the contrary needs of the Saudi and American governments.

In Riyadh, maintaining a distance from Washington has critical importance. Too close identification with a superpower makes a Moslem ruler vulnerable to the accusation of dissipating his sovereignty. Few things arouse a Moslem populace against the authorities so much as this. If the Shah of Iran and Anwar Sadat forgot this lesson, Saudi monarchs remember to keep their distance, publicly at least, from the United States. For King Fahd to retain legitimacy, he cannot allow himself even the appearance of taking orders from Washington. Thus, he demands that cooperation between the countries be limited and very quiet.

In the normal course of events, the American government goes out of its way to accommodate the Saudi need for secrecy. For example, the Saudis and other Arab states were granted the unique privilege of having the record of their investments in the United States kept confidential.

But because it requires Congressional

approval, sale of a major weapons system cannot be made quietly. Controversy over Saudi Arabia's friendliness toward the United States prompts intense debates—and publicity—about the wisdom of sharing with it the most advanced arms.

Congress initially balked at the Reagan Administration proposal of the AWACS sale in 1981. To win approval, President Reagan assured the Senate that the AWACS would be transferred only after he had certified that "initiatives toward the peaceful resolution of disputes in the region have . . . been accomplished with the substantial assistance of Saudi Arabia." In short, he publicly proclaimed that Saudi Arabia would continue to serve American diplomacy in the Middle East.

This helped in Congress, but it threatened Saudi leaders in their own country. In response, the King asserted Saudi independence by taking a great number of unfriendly acts against the United States, and the two countries' relations sharply deteriorated.

The downward spiral that took place after October 1981 will presumably be repeated should the current Saudi arms request be granted. Again, the president will emphasize the Saudi government's utility and again this will provoke hostile Saudi actions.

If a steady partnership is ever to be built with Riyadh, it will be based on modest and discreet relations, not on weapons spectacles.

—Daniel Pipes

Daniel Pipes is associate professor of strategy at the U.S. Naval War College. This article originally appeared in The Washington Times and is reprinted with its permission.

VIEWING . . . Continued

sponsoring terrorism.

The United States resumed diplomatic relations with Iraq last year after a 17-year break.

Syrian Threat Grows

Kol Yisrael (Feb. 12) reports that General Aharon Yariv, head of the Tel Aviv Institute for Strategic Studies, says that "Syria is developing an offensive capacity which could enable it ultimately to attack Israel on its own." Yariv spoke at a press conference called to present the Institute's Mid-

dle East military balance report. Yariv said that there is no significant military threat to Israel in the "short run"—from one to two years. But he says that Syria is a growing threat. It has already developed a significant defensive capacity and is on the way toward developing an offensive capacity which could threaten Israel in the future. Yariv said that he can readily imagine a situation in which Syria launches a surprise attack and captures the Golan Heights before Israel has time to mobilize its reserves. He said that in the long run there is a long list of Arab countries—Iraq, Egypt, Jor-

dan, and Saudi Arabia—which are strengthening their forces and using Western weapons systems as good as, in fact the same as, Israel's.

Riyadh Radio on "Victory"

The Saudi media last week gave extensive coverage to King Fahd's visit to Washington. On Feb. 10 the Saudi radio said that the Fahd visit "denies the Zionist lobby the opportunity of pressuring the American President for the benefit of the Israeli enemy." □

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Israel Strong on Human Rights

The State Department's annual "Country Report on Human Rights Practices," released last week, gave Israel high marks. The 1984 report did note some difficulties in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, but Elliott Abrams, Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights, said "despite a tremendous security threat, Israel maintains a vigorous democracy."

Government in the territories is military, not civil, Abrams noted. Unlike the majority of human rights abuses world-wide, most of the violence in the West Bank and Gaza comes from the occupants—Arab and Israeli residents alike—rather than from the military government, he said.

The report stressed that "Israel is a parliamentary democracy which guarantees by law and respects in practice the civil, political, and religious rights of its citizens." It is an open society with an independent judiciary, free elections, a multi-party political system, an elected legislature (the Knesset) which may restrict the Government by legislation and can bring it down by a vote of no confidence, and a free press, the study pointed out.

However, it noted that a formal state of war existed between Israel and all its Arab neighbors from the founding of the state in 1948 until the 1979 Camp David Accords with Egypt. "Terrorist incidents in Israel and the absence of peace treaties with its other Arab neighbors make security a dominant concern which affects many facets of national life."

The human rights violations found in many Arab, Soviet bloc and Third World states, including political killing, disap-

pearance, torture and cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment, arbitrary arrest or imprisonment are prohibited by law and not sanctioned by Israeli authorities. With the exception of the deaths of two terrorists captured after a fatal bus hijacking, there were no confirmed reports of such offenses. The captured hijackers apparently were killed by individuals in the security forces who were acting without orders and who "deviated from accepted orders and norms."

In southern Lebanon last year "Israel held as many as 1,000 prisoners. . . . Israel does not accord prisoner-of-war status under the Third Geneva Convention to prisoners captured during and after the Lebanese conflict who were not members of the armed forces of another country. Israel has maintained, however, that such detainees are treated in accordance with the provisions of the Fourth Geneva Convention in all matters relating to . . . humane treatment and conditions of internment."

On the West Bank and Gaza, the Jerusalem government "has allowed the establishment of four universities in the West Bank where none existed before (as well as a university in Gaza) but has restricted student and faculty members and activities which it regards as threatening to its security. Israel permits criticism of its policies by the east Jerusalem-based Arabic press but has often censored articles and editorials on stated security grounds and restricted the circulation of Arabic publications in the West Bank and Gaza."

Arabic-language radio and television programs from Jordan, Syria and other

Arab countries, including broadcasts of the [PLO] Voice of Palestine, are received in the occupied territories without jamming, according to the study. And foreign journalists "have not reported any difficulties in meeting with inhabitants . . ."

Several Israeli policemen were convicted of abusive use of force against Arab prisoners last year and the Supreme Court twice ordered the withdrawal of confessions by West Bankers on the ground that they appeared to have been obtained by force. A hunger strike over alleged overcrowding and other grievances at the new Jnaid prison near Nablus ended peacefully after the Police Minister granted some of the inmates' requests.

Last year in the territories "Arab and Jewish residents continued to suffer from terrorist acts," the report stated. "Responsibility for acts against Israelis was claimed by Palestinian [Arab] organizations" outside the West Bank and Gaza. During 1984, four Israeli groups were arrested by security forces for terrorists acts against Arab residents, the report noted.

Residents of West Bank and Gaza have considerable freedom of movement, including travel abroad. Although a state of war continues to exist between Israel and Jordan, two-way travel between the West Bank and Jordan is permitted. Most of the Arab inhabitants of the West Bank are Jordanian citizens and all but one of the members of the Jordanian parliament who live on the West Bank were allowed to attend the reconvening of parliament last January. Restrictions on that member have since been lifted. —E.R. □

HEARD ON CAPITOL HILL

Israel Prayer Breakfast

More than 500 Christian and Jewish supporters of Israel attended the Fourth National Prayer Breakfast in Honor of Israel in Washington recently and heard Dr. Ben Armstrong, executive director of the National Religious Broadcasters, describe Israeli officials as "leaders of freedom in the Western world." The breakfast was held in conjunction with the broadcasters' annual convention.

Benjamin Netanyahu, Israel's Ambassador to the United Nations, told the audience that "Christian Zionism helped to achieve the goals of Jewish Zionism."

Keynote speakers were Congressman JACK KEMP (R-N.Y.) and author Hal Lindsey. Lindsey gave a biblical interpretation of the rebirth of the Jewish state.

The meeting, hosted by E. E. McAteer, President of the Memphis-based Religious Roundtable, concluded with a strong statement in support of the U.S.-Israel relationship.

Andrews Questions Weinberger

Sen. MARK ANDREWS (R-N.D.) grilled Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger on the Saudi arms sale in a Feb. 7 Senate Budget Committee hearing. Calling the arms under consideration "wonderful weapons for terrorism," Andrews asked Weinberger what criteria must be met before the U.S. intends to proceed with the sale.

Andrews reminded Weinberger that some Senators voted for AWACS in 1981 "somewhat reluctantly" on the basis of as-

urances contained in a letter from President Reagan to then-Sen. HOWARD BAKER (R-Tenn.). The letter assured that the Saudis would contribute toward a "peaceful resolution of disputes in the region" before future arms deliveries.

McCain Favors Aid

In a strong statement in the Feb. 7 *Congressional Record*, Rep. JOHN MCCAIN (R-Ariz.) spoke out in favor of continued economic and military aid to Israel. He pointed out that "the solution to our deficit does not lie in reducing aid to Israel. The one underlying truth which cannot and must not be forgotten while we attempt to solve our budget dilemma is that Israel has been and remains our one stable and solid ally in the Middle East."

BACK PAGE

"We're a Movement"

One former campus activist who recalled similar events in the 1960's said that she was "amazed at this turnout. Six hundred college students getting up on a frozen Sunday morning to attend workshops and organize. I thought today's college students were only into making money."

Old myths die hard. Not every student on campus in 1967 was at the barricades. Nor is the "average" student of 1985 a personification of apathy. Today, as in the "activist 60's" and the "apathetic 50's," there is a strong and vocal minority of college students who are involved in the business of making things happen.

They were out in force at Columbia University's Altschul Hall on Feb. 10, where AIPAC and the B'nai B'rith Hillel/Jewish Association for College Youth convened a day-long political seminar for pro-Israel students. The 600 students who attended came from 30 New York area universities.

Why did they come? One sophomore who traveled to Manhattan from a snow-bound upstate New York campus put it like this: "At my school there are maybe two dozen pro-Israel activists out of a student population of 3,000 or so. We work hard trying to confront the anti-Israel students but I feel that I need almost professional training in how to deal with the anti-Israel propagandists. And I also wanted to come down here because it's good to know that you're not alone. Look at this crowd. We're a movement."

That sophomore's goals of gaining training and inspiration were amply realized. The program—coordinated by two Columbia students, Ben Feder and Stacy Burdett—was a full one. I spoke first, addressing the day's theme: Jewish power vs. Jewish powerlessness. Tom Dine, executive director of AIPAC, then told the students that their pro-Israel efforts are essential. "It is not too early for you to get involved in legislative and in electoral politics," he said. He noted that last year students had worked to elect pro-Israel Congressional candidates and that they had lobbied on behalf of aid to Israel and the U.S.-Israel Free Trade Area. "There is no limit to what you can do if you set your mind to it," he said. Dine said that AIPAC's student outreach operation—directed by Jonathan Kessler—is a vital and growing part of the pro-Israel lobby.

Congressman Tom Downey (D-N.Y.), who offered the "Congressional Perspective," provided a living illustration of the difference one young person can make. Downey, a powerhouse in the House of Representatives and one of the most pro-Israel members of either House, was first

elected to Congress when he was 24. He reached the Constitutionally-mandated age of 25 just prior to being sworn in and attended law school while in Congress. Today, at 35, he is a ten-year incumbent, one frequently mentioned as a candidate for Governor, Senator, and the White House.

Downey told the students that "you are especially important. Members of Congress expect your parents to write. They expect your parents to visit them. They'll be surprised by you." He said that many of his colleagues have grown "cynical" about the involvement of young people. "Prove us wrong," he said, "and you will have paved the way for yourself to have influence and support in Congress."

Downey's speech was followed by workshops on the role of media in the Middle East debate; the student as lobbyist; the black-Jewish alliance; the anti-Israel lobby on campus; and the Democrat and Republican parties and Israel. Among those leading the workshops were Jack Abramoff and Steve Girsky—presidents, respectively, of the national college Republicans and Democrats—and Bill Morton of the NAACP.

The last session ended at 5:30 PM. Students poured out of Altschul Hall, back to their dormitories or to the cars and subways that would take them to their home campuses. The excitement in the frigid air was almost palpable. Spotting the sophomore from the upstate campus in the crowd, I asked him if the day had turned out as he had expected. "I'm absolutely psyched," he said. "I learned so much. I can't wait to put it all to use."

Watching and listening to the Jewish campus activists as they headed off into the night, it was clear that the pro-Israel student movement is at a historic moment. For these campus activists, this is the 60's. □

—M.J.R.

N.E.R.

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THE KIDNAPPING OF LEBANESE JEWISH LEADERS

(An International Relations Department Background Analysis)

by George E. Gruen, Ph.D.
Director, Middle East Affairs

Four leaders of the Lebanese Jewish community were kidnapped in a series of abductions carried out by armed men in Beirut over the past weekend. The kidnappings have been confirmed by the Beirut police, but no group has publicly claimed responsibility nor have family members been contacted with ransom demands.

According to information obtained by the American Jewish Committee from its Paris office and from other reliable sources in the U.S., Europe and the Middle East, the following is known about the kidnap victims and the circumstances of their abduction:

1. Dr. Elie Khallak, 59, a prominent physician, was kidnapped from his home in West Beirut on Friday night by armed men in uniform.

2. Haim Cohen, an elderly member of the community, whose functions include distribution of Kosher meat.

3. Elie Srour, 68, whose community functions include preparing the dead for burial. Neither Cohen nor Srour is wealthy. They were both kidnapped during the Sabbath in the vicinity of the main synagogue in the Wadi Abu Jamil old Jewish quarter.

4. Isaac Sasson, the president of the community, was kidnapped by armed men on Sunday. He had been out of the country on a business trip to the United Arab Emirates and was dragged away by three armed men when he arrived at the airport in Moslem West Beirut. (This information is different from that in the Associated Press dispatch from Beirut of March 31, which says that he was dragged from his home in Wadi Abu Jamil.) Mr. Sasson, 68, is director of the pharmaceutical department of Khalil Fattal & Fils, a major Lebanese trading company. Friends sought to warn him not to return to his home in West Beirut but to go directly to the relatively safer Christian section of the city, but his abducters, who obviously knew of his travel plans, intercepted him either immediately as he got off the plane or in the vicinity of the airport. Mr. Sasson suffers from diabetes.

Dr. Khallak and Mr. Sasson are well connected in Lebanese society. Dr. Khallak's patients include prominent members of the various ethnic and religious communities. He has scrupulously stayed out of politics, and, in fact, the son of one of the Palestine Liberation Organization's leaders was treated by him. Mr. Sasson also has contacts among Muslim as well as Christian business circles.

The two led a Jewish delegation that met with President Amin Gemayel on August 23 last year to discuss the deteriorating situation of the dwindling Jewish community, which is now estimated at less than 100.

The Lebanese authorities and friends of Messrs. Sasson and Khallak inquired about their whereabouts with the various armed militias, including the Amal, the main Shi'ite militia organization, but no trace of them was discovered. This has led to speculation that the four Jewish men were abducted by persons connected with the Shi'ite fundamentalist group, Hezbollah (the Party of God). This group is closely aligned with the followers of Ayatollah Khomeini of Iran and has been implicated in attacks upon American and other Western installations in Lebanon.

Today, Monday, April 1, rumors were circulating that a fifth member of the Jewish community, Clement Dana, 80, had also been taken captive.

This well organized wave of kidnappings has filled the Jewish community with fear and has raised deep concern among Jewish communities around the world. It is to be noted that even during the height of the civil war, which broke out in 1975 and has continued intermittently ever since, the Jewish community as such was not targeted. Most of the Jewish community has left because of the uncertain economic situation and the physical danger of living in a war zone. There are no special restrictions upon the community, which has been free to practice its religion and was protected by the authorities -- to the extent that there was any functioning central authority.

In June 1967 some 6,000 Jews still lived in Lebanon, but because of the psychological, political and economic pressures generated by the Six Day war in the neighboring countries, the Lebanese Jewish community shrank to half by the end of the year. Additional emigration occurred during subsequent periods of turmoil. By 1981 the community had declined to about 200 and it is believed that the community today is only a fraction of that number, with some estimates as low as several dozen. In many cases most family members have established residence abroad and only the breadwinner remains in Lebanon to continue his business or profession.

The first prominent Lebanese Jewish leader to be kidnapped was Albert Elia, the secretary-general of the community, who was dragged into a car as he was walking to his office in the synagogue on September 6, 1971. Subsequent investigations disclosed that the kidnappers had been working for Syrian intelligence. Mr. Elia died after having been tortured in the al-Mazeh prison outside of Damascus.

But there were no cases of Lebanese Jews being kidnapped by Lebanese elements until last year. On July 1 Raoul Sobhi Mizrahi, 54, an electrical engineer who ran an electrical supply company, was kidnapped by three armed gunmen from his apartment in West Beirut. There were no ransom demands. He was beaten to death and his body was discovered on July 3. A group calling itself the "National Resistance Army--The Nation's Liberation Faction" said it had killed Mizrahi "because he was an Israeli agent." His family firmly denied this, but noted that the Amal Shi'ite militia had warned Mizrahi that his life was in danger if he maintained commercial ties with Israel. On August 15, three armed gunmen kidnapped Salim Jammous, who had been secretary-general of the

Jewish community, from his car near the main Beirut synagogue in the Wadi Abu Jamil quarter. No group claimed responsibility and it is possible that he is still being kept captive.

The American Jewish Committee has been in contact with the United States Government and other diplomatic and human rights channels in efforts to locate and obtain the release of the kidnapped Lebanese Jewish leaders.

April 1, 1985
85-580-12

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AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date June 7, 1985
to George Gruen
from David A. Harris
subject Update on the Middle East

Bookie called at 4:30 this afternoon and asked that I convey to you the following information. From conversations over the last 24 hours with James Covey at the NSC, Eli Rubenstein at the Israel Embassy, and several (unidentified) Jordanians at the American Enterprise Institute, Bookie has learned:

The Jordanians have explicitly laid out their formulation for the peace process, to begin with three stages.

Stage one involves the meeting of the U.S. with a Jordanian and non-PLO delegation (the exact identity of the Palestinians to be further clarified). This meeting would produce sufficient results for Arafat to recognize that the U.S. understands the Palestinian problem and is intent on seeking its solution, leading to stage two.

Stage two involves Arafat's explicit acceptance of 242 and 338, leading to stage three.

Stage three involves the meeting of the U.S. with a Jordanian and PLO delegation, the PLO now having cleansed itself by its act in stage two. The goal at this stage would be to develop an agenda and a formula for a fourth stage, namely, direct negotiations with Israel.

As recently as this afternoon, Eli Rubenstein made very clear to Bookie that the complaints of Israel concerning the Jordanian peace initiative are to be taken seriously and that the above-outlined first stage is not acceptable to Israel. In the Israeli view, all discussions must, first of all, include Israel. To do otherwise, the Israelis fear, would lead, despite U.S. assurances, to a blurring of the U.S. position and to some direct or indirect form of affirmation of self-determination for the Palestinians. Jack Covey, parenthetically, continues to define self-determination as an independent Palestinian state despite whatever new twist Arafat (or the Jordanians) may be attempting to give to the term.

Arafat Seeks U.S. Concession In the Mideast

PLO Leader Refuses to Back Key U.N. Resolutions Despite Hussein's Vows

By BARBARA ROSEWICZ

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
AMMAN, Jordan—Yasser Arafat of the Palestine Liberation Organization is still refusing to publicly accept two key United Nations resolutions recognizing Israel's right to exist, despite promises to that effect last week by Jordan's King Hussein.

"Nobody can push me to say what he wants me to say, only my people," the PLO chairman said yesterday in his first interview since King Hussein's visit to Washington.

Mr. Arafat, appearing calm and relaxed in a sunlit office at Jordan's guest palace, said he wants a concession on Palestinian rights from the U.S. before he will specifically endorse U.N. resolutions 242 and 338 as

a basis for peace negotiations with Israel. The king last week didn't explicitly demand such a concession—although he implied it—when he told U.S. officials that "the Palestinians are willing to accept" pertinent U.N. resolutions, including 242 and 338.

The U.S. considered the king's statement significant. The U.S. for the past decade has refused to officially recognize the PLO until it accepts these resolutions. But U.S. officials insisted they want to hear the endorsement directly from Mr. Arafat.

"Always they want to hear from me," said Mr. Arafat, who wore his traditional starched green army fatigues and black-and-white Arab headdress. "This is my turn to hear from the American administration. Say one word—'self-determination' for the Palestinian people, which is their sacred right." While Mr. Arafat didn't explain exactly what he meant, "self-determination" in the past has been a PLO code word for an independent Palestinian state in the West Bank, but the term is open to negotiation.



Yasser Arafat

Pressed on the question of why he wouldn't echo the king's statement about PLO support for 242 and 338, Mr. Arafat finally declared: "No. I'll not repeat it. I'm not a monkey. I give my own political statements."

Mr. Arafat's demand for U.S. concessions illustrates the pitfalls that lie ahead for the peace process, despite the high hopes generated by King Hussein's visit for a significant breakthrough toward direct talks between Arabs and Israelis. But it doesn't necessarily torpedo movement on the peace process. Even if the U.S. can't yet meet with the PLO, it can proceed with plans to meet a delegation of Jordanians and non-PLO Palestinians for preliminary talks that would deal with the sticky issues of PLO recognition and self-determination for Palestinians.

Mr. Arafat didn't rule out permitting non-PLO Palestinians to meet with Jordanians and the U.S., provided the meetings were preliminary and didn't deal with issues that ought to be left for full-blown peace negotiations.

Mr. Arafat carefully avoided giving any hint of contradiction or disagreement with King Hussein, with whom he signed an agreement Feb. 11 for joint cooperation toward peace with Israel and a solution to the Palestinian question. He insisted that, while in Washington, the king was merely restating terms of that PLO-Jordanian accord, which declares support for all U.S. resolutions but doesn't mention any of them by name, as the U.S. has insisted.

Likewise, Jordanians following up this week on the king's Washington talks predicted that Mr. Arafat wasn't ready to openly declare his support for the resolutions, which call for recognition of the Jewish state and the return of lands Israel has occupied since the 1967 war.

"No doubt Jordan is accepting 242 and 338," Mr. Arafat conceded in his only specific reference in a 30-minute interview to the U.N. resolutions adopted after the 1967 and 1973 Arab-Israeli wars. But the PLO, he said, has made only a generalized statement about accepting pertinent U.N. resolutions.

"You can't choose according to your desire one resolution here and one resolution there . . . and leave the rest," he said.

It is likely Mr. Arafat would face resistance within his own fractious political organization if he capitulated and accepted 242 and 338 at this stage. The PLO objects to the resolutions because they refer to the Palestinians only as refugees.

In addition, Mr. Arafat appears to want to hang on to one of his last cards so he can bargain with the U.S.

While his tone toward King Hussein was friendly, he was openly indignant toward the U.S. and "not optimistic" about chances for the peace process. Mr. Arafat said he isn't prepared to meet U.S. demands for recognizing the PLO because "it's their turn to say something for the Palestinian people. We are human beings. We are fed up with being treated like rats only for hunting in Sabra and Shatila," the refugee camps in Lebanon where hundreds of Palestinians were killed by Lebanese Phalangists in 1982 and in the past month by the Syrian-backed Shiite Amal militia.

He also criticized the U.S. for refusing to talk to the PLO about the peace process, even though Washington has dealt with the PLO in the past, such as arranging the evacuation of American citizens from Beirut.

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National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council

FRIDAY, JUNE 7, 1985

Charles Krauthammer

Why Save Arafat Again?

King Hussein of Jordan came to Washington last week bearing greetings of peace. Hussein tends to become expansive on the subject whenever he visits Washington with a shopping list of advanced weapons. Nevertheless, he does appear to be inching his way toward some sort of negotiations with Israel. His problem, as always, is not will but courage.

For cover he wants an international conference. Hussein calls this an umbrella. The umbrella, besides being an unfortunate choice of diplomatic symbol, is a bad idea. It is not only a way to avoid direct talks with Israel. It is also a way to give Libya, Syria and the Soviet Union a veto on peace.

However, it was not Hussein's umbrella but his news that earned Washington's attention. He announced that Yasser Arafat was ready to negotiate on the basis of U.N. resolutions 242 and 338, which implicitly recognize Israel's right to exist. Arafat went so far, said Hussein on Capitol Hill, as to agree that a future Palestinian state would yield its foreign and defense responsibilities to Jordan. Apparently, Arafat has promised that his Palestine will be as quiet as Andorra.

These revelations produced an immediate outbreak of Middle East fever, a Washington phenomenon that invariably begins with a report that someone somewhere has heard the Magic Words. All it takes is some third, sometimes fourth, party to declare that Arafat has uttered, or will utter, or is thinking of uttering words that recognize Israel's right to exist.

Three years ago during the siege of Beirut, Rep. Pete McCloskey emerged from Arafat's bunker to tell the world just that. But McCloskey had misunderstood the arcane language of the Middle East, and Arafat showed McCloskey up by publicly correcting him. Arafat had said he was prepared to recognize all appropriate U.N. resolutions. McCloskey did not realize that this formulation includes dozens of the U.N. resolutions (the Zionism-is-racism resolution is one) that imply the eradication of Israel.

This February, more rumors of peace. King Hussein announced that he had worked out an agreement with Arafat on joint negotiations and recognition. Within days, a chorus of denials from PLO headquarters in Tunis made a shambles of this one too.

A few months later, the Magic Word hunt turned comic. On May 14, in an Amman guest house, Arafat apparently said them. Present were a couple of American correspondents and Arafat aides "on the verge of nodding off," reports The Washington Post. They were nodding off because it was a 2 a.m. interview. It seems Arafat cannot manage the recognition process during waking hours.

A senior American official said of this latest report, "Maybe if we had a tape recording of Arafat saying 'I accept 242' locked in a vault in New York, then maybe—maybe—we would see some room to move. But there is just no trust there."

This looks like a parody of the sometime lunatic legalism of American foreign policy. It is not. The senior American official meant it: he wants to take the Magic Words, alive.

What could it possibly mean if he did? The abolition of Israel is not an Arafat whim. It is the foundation of the PLO. Israel's illegitimacy is the cardinal principle of the Palestinian national covenant. Sadat did not mail a few words by overnight delivery to a vault in New York. He went to Jerusalem. He changed the direction of the Egyptian press. He made the case for peace not just to the American media but to his own people.

Without such actions—actions there is not the faintest possibility Arafat will take—what you have is not a change in policy but a tactical maneuver to accommodate Arafat's enormous losses in the Lebanon war.

And that is what Arafat's latest midnight minuets are all about. The Lebanon war stripped him of everything: his military option, his territorial base, his political independence. Then he was besieged by Syria, by his own PLO brothers (led by Abu Musa) and now by Lebanese Moslems (who are savagely crushing his latest attempt to reassert himself in Beirut). Arafat was rapidly becoming an irrelevancy.

His remaining hope was the United States, the only party that could deal him back in. He desperately needed the great diplomatic prizes that always eluded him when he mattered: talks with the United States and American recognition.

Sure enough, he appears to have pushed the right button. Buoyed by the "motion" produced by the Hussein visit, the administration is preparing talks with a joint Palestinian-Jordanian delegation. Talks with the United States, that is, not with Israel. And for good reason: their first aim is not peace, but U.S. recognition of the PLO. The Palestinian delegation will not (yet) include PLO members. But Arafat will be picking the Palestinians and giving them orders. And, Jordanian Foreign Minister Taher Masri indicates, the first order of business of the talks will be to bring the United States into direct negotiations with the PLO.

The Reagan administration is making a habit of rescuing Arafat. It evacuated him from Beirut, then from Tripoli and now is about to save him from well-deserved oblivion in Tunisia. Why? Propping up his brand of Palestinian irredentism simply ensures that no new Palestinian leadership willing to engage in more than rhetorical feints toward coexistence with Israel will arise.

Give peace a chance. Let Arafat fade away.

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June 12, 1985

Memo

TO: NJCRAC Member Agencies

FROM: Charney V. Bromberg, Associate Director

RE: Materials on Jordan Arms Sale

As promised in our memo of June 6, I am pleased to enclose an op-ed length essay on the pending Jordan arms sale by Kenneth Jacobson, Director of Middle Eastern Affairs for the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. This article can be adapted for submission to your local paper (please touch base with your local ADL regional director) or condensed for use as a letter-to-the-editor. You may also want to reproduce it for circulation to your top influentials mailing list.

According to The New York Times of June 12, 1985, Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman, Richard Lugar, told Secretary of State Shultz ". . . that there had to be additional signs of Middle East progress before the arms package to Jordan had a chance of withstanding efforts to block it."

Accordingly, our recommendation of June 6 to generate letters of support to the 70 Senators (72 with the addition of Melcher and Byrd), already signed on to the Kennedy-Heinz resolution as well as letters to those who have not, asking him to do so, should be intensified. While progress toward direct negotiations remains our great hope and desire, there must be, as Senator Lugar reportedly said, more tangible signs of peace: indeed, there must be direct negotiations to warrant consideration of a major arms sale.

Also enclosed are two articles dealing with the PLO side of the Jordanian equation. Most important is The Wall Street Journal interview with Arafat in which he states explicitly what his aides were saying (see our June 6 memo) immediately after Hussein's declarations in Washington--namely, that the (Arafat wing of the) PLO's purported acceptance of Resolutions 242 and 338 is conditional, and that condition--acceptance of the right to "self-determination," i.e., an independent PLO-run Palestinian state, is nothing new and continues to be unacceptable to the United States as it is to Israel. While this does not, in itself, foreclose the next step envisioned by the Administration--the formation of a Jordanian/non-PLO Palestinian delegation to meet with the United States, it seems to clearly signal what the agenda of such a meeting will contain. The Charles Krauthammer article, also enclosed, explains how the current exercise only helps to keep Arafat "alive" when he represents the clear impediment to the peace process.

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Enclosures

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THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date June 25, 1985
to Area Directors
from Marc H. Tanenbaum
subject AMERICAN HOSTAGES IN BEIRUT

Pursuant to Dr. George Gruen's June 17th memo to you on "Lebanese Hijacking of TWA Flight," I want to share with you the enclosed information which may be helpful to you and to chapter leadership in dealing with several questions now being raised by the press and other elements around the country:

- 1) ISRAEL'S HOLDING OF 760 SHIITES IN DETENTION -- Israel is being falsely accused of violation of the Geneva Convention by having transferred these Shiites to Israel from South Lebanon. Enclosed is a copy of the official statement just issued in Jerusalem denying its violation of international law. Also enclosed is a Washington Post story which backgrounds that issue.
- 2) THE ROLE OF SYRIA, IRAN AND LIBYA IN STEPPED-UP ANTI-AMERICAN TERRORISM -- The enclosed Wall St. Journal story provides helpful insight into this orchestrated anti-American ideological terrorist campaign, of which the latest TWA hijacking may well be a part. This is not simply another anti-Israel attack. It is another violent expression of the Islamic fundamentalist assault on so-called "bankrupt" Western and American modernism, and recent U.S.-sponsored peace initiatives in the Middle East.
- 3) TWA'S PURSER ROLE IN SELECTING JEWS AMONG THE HOSTAGES -- Last Thursday I joined representatives of the NJCRAC and its member agencies in a meeting with senior TWA executives who requested the meeting with us. The results of that meeting are reflected briefly in the enclosed (1) NJCRAC statement (which AJC helped draft).

In the face of Arab and pro-Arab efforts to scapegoat Israel as the villain in this tragedy, it is important to clarify these issues to the media and to public opinion molders.

If you have any questions relating to the hostage issue, please feel free to contact our International Relations Department staff.

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Enclosures
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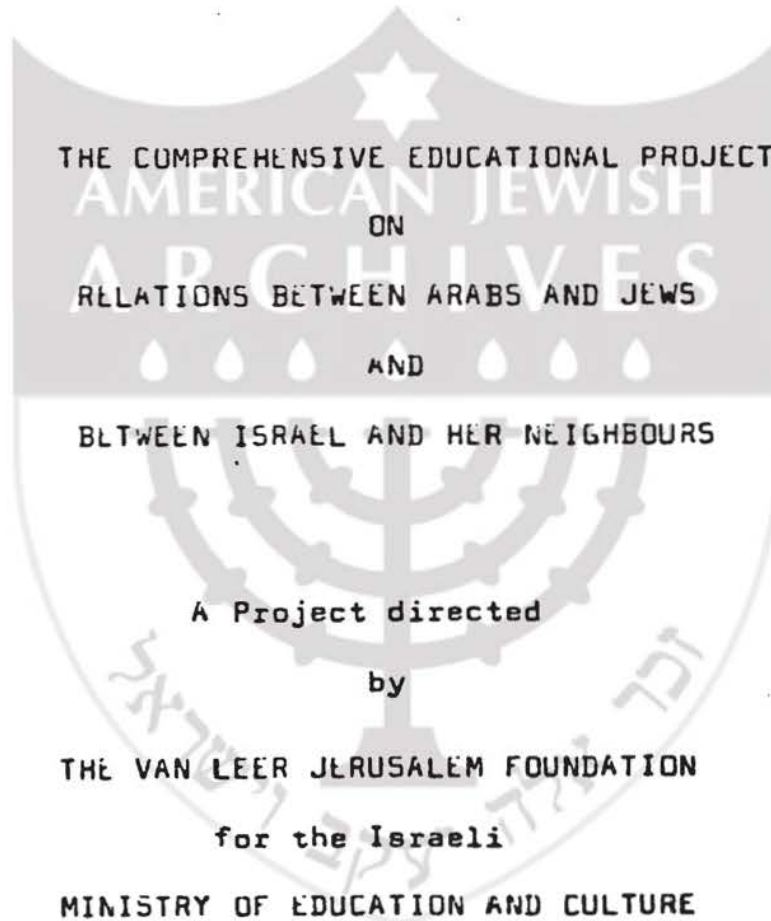




מוסד ון ליר בירושלים

THE VAN LEER JERUSALEM FOUNDATION

مؤسسة فان لير في القدس



July · 1985

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- B - Joint proposal by Israeli Educational TV and the Van Leer Jerusalem Foundation for an educational TV series on Arab-Jewish relations within Israel
- C - Progress Report (July 1985) on the Comprehensive Programme.

THE COMPREHENSIVE EDUCATIONAL PROJECT
ON
RELATIONS BETWEEN ARABS AND JEWS
AND
BETWEEN ISRAEL AND HER NEIGHBOURS

Background

For more than thirty years the Israeli educational system almost totally refrained from tackling the crucial issue of relations between Arab and Jewish citizens of Israel, and of relations between Israel and her Arab neighbours. Jewish and Arab pupils would often complete twelve years of schooling without devoting a single hour to these twin issues.

Furthermore, a considerable asymmetry exists between what Arab pupils and Jewish pupils learn about each other's culture and history. While Arab schools in Israel devote substantial time to the study of Hebrew, of Jewish history and literature, the study of Arabic is not compulsory in Hebrew schools, and the time allocated to Arab language and culture is less than minimal in most Jewish schools.

In 1982 the Van Leer Jerusalem Foundation (VLJF) approached the Ministry of Education and Culture with a proposal to examine the question of how Israeli schools should educate pupils on the twin issues of civic equality between Arabs and Jews in Israel and of relations between Israel and her neighbours in the Middle east. Our main argument was that the absence of a programme dealing with these issues carried an implicit message that they should be ignored or that they were devoid of interest.

The Ministry responded by establishing a committee to prepare an outline for an educational policy on the subject of Arab-Jewish co-existence. The committee was headed by the Deputy Director General of the Ministry, Mr. Arye Shoal. Most of the members were officials of the Ministry, both Arab and Jewish. The VLJF was represented by Alouph Hareven.

The committee's work took more than a year. On the basis of this work a report was prepared, in May 1983, presenting the committee's recommendations. A major part of the report was drafted by Alouph Hareven of the VLJF.

Outline of the programme

The committee proposed an outline of a Comprehensive Programme for education on Arab-Jewish coexistence. The major recommendations can be summed up as follows:

* The aims of the programme should be threefold:

- to develop among young Arabs and young Jews in Israel mutual understanding and mutual respect on the basis of civic equality;
- to learn how to live in Israel as a multi-cultural society;
- to understand Arab-Israeli relations as a pluralistic experience (rather than perceiving them as consisting of conflict only);

* A comprehensive programme: These aims will be achieved through a comprehensive programme for both Arab and Jewish schools.

* A twelve-year process: Education in Arab-Jewish and Arab-Israeli relations should achieve its aims in a cumulative twelve-year process.

* A multi-disciplinary approach: Education should proceed in several disciplines simultaneously. For example, in language, literature, history, geography, civics, existing curricula for each discipline will be examined with the intention of integrating into them elements germane to the aims of this programme.

Problems of implementation - The Role of the VLJF

The Director General of the Ministry accepted the recommendations of the committee.

The Ministry subsequently approached the VLJF, asking whether we would agree to become the institution responsible for implementing the programme. The VLJF accepted this responsibility.

The relationship between the Ministry and the VLJF was defined by the Director General of the Ministry of Education in a letter of August 1983, requesting the VLJF to take upon itself this specific role and committing the Ministry to a share of the financial burden. This makes the VLJF and the Ministry equal partners in a venture in which neither side is subordinate to the other, the VLJF having to lead the implementation of the plan. We cannot dictate solutions to the educational authorities, nor can they dictate solutions to us; rather, we must strive to formulate jointly educational tools which are mutually acceptable.

A special circular of the Director General of the Ministry was published on 1 February 1984, describing the project and the policy on which it is based. The circular (see Annex A) is the formal legitimization of the project within the educational system, and it was circulated throughout the educational establishment.

Subsequently, district conferences were held in which the new policy was described to senior education officials, and in which the role of the VLJF was explained to them.

Organization

Since September 1983 the VLJF serves as the centre of the project, working in close cooperation with the Ministry of Education and with other institutions in Israel, such as Schools of Education at the universities, Teacher Seminars, and Educational TV.

The project is implemented by the following bodies:

- (1) A Guiding Committee - for the project, consisting of Arab and Jewish officials of the Ministry, representatives of the VLJF, and academic consultants.
- (2) Task groups.
- (3) Each task group has its own group of consultants, as well as its own evaluating team which follows up the introduction of its product into the system.

Major Efforts

In implementing the project we are directing four major efforts:

- a. Preparation of curricula and other educational material;
- b. Teacher training;
- c. A popular educational TV series for the general public;
- d. Other activities.

Curricula and other Materials

The following curricula are envisioned or already in work:

- Materials for the Kindergarten: Kindergartens at present are breeding grounds for prejudice and negative stereotyping (against Arabs in Jewish kindergartens, Jews in Arab kindergartens). Material must be provided to help kindergarten teachers dissipate the negative stereotyping and humanize Arabs and Jews.
- Arab language and culture: The study of Hebrew is compulsory in all Arab schools in Israel, whilst about 40% of the Jewish pupils study colloquial Arabic and less than 10% proceed to literary Arabic. Our intention is twofold:

- 1) To expand the study of Arabic (both literary and colloquial).
- 2) To integrate into the study of the language an understanding of Arab culture and learning to relate to Arabs through their cultural values.

This in itself is a vast project, requiring simultaneously the modernization of textbooks and a substantial expansion of the study of Arabic in Jewish schools (during the past few years the trend has been in the opposite direction: many schools have eliminated Arabic from their programme).

Because of limited resources we have so far not been able to tackle this problem on a large scale. Our present effort is confined to collaborating with the Ministry in the preparation of new textbooks in literary Arabic for the intermediary and secondary school levels.

- Hebrew literature and culture: A review of what Arab schools in Israel teach about Jewish culture, history and literature, and a revision of existing programmes, so as to make them more relevant to present reality.

- Curricula in literature: Integration of stories by Arab writers and about Arab-Jewish relations into curricula in literature, as a pluralistic experience. At present we are already producing:

- * For the elementary school level, a collection of short stories by Arab and Jewish writers on Arab-Jewish relations in Israel;
- * For the secondary level, a reader of short stories by Arab writers, depicting different aspects of Arab culture (family, women's status, rural and urban life, the role of religion, tradition versus modernization). The stories are by Egyptian, Palestinian, Syrian and Lebanese writers.

- A curriculum on Arab-Jewish relations: In place of an existing curriculum named "The Arab-Israeli Conflict" we are producing an entirely new textbook to be named: "The Relations Between Israel and her Arab Neighbours".

- The "Living Together" Programme: This is a curriculum in civics for secondary schools. It deals with Arab-Jewish relations inside Israel as an issue of civic equality. It has gone through its pilot phase during 1983-4 in some 150 Jewish classes. An evaluating team followed this phase, and on the basis of its report a revised edition was published in December 1984.

A team of Arab teachers now prepares an Arab edition for the Arab schools.

- Israel as a multicultural society: For the intermediate level we are preparing a curriculum dealing with Israel as a multicultural society in which members of all cultural groups must learn to live in mutual respect for each other's culture. The curriculum will deal with the following cultural issues: Arab-Jewish; Religious-Secular; Oriental-western.

- A revision of existing textbooks: At our request, Professor Daniel Bartal of the School of Education at the University of Tel Aviv, has set up a team which prepares a survey of existing textbooks in language, literature, history, geography and civics. The aim is to decide whether each textbook needs revision because of negative stereotyping or because it abstains altogether from referring to Arab-Jewish relations. A report on textbooks for the elementary and intermediate school levels is expected shortly and will serve as the basis for negotiating changes in textbooks.

Teacher Training

Teacher training is being developed in the following directions:

- Schools of Education at the Universities: At our initiative, the Schools of Education at the universities of Jerusalem, Tel Aviv and Haifa have introduced this year, for the first time, special programmes for training teachers and student teachers in the themes of our programme.

- Teachers' Colleges: This year we have begun to introduce our subject into a few of the teachers' colleges in Israel (in Jerusalem and in the Tel Aviv area).

- Structured meetings between Arab and Jewish teachers: We are planning a series of structured five-day meetings between Arab and Jewish teachers as an experimental framework for modifying attitudes. We also hope thereby to establish professional links between Arab and Jewish teachers, classes and schools.

- Special seminars are held to train teachers in the use of specific curricula.

Meetings between Arab and Jewish pupils

Well-structured meetings between groups of Arab and Jewish pupils result in positive changes in perceptions and attitudes.

Together with the School of Peace at Neve Shalom, which specializes in such meetings, we have produced a Guidebook for moderators of meetings. We have also established an evaluation team which assesses the efficacy of such meetings and of the structural process proposed in the Guidebook.

In the next few years we intend to focus on two levels:

- * Perfecting the techniques for such meetings and the training of moderators;
- * increasing the number of centres in Israel, which will hold structured meetings between Arab and Jewish classes, based on the techniques developed in the Guidebook.

An Educational TV Series

Israel so far has only one TV channel, and part of its broadcasting time is allocated to educational programmes which attract a high percentage of the general public.

Together with Educational TV we are planning a regular bilingual series, for the whole family, on Arab-Jewish relations. This is intended to be a light programme aimed at a wide public.

The didactic purpose of the programme will be to legitimize and humanize Arab-Jewish relations on a basis of equality and mutual respect. Thus it will reinforce, at home, what the pupils learn at school. Because we hope to reach a wide public, we expect this to be the most influential of all our programmes.

An Arab-Jewish team is preparing the series. A first pilot programme is scheduled for May 1985, and the series is planned to start in October 1985, running as a bi-weekly forty-minute programme, for one year.

This is by far the most expensive of our programmes. So far, we have only partly solved the problem of funding for its first year. However, if the programme is to gain momentum and achieve its purpose of cumulative effect, we must already now plan for its continuation into a second year.

Other activities

- Literature for young people: Literature (short stories, novels) can be quite effective for educational purposes - as an experiential mode. There exists, however, a lack of appropriate literature on Arab-Jewish relations. Existing literature is often full of negative stereotypes and prejudice.

We have initiated a programme for encouraging authors who specialize in writing for young people to write books on Arab-Jewish encounters as a mutually humanizing experience. One such book has already been written by a best-selling author and is about to be published. More work is now in progress, at our initiative. For this purpose we have been in contact with both Arab and Jewish writers.

- Production of films: Apart from the educational TV series, we intend to produce several films, to be used in schools as well as in public.

We have commissioned the preparation of a script for a filmed comparative study of an Arab family and a Jewish family.

Simultaneously a script has been prepared on the basis of the book, written at our initiative, for young people, on the experience of an Arab adolescent girl who goes to study at a Jewish boarding school.

So far we are lacking resources to advance the production of the films beyond the script phase.

- Army education: We are encouraging the Army Education Service to develop programmes for officers and soldiers on Arab-Jewish and Arab-Israeli relations. We are persuading the Army that the question is operational, for it relates to the conduct of Israeli soldiers towards Arabs within Israel, Arabs in the Administered Areas, and Arabs in other countries with which we are not at war (Egypt, Jordan).

- Interaction with Egypt: We have already established preliminary contacts with Egyptian academics and officials. The purpose is to develop a regular link between our Comprehensive Project and a group of Egyptian experts, for feedback on their part and some possible input for our project. Due to political constraints in Egypt, no significant progress has been achieved to far.

Timetable

All major educational changes require time and move slowly. Especially when - as in our case - we are dealing with a field which is almost totally new and in which we have to start from practically nil in terms of curricula and teacher training. And yet the feeling is that the need for the programme is urgent in view of the generally prevailing ignorance and prejudice. A survey which we commissioned in 1984 on attitudes of Israeli adolescents towards democratic values revealed disquieting anti-democratic trends, especially concerning Israeli Arab citizens. Teachers report large-scale support, in classes, for the racist views of Meir Kahane.

Initially we are planning for a three to five year period (1984-9), but several outstanding experts in education, whom we consulted, are of the opinion that we should require seven to eight years.

Our major difficulty in planning is that we do not know the size of the resources which will become available. We are therefore limiting our budget proposal to the next three years.

Budget : a three-year estimate (in U.S. dollars)

<u>Project</u>	<u>1985</u>	<u>1986</u>	<u>1987</u>
<u>Preparation of curricula</u>			
1. Materials for use by kindergarten teachers	10,000	20,000	20,000
2. Curricula for elementary school classes (an integrated programme)	50,000	100,000	100,000
3. Revision of existing textbooks on all levels (history, literature, geography, civics)	10,000	20,000	20,000
4. Modernization of textbooks in Arabic (integration of cultural themes)	20,000	40,000	40,000
5. A Reader of translated Arab literature for secondary schools plus a teachers' guide	10,000	30,000	-
6. A Reader of modern Hebrew literature for Arab schools plus a teachers' guide	10,000	20,000	-
7. A textbook on Arab-Israeli relations as a pluralistic experience (not only conflict) plus a teachers' guide	20,000	10,000	20,000
8. A textcook on Israel as a multicultural society for the intermediate school level plus a teachers' guide	10,000	20,000	20,000
9. Living Together: A textbook in civics for secondary schools on relations between Arab and Jewish citizens in Israel -			
a) Arab edition	10,000	20,000	20,000
b) Revised Hebrew edition	-	20,000	-
10. Teaching modules: Preparation of independent teaching modules on			
a) Prejudice and stereotypes	10,000	10,000	-
b) Egypt and Israel	10,000	10,000	-
c) Israel and the Palestinians	10,000	10,000	-
d) Israel and Jordan	10,000	10,000	-
e) Israel and Syria	10,000	10,000	-
f) Israel and Lebanon	10,000	10,000	-
Total curricula	<u>150,000</u>	<u>270,000</u>	<u>180,000</u>

<u>Teacher training</u>	<u>1985</u>	<u>1986</u>	<u>1987</u>
11. Special programmes in University Schools of Education:			
a) Jerusalem	20,000	20,000	20,000
b) Tel Aviv	40,000	40,000	40,000
c) Haifa	40,000	40,000	40,000
d) Beersheba	20,000	20,000	20,000
2) Bar Ilan	20,000	20,000	20,000
12. Special programmes in Teacher Colleges:			
a) Jerusalem	20,000	20,000	20,000
b) Tel Aviv	40,000	40,000	40,000
<u>Note:</u> There are some sixty Teachers' Colleges in Israel			
13. Structured five-day meetings between Arab and Jewish teachers (thirty participants, \$5,000 per meeting)	50,000	150,000	150,000
14. Special training seminars for specific curricula	20,000	40,000	40,000
15. District teams for propagating the programmes in the schools	30,000	60,000	60,000
16. Special training for teachers of Arabic (integration of cultural values into language teaching)	40,000	40,000	40,000
Total teacher training	340,000	490,000	490,000
	=====	=====	=====
<u>Educational TV</u>			
17. 26 bi-weekly forty-minute programmes	500,000	500,000	500,000
	=====	=====	=====

	<u>1985</u>	<u>1986</u>	<u>1987</u>
<u>Other Activities</u>			
18. Encouraging creative writing for children in Arabic and Hebrew plus subsidies for publication	10,000	30,000	30,000
19. Films			
a) Arab and Jewish families	50,000	50,000	-
b) Nadia -the story of an Arab girl in a Jewish school	50,000	50,000	-
c) Loping with prejudice in Arab-Jewish relations	-	50,000	50,000
d) Egypt and Israel	-	50,000	50,000
e) Israelis and Palestinians	-	100,000	100,000
Total Other Activities	110,000	330,000	230,000
	=====	=====	=====
<u>Grand total</u>			
Curricula	150,000	270,000	180,000
Teacher training	340,000	490,000	490,000
Educational TV	500,000	500,000	500,000
Other activities	110,000	330,000	230,000
	-----	-----	-----
	1,100,000	1,590,000	1,400,000
	=====	=====	=====



Present sources of funding

At present we have several sources of funding:

1. In addition to its professional and administrative services, the Van Leer Jerusalem Foundation contributes out of its own limited operational budget about 450,000 annually to this project.
2. The Israeli Ministry of Education is committed to contribute annually, in matching funds, the equivalent of 450,000.
3. The Ford Foundation has made two grants: (a) an annual grant of 75,000 for three years, from 1984 to 1986; (b) a single grant of 150,000 for the year 1984/5.
4. The Living Together Foundation in Australia and the Buxenbaum Foundation in Israel are contributing \$100,000 each towards the cost of the Educational TV Series in its first year. Educational TV contributed matching funds.
5. Smaller contributions from other sources amount to some \$50,000 in 1985.

The available resources permit us to implement only about one third of our programme in 1985, and as from 1986 we are not even assured of being able to maintain our present scope.

We are particularly anxious about the following projects:

- a) Assuring the continuity of the educational TV series in 1986 and beyond.
- b) Developing new curricula.
- c) Organizing a network to spread the programme through all schools.
- d) Developing a series of five-day structured meetings between Arab and Jewish teachers.

Summing up

In brief, what we lack is funding of a sufficient scope to give the Comprehensive Programme the momentum it requires for having a national impact. Due to severe budget cuts under which the Israeli Government will have to operate in the coming years, it is unrealistic to expect substantial contributions from that source.

Yet the subject is crucial, and the need to implement this programme is becoming increasingly urgent. What is at stake is the capacity of the next generation to maintain the democratic values of its society and to live with its Arab neighbours in relations of equality and mutual respect.

We deeply believe that this objective is attainable. What we now seek are partners who will commit themselves to helping us realize, during the next three years, the full potential and promise of this programme.

Annexes:

- A - Circular of 1 February 1984 by the Director General of the Ministry of Education on "Guidelines for the Programme on Arab-Jewish Coexistence"
- B - An outline of the Educational TV programme
- C - Progress Report on the Comprehensive Programme.

Prepared by Alouph Hareven
Jerusalem, March 1985.

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ANNEX A

(Translation from Hebrew)

Ministry of Education and Culture
Director General's Circular

February 1st 1984

Guidelines for the programme on "Education for Jewish-Arab coexistence"

The educational system has recently considered the comprehensive question: how should we educate Jewish and Arab pupils in Israel on two interrelated issues:

- Relations between Arabs and Jews, as an issue in civic equality in Israel, a multicultural country;
- Relations between Israel and her Arab neighbours, as an issue in the relations among nations.

The need to deal with both issues within the educational system is existential: Arab citizens will always live among us and within our society, and Arab nations will always be neighbours of Israel. Evading both these issues in education means raising the young generation on the basis of ignorance and alienation in regards to issues which will always be at the centre of our existence.

A plurality of relationships

We live at the beginning of an era when Arab-Israeli relations may no longer be summed up only by the concept of "conflict". Polarization between ourselves and the Arabs is no longer the sole pattern of relations. At the present era we already perceive different types of relations, among which we should learn to differentiate:

- With Egypt we have, since 1979, peaceful relations. It is indeed "a cold peace", but it still answers the two principal requirements of a peaceful relationship: first, both sides abstain from hostile activities; secondly - both countries maintain direct contacts - about one hundred Israelis have visited Egypt, and with a few singular exceptions, most of them have been accorded a friendly welcome;
- Morocco helped to prepare the ground for the Egyptian-Israeli peace, and hosts groups of visiting Israelis openly. Countries such as Sudan, Tunisia and Oman have openly supported the peace process;
- Between Israel and Jordan there are, since 1967, open bridges, and Jordan is strict about keeping the frontiers quiet;
- In Lebanon we have developed intricate relations with different communities, partly on the basis of common interests;
- The Arabs in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip are destined to autonomy, according to the Camp David Agreements of 1978; the two economies are inter-related, and sixty thousand workers from these territories come daily to work within Israel;
- Israeli Arabs are Israeli citizens and an inseparable part of the country. The Declaration of Independence accords them equal rights, and all Israeli governments past and present have repeatedly emphasized this principle in their Basic Programmes;
- As against all these, there are still Arab States which continue to pursue a relationship of hostility and conflict with us. Outstanding among them are Syria, Iraq and Libya. In addition, there is the PLO, which seeks to perpetuate the conflict in every way, including terrorist activities, aiming to bring about the end of Israel.

What emerges is that in the second generation of Israel we are no longer entitled to educate pupils to relate to the Arabs as a single entity and only in terms of conflict. We must differentiate among different Arab groups and among different types of relations which are developing between them and

ourselves. Primarily, we must distinguish and differentiate between Arabs who are Israeli citizens and Arab States with some of which we are still in conflict relations.

A multi-cultural approach

Moreover, today's world is increasingly becoming aware of itself as multi-cultural. The distance between cultures - both in time and in space - are constantly being reduced. Israel too in a multi-cultural state and society.

This requires us to develop a new facility - of maintaining inter-cultural contacts on the basis of equal respect for each other's culture. Developing this facility is one of the goals of the educational system, and the Ministry must help teachers discover ways for imparting it to pupils!

In the field of information - pupils should acquire extensive knowledge about the history of the Arab nations, their language and literature, their past and present culture, Islam (and Christianity) and Arab-Islamic art. We must primarily learn and teach the Arab language, both literary and colloquial. At present, Arab pupils in Israel already learn Hebrew, Jewish culture and history, far more extensively than what Jewish pupils learn about the culture and the history of the Arab nations.

In the field of perceptions and attitudes - Our pupils (Arab and Jewish) should acquire an openness towards other cultures, a readiness to become acquainted with them, to understand them and to respect them, even though they are different from one's own national culture, and though they may at times seem strange. Our pupils should understand that a different and foreign culture is neither superior nor inferior to our own culture, and that all nations and communities have a right to develop their own culture, also within one state. Above all, our pupils must be brought up on the firm recognition that every man is created in God's-image, and that every man must be respected as a human being, even though he may belong to another nation, and even though he may be politically our enemy.

In the field of facilities - We must educate our pupils to listen to others and understand them, to debate with tolerance and patience on a rational basis and to develop a culture of discussion; the facility to distinguish between emotional responses and the analysis of historical, political and sociological facts; and the facility of differentiating among different persons, and relating to each person as an individual, by virtue of his personal character, without resorting to stereotypes and to generalizations.

A comprehensive programme

Our Ministry has adopted a comprehensive programme which aims to cope with these issues. The outlines of the programme are:

- a. Relating to the Arabs and to Arab-Jewish relations must become an integral part of the educational process, starting at kindergarten and throughout twelve years of schooling;
- b. The subject should become, as much as possible, an integral part of disciplines already taught at school: in social activities and in the study of civics and social sciences, history, geography, and literature;
- c. Existing curricula (in all disciplines and at all levels) and approved textbooks will be examined with a double purpose: on the one hand, to cleanse them of any expressions of hatred or negative stereotypes and prejudices (if such do indeed exist there); and on the other hand - to add materials and chapters which answer the aims we have set to ourselves;
- d. Curricula will be prepared as well as programmes for educational activity directed at those aims. Simultaneously, teachers will be trained to become acquainted with the new material and to acquire a facility for teaching it in the class. Teachers' colleges will incorporate in their programmes a special chapter dealing with this subject.

The preparation of these programme will require about three years. There are already some beginnings. At the Educational Centers there exists material on Arab culture and Islam. A first curriculum named "To Live Together" has been prepared by the Ministry and the Van Leer Jerusalem Foundation; it deals with Arab-Jewish relations inside Israel, as an issue in civic equality. This curriculum has been tested for the past year in Jewish secondary schools. A parallel programme in Arabic is now under preparation.

At the request of the Ministry, the Van Leer Jerusalem Foundation has accepted to help develop these new programmes, and to help in teacher training, in cooperation with the Pedagogic Secretariat and the Institute for Education to Coexistence.

Initiative in these field is not entrusted to the Ministry alone. We shall welcome initiatives of schools, principals and teachers, as well as other institutions such as universities, to develop activities of their own in these field - whether in the development of curricula and teacher training or in organizing meetings between Arab and Jewish pupils. The departments of the Ministry, the Van Leer Jerusalem Foundation and the Institute for Education to Coexistence will help those who seek advice and make available to them written material and other educational aids.

Within the educational system this is a largely new subject, which will require extensive experience. Principals and teachers who will participate in this experience will receive full support from the Directorate of our Ministry, which regards the advancement of this subject as an educational and a civic purpose of the first order.



מוסד ון ליר בירושלים

THE VAN LEER JERUSALEM FOUNDATION

مؤسسة فان لير في القدس

ANNEX B

AN EDUCATIONAL TV SERIES ON
ARAB-JEWISH RELATIONS WITHIN ISRAEL

A Joint Proposal by Israeli Educational TV and the
Van Leer Jerusalem Foundation

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

BACKGROUND

Israel is a Jewish state and a democracy, with a large Arab minority. Every sixth Israeli is an Arab. Legally, Israeli Arabs have equal rights as citizens of Israel. In practice, relations between the Jewish majority and the Arab minority still constitute a major problem.

The many years of the unresolved Arab-Israeli conflict, limited the mutual exposure and the interaction between Jews and Arabs, within the State of Israel too. This situation restricted what each side knew of the other and distorted mutual perceptions. During the past decade mutual alienation has been growing especially among young Israeli Arabs. Most of them feel they are the object of discrimination, prejudice and negative stereotyping. At the same time, among many Israeli Jews prejudice and intolerance prevail in regards to Israeli Arabs.

Whatever the future of Arab-Israeli relations we can make two historical assumptions.

- * There will always be Arab citizens living as part of Israeli society.
- * Israel will always have Arab countries as its neighbours. From these two assumptions follow two conclusions;

.. /2

- * We must find a way to develop normal relations between Jews and Arabs, inside Israel, on the basis of civic equality.
- * We must equally discover ways for fostering pluralistic relationships with neighboring states; relationships based on equality and not necessarily on conflict.

On the basis of this approach, a comprehensive programme has been prepared by the Ministry of Education, together with the Van Leer Jerusalem Foundation, aiming to create curricular programmes which will try to cope with this issue within Israeli schools. However, schools by themselves cannot effectively cope with negative attitudes which are widespread among adults and which pupils encounter when they return home.

Therefore, we believe it necessary to produce a regular TV series, which will deal with outstanding issues in Arab-Jewish relations, from an educational point of view.

THE ADVANTAGES OF THE TV MEDIUM

TV is a very powerful medium. Its power can be effective for:

*The spread of basic information:-

By using TV as a medium of information we increase the mutual exposure of the two different populations. We also increase the basic knowledge they will have of each other.

*A fair and balanced presentation of the issue:-

By introducing the two groups in a fair and balanced way, TV will enhance mutual respect and tolerance between Jews and Arabs as equal citizens of Israel.

* Personification of an abstract issue:-

Many people tend to look upon the Arab-Jewish issue exclusively as a general problem, from a national point of view. This somewhat abstract perception is often cut off from any humane dimension of the problem. By tackling the issue on the individual and interpersonal level, TV may contribute to the humanization of mutual attitudes.

* Changing attitudes:-

While supplying regular, fair and balanced information, and introducing it through a permanent emphasis of the humane aspects, TV will also:

- combat prejudice and dissipate negative stereotypes;
- encourage mutual respect for each other's civic equality and for each other's culture;
- encourage Arab-Jewish cooperation through the presentation of such cooperation.

An outline of the format

In preliminary discussions held between the Van Leer Jerusalem Foundation and Educational TV the following proposals have been raised:

- A regular programme

The series should be produced as a continuous regular programme. Only long-term continuity can assure a cumulative impact of the programme;

- Prime time broadcast

Each regular programme will be thirty minutes long, and will be broadcast on prime time. We should note here that Israel possesses so far only a single TV channel, and that therefore prime time audiences constitute a fairly large proportion of the Israeli public.

- A bilingual programme

The programme will be bi lingual, so that it can address simultaneously Arab and Jewish families;

- A mosaic-type programme

The envisaged format is that of a mosaic-type programme; that is, a programme with a diversity of subjects, sufficient to attract the public on a regular basis. Some examples:

- * The regular moderators of the programme will be an Arab actor and a Jewish actor who are popular with the Israeli public;
- * Audience participation in the programme;
- * Programmes to be produced in different localities, with different audiences;
- * Regular focus on Arab and Jewish families and their interaction;
- * Spots on the Arabic and Hebrew languages, on proverbs and customs; on cultural similarities and dissimilarities;
- * Focus on problematic encounters (dissipating stereotypes);
- * Focus on how Arabs and Jews cope with similar problems;
- * Focus on interesting Arab and Jewish personalities;
- * Focus on instances of Arab-Jewish cooperation;
- * Arab and Jewish humour;
- * Arab and Jewish theatre, song and dance;
- * School competitions to be linked to the programme;

ORGANIZATION

The production of the series will be a joint venture of Israeli Educational Television and the Van Leer Jerusalem Foundation, which serves, at the request of the Ministry of Education, as the institute responsible for implementing the comprehensive educational programme on Arab-Jewish relations.

Israeli Educational TV will be responsible for the production and broadcasting of the series and for its professional excellence,

The Van Leer Jerusalem Foundation will represent the interest of adhering to the long-term educational goals of the programme, the need to evaluate the effect of the programme, and the need to assure its continuity by securing ongoing funding.

AN ARAB-JEWISH VENTURE

The production of the series will be, at all levels, an Arab-Jewish venture. Arabs and Jews will participate in the production, script writing, and direction of the series. We have already begun consultations with several Israeli Arabs who may eventually participate in the process.

AN EVALUATION PROCESS

Once the programme is launched, we shall initiate an evaluation process, to examine public reaction and possible processes of opinion change.

BUDGET

The director of Educational TV is insistent that the programme should run for as long a duration as possible, thereby allowing for a cumulative effect.

The minimum budget for running the programme for one year is estimated at \$ 400,000.

We share with him the view that a duration of one year is a minimum and we hope that, once the programme is launched, we can mobilize funds to assure its continuation in forthcoming years.

This proposal was prepared by Tamar Reiner of Educational TV and Alouph Hareven of the Van Leer Jerusalem Foundation.

Jerusalem, July 1984.



C o n t e n t s

Overview

Policy level

The preparation of curricula

To Live Together

Literature

Arab-Israeli relations

Geography

"How to answer pupils' questions?"

How to teach in especially problematic classes

Teacher Training

University Schools of Education

Teacher Colleges

Structured meetings between Arab and Jewish Teachers

Occasional seminars

Youth movement leaders

The educational TV series

Books for young people

Films

Foreign contacts

Perspectives



The Comprehensive Programme for Education
on Arab-Jewish and Arab-Israeli Relations

Progress Report for the period ending
30 June 1985

Overview: some painful dilemmas

The major dilemmas on which we last reported in February 1985 are still very much with us:

- * Compared with the situation which existed before the start of our comprehensive programme in 1983, we have advanced in many directions and have developed several programmes and frameworks of education which had not existed before.
- * Compared with the existing climate of opinion among young Israelis, the pace and extent of our advance are largely insufficient. With the limited resources available to us so far, we doubt whether we could have accomplished much more.

As is always the case when one compares large-scale needs with rather scarce resources, any priorities on which we decide may appear arbitrary. Thus, we adhere to our four principal efforts, namely: (1) preparation of curricula for all school levels; (2) teacher training; (3) the Educational TV Series, and (4) the writing of literature for young people. But within each of these broad categories there are large areas which acutely need involvement, and which we must leave unattended.

The two issues which are of deep concern to us, in this overview, have to do with (1) the continuing shift among adolescent opinion towards radical right-wing ideologies, and (2) the question of the breadth of public responsibility a private institution like ours can assume in face of an illness which has become an epidemic.

Already in our last report we indicated a growing support for the racist views of Meir Kahana among significant parts of Israeli youth. During the past few months, teachers from all over the country have reported to us on the large support of such views, which they encounter in many classes. Our own staff, which participates in meetings and seminars with teachers and classes all over the country, returns often with troubling reports about expressions of racial intolerance prevailing among pupils and teachers, mostly centering upon Kahana's proposal that by expelling all Arabs from Israel we shall cure all the ills of our society.

Because we wished to measure the extent of support for Kahana's views, we commissioned a survey, which was carried out in April 1985, among a national sample of six hundred 15 - 18 year old pupils. The major findings were:

- To the question: "Do you support or reject the views of Meir Kahana and his movement?" 15.5% replied "support completely" and 26.6% replied "support" (total: 42.1%). To the question: "Had you the right to vote, how would you vote?" 11.3% replied they would vote for Kahana's party. These findings indicate that, while support for Kahana as a person and for his party amounts to some 11%, some 30% more of adolescents support his views, principally in whatever concerns the Arabs.
- The survey also indicated the groups among which support for Kahana's views was strongest. These are pupils in technical colleges, among whom support for Kahana reaches 49% (as compared with 34% in secondary schools). Among religious pupils the support for Kahana reaches 59% (as compared with 34% who do not support his views). Among children of oriental families the support for Kahana's views reaches 50% (sompared with 21% among children of Ashkenazi families).

In view of such findings, we are troubled by the following questions: should we not re-order our priorities and concentrate our efforts on the technical colleges and religious schools? or should we persevere in our efforts in the secondary schools, from which will grow a large part of the elite of the next generation? and, in any case, what can be the scope of our activities, when our resources are so limited?

Such questions have led us, over the past few months, to re-consider the issue of our public responsibility as a private institution. Formally, we are implementing a national programme, developed for the Ministry of Education and at its request. Since 1983 this programme has received all the necessary official legitimization from the highest echelons of the Ministry. The present Minister of Education, Mr. Yitzhak Navon, has indicated that this programme should become a major subject of preoccupation for the educational system during the coming school year. The Ministry, however, has so far not accompanied its formal commitment with a parallel commitment in matters of budget.

We have written to the Minister that it is inconceivable that the VLJF should indefinitely carry the major burden of a programme which eventually must become an integral part of Israel's educational system. In discussions we had with Mr. Navon he promised that, despite the severe budget cuts imposed on his Ministry, he will see to it that, starting this year, the Ministry should allocate a specific budget to this programme. (So far, the Ministry's contribution consisted only of activities that did not require budgetary itemization, such as editorial work at the Curriculum Division and pre-production work at Educational TV).

In June, when we received the findings of the opinion survey on political attitudes of adolescents, we communicated them personally to the Prime Minister, to the Minister of Education, to Itzer Weizman (who as a minister without portfolio deals with Arab affairs), and to the Chairman of the Knesset Education Committee. The purport of our message was to bring to the attention of national leaders the urgency of the situation in schools and the need to re-organize the national effort on this issue. We made in June certain proposals, in writing, to the Prime Minister and to the Minister of Education, and we are still awaiting their decisions.

No matter what the eventual decision at government level, it is clear to us that we cannot alone shoulder the responsibility for the implementation of this programme at a national level. If resources remain so drastically short of the needs, we shall, by September 1985, have to limit ourselves to some specific projects and cancel all the others.

So we end this overview on a paradoxical note which conveys our current situation: while urging, at the national level, considerable expansion of the programme, we must prepare ourselves for the necessity of reducing the scope of our activities.

The rest of this report is devoted to a description of the progress of our different ventures.

Policy level

The Ministry has announced that education on democracy and on Arab-Jewish relations will become major subjects for the educational system in 1985/86.

In March the Director General of the Ministry convened a meeting with all Regional Directors of his Ministry, to discuss the spread of our programme. It was decided that in each District a special assistant to the Director will be appointed, to take charge of contacts with schools. Some initial advance was made in the Northern District and in the Tel-Aviv and Jerusalem Districts.

The preparation of curricula

To Live Together (Curriculum in civic education on Arab-Jewish relations, for 11th - 12th grades):

- a) The revised Hebrew edition has been taught, during the past year, in some two hundred classes.
- b) A version of Living Together for informal education has been produced, together with the VLJF, by the Institute for Education on Arab-Jewish Coexistence. This caters to a large-scale need of education, for informal programmes such as simulations, exercises and games. Together with the Institute we are proceeding, starting in July, with a series of teacher training seminars in the use of this programme.
- c) The Arab edition. Progress is still slow, and we may have to reorganize the team of Arab teachers now involved in the preparation of this curriculum.
- d) Evaluation of the project. In previous reports we have described our evaluative activities in classes during the past two years, dealing mainly with the short-term effect of the programme ("closing the social distance between Jews and Arabs") and long-term effects (some erosion).

We are now directing our evaluative efforts towards two goals: (1) locating the schools which so far have refused to teach this programme and trying to discover the reason for their refusal and how this can be overcome; (2) feedback from teachers on problems they encounter as they teach this curriculum.

Literature

Elementary (a collection of short stories for the elementary school level, on Arab-Jewish relations).

On the basis of experience gathered this year by a group of teachers who participated in workshops and taught this pilot programme in class, a teachers' guide is being prepared. We also envisage publication of the collection of short stories in one volume.

Teacher training seminars in this curriculum are planned for next year. The curriculum is also being introduced, next year, into teacher training colleges and into schools of education.

Secondary level. The Hebrew Reader of some twenty short stories by Arab writers will be published this summer.

On the basis of preliminary work by a group of teachers who taught some of these stories in their classes, a teachers' guide is now being written.

The Ministry of Education has given its official approval for the forthcoming Reader.

Arab-Israeli relations. (A curriculum on Arab-Israeli relations, as a pluralistic experience, to replace the existing curriculum for secondary schools on "The Arab-Israeli conflict").

The experimental edition is going to press this summer. The teachers' guide is in process of being written.

Geography (A programme on neighbourhoods for elementary schools)

A team of Arab and Jewish educators is now preparing a curriculum in geography, dealing with how to become acquainted with one's neighbourhood - Arab and Jewish. The pilot project is based on neighbourhoods in the Galilee.

Once the model is established, we intend to distribute it throughout the educational system.

"How to answer pupils' questions?"

Teachers daily confront their classes, where questions on Arab-Jewish and Arab-Israeli relations often arise. Frequently the teachers do not know how to cope with these questions.

To help the teachers we have produced a short 56 page handbook, dealing with the major questions that recur in classes. This is NOT a curriculum but an aid to teachers, mainly in their informal work. The handbook is divided into seven parts: How should we relate to the Arabs? Is Israel strong enough to defend herself? Is the peace with Egypt real? The Arab citizen of Israel. What will be the future of the territories, and the Palestinian problem? What will happen on the Lebanese frontier? On what should we focus our educational effort in these fields?

An experimental edition of this handbook has been distributed to more than two thousand schools, principals and teachers, with a page plus return envelope for comments. By now we have received replies from more than one hundred schools, most of them requesting quantities of the handbook for use by their teachers in classrooms. As the handbook was distributed at the end of the school year, we expect more replies to come later.

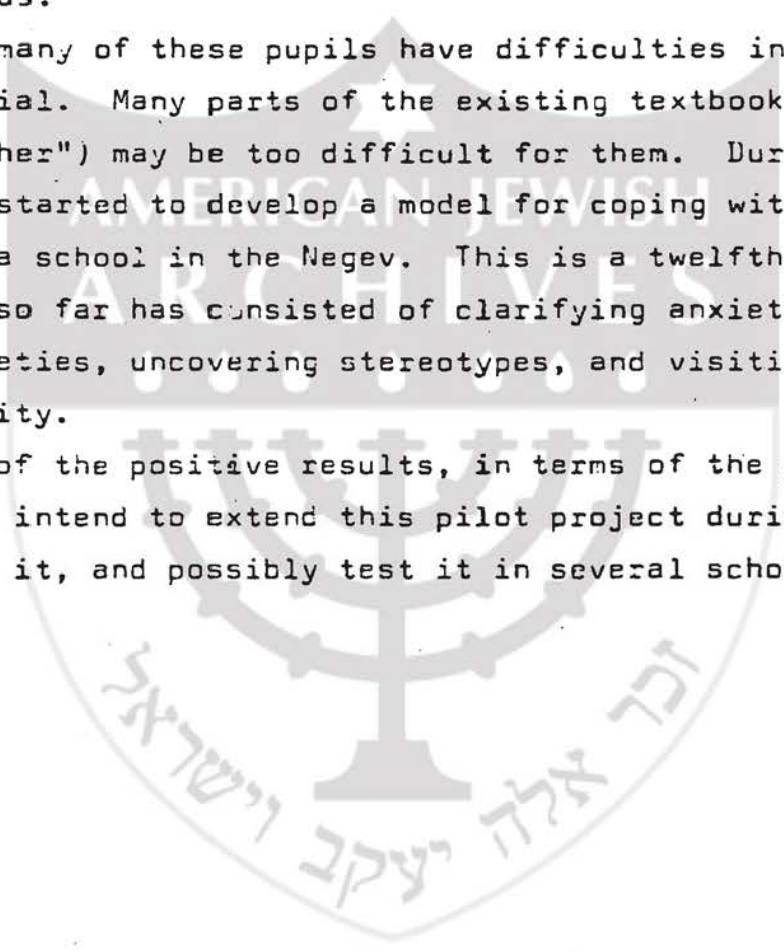
How to teach Arab-Jewish relations especially in problematic classes.

As especially problematic classes we define classes where the pupils come from families of low socio-economic status. In such classes there are two major problems concerning the teaching of Arab-Jewish relations on the basis of civic equality:

- First, there exists among the pupils a far stronger anti-Arab prejudice than one usually finds in classes of a higher socio-economic status.

- Second, many of these pupils have difficulties in learning complex material. Many parts of the existing textbooks (such as "Living Together") may be too difficult for them. During the past year we have started to develop a model for coping with a class of this type in a school in the Negev. This is a twelfth grade, and the activity so far has consisted of clarifying anxieties, relating facts to anxieties, uncovering stereotypes, and visiting an Arab Beduin community.

In view of the positive results, in terms of the pupils' attitudes, we intend to extend this pilot project during the next year, develop it, and possibly test it in several schools.



Teacher Training

University schools of education:

Tel Aviv. The first annual training course for teachers ended in June. Fifty-seven principals and teachers, one-third of whom Arabs, devoted one day a week for twenty-seven weeks to learning about Arab-Jewish relations and discussing problems of education relevant to this subject.

This has been our most intensive (and most expensive) effort in teacher training.

The net results are:

- * Initiatives by the principals and teachers to start educational activities on Arab-Jewish relations in their schools.
- * Establishment of professional and personal links between the Arab and the Jewish educators, leading to common projects between schools.
- * The course has made a name for itself among Israeli educators, and already now (in June) we have nearly one hundred applications for next year's course.
- * Jerusalem and Haifa are planning similar courses for next year.

Haifa. This was the only School of Education which obliged all students to follow a weekly two-hour course (including workshops) on Arab-Jewish relations.

Staff anxieties about reactions from radicals among the Arab and Jewish students proved to have been exaggerated. The course contributed somewhat towards a mutual awareness among Arab and Jewish students. However, Haifa University campus has some special problems arising from the high percentage (20%) of Arab students, and it is doubtful whether these problems can be attenuated within the scope of just a two-hour weekly session which must concentrate of educational issues. We are discussing this matter with the staff of Haifa University, seeking a more effective framework for interaction among Arab and Jewish students.

Jerusalem. An annual course (two hours weekly) for student teachers has ended. Twenty-seven Arab and Jewish student teachers participated in this course, where they acquired basic concepts for dealing with Arab-Jewish relations in class.

Teacher Colleges.

The Yellin College in Jerusalem. A variety of activities were conducted within this college during the past year, both among the academic staff and among the student teachers. The activities included discussion groups, lectures, and a visit to the Arab village of Tayba. Participation in these activities was on a voluntary basis. We were disappointed, during the first few months, at the low number of participants, both Arab and Jewish. There were suspicions among members of the Arab staff as to the very purpose of these activities, one of them expressing himself that "the Jews encourage us in their workshops to express ourselves individually. But individual expression is a Western value, while we as Arabs should express ourselves on a communal basis". On the Jewish side, the problem was mainly that of indifference and lack of initiative as regards this venture.

The visit to Tayba proved to be a turning point, for it brought many of the Jewish participants in contact, for the first time, with the human realities of an Arab community and of Arab education. The result has been some basic structural change within the College, seeking complete integration in studies among Arab and Jewish students and establishing new programmes dealing with Arab-Jewish relations. On the whole, we feel that there is now a shift inside the College towards greater involvement in our subject on the part of both the academic staff and the students.

Colleges in the Tel-Aviv region.

The following activities were carried out in the Tel Aviv region:

- * A group of educators from five Colleges terminated a series of workshops for value clarification on Arab-Jewish relations, as a preliminary to the introduction of our subject, next year, into their Colleges. This groups will continue to operate next year.
- * The Beit Berl College conducted a similar series of workshops.
- * The Kibbutzim College has ended the first seminar on this subject for a group of student teachers. For the next year they are planning five such seminars.

Structured meetings between Arab and Jewish teachers.

We have planned three such meetings, to take place in June and July. There will be about thirty teachers participating in each meeting, one half Arab, the other half Jewish. Each meeting will last between three and five days and will seek (1) a mutual acquaintance among Arab and Jewish teachers; (2) to work together on a professional problem of common interest.

The three meetings will be devoted to the following subjects:

- Learning the "Magic Circle" technique (for the development of self-awareness and receptivity to the views and feelings of others). The participants will be teachers from the intermediate level.
- Developing a geography programme of learning about neighbouring Arab and Jewish communities. The participants will be teachers from the elementary level. (See also our mention of this project in the chapter on curricula development.)
- Discussing problems of civic education in Arab and Jewish secondary schools, with particular reference to Arab-Jewish relations.

Should these models prove successful, and should we obtain the necessary funding, we would like to organize annually as many as thirty such meetings, bringing to one thousand the number of Arab and Jewish teachers who will participate in them. At present, however, we still lack the resources for a large-scale multiplication of this model.

Occasional Seminars.

During the past months we continued to initiate short-term (one or two days) seminars, both at the VLJF and throughout the country.

The seminars were of two types:

- Specialization in a specific programme, such as civic education or literature.
- Developing awareness and involvement among teachers in specific schools, on themes of Arab-Jewish relations.

Youth movement leaders.

During the past four months four seminars on Arab-Jewish relations were held for youth leaders from several youth movements in Israel. Total participation was more than two hundred. The last seminar brought together some fifty Arab and Jewish youth leaders.

Our expectation is that, subsequent to the seminars, these youth leaders will deal with the subject in the groups which they moderate. As yet we have no feedback on the efficacy of this activity.

The Educational TV Series

With most of the budget for the series assured by the Euxenbaum Foundation in Israel and by the Living Together Foundation in Australia, the Arab-Jewish team constituted by Educational TV has been working hard at the production of the first pilot programme.

The major difficulties on the way of production were of two kinds: First, problems of innovation. We seek to communicate serious themes in a light vein, which will draw (we hope) a large public. The production of scripts of this type has been a slow process, and we are still looking for more creative talent. Second, there were several problems with personnel. Two production directors had to be replaced.

On the other hand, Educational TV have been quite successful in bringing together a team of four well-known actors: two Arab (a man and a woman) and two Jewish (a man and a woman). This team will regularly moderate the programme, as well as act out dramatic (or comic) situations which will be part of the programme. Because of difficulties, the production of the first pilot programme was postponed from April to mid-June. Educational TV hope to start broadcasting the series in December 1985.

Books for young people

This is a programme in which we encourage writers to write books and stories for young people, humanizing Arab-Jewish relations.

"Nadia, the Story of an Arab Girl". This book, for adolescents, written by Galila Ron Feder, a popular writer for young people, was published in April. It has been well received by most readers, in particular by Arabs.

We are now negotiating with the Ministry Education for their accreditation of this book, so that it can be used in classes.

Radio serialization has been delayed, as they are still searching for an Arab girl to act the role of Nadia.

A picture book for young people. Together with the Ministry of Education, we are shortly going to publish a picture book on an Arab family, written by Niva Harel. The book will be used in the lower elementary classes.

A book for 10 - 12 year old children. The author, David Grossman, has undertaken to write a book for this age group.

Short Stories. Five Hebrew authors have undertaken to write short stories for children. These stories will become part of the literature curriculum for elementary schools.

Books and Short Stories for children in Arabic. Through advertisements in Arab newspapers we have announced a VLJF project encouraging the writing in Arabic of short stories for children. A committee of three was constituted to judge the entries (two Arab authors and one Arab staff member of the VLJF). Because writing for children in Arabic had barely existed before, we foresee some difficulty in adapting the incoming material for our purposes.

"Nadia" in Arabic. In view of the favourable reception of "Nadia" among Arabs, we are now negotiating a translation into Arabic. Suggestions for certain modifications of the text, advanced by Arab readers, will be discussed with the author.

A Seminar for editors of children's newspapers. A one-day seminar was held by the VLJF for editors of children's newspapers and for Arab and Jewish writers of stories for children. The purpose of the seminar was to motivate them to write and to publish material on Arab-Jewish relations in a humanistic vein.

An essay competition. We are planning a nation-wide essay competition, in Arab and Jewish secondary schools, on contemporary themes of common interest.

The essays selected, written by both Arab and Jewish pupils, will be published jointly in a special brochure. We hope to publish editions in Hebrew and in Arabic.

Films

Nadia. The ABA film company has proposed to us to produce a film based on "Nadia". With our support, the author has produced, together with AEA, a script for the film.

While ABA is negotiating with several sources for possible funding of the film, the problem of the budget is yet unsolved.

Two Families. The Israel Film Service is preparing, at our suggestion, a film on an Arab and a Jewish family, their lives and their interaction.

While we have undertaken to cover the cost of the script, the financing of the film itself still remains a problem.

Foreign Contacts

United States.

* The Anti-Defamation League (ADL) has, at our suggestion, agreed to sponsor a three-year educational project dealing with prejudices and stereotypes. It has been tentatively agreed that the target group for this project should be the technical colleges. A preparatory team from the ADL will visit Israel in October 1985.

* The outgoing Ambassador, Miss Sam Lewis, has continued to support our request for US aid. So far without any result.

France.

Alouph Hareven visited Paris in May, at the personal invitation of the French Minister of Education, M. Jean-Pierre Chevenement. The visit included a four-hour discussion with the Minister on multi-cultural education, and on possible mutual exchange of ideas between French and Israeli educators engaged in similar problems.

Australia.

With the help of the Living Together Foundation in Sydney, and the Australian Ambassador in Israel, Dr. Robert Merrillees, we have come into contact with the Australian experience in multi-cultural problems.

We have been particularly impressed by a series of educational pamphlets named "Seventeen Australian Families" describing families of seventeen different ethnic origins. We hope to emulate this example, possibly in cooperation with Australian institutions.

South Africa.

The University of Cape Town has requested us to provide it with material on our programme, for study of the feasibility of similar projects to be carried out in South Africa.

Northern Ireland.

The Peace Centre in Dublin has requested us to provide them with material on our project.

Egypt.

To our deep regret, no response has been received over the past year to the contacts we established in April 1984 in Egypt at both the official and the academic levels.

We discussed with the Israeli Minister of Education the need to activate a direct link between our project and Egypt. Navon believes we should wait a few more months for an amelioration of Egyptian-Israeli relations. He will then be prepared to take this up with Egyptian officials.

Jewish Organizations.

Apart from the ADL in America and the Living Together Foundation in Australia, we note with regret that Jewish organizations have so far evinced little enthusiasm for this programme, despite the fact that it is a nation-wide venture, carried out in close cooperation with the Ministry of Education.

It is our guess that many Jewish organizations are reluctant to come to grips with the changing public climate in Israel, especially among young people. Probably they also feel uncomfortable about becoming involved in issues of civic equality inside Israel, which (in their eyes) may reflect on the image of Israel they prefer to retain.

The Media.

It is not our policy to seek out the media. Nevertheless, not a week passes without interviews sought by representatives of the press, both foreign and local.

Articles about our activities have appeared in most Israeli papers, the New York Times, the Washington Post, Time Magazine, the Guardian (London), the Neue Zürcher Zeitung and Le Monde (forthcoming); two TV networks (one British, one American) have interviewed our staff and filmed our activities.

Perspectives.

Depending on the size of resources available to us, we shall, by September 1985, have to decide between two options:

- To maintain the momentum of our programme, at least at its present scope (for we are already slightly exceeding our budgetary resources).
- If no additional funds become available, we shall have to cut down our activities. We shall then prefer to continue activities which have already proven to be successful, and close down all new initiatives.

It is very painful to us to present this second option; especially because in our contacts throughout the Israeli educational system we realize that there are many thousands of teachers eager to enter into the activities which we sponsor. We lack the resources to answer the growing demands from the field. We realize that the responsibility for this cannot rest solely on the VLJF, and we are doing whatever we can to persuade the high echelons of the Ministry to take an increased share of responsibility upon themselves as well. We are cautiously hopeful that there will be some positive response.