

strained," and other resignations are rumored, possibly including that of UN Ambassador Chaim Herzog.

Dayan was also behind the nomination of his extremist colleague, Agriculture Minister Ariel Sharon, to attend the meetings of the joint Israel-Egypt political commission beginning on Jan. 15 in Jerusalem. The request was torpedoed by the Israeli Cabinet. According to the *Jerusalem Post*, both Dayan and Sharon are viewed by many in Begin's Likud Party "with a tinge of dislike and mistrust."

In an interview in the Israeli daily *Maariv* two weeks ago, Dayan described Sadat as "uncompromising," and predicted the collapse of the peace effort because of the Egyptian president's "intransigence." In a further effort to undermine the Sadat-Begin dialogue, Dayan's emphasis on the settlements question contradicts statements made by Defense Minister Weizman explicitly defining the over-blown settlements question as not the critical matter.

Last week, Dayan visited Italy to pressure the Italian government away from cooperating with the organizing efforts of West German Chancellor Schmidt, who is seeking to unite Europe around a stand in favor of Palestinian rights. According to the Italian daily *Il Giornale*, Dayan is worried that the Italian government might recognize the PLO but is counting on the Andreotti government to fall before it is able to do so. The Italian press also reports that Dayan blocked European Economic Community head Simonet from visiting Jerusalem last month.

Great Britain Inserts Itself into Middle East

A string of British government ministers and ex-ministers paraded through the Middle East last week in an apparent effort to take advantage of the faltering Middle East peace talks by reestablishing a British presence in the area. The City of London, whose political intelligence networks have worked overtime to block a comprehensive resolution of the Palestine question for 60

years—and especially in the last 60 days—is seeking to appropriate the control of the flow of Arab petrodollars for its own purposes.

Leading the British influx is Prime Minister Callaghan, who scheduled an unplanned stop in Egypt for Jan. 15 to meet President Anwar Sadat. Callaghan's visit, according to the British, was at the invitation of the Egyptian leader, but American reports said that Callaghan had invited himself. Reportedly, Callaghan is seeking to become a spokesman for the European Community in the Middle East, a place which most observers have given to the West German Chancellor, Helmut Schmidt.

Callaghan, who toured the Asian subcontinent of India before his Egypt stop, claimed that he had spoken with Prime Minister Begin of Israel and would carry a message to Sadat for Begin. But Callaghan's pompous claim looked ridiculous in light of the fact that Begin's defense minister, Ezer Weizman, was visiting Cairo at the moment and had personally met with Sadat!

The Callaghan visit to Egypt follows that of two other prominent subjects of Her Majesty, Defense Minister Fred Mulley and former Prime Minister Edward Heath.

Mulley, who is now in Jordan, is on an arms sales mission. He told the *Jordan Times* last week that the Begin peace plan is "not nearly sufficient" and that the Palestinians must have the right "to participate in determining their own future." But this formula, a fuzzy-minded replica of a statement by Carter in Egypt last week, is an explicit attempt to deny the right of self-determination to the Palestinians by watering it down with Jordanian and Israeli "participation." By contrast, the other countries of Western Europe are very close to recognizing the PLO, and there are reports that Chancellor Schmidt has called for a Palestinian "state."

The Heath trip to Egypt was followed by a visit to Saudi Arabia. Heath is a member of the commission established by Willy Brandt and World Bank President McNamara to encourage a labor-intensive, anti-industrial policy toward the Third World, along with such luminaries of the Lazard Freres network as Katherine Graham, Peter Peterson, and Pierre Mendes-France.

U.S. And Foreign Experts Blast Carter Vacillation

Several sources concurred this week on the necessity of fresh and explicit U.S. initiatives on the question of Palestinian self-determination. These sources were generally critical of President Carter and National Security Council head Zbigniew Brzezinski for their alternately fuzzy and provocative statements on this crucial question.

Carter "Inconsistent"

The following comments are from a former high-ranking State Department official with wide experience in Middle East politics:

Q: What do you think about the recent turn in American

Middle East policy, particularly the phrase used by Carter that the Palestinians should "participate in determining" their future?

A: It is quite clear that they will indeed have to participate. But I am not at all happy about statements from Carter and from (NSC Director) Brzezinski about the PLO being finished. That simply is not true. Carter should be sticking to his guns, and so far he has not really been all that inconsistent on the Middle East. His policy, which I helped to develop, calls for a Palestinian homeland, a return to the 1967 frontier by the Israelis, and the conclusion of a peace settlement as Israel defines it. Now he has to commit himself to pressure Israel toward that goal.

Q: Do the Arabs really demand an independent Palestinian state?

A: I'm sick and tired of people who say that it is a foregone conclusion that the state must be linked to Jordan. The Saudis do not demand that; they will support whatever the PLO decides. If the PLO decides on a state of its own, the Saudis will support it. Concerning Carter's formula, which would give the Palestinians a referendum or plebiscite after some years—it's a good idea. But the choice *must* include full independence. After that, perhaps, there will be a decision to form a federation with Jordan, but the decision must be the Palestinians', and no one else's.

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Brzezinski Statements "Destructive"

Other sources were highly critical of recent U.S. waffling on the Palestinian question. According to a leading Israeli dove:

The Administration's policy won't lead anywhere. Until the American Administration realizes that the Palestine Liberation Organization, at least its moderate center leaders, be invited to peace talks, the Palestinian issue will be the stumbling block. Trying to circumvent the PLO and at the same time trying to replace them with West Bank puppets only creates additional obstacles.

There *must* be a recognition that there are moderates who can be spoken to, and any attempt to sidetrack this is destructive. So, so far, American policy is destructive, especially Brzezinski's "Bye, Bye, PLO" statement.

There is an obsession in Washington and Jerusalem that a Palestinian state will be a Soviet stronghold. This is ridiculous. Carter's maneuvering, then, is very unfortunate, especially since the Palestinians *can* prevent a settlement, as they have done several times in the past.

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Carter and Brzezinski Are "Big Complication" In Peace Process

A knowledgeable former State Department Middle East diplomat was more concerned about the effects of Carter's public flip-flops, which, he felt, were obscuring an underlying direction and trend in U.S. Middle East policy.

Carter is trying to straddle; he says one thing one time, one thing another. He wants some form of Palestinian self-determination, but doesn't want to pressure Israel. He talks too much in public, and keeps things confused, tries to be all things to all people, and therefore makes things fuzzy.

But it's clear nonetheless that the State Department experts are getting a message to Carter: that there must be a Palestinian entity, probably to be connected to Jordan. Anyone dealing with Mideast policy in the Department is aware that a Palestinian entity *must* be set up, Carter is continuously being told this.

From this standpoint, a certain Administration strategy *does* become detectable: to get Israel to move in the direction while not riling things up too much. So, the main criticisms of Israel's settlement policy have recently been private. Another example: the Administration idea of some Egypt-Israel-Jordan West Bank comanagement policy is less real in substance than it is in inducing the Israelis to loosen up. The idea then is to get the heat off Begin, allow him to placate his domestic opposition if need be by some loud bluster in Israel, and then pressure the Israelis. The big complication in this, though, is Carter and Brzezinski.

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U.S. Press: Can't Avoid Palestinian State

Pressure on the Administration to move further towards recognizing Palestinian self-determination rights was expressed in two editorial features this week in the U.S. press.

Wall Street Journal, "A Palestinian State Is the Minimum Condition for Peace," by Senior International Correspondent Ray Vicker, Jan. 13:

Whatever the case (of the details of discussions on the Palestinian issue — ed.), many observers hope that negotiating efforts will focus on how to achieve actual self-determination for the Palestinians, not on some diplomatic subterfuge which seeks to cloak Israel in obscure language which might create the appearance of independence without actually permitting it. Such an attempt wouldn't fool anybody and could prove highly dangerous.

The blunt fact is the whole Arab world wants an independent Palestinian state as a minimum. Such a state wouldn't satisfy Iraq and Libya. They want to eliminate Israel. But as one circulates through capitals of moderate states such as Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Jordan and Kuwait and even in more revolutionary nations such as Syria, one is struck by how deeply this idea of a new, mini-Palestinian state has taken hold.

Leaders of moderate Arab states don't want that mini-state to be radical. There they certainly have the same aim as Israel. And that may be where the solution to the problem might be found. Israel's opposition should be focused against the radicals rather than against the state itself.

Any mini-Palestinian state will need huge dollops of foreign aid to launch itself and to survive. Moderate oil states have the cash for such aid. This aid can be a force toward moderation in the new state. People with homes, jobs and incomes are less likely to take to the streets to demonstrate behind radicals. Merely fighting radicalism with police-state methods is not only anti-democratic, it can be self-defeating in the long run.

New York Times, by Anthony Lewis, Jan. 12:

...Peace in the Middle East depends essentially on the resolution of one central question: the future of the Palestinians.

Difficult as the problem is, facing it is an important step forward. Not so long ago a Prime Minister of Israel said there was no such thing as a Palestinian Arab. And many of us, supporters of Israel, have wished the problem away in similar fashion.

We know better now. There is a distinct group of Arabs with origins in Palestine and roots there going back many hundreds of years. Their sense of attachment is

strong, and many of those now living elsewhere fell themselves in a diaspora just as Jews did for so long.

(Therefore) it remains necessary to encourage participation by moderate Palestinians (in the negotiations). They could be genuine West Bank figures at first, but one hopes they would in time draw in moderate PLO elements.

Shah, Boumedienne Join Mideast Peace Diplomacy

Algerian President Houari Boumedienne and the Shah of Iran emerged publicly last week as two major contributors to the Mideast peace process. Mistakenly identified as leaders of opposing camps, the "radical" Boumedienne and the "conservative" Shah have, in fact, both been pursuing a comprehensive Mideast peace accord, largely behind the scenes, for some time.

For both leaders, there is a convergence of views around the immediate necessity of supporting the Sadat-Begin peace initiative. Boumedienne has used his leverage in the "hardline" Arab bloc (led by Iraq and Libya) to attempt a reconciliation of the longstanding Syrian-Iraqi feud. Through such a reconciliation, Boumedienne intends to swing the hardliners away from their heretofore purely negative anti-Sadat posture and into a more constructive "critical" position—one which would keep Sadat in line, especially around support for the Palestinian Liberation Organization in upcoming talks with the Israelis. Boumedienne has been stressing the final resolutions of the Rabat Arab summit of 1974, where the differing factions of the Arab world agreed to unanimously support the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) as the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

Unlike Boumedienne, the Shah of Iran has come out in open support of Sadat's peace initiative. In launching his Mideast peace tour, which took him to Egypt and Saudi Arabia, the Shah declared that he wanted to work for an overall peace settlement. Although he has expressed interest in Jordanian representation for the Palestinians—a decision which prompted recent criticism from PLO chief Yasser Arafat—the Iranian leader has demonstrated his willingness to discuss his differences with his Arab neighbors. It is rumored that the Shah will soon be visiting Iraq.

The unifying factor in this de facto Algerian-Iranian collaboration is a desire for peace and economic development for the region. Both Boumedienne and the Shah have repeatedly called for such a program.

The following is a roundup of the diplomatic activities of these leaders:

Jan. 4—Boumedienne to Iraq.

According to the international press, Boumedienne launched his whirlwind tour for Arab unity with the stated purpose of resolving the Syrian-Iraqi feud. Indications of the impending reconciliation had already surfaced two weeks ago when the London *Times* reported that Salah Bitar, a former Syrian Baath Party leader

(the pan-Arab Baath Party is the ruling party in Iraq) and arch-rival of Syrian President Assad, had returned to Syria to head the Syrian cabinet.

Libyan Foreign Minister Tariki arrived in Baghdad later in the week in order to support Boumedienne's efforts. According to press reports from Kuwait, Tariki stated that "positive results" from the talks indicated that the conflict was in the process of resolution.

Jan. 5—Boumedienne to Saudi Arabia.

The French daily *L'Aurore* reports Jan. 10 that Boumedienne and Saudi King Khaled discussed support for the PLO in the global context of Mideast peace solution. In addition to the question of Arab unity, *L'Aurore* reports that the Saudis urged Boumedienne to settle his differences with Moroccan King Hassan over the Sahara. Algeria's continued support for the Polisario Liberation Front, which is fighting Moroccan and Mauritanian troops for rights to the Spanish Sahara, has severely threatened Algerian-Moroccan relations. Saudi Arabia informed Algeria that it would perform a more active role in mediating the dispute.

Jan. 7-9—Boumedienne tours the Gulf States with stops in Kuwait, North and South Yemen, Bahrein, and Qatar.

Jan. 10—Boumedienne to Jordan.

Strengthened by his talks with the Saudis, Boumedienne apparently urged Jordan's King Hussein to distance himself from any "negotiations" that did not adequately address the independent role of the PLO. Under this direct pressure, the king has had to stay out of the picture to date. A recent statement from Hussein indicates that Jordan, under the terms of the Rabat decision, is not empowered to represent the Palestinians. Jordan's response is of course a direct warning to Sadat that he too is bound by a commitment to the PLO to plead their case in any further negotiations.

Last week, two interviews granted by Syrian President Assad and Saudi Crown Prince Fahd reiterated this warning to Sadat. In an interview with Barbara Walters on ABC-TV, Fahd affirmed that the Palestinian people had chosen the PLO as their representative. And in *Newsweek*, Syrian's Assad pointed out that the participants of the Tripoli Summit last month (Algeria, Syria, Libya, Iraq, and the PLO) had shifted from "rejectionism": "What took place was definitely not a rejectionist front. It was the front of Arab steadfastness...we didn't say we were against peace." After