

to the *Christian Science Monitor*, in fact, a main impetus behind the State Department policy statement was to encourage the Arab states to "stay away from the U.N. basket" and to instead rely solely on U.S. diplomatic initiatives.

Dayan on the Move; Begin Resisting

In Israel, the Dayan forces' major immediate objective is to have Dayan replace Begin. Two weeks ago, Dayan organized a political "debating society" that brought together military and intelligence community backers of Dayan under his personal leadership. The *Jerusalem Post* Sept. 11 editorialized that the Dayan group is meant to be the core of an important new national political party.

According to West European diplomatic sources, there are widespread rumors that Dayan is on the verge of becoming prime minister.

But Begin, an extremely shrewd politician, is in a strong position and is fighting back. The key to Begin's strategy is the fact that during his recent visit to Romania, the only Communist country that has ties with Israel, Begin and President Ceaucescu reached a basic accord on avoiding war at all costs, a policy which Begin is committed to.

According to the *Christian Science Monitor*, Begin is

quietly exploring the idea of renewed diplomatic ties with the USSR, and is sending an Israeli government delegation to the USSR this week for the first time in ten years to attend a UN conference. Israeli businessmen are also touring the Soviet Union the *Monitor* reports, and a Bulgarian delegation is in Israel.

Internally, Begin is strengthening his position against the challenge from Dayan. The key was the appointment of Ahimlai Paglin as special advisor on terrorism two days ago. Paglin, an old associate of Begin, is a bitter opponent of the Dayan faction and, according to informed sources, intends to clean up Israeli-based terrorist networks -- run by Dayan and his West German accomplice, Willy Brandt.

In addition, Begin is maneuvering to isolate the fanatic Agriculture Minister Ariel Sharon on the issue of stepped-up Jewish settlements in the occupied West Bank. Begin announced in a press conference that Israel has not set up any new settlements except those already planned by the previous Rabin-Peres government, and he flatly contradicted Sharon on another issue by stating that Israel does not intend to help the PLO's Yasser Arafat overthrow King Hussein to set up a Palestinian state in Jordan -- a policy advocated by the lunatic Sharon.

— Mark Burdman

Dayan Plan For West Bank Draws Intl. Press Fire

The following is the response of domestic and international press to Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan's proposals for West Bank settlement.

The Guardian, Sept. 12, "An Offer With No Takers"

Israel's draft for a peace treaty with the Arabs, and an accompanying letter to the State Department, have been approved by the Cabinet but not yet published. They are reported to assume, if not assert, the continued occupation of the West Bank. It would have been an astonishing turnabout if they had made any other assumption, but the draft has been rejected in advance by Arab spokesmen as a contribution not to peace but to another round in the war.... (For), even if the occupation were demonstrably benign it could not begin to meet the aspiration of the Palestinian homeland -- and not "even if" but "because." Anything which compromises the aim of a homeland must be regarded by the Palestinian leadership as a dangerous siren call, and if existing Palestinian leaders do not so regard it, they will be replaced by those who do...

Mr. Vance's resourceful diplomacy has not so far been a match for the incompatibilities on the ground. It is based on the liberal supposition ... that for every problem there must somewhere exist a solution on which all right-thinking men can agree. It is the task of diplomacy, according to this school, to seek out the solution

wherever it may be found, even in the dictionary.... Linguistic paths are sometimes worth exploring but it is rare for them to lead to an acceptable destination in a dispute the size of this one.... If Mr. Vance is correctly reported, the choice of word (of a "Palestinian entity" as a solution to the Palestinian problem) is infelicitous because it clearly implies that the "entity" will be an administrative unit entirely distinct from anything else that exists in the world. That is not what the Palestinians want and they are unlikely to be persuaded into less than they want by verbal dexterity alone.

London Financial Times Sept. 12, "Israel's proposals lack realism":

The next phase of the Middle East peace negotiating process is about to take place in the unpromising environment of the UN General Assembly and in an air of dangerous unreality. Total deadlock is already apparent and continued assertions of optimism by the U.S. Administration are belied by the widening gulf between Israeli and Arab states directly involved....

These divisions appear even more clearly after the presentation by Mr. Moshe Dayan, Israeli Minister, of his country's draft peace proposals....

Although few of its details have been officially released, sufficient is known about them to draw

pessimistic conclusions about the outcome of the next round of contacts. While Israel is ready to offer military withdrawal from a part of Sinai and Golan Heights, it is not prepared to surrender physical control over the West Bank let alone hand it over to any Palestinian entity.

Willingness

Instead it is prepared to grant a measure of autonomy to the 800,000 Arab inhabitants of the territory under some kind of arrangement with the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. The result would be what the Israelis call a "functional division" of authority. A similar arrangement is evidently envisaged for the Gaza Strip....

His (Dayan's) problematical hope is that an indigenous leadership on the West Bank unrelated in any way with the Palestinian Liberation Organization can be developed to help implement such a solution and that King Hussein of Jordan — pledged by the Rabat resolutions in 1974 to recognise the PLO's right to the territory — will co-operate.

Only an enormous effort in wishful thinking or a blind conviction in the rightness of their position could account for a belief on the part of Mr. Dayan and his colleagues that these proposals might in the foreseeable future provide the basis for a settlement....

Nevertheless, at this delicate phase of the negotiating process the Israeli policy on the occupied territories can only retard the negotiating process by convincing the Arabs that Israel is trying to dictate the territorial aspects of a settlement....

Washington Post Sept. 14, editorial "Mr. Dayan's West Bank Idea":

At face, Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan's idea of bestowing civilian autonomy on the occupied West Bank, in a negotiated peace agreement, is a non-starter....

Soggy as the idea is, however, the context in which it's being presented gives it some interest....

Is this the time for pausing; for accepting the fact that the administration's quest for a comprehensive settlement has been derailed, at least for the time being; a time for seeking less ambitious approaches in order to reestablish momentum? Mr. Dayan's West Bank idea at least has the advantage of building on the substantial practical coexistence generated by his earlier idea of maintaining "open bridges" across the Jordan River. "My formula is not a wonderful solution," he says, "but all the others are by far worse." Notwithstanding the State Department's words on Monday concerning the importance of Palestinian representation at Geneva, it is not evident that the administration has recovered enough

from its August frustration to offer a productive alternative of its own. So Mr. Dayan's proposal is worth examining as a starting point. There will be time for others to show what feasible improvements they can offer.

New York Times Sept. 14, editorial "The West Bank by Any Other Name":

What's in a name?...

No doubt Mr. Dayan's plan will be vehemently denounced by the Arab governments and the Palestine Liberation Organization as simply a means of perpetuating Israeli occupation. And no doubt most Israelis will reject any proposal for an independent Palestinian state. But outside observers can be pardoned for wondering whether, if everyone suspends for a moment the effort to pin labels on everything, the Dayan plan might not provide the basis for a settlement of the Middle East's most vexing problem....

...Suppose these arrangements were not imposed by Israeli fiat, but were negotiated with the Arabs, and perhaps even with Palestinians? And suppose those soliders were accompanied by others from Scandinavia, India or even from some of the Arab countries? And suppose the monitoring stations were staffed by Americans and Jordanians as well as Israelis — an arrangement akin to that now existing in Sinai? And suppose that, after a few years, the flag overhead was not that of Israel, but that of the United Nations, and after a few more it was the flag of the new Palestinian "entity"? Or perhaps all three flags might for a time fly together? Would this be — dare we mention the phrase — "self-determination for the Palestinians"? Arab ideologues and Israeli zealots aside, the residents of the West Bank might well find life under such conditions peaceful, prosperous and even satisfying to the soul. The State Department, which on Monday issued a sensible statement asserting that the Palestinians must be involved in the Middle East peace-making process, would do well to encourage Mr. Dayan and his colleagues in these heretical directions.

A broadcast by East Germany's Stimme der DDR radio Sept. 13 reported an attack by the Soviet news agency Tass on the Dayan plan:

After the Arabs have rejected the former plans of Begin, now the western press makes a big deal out of a new Dayan plan. The New York Times is actually praising the new Dayan-plan into the skies. But actually this plan has nothing to do with peace: it perpetuates the military occupation of the West Bank and ignores the Palestinian issue. In fact, Tel Aviv is further continuing its annexationist course and rejects categorically the creation of an independent Palestinian state.

Stimme followed with its own commentary:

The new plan by Dayan is nothing but an attempt to legitimize robbery of the Palestinian homeland. Pravda today criticized the plan for ignoring the Palestinian problem. Arafat also earlier rejected the so-called Vance plan of a demilitarized Palestinian state. The Vance

plan, because it rejects the creation of an independent national Palestinian state will not be accepted and not be realized. The Syrian press is commenting that it is the U.S. government which encourages the annexationist policy of Tel Aviv and that in fact the U.S. government is fully responsible for Israel's policy.

Israel, Final Obstacle To Lebanon Peace Accord

A new round of fierce Israeli military attacks on southern Lebanon threatens to undermine the final implementation of the Chtaura Accords — a formula worked out several months ago between Lebanon, Syria, and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) to end fighting in Lebanon. Over the past several days, Israel has stepped up overflights into Lebanese territory and shelling across the border, a risky flirtation with a direct showdown with the 30,000 Syrian occupying troops in Lebanon. Several sources agree that the Dayan faction in Israel is primarily responsible for this problem.

The Israeli escalation came just as the Chtaura Accords were endorsed by the leader of the right-wing Christian Falange, Pierre Gemayel, after weeks of delicate negotiations.

Previously the Falange and Camille Chamoun's National Liberal Party have allied with the Israeli military to keep the Lebanese civil war alive in the south. Now, after the acceptance of the accords by the right, factions in Israel stand alone as the last serious obstacle to the accords' implementation, the third phase of which calls for a newly reconstituted Lebanese Army to replace warring Lebanese right wing and Palestinian factions.

The target date for the implementation of the third stage of the accord is Sept. 23.

Israeli Ultimatum

Both Palestinians and Christians fear a full-scale Israeli attack on Lebanon, according to *Le Monde*. To minimize the pretext for such an Israeli action, the Palestinians have withdrawn from certain positions in the south, such as the border town of Hasbiye and from Fort Arnoun, overlooking the strategic Christian-held town of Marjayoun.

Despite this Palestinian pull-back, Israeli Defense Minister Ezer Weizman issued two provocative ultimatums to the PLO to withdraw from southern Lebanon as far as the Litani River. According to the Cuban wire service *Prensa Latina*, the ultimatums are supported by Secretary of State Vance and "certain Arab leaders."

Prensa Latina links Weizman's ultimatums to the PLO with Foreign Minister Dayan's new "peace plan."

According to the London *Guardian*, the deterioration of the situation in southern Lebanon has resulted from Israel's opposition to the Chtaura Accords, which evolved "without the participation of Israel." Notes the *Guardian*: "All the signs are that Israel is using its strong bargaining position to dictate a revision of the peace terms, with the underlying threat that if its conditions are not accepted, the conflict will continue or even escalate."

In response to the Weizman ultimatums, PLO leader Yasser Arafat stated: "We cannot tolerate these threats. The only order that I have given my troops is to stay and fight."

Israeli Intransigence

A detailed report of the terms of the Chtaura Accords was delivered last week for approval by the Israeli Cabinet. This is the fifth such peace plan for southern Lebanon submitted to the Israeli government in the last nine months, each one rejected.

Israeli approval would signal the final go-ahead for the accord's implementation. Lebanese President Elias Sarkis has been given diplomatic assurances from Washington that an Israeli nod of approval will be sufficient security to begin to deploy the Lebanese peace-keeping troops into the south without Israeli interference.

The Lebanese government is currently in the process of reconstituting the Lebanese Army that during the civil war split into several warring factions along sectarian lines. Approximately 1000 new soldiers have been recruited, while 70 percent of the officers of the old army have been reintegrated. According to *Le Monde*, cooperation between Moslems and Christians has been reestablished on the command level. However, for the rank and file, "the problem is to find sufficient loyal elements, especially in Moslem circles," according to *Le Figaro*.

Consolidation of progressive and nationalist forces in Lebanon is also taking place. Walid Jumblatt, leader of the Progressive Socialist Party, has reached an agreement with Lebanon's pro-Syrian Ba'ath Party to form a "National Front" open to all parties. Nationalist leader Raymond Edde, a Christian, is expected to return to Lebanon soon and to involve himself closely in the moves toward national unity. Jumblatt recently visited Paris, where Edde has been living in exile.

The communiqué calling for the formation of the National Front defines as the front's objectives an end to political "confessionalism" in the institutions and services of the state, the creation of a Lebanese army capable of restoring security, and the application of the Chtaura Accords.

According to Falangist official Karim Pakradouni, the response of Israel to the accords is a "crucial test, an indexation for the future" regarding Israel's intentions in reaching an overall peace with the Arabs. "If the Israelis accept it, it will be the first yes under Prime Minister Begin... If not, then all the Arabs will be certain of Israel's motives and of the American inability to influence the Begin government."