

In my view, such temporizing is unacceptable. The quest for peace should never be secondary to domestic politics. Playing for time always involves risks. To play for time in regard to a region where the fuses are so short as in the Middle East would be to play a most dangerous game.

Tensions which threaten the peace span the globe. Nowhere, though, are the stakes so high as in the Middle East.

The oil of the Middle East is and will continue to be the lifeblood of Western civilization for decades to come. The continued flow of oil from that region is and will continue to be critical to the realization of the aspirations of the millions who live in the developing world.

### **Soviets and palestinians**

The Soviets clearly benefit from continuing regional instability. The constant tension and warfare in the region provide them with virtually unlimited opportunities for exploiting the free world.

Because of this, we cannot count on Soviet help to bring peace to the Middle East. On the contrary, we should expect them to throw every road block they can think of in the way of peace. We must simply move ahead without them and in spite of them.

It is vital to neutralize both the Soviets and the extremist Palestinian elements.

We should also be willing to give the Palestinian leadership a chance to talk provided they are prepared to accept Resolution 242 and hence the territorial integrity of Israel, and renounce all terrorist tactics.

### **Peace plan and diplomatic strategy**

1. Except for minor border rectification, mutually agreed upon, Israel must withdraw from the West Bank, Gaza, and Golan, all of which will be demilitarized. Israel would, however, be permitted to lease military strongpoints in each of these areas for a mutually agreed upon period of time, and have guaranteed access to these points.

2. All Israeli civilian settlements, including the so-called paramilitary ones must be withdrawn from the West Bank, Gaza, and Golan ....

3. The Palestinian people should decide for themselves whether they prefer the West Bank and Gaza to be governed as an entirely independent entity *or* to be an autonomous area within the Kingdom of Jordan. The latter approach has great merit and should be thoroughly explored....

8. The United States should organize a new treaty alliance to cover the Middle East, as a further guarantee of the ultimate settlement, and to protect regional oil fields and shipping lanes from Soviet or terrorist interference. The alliance should include Israel, the moderate Arab states, NATO and Japan.

The geostrategic vortex of the struggle between the Free World and Communism has shifted to the Middle East and all of the states with a critical interest in its outcome should bear their fair share of the defense burden.

Therefore, for the critical key that can make a reality of the previous eight points, the United States should maintain a strong military presence in this vital area, including major Air Force components. It may be possible, for example, to lease the former Israeli airfields in the Sinai.

I would propose further that we take elements of the Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean and the Seventh Fleet in the Far East and, with such augmentation as necessary, create a Fifth Fleet to be stationed in the Indian Ocean.

An immediate approach should be made to the Sultan of Oman with a proposal to develop Masirah Island or other appropriate site into a U.S. naval base to support the new Fifth Fleet and provide security for the Arabian Sea and the strategic Straits of Hormuz.

Since World War II we have maintained military forces in the Far East and Western Europe.... We must now provide a military shield for our Middle East interests as well.

**Israel: the biggest  
government crisis ever**

Israel has now entered what France's *le Figaro* newspaper Oct. 23 justly called "one of the gravest crises in its history." As a result of the stall in the Camp David talks, a domestic economic collapse rapidly getting out of control, and a government coalition permeated by corruption and malfeasance, the Israeli situation has become more polarized and chaotic than ever before.

The danger of an actual fascist insurrection, or an overtly annexationist government coming to power, looms very large.

Public awareness of the depths of the crisis has been catalyzed by two major events that took place this week.

First, Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan resigned, citing the government's failure to soften its position toward the Palestinian Arabs, and counterposing his own, more "pragmatic" approaches to the problem.

While the departure of the "pragmatic" voice from the cabinet could force leading Israelis to come to grips with the failure of Camp David in an honest fashion,

in the immediate term Dayan's departure will strengthen the faction led by Agriculture Minister Ariel Sharon that seeks the annexation of the occupied West Bank territory and deploys the Gush Emunim fanatics as an instrument to this end.

Second, the Israeli Supreme Court made an unprecedented decision, ordering the controversial Gush Emunim settlement at Elon Moreh on the West Bank to be dismantled. The settlement was established for ideological rather than security reasons, said the court; it was therefore a violation of the Hague and Geneva international conventions pertaining to territories occupied by force.

Again, while the Supreme Court decision *should* be a boon to "realist" and "moderate" factions inside Israel, it also could provoke a preemptive move by extremists to modify Israeli law to give legal cover to annexation. Cabinet members of the Gush-influenced National Religious Party have already issued appeals for Israeli law to be made more "Zionist" and associates of Sharon and Israeli nuclear bomb architect Yuval Neeman, founder of the fascist Renaissance (or "Tehiya") Party, have called for the territory's outright annexation.

As *Le Figaro* noted, "The danger of Israel being divided between those who believe in 'state law' and those who, like the leaders of Gush Emunim, believe in the 'superior divine law' and in 'Jewish history,' is quite real."

### "A nail in the coffin of peace"

Prior to this week's events, a perceptible hardening was setting in in Israeli policy toward the West Bank.

According to the *Jerusalem Post* Oct. 17, the Cabinet has mapped out "copious and detailed material" for the creation of six new West Bank settlements during 1980, which would be "coupled with the strengthening and stabilizing of existing settlements" and the "channeling (of) more manpower and resources to develop West Bank settlements."

Three days earlier, the Cabinet voted to prohibit government expropriations of private Arab lands, but to sanction use of significant amounts of other kinds of land—a nifty legal technicality that was fully endorsed by Sharon, and by the Gush Emunim itself. While the Anglo-American press reported this as "moderation," a top National Religious Party leader, Yehuda Ben-Meir, was more honest. According to the Oct. 17 *Jerusalem Post*, Ben-Meir identified the "true meaning" of the Cabinet decision to be the "creation of a whole new category of West Bank land considered fit for seizure without even a formal order."

Conversely, Arab leaders on the West Bank reacted to the decision as an extreme provocation. Bethlehem Mayor Elias Freij, hardly a radical, called the decision "a nail in the coffin of peace," a "flagrant aggression

against our existence. ... Each existing settlement will be enlarged and re-enlarged, and this will be a physical danger to the people of the West Bank and Gaza."

The Cabinet has been acting under pressure from Gush Emunim, which has been provoking confrontations with the army and unilaterally expanding illegal settlements to assert their "divine right" to control "Judea and Samaria," the Old Testament names of the West Bank. As the *Jerusalem Post* editorialized Oct. 16, the government is facing a "planned, protracted insurrection by elements that seek to feist their own policy upon it."

But, as the *Post* went on to say, the "Gushies" are not acting alone: they are getting enthusiastic support from Neeman's Renaissance group.

Neeman is posing the gravest threat Israel's pro-

### 'Israel's worst mess'

*The following article, entitled "Israel's Worst Mess," was published in the Baltimore Sun Oct. 12. The article was authored by Ruth Cale, the Sun's Jerusalem correspondent.*

"Unless a miracle happens, the disintegration of most of Israel's public services will set in later this month, threatening the nation's social, moral and economic fabric, and possibly even its democratic system.

"Head over heels in debt while the Finance Ministry has reneged on its commitments to them, city governments run the risk of grinding to a halt, since they won't be able to pay wages and buy gas for their garbage disposal trucks. ...

"Like a landslide picking up speed, economic and social disaster has been threatening for a long time. But Prime Minister Menachem Begin's coalition government, paralyzed by vicious infighting, has failed to ... begin to stop the rot. ...

"What is needed for a start, according to economists of the central bank and universities, are drastic measures that will sweep thousands of redundant public employees out of their jobs, thereby significantly reducing the budget and the printing of banknotes. ...

"For months the Prime Minister deferred decisions that would halt the economic decay. ... Mr. Begin adamantly rejected all suggestions that Treasurer Simcha Ehrlich be replaced. ... Political circles believed Mr. Begin was simply afraid to remove a brick from his wobbly structure for fear that it would bring the whole house tumbling down."

fessedly democratic system has ever faced. When he convened the group's founding convention earlier this month, with 3,000 enthusiastic supporters in attendance, Neeman remarked that "we have the Chief of Staff on our side" in justifying illegal escapades on the West Bank. As one former Israeli parliamentarian remarked upon hearing Neeman's speech, "Neeman is a Jewish fascist. This statement is a threat of a military coup. If someone would have predicted to me six months ago that Israel could have a military coup, I would have laughed. Now, I wouldn't laugh."

In an interview with the Jerusalem Post Oct. 12, Neeman was frank about his policy toward all the territories that Israel conquered in June, 1967, including the Sinai areas recently returned to Egypt under the Camp David accords. "All these territories must be annexed to Israel: the Golan, Judea and Samaria and Gaza must not be relinquished. The arguments against annexation are largely spurious."

These words are not coming from an ordinary Gush fanatic, but from a man who has a major impact on the Israeli scene. Neeman is the "evil genius" of Israel. He has been involved for two decades in procuring nuclear bomb and super-sophisticated computer technology for Israel's military and intelligence services, acting in collaboration with the most advanced scientific institutions in Great Britain, the United States, and, earlier, France. This "father of the Israeli atomic bomb" argues, convincingly to the minds of a stratum of Israeli military and strategic planners, that Israel must be a "mini-super-state," as large as possible in size, and able to control key developments in the Arab world, such as high-technology acquisitions.

Second, Neeman has in fact captured key elements in important parties in Israel. Factions in all of the Likud Party's main components—Herut, Liberal, and La'am—are either officially or unofficially working with Neeman, and the Gush-oriented younger-generation base of the National Religious Party (NRP) is overtly pro-Neeman. This has pushed the NRP oldtimers, including Camp David "autonomy" negotiator, Interior Minister Yosef Burg, into a more extremist posture vis-à-vis the occupied territories and relations with the Arabs. According to the Jerusalem Post Oct. 17, the Renaissance Party is a "bigger threat to the NRP" than to any other party in Israel.

Third, Neeman is receiving sympathy from an identifiable extremist faction in the U.S. Zionist camp. According to an Israeli source, "the same people in the U.S. Zionist movement who like Gen. Alexander Haig like Neeman, and for the same reasons." The source noted that Haig will be a keynoter at the Zionist Organization of America's Oct. 24-28 International Leadership Conference in Miami, Florida and that "many of the organizers of that conference lean toward Neeman in their political views."

### **Economic collapse**

The Neeman threat would be far less serious in Israel were it not for the state of the country's economy. Israel stands at the brink of economic catastrophe.

Last week, the Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics admitted for the first time that Israel's annual rate of inflation has reached the triple-digit 100 percent rate. France's *Le Monde* Oct. 24 commented that this figure was an underestimation: inflation is already topping 120 percent.

Particularly devastated are Israel's municipalities. The Local Authorities Union, the central coordinating body for Israeli cities, has resolved to shut down city services in protest against the government's refusal to provide adequate funding for repayment of accumulated municipal debt. The pro-austerity Finance Minister, Simcha Ehrlich, has ridiculed the municipalities' claims that they have 14.2 billion Israeli pounds in outstanding debt. The mayors of the towns and cities have countered by planning a "protest action" against the government, which, according to the Jerusalem Post Oct. 16, will mean "action to paralyze services," including nonpayment of October salaries to city workers and nonpayment to contractors doing vital work for the municipalities.

### **Surfacing of the "doves"**

In response to the grave crisis facing Israel, Israel's "doves" and British-linked "realists" such as former Foreign Minister Abba Eban have begun to awaken from a slumber that set in with the 1977 rise to power of the hardline Likud party and the 1978 signing of the Camp David accords. They have not yet addressed the country's economic problems, but have concentrated their fire on Israel's relations with the Arabs.

Recent meetings have taken place at which the "doves" have mounted a challenge to the Labour Party's refusal to work towards negotiations with the Palestinians on a Palestinian state. At one meeting, Yassi Sarid exclaimed, "A Palestinian state will be set up whether we like it or not. The Allon Plan (a traditional Labour platform which calls for annexation of approximately one-third of the West Bank—ed.) is not realistic."

Earlier this month, Eban authored a piece for the *Jewish Chronicle*, mouthpiece of the British Zionist community, which urged Israel to "take for granted" that a Palestinian state would come into existence and to work for the creation of an Israel-Palestine-Jordan "Benelux" arrangement.

Addressing himself to the Allon Plan, Eban noted that "if you are going to demand 33 percent (of the West Bank) you might as well demand 100 percent. Your chance of getting Arab agreement to the one is no greater than your chance of getting it to the other."

—Mark Burdman