

Europe, Jordan make new Mideast offer to U.S.

by Judith Wyer

Jordanian King Hussein and the European Community (EC) have extended an offer of cooperation to the incoming Reagan administration to scrap the Camp David framework and forge an overall Arab-Israeli settlement.

Henry Kissinger, the architect of the separate peace doctrine of Camp David, and the Carter administration, are conspiring to undercut this Euro-Arab peace initiative through dirty tricks and diplomatic maneuvers. The Kissinger-Carter axis aims to lock the Reagan government into the separate peace track which bypasses the central issue in the Arab-Israeli dispute, the Palestinians.

According to a French diplomat, Europe would take a leading role in fostering a general peace by mediating relations between Washington and the Mideast.

At the Dec. 3 European heads-of-state summit, a decision was taken to continue the efforts to realize a "comprehensive, just, and lasting settlement" in keeping with the June 1980 Venice declaration of the EC which called for the Palestine Liberation Organization to be a party in future negotiations. The communiqué is especially emphatic on the necessity of providing stability in the area, and ensuring the integrity of Lebanon.

'New mandate must pave way'

Hussein told the press this week that Reagan is a "good omen" for Palestine. "I think we are on a new threshold. There's a new mandate for the U.S. which must pave the way to new policies. . . . I hope the U.S. won't be prisoner of past policies." Hussein noted that Camp David has reached an "impasse."

He was referring to the deadlock between Egypt and Israel to reach an agreement on Palestine autonomy. He called for United Nations Resolution 242, which is accepted by all nations but Israel as the basis for Mideast negotiations to be revised to take into account the problem of the Palestinians.

At last month's heads-of-state summit in Amman, Jordan, Hussein was given a mandate to speak for the Arab world in fostering a dialogue with the Reagan administration. Since then, Hussein has repeatedly urged Reagan to adopt a Mideast policy which "includes Europe and would lead to a comprehensive peace."

Reagan's Mideast policy, according to sources in the Reagan camp, is still being hammered out. These sources indicate that opposing Kissinger are certain policy-makers who are considering steering Middle East policy away from the Camp David process, which they consider no longer adequate for advancing negotiations.

In their view, the key to U.S. policy is to bring Egypt and Israel into an agreement in principle with the pro-European axis of Jordan, Iraq, and Saudi Arabia. They view resolving Israel's worsening inflation and debt as critical to stabilizing it and enabling Tel Aviv to engage in a general peace dialogue.

This policy depends on two factors: first, that the U.S. break with the cold war policy of fostering an "arc of crisis" on the Soviet Union's southern flank, and second, Washington will cooperate with France and



Photo by Saw Lwin, courtesy of the United Nations.

King Hussein attacking the Camp David pact before the United Nations in September 1979.

West Germany on Mideast policy.

Following meetings with Egyptian Vice-President Hosni Mubarak last week, Henry Kissinger announced that he would depart on Dec. 28 for a five-day visit with Egyptian President Anwar Sadat. According to *Le Matin*, Kissinger may also visit Jordan, Israel, and Saudi Arabia.

Arab sources report that Sadat is "extremely nervous" that Reagan will break with Camp David, a policy that Sadat has staked his rule on. Both Egypt and Israel are working through Kissinger, who is an adviser to Reagan, to lobby for continuing the Camp David process.

The Carter-Kissinger ploy

Kissinger's aim is to convince Reagan that he has advanced the peace effort within the Camp David framework and in so doing has both shaped future policy, cutting out the Europeans, and has won himself a position in the new government.

Last week, Reagan's top national security adviser Richard Allen announced that Carter administration envoy to the Mideast Sol Linowitz would visit both Egypt and Israel this month to assure them that Reagan would continue Camp David.

But Arab sources discount the announcement as a maneuver to assuage anxiety in Tel Aviv and Cairo. According to one source, "stating a commitment to the Camp David framework can mean anything. The question is whether Reagan will go with a policy of divisive

separate peace treaties which the Egypt-Israel treaty signifies. That is not clear."

Leaked cables

Concomitant with the announcement of the Linowitz trip, the Carter State Department leaked classified cables from Moscow on talks between Sen. Charles Percy (R-Ill.) and Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko. Percy conferred with Soviet leaders on behalf of Reagan late last month.

According to the leaks, Percy told Gromyko that he favored the creation of a Palestinian state. The leaks brought attacks on Percy from Zionist leader Rabbi Alexander Schindler and pro-Israel Sen. Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.), were designed to pressure Reagan from pursuing a new Mideast policy.

The Carter administration has stepped up its efforts to solidify a military axis between Egypt, Israel, and the U.S. to police the oil fields of the Persian Gulf, a policy which Jordan and the Gulf states have repeatedly condemned.

Last week, Defense Secretary Harold Brown held secret meetings with Israeli Deputy Defense Secretary, Mordechai Zippori, and the head of Israel's Military Strategic Planning Center, Avraham Tamir. The *International Herald Tribune* reports that the meetings focused on beefing up the Rapid Deployment Force for the Gulf. Arab sources reveal that both Egyptian Chief of Staff Abu Ghazala and Mubarak were in on the meeting.

The creation of a NATO-linked military alliance for the Gulf and Indian Ocean is a central feature of the Camp David accords which call for future European participation in policing the Gulf. Europe has repeatedly attacked this plan. Diplomatic sources say that if Reagan continues Camp David it will force a split in the Atlantic Alliance.

From the European communiqué

From the communiqué of the European Council meeting on Dec. 1-2.

In the face of the disquiet caused by developments in the international situation, the European Council is conscious of the responsibilities devolving upon Europe.

The Council considers that Europe's experience and resources make it one of the essential factors of equilibrium and peace in the world.

It is in the context of the solidarity which unites a strong America and a Europe confident of itself and of its role that dialogue and coordination between them will best serve the cause of peace and freedom.

The European Council will therefore ensure that Europe acquires greater cohesion and that its voice is heard.

The Middle East

The European Council reviewed the action taken by the [Group of] Nine since the adoption of the Venice Declaration on the Middle East.

The Council heard the report of Mr. Thorn on the mission which he carried out on behalf of the Nine in accordance with paragraph 11 of the Venice Declaration. It noted that this mission had made clear the great interest aroused by the position taken up by Europe and that in this respect it had been a success.

The results of the mission confirm that the principles of the Venice Declaration incorporate the essential elements for a comprehensive, just, and lasting settlement to be negotiated by the parties concerned. They reinforce the Nine's determination to contribute to the search for such a settlement.

In this spirit, the European Council approved the decision of the ministers of foreign affairs to undertake consideration of the matter with the aim of clarifying and giving substance to the Venice principles. This consideration has resulted in the drafting of a report on the principal problems relating to a comprehensive settlement under the following headings—withdrawal, self-determination, security in the Middle East, Jerusa-

lem.

The report emphasizes that the measures envisaged under these four headings should form a coherent whole and should therefore be coordinated carefully.

The European Council was in agreement on this approach.

It noted that different formulas were possible to give substance to some of the Venice principles, in particular on the duration of the transitional period leading up to the electoral procedure for self-determination, the definition of the provisional authority for the vacated territories, the conditions and modalities for self-determination, the guarantees of security, and Jerusalem.

With a view to a more thorough exploration of these formulas and with the determination to encourage a climate more favorable to negotiations, the European Council considered it necessary that new contacts be established with the parties concerned side by side with continued discussions within the community.

The European Council accordingly instructed the presidency in office to undertake these contacts in consultation with the ministers for foreign affairs.

The Council also asked the ministers to continue their discussions with due regard for developments in the situation and to report back to the Council.

The European Council laid down this action program in order to provide a more consistent platform designed to bring the parties concerned closer together.

Lebanon

The European Council again devoted its attention to the situation in Lebanon, where the latest developments are continuing to give rise to serious anxiety.

The Nine wish to reaffirm that the unity, independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of Lebanon must be fully respected. This is essential to enable the legitimate government of Lebanon to restore peace throughout the country. Lebanon belongs to the Lebanese: it is for them alone to establish the rules of their co-existence.

It is in this spirit that the Nine make a fresh appeal for the integrity of the borders of Lebanon and the safety of its people to be respected. Respect for the international boundaries of Lebanon is one of the essential factors in the security and stability of the region.

As they declared in Venice on June 13, the Nine trust that Unifil will be enabled to fulfill the assignment given to it by the Security Council.

The European Council reaffirms that one of the aims of the Nine's action in the interests of peace in the Near East is to restore the integrity of Lebanon's borders and to enable it once more to exercise its national sovereignty in full.