

and “fundamentalists.” The Israelis typically kill Arab figures, for example, in the PLO, using such techniques.

During the summer of 1990, U.S. military strategists believed to be centered at Ft. Bragg, North Carolina, had considered various scenarios for destabilizing Jordan, with the possible option of killing the king, according to reports at the time. The purpose of destabilizing Jordan, it was said, was to create a Jordanian puppet state jointly controlled by Syria and Israel, much as Syria and Israel control Lebanon today.

What the State Department has to say

In this context, the U.S. State Department gloating over the arrest of Shubeilat is particularly revealing. Although the State Department will not comment officially on the arrest, Jordan desk officer Henry Inshar refers callers on the matter to Adam Garfinkle, the former aide to former Secretary of State Alexander Haig, who is reportedly the key American expert on Jordan. Callers are also referred to Syrian expert Daniel Pipes, the son of former Reagan-Bush National Security Council official Richard Pipes.

Garfinkle, now on sabbatical at the Dayan Center for Strategic Studies in Tel Aviv, Israel, readily admits, chuckling, that the case against Shubeilat is a frameup. “Shubeilat is the most prominent Islamic politician in the country and has been for years,” he stated. “It’s hard for me to believe that he’d be so stupid to go dealing in weapons, especially in such small numbers as they mention, and give an excuse for the authorities to pick him up.

“If the arms caches are fairly small,” he explained, “it’s planted; if it’s large, it’s not planted, because the Interior Ministry doesn’t want to put that many weapons in circulation.” Garfinkle complained that Shubeilat is “popular in Iraq.” Moreover, “he hates the United States, he hates the IMF. He thinks it’s a new form of imperialism. He despises these institutions.”

According to Garfinkle, who was in Amman last spring, and who referred the caller to several high-level Jordanian personalities whom he is in touch with, the Jordanians want peace with Israel. But his prognosis for Jordan is not good: “It is an artificial state, and could disappear as a state.” He points in particular to the disastrous economic situation there.

Daniel Pipes, a co-worker with Garfinkle at the Foreign Policy Institute in Philadelphia, says that the context for the Shubeilat arrest is the dire situation in the country. “The king’s health is precarious,” he commented recently. “The state is in jeopardy.” The fundamentalists, he went on, “are a major force displeased with the status quo.”

Robert Sandloff, of the American-Israeli Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC, Israel’s de facto Washington lobby), and a close associate of both Pipes and Garfinkle, also focuses on the economy as part of the reason for the frameup. “The IMF is one of the sacred cows there,” he said, “which is off limits to criticism.”

Bush miscalculates, this time on China

by Mary M. Burdman

U.S. President George Bush is again demonstrating his seemingly endless capability to blunder even in the one arena, foreign policy, where he claims his wins. His campaign ploy, announced Sept. 3 in Texas, to break a 10-year agreement with China to restrict and eventually phase out U.S. arms sales to Taiwan—an agreement Bush himself had helped negotiate—and start selling F-16 fighters to Taiwan, could have effects beyond anything Washington calculates. Bush’s claim that the sale of the fighters was being done to ensure “stability” in the Pacific will hardly wash, given how Bush has fostered just the opposite in the Pacific and everywhere else.

Bush announced that he had approved the sale of 150 U.S. F-16 fighters, a deal worth some \$4 billion. But arming Taiwan is hardly the issue. Not only is Bush trying to gamble that saving some 6,000 jobs at General Dynamics in Texas will help his foundering campaign, he is also making a stab at maintaining the Anglo-American “new world order” in the Pacific. The subsequent announcement that Taiwan would buy 60 Mirage 2000-5 jet fighters from France hardly caused joy in Washington.

“As long as we are the only supplier to Taiwan, then there’s some control over things,” a Bush administration official said. “If there are no controls, then anybody will sell anything to Taiwan—the French, the Russians, anyone.” A week later, Taiwan press were reporting that the United States is pressing Taiwan to cancel its purchase of the Mirages. The *United Daily News* said that the Bush administration had warned that if the French also sold jets to Taiwan, other Asian nations would accelerate arms purchases and anger China. State Department spokesman Richard Boucher, asked in Washington about the French sale, said, “We think that the provision of the F-16s meets Taiwan’s defense needs.”

U.S. officials argue that the recent Chinese purchase of Sukhoi-27s from Russia means that the Chinese-Taiwanese military balance has been changed. But the Texas announcement did little to ensure stability. One day later, Beijing announced that it was looking forward to buying a large number of transport aircraft and helicopters equipped with the most modern technology from Russia and other members

of the Community of Independent States (CIS) to improve air defense.

'Washington lied'

Beijing got also got very nasty in the diplomatic sphere. On Sept. 4, Foreign Minister Qian Qichen said that the "U.S. government should be held accountable for any serious consequences" of the F-16 sale. Vice Foreign Minister Liu Huaqiu summoned U.S. Ambassador J. Stapleton Roy to the Foreign Ministry to lodge the "strongest protest. . . . The Chinese side is shocked and outraged by this decision and will have no choice but to make a strong reaction. This will lead to a major retrogression in Chinese-U.S. relations and will inevitably cause a negative impact on Chinese-U.S. cooperation in the U.N. and other organizations."

Liu said that China would withdraw from the arms control talks of the "Permanent Five" U.N. Security Council members unless the United States reconsidered its F-16 deal with Taiwan. He told Roy that "China would find it difficult for China to stay in the meeting of the five permanent members of the Security Council on arms control measures." Liu called the deal a "flagrant sabotage" of China's efforts to seek peaceful reunification with Taiwan.

On Sept. 5, the official news agency Xinhua stated: "The Bush administration has fabricated various excuses and lies trying to justify its arms sale decision, which is seriously jeopardizing Chinese-U.S. relations."

U.S. Assistant Secretary of State William Clark, Jr. got a cold reception when he arrived in Beijing to explain things. Vice Foreign Minister Liu told Clark that China would not accept the United States' "unjustifiable explanation" of its decision, and threatened that the United States must reverse the decision to sell 150 F-16s to Taiwan, or there would be a "major setback in bilateral relations." The official *People's Daily* published a front-page statement coinciding with Clark's visit, calling the move a demonstration of U.S. "hegemonism" aimed at making Taiwan an impregnable fortress. "The goal of this action is to make Taiwan an unsinkable aircraft carrier and keep Taiwan separated from China forever," the statement said.

Trade war threatened

Trade war is also threatening. Beijing said it would put punitive tariffs on \$4 billion worth of imports from the United States if Washington goes ahead with sanctions on Chinese exports to the United States on Sept. 9. A Xinhua release said that Chinese officials were already drawing up a list of goods that include aircraft and computers if Washington imposes punitive duties on Chinese exports such as silk, electronics, and other products. In August, U.S. Trade Representative Carla Hills published a 44-page list—the largest ever published—of Chinese imports which could be subjected to a doubling of tariffs if China does not significantly open its markets to U.S. goods by Oct. 10.

The amount of goods China is targeting is roughly equivalent to the amount the United States would earn from the sale of the F-16 fighters. The goods on China's list include nearly two-thirds of all the goods that China bought from the United States last year. Boeing Co. and McDonnell Douglas Corp., the leading suppliers of China's commercial aircraft, would be the hardest hit by imposition of the Chinese tariffs.

The next day, China threatened that it would stop buying U.S. wheat if the F-16 sale goes through. The announcement, published in the official Xinhua news agency, quoted an unnamed agricultural official that China had imported large quantities of U.S. wheat in recent years to improve relations with Washington, although China has "overflowing" grain supplies itself. Now, this should stop, the official demanded. China has been the largest buyer of U.S. wheat for the past several years, and has sometimes bought as much as 10% of the U.S. wheat crop for a given year.

China's internal battle

Bush is also blundering around an extremely touchy internal situation in China, the only nation where he ever spent even a few months outside the United States. His great "friend forever," Deng Xiaoping, can hardly welcome this grab for votes in Texas.

Beijing is preparing for its 14th Party Congress sometime late this year. Such Communist Party congresses are held only every five years, which makes this one critical. Behind the scenes, China is still ruled by the last bastion of the "Gang of Ancients," men in their late eighties who led the communist revolution, but there is little chance any of them will still be alive for the next Party Congress. The question of how the Communist Party is going to maintain its grip on China—the only real issue in the "reformers versus hardliners" factional battles—must be fought out now.

At this moment, Bush's desperate electoral move "has stabbed in the back Deng Xiaoping, his 'old friend forever,'" wrote China analyst Jonathan Mirsky in the *London Observer* on Sept. 6. Deng has not so much "lost face" as had it "torn off in public," Mirsky wrote. "The President may have miscalculated the damage the F-16 sales will do to Deng—and there may be unpleasant surprises." The left wing of the "Gang of Ancients" blames Deng for surrendering Chinese independence to the West. Bush's betrayal corroborates their view.

The Bush administration is reportedly confident that it has convinced Beijing that Bush is a better deal for China than his Democratic opponent, Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton. But now they should not be so confident. It will be more difficult in the future to secure Chinese concessions on human rights, trade barriers, and so forth. Worse, Beijing may block purchases of Boeing and McDonnell Douglas airliners and U.S. wheat, thus losing the United States more jobs than the 6,000 preserved (for the moment) in Texas.