

latter is still ready to give diplomacy a chance, before it too will have no choice but to decide on that deadly means, war.

But even if we have before us two different viewpoints on solving the Middle East crisis, it is indicative that the two touch at the point, beyond which, if thoughtlessly passed, there is no return to peace.

But since Khleifawi belongs to that camp of politicians who do not speak before they have thought out well what they mean to say, his warning about the possible consequences of events in the Mideast must be considered in all seriousness. He is the representative of a nation who does not wave its war flags unintentionally, nor for black-mail purposes.

Let us recall the year 1973. Cairo and Damascus, for a few months persistently from day to day issued warnings that war was inevitable, in case of insistence on the state of "neither peace nor war." Events showed that those who did not heed these warnings were gravely mistaken as were those who felt that these were merely empty threats... The war began October 6.

What is worrisome today is that the Arabs are again warning as they did in 1973 that a new war is possible, but today again there are those who pretend not to hear the warnings, trusting their military superiority. Or those who live under the illusions that the number of airplanes, rockets, or tanks is worth more than the desire and the decisiveness of those whose land is occupied to free it.

Khleifawi pointed out another very significant event, over which we must not pass too lightly. This concerns the painful and long process of Arab solidarity, and its re-

newal. Damascus and Cairo have solved their problems, as have Syria and Jordan. There are certain signs that there will be a cessation of the Egypt-Libya crisis, as well as between Tripoli and Tunis. At the same time moves have occurred to put in order relations between the Palestinians and the Arab governments.

What Arabs seek from Israel was clearly stated by Khleifawi: return to the 1967 borders, the enablement of the Palestinian people to create their own state in the Transjordan and the Gaza, and the return of those Palestinians who desire it to Israel and compensation for those who are unable to return. With these measures, the conditions would be created for an end of the state of war in the Mideast and securing the borders of all nations of this region.

Tel Aviv's reply, however, lends a new weight to the warnings of Kleifawi, Jalloud, Arafat, Kaddoumi, Mubarak and others. Because for Israel withdrawal from the occupied territories, a Palestinian state, and to return or compensation for the Palestinians are "unacceptable."

Under these circumstances, unless a change occurs in the Israeli position, there will be nothing to discuss at Geneva. And without discussion there can be no political solution. And thus the circle is closed on the fifth Arab-Israeli war, which as was shown in the fourth — cannot be confined solely to the Mideast region.

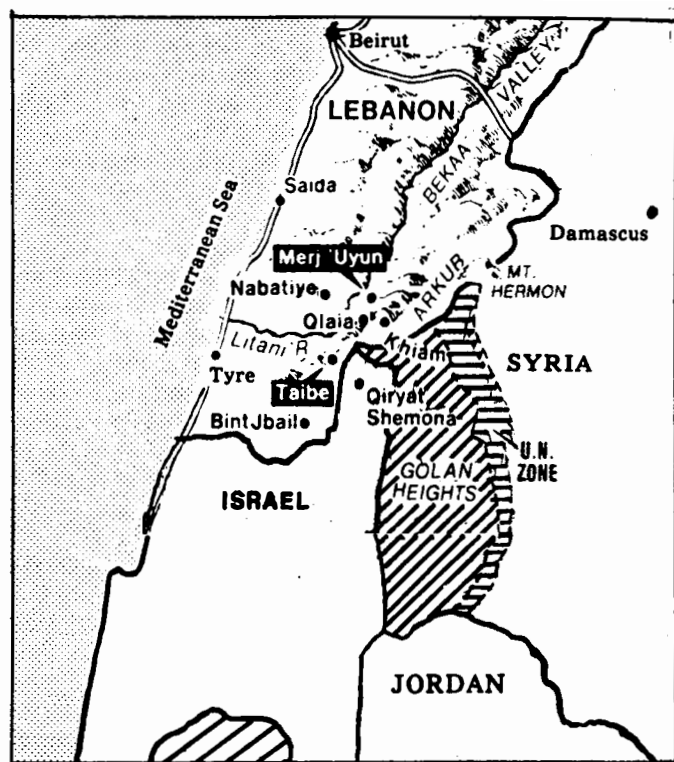
It would be good for Khleifawi's warnings to be considered seriously by the participants of the Belgrade summit on European security and cooperation, because a new war in the Mideast would have an extremely negative effect on the situation on the old continent.

Israelis Continue Lebanon Provocations

LEBANON

Warnings issued by the Soviet Union's *Pravda* on June 18 make clear that the current Israeli aggressions into southern Lebanon are putting the world on a short fuse to World War III. *Pravda* called the Israeli buildup of troops along the Lebanese border and artillery attacks on Palestinian forces "blackmail," against the Arab forces: if they do not give in to Israeli conditions, a preemptive strike will be the follow-up to Lebanon. "Reports have appeared on a plan developed by Tel Aviv for surprise strikes on oil pipelines and oil-processing enterprises in several Arab countries," warned *Pravda*. "Israeli provocations on the border with Lebanon have increased." Radio Moscow the next day reiterated the *Pravda* warning and attacked General Moshe Dayan, who was sworn in June 20 as Israel's new Foreign Minister, as a "proponent of aggression."

The Israeli buildup for war in Lebanon this week became so critical that the Lebanese government has appealed to the United States and the Soviet Union to mediate between the Palestine Liberation Organization and Israel. Lebanese Defense Minister



Butros specifically appealed to the U.S. Ambassador in Lebanon to cool down the Israelis.

Speaking in his first public address as Israeli Prime Minister, Likud party leader Menachem Begin indicated his awareness of the war danger and declared that the main task of his new government is "to avoid a new Mideast war." Begin also indicated that his regime would favor a "normalization" of relations with the Soviet Union.

But while Begin spoke, Israel continued its shelling of southern Lebanese villages. Latest reports from Beirut indicate that heavy Israeli reconnaissance flights over Lebanon have started again. Since the May 17 Israeli elections, Israel has been playing a more active role in its northern border with extensive "road carving operations." They are now completing a road going from Israel into southern Lebanon which, said the *London Times*, "could prove to be the flash point for another Mideast war." Israel also carried out a test of its emergency mobilization system this week.

On the ground in Lebanon, a major onslaught against the Palestinians is being prepared with a 2,000-man Christian force backed by the Israelis, now massed in the south for an "all out battle" that could drag both Israeli and Syrian troops into the battle. If the Palestinians respond by moving their entire strength to the southern town of Arkoub, they could, says the *Financial Times*, come into "full confrontation" with the Israelis whose "strategic road" gives easy access for their troops. Observers in Beirut now say that "time is already running out for any hopes of a peaceful settlement."

Arab Mediation

Lebanese President Sarkis is now seeking a settlement in a meeting with PLO Executive Committee member Hani Hassan. Sarkis has been trying to form a independent Lebanese army to reinstate Lebanese control

over the country, an effort sabotaged largely by the Chamounists.

From the Arab side, the primary task is to find a military force that can crush the extremist Lebanese right in the south of Lebanon which, backed by Israel, threatens to explode the area. Syrian troops, 30,000 of which are now stationed in Lebanon, cannot enter the south without giving Israel a pretext to invade Lebanon.

A head-to-head clash is shaping up in the Arab world between a bloc of states led by Libya and another bloc that is leaning toward Carter. The Libyans — backed by Iraq, Algeria, the PLO, and several small pro-British oil sheikhdoms in the Gulf — are organizing for an Arab heads of state summit to deal with the Lebanon crisis. On the other hand, Egypt has said that it opposes the idea of an Arab summit, calling it "unnecessary" and preferring to wait until after the Vance trip in July. Foreign Minister Tareiki of Libya arrived yesterday in Saudi Arabia, which holds the decisive vote, to push for an immediate summit to draw up a common Arab position.

Throughout Lebanon, Syria and Jordan, a battle is also raging in political circles over the crisis. Yasser Arafat of the PLO and his deputy Farouk Kaddoumi, and King Hussein of Jordan, arrived in Damascus for talks with President Assad of Syria, whose troops hold the balance of power in Lebanon. According to the *Financial Times* of London, the Syrians are attempting to work out a formula that will create a Lebanese national army (the original was shattered during the two-year civil war), and thus establish a ceasefire in the south along with joint Palestinian-Christian truce patrols.

But, the entire Arab East is split over this policy: evidence of how deep the fight goes is the fact that in the past month there have been attempted coups in Saudi Arabia, Syria and Jordan — all of which failed.

U.S. Mideast Policy:

'Amateur Night In Washington'

The May 17 victory of the Likud Party in Israel, which was in large part attributable to Jimmy Carter's reckless Mideast policy pronouncements during the first four months of his presidency, has created intractable policy dilemmas for the Carter Administration. Carter has been reduced to a mess of carelessly thought-out improvisations and bluffs, aimed, alternately, at Israeli and Arab leaders and supporters, as the Administration tries to cover up for the embarrassment of having to integrate the fanatical Likud into a coherent policy overview. In the words of one veteran U.S. Mideast strategist, "It's amateur night in Washington."

The Administration's impasse is like the "Scylla-Charybdis" myth of Greek mythology; whatever direction Carter now takes toward Israel threatens to be a disaster for the U.S. strategic position in the Mideast. Continuing along the path charted by National Security Council head Zbigniew Brzezinski, by which Carter is to issue emotionally-laden pronouncements, ostensibly

pleasing to manipulable Arab leaders and seeming to "pressure" Israel into concessions, will either destabilize Israel's sense of security enough to force a preemptive strike, or encourage ruling Israeli circles to seek alternative security guarantees from the Europeans and Soviets.

A Carter "pro-Israel" turn, however, will only hasten Arab moves toward the Europeans and Soviets, and will risk a nuclear war showdown with the Soviet Union which the United States will lose. Moreover, there is no guarantee that at this point, the newly installed Begin government will choose to be a sacrificial pawn for Trilateral Commission global policy.

The collapse of Carter's Mideast approach is being increasingly recognized in U.S. circles. A Midwest think-tanker affirmed this week that if clear policy formulations are not forthcoming from the Administration within two to three months, the U.S. will face a "complete disaster" in the Mideast. An aide to U.S. Senator Javits