

JPRS 72165

1 November 1978

TRANSLATIONS ON NEAR EAST AND NORTH AFRICA

No. 1861

ARAB/ISRAELI PRESS REACTION TO CAMP DAVID ACCORDS

NEAR
EAST

NORTH
AFRICA

DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT A
Approved for Public Release
Distribution Unlimited

20000317 120

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BIBLIOGRAPHIC DATA SHEET	1. Report No. JPRS 72165	2.	3. Recipient's Accession No.
4. Title and Subtitle TRANSLATIONS ON NEAR EAST AND NORTH AFRICA, No. 1861 Arab/Israeli Press Reaction to Camp David Accords		5. Report Date 1 November 1978	
7. Author(s)		6.	
9. Performing Organization Name and Address Joint Publications Research Service 1000 North Glebe Road Arlington, Virginia 22201		8. Performing Organization Rept. No.	
		10. Project/Task/Work Unit No.	
		11. Contract/Grant No.	
12. Sponsoring Organization Name and Address As above		13. Type of Report & Period Covered	
		14.	
15. Supplementary Notes			
16. Abstracts The serial report contains information on socio-economic, government, political, and technical developments in the countries of the Near East and North Africa.			
17. Key Words and Document Analysis. 17a. Descriptors			
Political Science	☒ Inter-Arab Affairs	☒ Libya	☐ Sultanate
Sociology	☐ North African	☒ Mauritania	☐ of Oman
Economics	☐ Affairs	☒ Morocco	☒ Syria
Culture (Social Sciences)	☐ Afghanistan	☐ People's Demo-	☒ Tunisia
Ethnology	☒ Algeria	☐ cratic Republic	☒ United Arab
Geography	☐ Bahrain	☐ of Yemen	☐ Emirates
Technological	☒ Egypt	☐ Persian Gulf	☐ Western
Military Sciences	☐ Iran	☐ Area	☐ Sahara
	☒ Iraq	☐ Qatar	☐ Yemen Arab
17b. Identifiers/Open-Ended Terms	☒ Israel	☒ Saudi Arabia	☐ Republic
	☒ Jordan	☐ Spanish North	
	☒ Kuwait	☐ Africa	
	☒ Lebanon	☐ Sudan	
17c. COSATI Field/Group 5D, 5C, 5K, 15			
18. Availability Statement Unlimited Availability Sold by NTIS Springfield, Virginia 22151		19. Security Class (This Report) UNCLASSIFIED	21. No. of Pages 320
		20. Security Class (This Page) UNCLASSIFIED	22. Price A14

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TRANSLATIONS ON NEAR EAST AND NORTH AFRICA

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ARAB/ISRAELI PRESS REACTION TO CAMP DAVID ACCORDS

This special report contains samples of Arab and Israeli press reaction to the results of the Camp David Summit Conference. All the material is in the form of editorials, commentaries, and cartoons; and it is selected from some of the most important Arabic, Hebrew, French, and English language newspapers and periodicals published in most of the Arab states and in Israel. Some of the material is from Arabic-language sources published in Paris and London. The report covers the period 19-29 September 1978. During the period this report was being assembled, from 2 to 6 October 1978, there were no press receipts from three of the Persian Gulf states (Bahrain, Qatar, and Oman) and the two Yemens. As of the end of September 1978 the Sudanese press, while giving the subject straight factual coverage, chose not to comment on the summit results.

CONTENTS

PAGE

I. ARAB STATES

ALGERIA

Arab Reaction, Imperialism, Zionism Equated (Editorial; REVOLUTION AFRICAINE, 20-27 Sep 78).....	1
Arab Masses Have Hope in Damascus Summit (Editorial; AL-SHA'B, 20 Sep 78).....	3
Camp David Accords Denounced as Shameful Document (Mohamed Saidani; ALGERIE ACTUALITE, 21-27 Sep 78).....	5
Sadat Charged With Abandoning Arab Solidarity (Editorial; AL-SHA'B, 21 Sep 78).....	10
Commentary Warns of Unprecedented Imperialist Zionist Offensive (Ahmed Fattani; EL MOUDJAHID, 21 Sep 78).....	12

CONTENTS (Continued)

Page

Steadfastness Front Said Embodied in Arab Masses
(Editorial; AL-MUJAHID, 22 Sep 78)..... 16

Commentary: Accords Cannot Restore Peace to Region
(L. Hamdani; EL MOUDJAHID, 22-23 Sep 78)..... 19

EGYPT

Jerusalem, Palestinian Self-Determination Issues Not Resolved
(Ali Hamdi al-Jammal; AL-AHRAM, 19 Sep 78)..... 21

Stand to Guarantee Greater Arab Rights Urged
(Wasif 'Id; AL-AHRAM, 20 Sep 78)..... 25

Egypt, Jordan Said to Have Legal, Moral Commitment to
Negotiations
(Editorial; AL-AHRAM, 20 Sep 78)..... 27

Last Minute Agreement of Summit Praised
(Salah Muntasir; AL-AHRAM, 20 Sep 78)..... 29

Steps to Firm Arab Solidarity Encouraged
(Muhammad Ali al-Uwayni; AL-AHRAM, 20 Sep 78)..... 31

Arab Solidarity Said Essential to Implementation of Camp David
Accords
(Zakariya Nil; AL-AHRAM, 20 Sep 78)..... 35

Faithful Zionism Versus Profit Motive
(Editorial; THE EGYPTIAN GAZETTE, 21 Sep 78)..... 39

Limited Arab Summit Said Beneficial to Arab Solidarity
(Zakariya Nil; AL-AHRAM, 21 Sep 78)..... 41

Support for Carter to Help U.S. as Partner in Establishing
Mid-East Peace
(Editorial; AL-AHRAM, 21 Sep 78)..... 45

Palestinian Recognition Said First Arab Responsibility
(Ahmad Nafi'; AL-AHRAM, 21 Sep 78)..... 46

Objective, Not Emotional View Needed
(Ahmad Bahjat; AL-AHRAM, 21 Sep 78)..... 48

Actions of Rejectionist States Questioned
(Ahmad Zayn; AL-AKHBAR, 21 Sep 78)..... 50

Rejectionists Said Eager to See Conflict Continue
(Editorial; AL-AKHBAR, 22 Sep 78)..... 53

CONTENTS (Continued)

Page

IRAQ

Threats Posed by Camp David Accords Identified (Sa'd; AL-JUMHURIYAH, 19 Sep 78).....	55
Confrontation Deemed Only Road to Victory (Munif al-Razzaz; AL-THAWRAH, 19 Sep 78).....	57
Measures for Liberation Identified (Sa'd; AL-JUMHURIYAH; 20 Sep 78).....	60
Iraqi Communist Party Condemns Camp David 'Plot' (TARIQ AL-SHA'B, 20 Sep 78).....	62
Camp David Accords Require Serious Arab Mobilization (Sa'd; AL-JUMHURIYAH, 21 Sep 78).....	65
Accords Described as Perishable Falsehood (Editorial; AL-THAWRAH, 21 Sep 78).....	67
Cartoons AL-THAWRAH, 18 Sep 78 AL-THAWRAH, 19 Sep 78 AL-THAWRAH, 21 Sep 78	

JORDAN

Paper Says Summit Results Require Close Study (Editorial; AL-RA'Y, 19 Sep 78).....	72
Camp David Accords Not Viewed as Decisive Stage (George Haddad; AL-RA'Y, 19 Sep 78).....	73
Begin's Cunning in Camp David Accords Speech Underlined (Umar; AL-RA'Y, 20 Sep 78).....	75
Arabs Urged to Face Expected Pressures United (Editorial; AL-RA'Y, 20 Sep 78).....	77
Editorial Says Jordan Not Committed to Camp David Accords (AL-DUSTUR, 20 Sep 78).....	79
Cartoons AL-DUSTUR, 19 Sep 78 AL-DUSTUR, 20 Sep 78	

CONTENTS (Continued)

Page

KUWAIT

Sadat Charged With Separating Egypt From Arab Countries (Editorial; AL-QABAS, 19 Sep 78).....	83
Accords Called Total Surrender to Israel (Editorial; AL-RA'Y AL-'AMM, 19 Sep 78).....	87
Arab, Palestinian Struggle to Continue (Editorial; AL-WATAN, 19 Sep 78).....	90
Sadat's Agreement to Concessions Open to Speculation (Mustafa Abu-Lubdah; AL-SIYASAH, 20 Sep 78).....	92
Camp David Documents Called Legally Void (Sulayman Khalid al-Muwatta' al-Muhami; AL-WATAN, 20 Sep 78).....	94
Cartoons AL-SIYASAH, 19 Sep 78 AL-WATAN, 20 Sep 78	

LEBANON

Damascus Summit Urged to Draw Up Plan to Confront Camp David 'Treason' (Editorial; AL-SAFIR, 19 Sep 78).....	98
Summit Documents Seen as Face Saving Operation (Muhammad Mashmushi; AL-SAFIR, 19 Sep 78).....	101
View That Accords Will Lead to Stability Questioned (Mustafa al-Husayni; AL-SAFIR, 20 Sep 78).....	104
Clearly Defined Goals Said Necessary for Lebanese Diplomacy (Ibrahim Najjar; AL-'AMAL, 19 Sep 78).....	107
Summit Said to Invite 'Ridiculous' Comments (Editorial; AL-'AMAL, 22 Sep 78).....	110
Sadat's Action at Camp David Called Treason, Capitulation (Editorial; AL-NIDA', 19 Sep 78).....	112
Writer Warns Against Divided Arab Will (Nabil Hadi; AL-NIDA', 19 Sep 78).....	115

CONTENTS (Continued)

Page

U.S. President's Interest in Lebanon After Camp David Analyzed
(Michel Abu-Jawdah; AL-NAHAR, 20 Sep 78)..... 118

Official Lebanon Views Accords as Damaging
(AL-NAHAR, 21 Sep 78)..... 120

Palestinians Said to Have Gotten Nothing From Camp David
Accords
(Rajih Khuri; AL-HAWADITH, 22 Sep 78)..... 123

Journalist Comments on Sadat's Agreement
(Issa Goraieb; L'ORIENT-LE JOUR)..... 129
 Al-Sadat's 90 Days
 (20 Sep 78)
 Siamese Twins
 (21 Sep 78)
 Political and Parliamentary Views
 (21 Sep 78)
 Reservations of "Lebanese Front"
 (22 Sep 78)

Cartoon
 AL-'AMAL, 20 Sep 78

LIBYA

Accords Denounced, al-Sadat Condemned, Resistance Affirmed
(AL-FAJR AL-JADID, 23 Sep 78)..... 139

New Developments in Old Framework Doomed to Failure
(AL-USBU' AL-SIYASI, 25 Sep 78)..... 147

Cartoon
 AL-USBU' AL-SIYASI, 18 Sep 78

MAURITANIA

Camp David: Makeshift Accords
(CHAAB, 22 Sep 78)..... 152

Accords Ignoring Palestinians Called Unsatisfactory
(Editorial; AL-SHA'B, 22 Sep 78)..... 154

CONTENTS (Continued)

Page

MOROCCO

Accords Described as to Arab-Palestinian Cause (Abdellah Layachi; AL-BAYANE, 20 Sep 78).....	156
Accords Viewed as Capitulation to Begin Plan (Editorial; AL-MUHARRIR, 21 Sep 78).....	158
Paper Seeks Assessment of Camp David Without 'Abuse' (Ahmed Alaoui; LE MATIN, 28 Sep 78).....	159

SAUDI ARABIA

Meeting Raises More Questions Than It Answers (Editorial; ARAB NEWS, 19 Sep 78).....	162
Success of Summit Magic Questionable (Editorial; ARAB NEWS, 20 Sep 78).....	164
Israeli Withdrawal From Jerusalem Fundamental Demand (Editorial; AL-BILAD, 20 Sep 78).....	166
Endeavors to Unite Arab World Affirmed (Editorial; AL-MADINAH, 20 Sep 78).....	168
Accords Not Considered Final Acceptable Peace Formula (Editorial; AL-RIYAD, 20 Sep 78).....	170
Restoration of Arab Solidarity Could Be Prelude to Victory (Editorial; AL-RIYAD, 21 Sep 78).....	172
Arab Summit Advised for Peace Settlement (Editorial; ARAB NEWS, 25 Sep 78).....	174
Paper Sees Pan-Arabism Necessary for Comprehensive Peace Formula (Editorial; AL-RIYAD, 25 Sep 78).....	176
Begin's Intransigence, Narrowmindedness Said Taken to Camp David (Turki 'Abdallah al-Sudayri; AL-RIYAD, 25 Sep 78).....	178
Cartoon AL-MADINAH, 19 Sep 78	

CONTENTS (Continued)

Page

SYRIA

Arab Nation Must Act to Thwart Al-Sadat's 'Conspiracy' (Mahmud Kamil; AL-BA'TH, 19 Sep 78).....	184
Accords Viewed as Total Surrender by Sadat (Ahmad al-Hajj 'Ali; AL-THAWRAH, 19 Sep 78).....	186
Arabs Expected to Pay Exorbitant Price for Camp David Accords ('Amî Khuli; TISHRIN, 19 Sep 78).....	189
U.S. Said To Seek To Dominate Middle East Through Accords (Fadil al-Ansari; AL-BA'TH, 20 Sep 78).....	192
Masses Urged to Support Steadfastness for Just Solution (Abd-al-Latif Miqdad; AL-THAWRAH, 21 Sep 78).....	197
Accord Said to Torpedo Just Peace in Area (George Qaysar; TISHRIN, 20 Sep 78).....	198
Sadat Signing of Accord Called Treasonous (Yasir al-Farra; AL-BA'TH, 21 Sep 78).....	203
Cartoons AL-THAWRAH, 19 Sep 78 TISHRIN, 19 Sep 78 AL-THAWRAH, 21 Sep 78 AL-THAWRAH, 22 Sep 78	

TUNISIA

Camp David Said to Have Failed to Tackle Core Issue (Yaqzan; AL-SABAH, 20 Sep 78).....	210
Effects of Accords on Arab Cause and Peace Questioned (Moncef Ben Amor; LA PRESSE DE TUNISIE, 20 Sep 78).....	212
LA PRESSE: Arabs More Disarmed Than Ever (LA PRESSE DE TUNISIE, 20 Sep 78).....	214
Camp David Accords Called Prelude to Great Showdown (Tahar Nefzi; L'ACTION, 21 Sep 78).....	216
Sadat Said to Have Paid Price of Success of Camp David Meeting (Mustafa ibn Ja'far; AL-RA'Y, 21 Sep 78).....	218
Accords Said to Restore Middle East to Instability (Zaydan; AL-SABAH, 21 Sep 78).....	220

CONTENTS (Continued)

Page

UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

Arab Summit to Map Out Future Strategy Advocated (Editorial; AL-ITTIHAD, 19 Sep 78).....	222
Camp David Accords Favor Israel, Destroy Arab Solidarity (Rashid ibn 'Awidah; AL-WAHDAH, 19 Sep 78).....	225
Arab Press Comments on Summit (Editorial; EMIRATES NEWS, 19, 21, 24 Sep 78).....	228
Camp David Accords Arouse Fears of U.S. Military Presence (Editorial; AL-ITTIHAD AL-USBU'I, 21 Sep 78).....	232
Cartoons	
AL-WAHDAH, 19 Sep 78	
AL-ITTIHAD, 20 Sep 78	
AL-ITTIHAD, 23 Sep 78	
AL-WAHDAH, 23 Sep 78	
AL-ITTIHAD, 24 Sep 78	

II. PARIS AND LONDON

Accords Said Detrimental to Lebanon, Palestinians (Marwan Hamadah; AL-NAHAR AL-'ARABI WA AL-DUWALI, 23 Sep 78).....	239
Al-Sadat Chided: Accords Deemed Futile (Nabil Khuri; AL-MUSTAQBAL, 23 Sep 78).....	241
Action, Not Silence by Arabs Urged (Walid Abu Zahar; AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI, 23-29 Sep 78).....	245
Syrians Accused of Squandering Arab Rights (Editorial; AL-DUSTUR, 25 Sep-1 Oct 78).....	248
Explanation for Al-Sadat's Surrender Offered (Walid Barakat; AL-DUSTUR, 25 Sep-1 Oct 78).....	250
Cartoons	
AL-MUSTAQBAL, 23 Sep 78	
AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI, 23-29 Sep 78	

CONTENTS (Continued)

Page

III. ISRAEL

Begin Still Facing Tough Struggle (DAVAR; 18 Sep 78).....	254
Camp David Agreement Requires IDF to Redeploy (Yonah Shamshi; DAVAR, 18 Sep 78).....	258
Unanswered Military, Security Questions Posed (HA'AREZ, 19 Sep 78).....	261
Government Urged to Strive for Agreement on West Bank (Yehoshu'a Tadmor; DAVAR, 20 Sep 78).....	264
Gush Emunim Opposition, Not Methods, to Accords Legitimate (Editorial; HAZOFEH, 21 Sep 78).....	266
Begin Takes Only Proper Course at Camp David (Polus; HA'AREZ, 22 Sep 78).....	268
Future Complications in Peace Accord Explored (HAZOFEH, 22 Sep 78).....	272
Accord Said to Have Far Reaching Implications on Economy (Editorial; HAZOFEH, 21 Sep 78).....	276
Effects of Agreement on West Bank Examined (Dalia Shakhori; AL HAMISHMAR, 22 Sep 78).....	278
Why Sadat Had to Take the Plunge (Martin Sieff; THE JERUSALEM POST, 24 Sep 78).....	284
Public Rejoicing at Camp David Agreements Criticized (Editorial; HAMODI'A, 24 Sep 78).....	286
Cabinet Member Weizman No Longer 'Outsider' (Hirsh Goodman; THE JERUSALEM POST, 24 Sep 78).....	288
Arab Opposition Facing Sadat (Editorial; HAMODI'A, 25 Sep 78).....	290
Knesset Facing Most Difficult Decision on Accords (Editorial; HAMODI'A, 25 Sep 78).....	292
Begin's Dovish Maneuvers Criticized as Fraudulent (Dov Bar-Nir; AL HAMISHMAR, 25 Sep 78).....	294

CONTENTS (Continued)

Page

National Religious Workers Party Position on Accords (Editorial; HAZOFEH, 26 Sep 78).....	297
Distinction Between Idealists, Fanatics Urged (Asher Maniv; DAVAR, 26 Sep 78).....	300
Camp David Agreement and 'Peace Plan' Differences Detailed (Shmuel Katz; THE JERUSALEM POST, 29 Sep 78).....	304

ALGERIA

I. ARAB STATES

ARAB REACTION, IMPERIALISM, ZIONISM EQUATED

Algiers REVOLUTION AFRICAINE in French 20-27 Sep 78 pp 4, 5

[Editorial]

[Text] The ascension of progressive forces continues in the world, a profound crisis for international capitalism.

Two antagonistic phenomena that have continually seriously upset political, economic sociocultural relations of peoples and nations.

Liberation of many Third World countries from the colonial yoke, the universal rise on the political scene of the laboring masses and their many conquests on the local level as on the international scale have given a new impetus to the progressive movement in the world. The Front of the progressive forces could now launch a vast offensive against the capitalist system and the imperialist powers.

At present capitalism is in crisis and imperialism is retreating.

But they still possess enough vigor and resources, since they have succeeded in launching a counter-offensive on political, economic and military levels.

How can we stop this counter-offensive? That is the question being asked today by the progressives of the world.

And it is in order to answer that question and chiefly to define a joint strategy that the chiefs of state of the Resistance Front are meeting in Damascus and Castro is in Algiers.

The Resistance Front countries are going to be able, in the light of the conclusions of the "Camp David" discussions and al-Sadat's capitulation (he sees himself as the agent of imperialism in the region), to pose the problem of the anti-Zionist and anti-imperialist struggle in other terms. For in this part of the world, where reactionary Arab regimes are allied as a unit with imper-

ialism and Zionism, the struggle assumes a new form, a new dimension. In fact, at the present juncture it is impossible to mention the liberation of territories occupied by the Zionist hordes and the quite legitimate reestablishment of the Palestinian people in their historic rights without first attacking the defenders of the Arab reaction, by means of greater mobilization of all the popular masses who today are suffering oppression and exploitation.

Nor is it possible to confront the internal and external enemy with first consolidating the national domestic Front, without unifying the Palestinian liberation movement, without strengthening the unity of action of all progressive forces in the Arab world.

Taking into account the recent acts of the imperialist offensive in the region--al-Sadat's trip to Rabat is rather significant in that respect--the Damascus meeting then assumes very special importance and rightly raises hopes in the Arab peoples. And, not displeased with the defenders of the reaction, who are believed to be strong because of their numerical majority, the Front of the Resistance countries is gathering around itself the great majority of the peoples of the Arab nation who reject submission and recapitulation more than ever--still less, subjection; who, after the liberating experience of the Nasserian era, do not agree to be again beneath the boots of the soldier-like Zionist and imperialist.

Castro's arrival in Algiers also enters into the framework of exchanges of view between the representatives of first-line anti-imperialist movements on African, Arab and American fronts. These meetings are indispensable at this juncture when imperialism, although it is on the defensive, remains aggressive and is showing some virulence in the battles it is engaging in in Western Europe and the Third World.

These necessary consultations are going to permit the two chiefs of state to get the bearings of the regional and international situation, to study on the strategic level the best ways to thwart imperialism's maneuvers and to strengthen the ranks of the unity of progressive and democratic forces in the world.

The meeting of the Resistance Front countries in Damascus and Fidel Castro's visit to Algiers are thus two important events to be emphasized. The international situation is still explosive; the anti-imperialist struggle of our peoples is expanding and intensifying. It is also becoming more complex. It requires greater vigilance from us, a better awareness of the current conditions of the struggle. It forces better mobilization of our peoples and of all progressive movements in the world.

These two events demonstrate the importance of the problems to be discussed. They also underline the necessity of those regional and international conferences, for the strategy of the progressive front necessarily involves a multi-faceted struggle and fighting tactics as appropriate on the national level as on the regional and world level.

All those actions must converge in a primary objective indispensable to any effective struggle against international capitalism and imperialism: the international solidarity of all peoples in love with peace and justice, of all revolutionary and progressive forces in the world.

ALGERIA

ARAB MASSES HAVE HOPE IN DAMASCUS SUMMIT

Algiers AL-SHA'B in Arabic 20 Sep 78 p 1

[Editorial: "Dawn Must Rise"]

[Text] The third summit of the National Steadfastness and Confrontation Front is scheduled to meet in Damascus today to discuss the serious situation arising from the capitulation accords reached by the tripartite Camp David conference the day before yesterday.

There isn't the least doubt that convocation of the Damascus meeting under these serious conditions is an indication that the Arab nation has not and will not surrender to its enemies, that it condemns al-Sadat's steps and that it rejects the accords reached by Egypt's ruler with the enemy in part and parcel.

Even though al-Sadat's treason has dealt a painful blow to the Arab masses in the various parts of our Arab homeland, has flouted their dignity and has trampled the martyrs of their struggle throughout 30 years, these masses turn today with all their emotions and feelings to the Damascus summit to hear it echo their voice at the highest level to those who are close and those who are far in the world and say: "No to capitulation, we will not sacrifice the Palestinian people and death to the treasonous."

These masses expect the fateful Damascus meeting to emerge with practical resolutions that will be more effective and more comprehensive than the resolutions of the Tripoli and the Algiers summits in view of the new realities appearing in the arena, considering that all hope to bring back al-Sadat to the Arab family has been lost after the latest step and, that the matter of toppling al-Sadat has become the task of every honorable Arab, beginning with the Egyptian people who do not deserve to be led by a ruler who symbolizes capitulation and the peak of treason.

There is a point that the Damascus summit will, undoubtedly, not miss, namely the adoption of a clear position toward the Arab regimes that support al-Sadat's policy and that coordinate with al-Sadat against the Arab nation's supreme interests so as to complete the links of the plot that is being implemented in the east and in the west.

It is the duty of the masses to force those who continue to wait to abandon their silence and to shoulder their national responsibilities because their silence over the crime is a national treason and history will not be lenient toward those who commit it. Is it reasonable for us to remain neutral while Egypt's ruler is sacrificing the Moslem rights to the venerable Jerusalem and the rights of the Palestinian people to their homeland in return for regaining crippled sovereignty over the Sinai desert?

Is vacillation acceptable when matters require that a move be made to check the expanding Zionist influence that has violated Egypt's land and that has come close to the Libyan and Sudanese borders?

The Arab nation is looking under these critical conditions for its friends, the supporters of freedom and justice in the world, to stand with it materially and morally as the U.S. imperialism has stood with al-Sadat and as it has thrown all its weight behind the goal of imposing the capitulationist solution on the Arab homeland. Duty requires bolstering the combat capability of Syria and making more means of military movement accessible to the Palestinian resistance so that the Zionist-imperialist solution may not pass and so that the strategic balance between Syria and the enemy may not be disturbed after the collapse of the southern front.

What remains for us to do is to remind the history's lessons in awakening the will of peoples and individuals. Upheavals, tremors and setbacks are dark periods in the night of peoples but the dawn must rise. This is why we should not let despair creep into our hearts so that we may not fall into the trap of the enemies who want to kill the will for steadfastness in our hearts and to implant the capitulation mentality in our heads. The fall of Egypt's ruler does not mean the fall of the Egyptian people. It suffices us to remember here that the Algerian people remained under the yoke of occupation for more than a century but continued to fight and to reject capitulation and that victory was finally their ally.

These examples make us confident of the future, despite the dark picture of the present, and they make us stand fast in the face of the plot, repeating to the ears of those who underestimate the will of peoples: The peace will be nothing but an Arab peace and we will continue to reject capitulation because we are, as President Boumediene has said, the sons of a generation "that does not bow its head."

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ALGERIA

CAMP DAVID ACCORDS DENOUNCED AS SHAMEFUL DOCUMENT

Algiers ALGERIE ACTUALITE in French 21-27 Sep 78 pp 2-3

[Article by Mohamed Saidani: "Camp David: The Surrender"]

[Text] A mystery supplied, well arranged intrigues and finally documents signifying the total capitulation of Sadatian Egypt, at first glance this is what will be remembered of the summit where, during 13 days at Camp David, the American Egyptian presidents, Jimmy Carter and Anwar al-Sadat and the Israeli prime minister, Menachem Begin, met together.

In the style of a Hollywood super-production, the "suspense" maintained by expert hands in order to sustain the anticipated interest, was to end by necessity in a denouement that was not different from the classic shema [translation unknown]. In unison, Egyptian and Israeli officials reassured their public: "Everything is saved at last!" Curiously, Tel Aviv makes a show of spontaneous optimism and Cairo, rivaling its ardor, shows overflowing satisfaction.

So it is all over at Camp David. Everything is beginning out in the world. Is it a question of a new era? The formula enchants the propagandists of Tel Aviv and Cairo, although to the latter falls the sad role of acknowledging the "significance" of the event and stressing its "positive aspects". In such circumstances (we saw it at the time of President al-Sadat's visit to occupied Palestine) the Egyptian press, with AL-AHRAM at its head, is eager to publish special editions to "mold things with heat". One of the commentaries done on that Monday 18 September did not limit itself to a justification of President al-Sadat, as has become routine, but claimed "a medal" for the man who is and remains for the popular Arab masses a man of capitulation.

After 13 days of talks at Camp David, al-Sadat and Begin have just signed two documents bringing about their accord on "a framework for peace for the Near East" and on "a framework for concluding a peace treaty between Egypt and Israel". Although the event is certainly important in itself, the gravity of the situation it engenders is just more grave. What was concluded? At this stage of the analysis it seems useful to bring up the fact that the carefully chosen term "framework" designates, at one and the same time, platform, outline and space; the "framework" designates the content of the accord or accords and the means of accomplishing it in a geographic atmosphere previously called neuralgic because it is at the center of the Arab world. According to the official terminology employed the framework is not bilateral; that is, it is Egyptian-Israelian, but reflects a political vision in Near East dimensions and consequently in the dimensions of the whole Arab world. On reading the title of the documents one can here and now put the undertaking in its proper place and clearly define the roles distributed.

The Shameful Document

Let us first look at the principal points of the Camp David accords:

The first document signed clearly shows that it involves "an accord of separate peace", since under mention of a "framework for conclusion of a peace treaty between Egypt and Israel" the regimes of Cairo and Tel Aviv intend to pursue and accelerate the process of "normalization" begun in occupied Jerusalem at the time of President al-Sadat's visit last 19 November. Because of that they promised to sign a peace treaty within three months. As could be confirmed, the imprecise idea of a "declaration of principle: extolled six months ago by the United States was gone beyond. On this point, as on most of them, Begin's exigency was entirely satisfied. Since 17 August, or one month before this tripartite summit, Begin had noted his intention to arrive at the working out and signing of "an accord of partial and permanent peace", that is, an accord signifying not only the end of the state of belligerence but also the opening of borders, the establishing of economic relations, the free movement of tourists, etc.

In plain language, the peace treaty to be signed in three months will make official the recognition of Israel by the Cairo regime. The quid pro quo is very slim, since al-Sadat is content with a promise--and only a promise--that his country's sovereignty over all of the Sinai will be recovered within two to three years. Although it is specified that Israel must proceed to withdraw its troops three to nine months after the peace treaty is signed, the withdrawal is still not a total and immediate evacuation, because it is arranged to take place in several stages. In addition, Israel will keep the zones known as security zones until an indeterminate date; this includes air bases.

That is a new concession by al-Sadat and it is a big one, given that he is voluntarily agreeing to sell out the Egyptian national sovereignty and independence. Although this plan happened to materialize, it would not be surprising to see Israeli soldiers on leave parading in the streets of Cairo and Alexandria, and why not Israeli instructors being employed to make up the new officers' corps of al-Sadat's army?

The Stages of a Process

In the terms of the accord signed at the White House, Egypt and Israel will not make war, but--and this is what was not said--will they not make war together against "enemies" whom they could easily designate? No doubt in the appendix there are clauses--kept secret for the moment--having to do precisely with collaboration, if not eventual cooperation, in this area. Would we have to await some revelations on the long talks al-Sadat had with the Israeli Defense Minister, Gen Weizman, to confirm this hypothesis? A number of observers who were present in Washington stress the large concessions made by al-Sadat, but rarely did any observer manifest surprise. And some did not fail to say that "the Israeli intransigence paid off". The explanation lies in Mr al-Sadat's political behavior. It is recalled that he had shouted in the first year of his presidential term (in 1971) that he was ready to "conclude a peace accord with Israel". Direct negotiations at a distance of 101 km will confirm that option, which was expressed several years later on 19 November 1977 by al-Sadat's visit to the Knesset and the high-level talks (occupied Jerusalem, Ismailia, Leeds chateau) that will follow.

The capitulation process was thoroughly in gear before that day. From the beginning the Israeli negotiators had a detailed plan to submit to their opposite numbers in the dialog, and because of that kept the initiative, as in the field by implanting settlement colonies, chiefly in the Sinai, and at the table by demanding that they alone be able to withhold trump cards in order to conduct "the game" in their way. Entrenching himself behind the specious thesis according to which "the Egyptian territories can be liberated without a shot being fired", al-Sadat is conducting his psychological warfare on the domestic level by a violent campaign against all who are recalcitrant with respect to his policy of "Infitah" [translation unknown], while managing the Arab world by repeated maneuvers aimed at undermining combat solidarity, at planting doubt and confusion and emphasizing divisions, the whole thing in order to operate a genuine demobilization campaign. He spared no effort to assume a role which is perfectly responsive to the "pax Americana" in the

Near East, a long-cherished project of the United States. It is also not surprising, taking all these factors into account, that the Camp David accords legalize an accomplished fact.

The Bantousthan Formula

The second document signed at Camp David, entitled "Framework for Peace for the Near East", is much more pernicious, for there too the plan announced by Begin in December 1977 served as a basis for discussion. It is symptomatic to bring up the fact that the step tends on the one hand to breach the isolation of al-Sadat's regime by working out a formula likely to rally certain Arab regimes--particularly Jordan--to Egyptian-Israeli theses (which are commonly held today) and on the other hand to eliminate the unique and authentic representative of the Palestinian people by battling with the PLO.

As shrewd fishermen, Carter, al-Sadat and Begin had previously offered the bait to King Husayn, but he had escaped the hook. That bait is larger today, since Jordan is especially invited to the negotiations and to the setting up of the "political cadre" stipulated for the West Bank and the Gaza strip. Although at the moment there is nothing to indicate that King Husayn has given his endorsement, everyone knows that from London, where he was paying a private visit, he had a long telephone talk with al-Sadat. Until there is an official reaction from Amman to the Camp David accords, the calculations given out are distinguished by being too precipitate, thus giving the impression (far-fetched) that the United States will not use their means of pressure.

Arrogating to himself the right to speak for the Palestinian people, al-Sadat has fulfilled the wishes of the Zionist leaders, who saw the Begin treated lightly and so accepted almost in its entirety. Al-Sadat discussed territory and not the legitimate rights of a people he has deliberately ignored. From that "working principle" any accord became achievable in the eyes of the Israeli negotiators.

It follows from the extracts of the second document published Monday evening that it is a formula clearly inspired by the "Bantoustan" that has been retained. Encouraged by the Egyptian concessions, Begin obtained satisfaction on the provisional status of the West Bank and Gaza and also--chiefly--on their participation (and eventually their veto right) in the negotiations to define the political status of that territory to the end of the intermediate period, set at five years. In that way installing the "self-government" which the 2,500,000 Palestinian refugees had nothing to do with electing and which consequently cannot regain the territory in question, and the operation of that "self-government", are totally conditioned by Israel's "Security Concerns". Israel will maintain its military disposition with deployment afterwards, which will obviously enable it to ensure "the territory's foreign defense" and patrols in the interior to watch over the settlement colonies whose dismantling the accord does not breathe a word about.

The Politico-Diplomatic Arsenal

So what has changed? The novelty, if there is any, consists of installing an "indigenous administration" closely controlled by Israel, whose elements are meticulously selected. It will be noted that no reference is made to establishing a Palestinian state. Moreover, future negotiations will "resolve, among other questions, the location of borders and the nature of security arrangements", which implies other territorial, military and political concessions, to Israel's profit.

The Camp David negotiators try to present the accord achieved as a "model peace treaty" which should be applied to other "countries which are Israel's neighbors". Analyzing the results of the Camp David conference, observers recognize that "it simply reverts to the position previously ratified by the preceding Israeli government". We are led to wonder about al-Sadat's attitude, or more precisely, his motivations. What has he obtained? In exchange for the Sinai sand he has sold out the sovereignty and national independence of his country and laughed at Egypt's dignity. So what has he saved? The survival of a regime which, if one believes the latest news--for

example, the resignation of his Foreign Affairs Minister Ibrahim Kamel--, is plunged into profound torment, despite the support of the repressive machinery. What are his intentions? Before answering that question, perhaps it is useful to recall a very significant sentence in an article published by a Tel Aviv newspaper. "The al-Sadat regime's fate", it said, "is tied to a strong Israel from now on". Those words need no comment.

A Designated Target: the PLO

Following American strategy, the al-Sadat regime is a controlling piece on the Near East chessboard. The Camp David accords are intended as much to consolidate his position as to set up a whole politico-diplomatic arrangement to reactivate a process aimed at eliminating any revolutionary germ in the region.

The event that occurred at Camp David is a new aggravating element in the situation on the scale of the whole Arab world, for although in the East the plot designates the PLO and Syria as targets, in the West the threats are persistent on the part of the only regime in the Arab world which has publicly supported al-Sadat's capitulating initiative. Will Hassan II feel that he is a little better protected today for conducting his adventurous policy?

Retaliatory Measures

Be that as it may, the Algerian Revolution, like the countries making up the Arab Resistance Front, is ready to face any eventuality. Certainly threats and other attempts at intimidation will have no influence on the determination of the Arab Resistance Front countries to struggle to forge the destiny of the Arab Nation and to give all their support to the embattled Palestinian people, inured to rough ordeals, and also to their unique representative, the PLO. Likewise, the Camp David accords will not arrive at establishing peace in the Near East, for the fact remains that the Palestinian question for three decades has been, and still is at the center of the conflict and that no solution could be accomplished unless the Palestinian people recover their national legitimate rights. In this difficult phase it is every Arab country's duty to lift itself up to the level of its historic responsibilities. Finally, the Camp David accords will not succeed in annihilating the will of the Arab popular masses to free themselves at last from foreign domination, tyranny and sorcerers' apprentices.

An escalation of imperialist-Zionist forces and their agents in the next few months cannot be ruled out. Also, in order to face that danger, the Arab Resistance Front countries which are to meet at Damascus at the chief-of-state level will not fail to take all possible measures, to be added to the decisions made on last 4 February in Algiers to respond to the plan laid out by the "Jimmy Carter Conference".

ALGERIA

SADAT CHARGED WITH ABANDONING ARAB SOLIDARITY

Algiers AL-SHA'B in Arabic 21 Sep 78 p 1

[Editorial: "What Is Important Is What Is Behind Rejection"]

[Text] The wave of Arab rejectionist reaction confirms the deep national awareness of the seriousness and the dimensions of the Zionist-imperialist plot in which al-Sadat and his partners are playing the role of the executive tool. The developments have also confirmed the soundness and correctness of the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front's analysis of the nature of the capitulationist initiative and of its dimensions and goals.

In light of the crystal clear results reached by al-Sadat's initiative, it is beneficial to remind, for the sake of historical honesty, of the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front's analysis of the initiative and of its goals through the Tripoli and Algiers communiques:

Isolating the Arab nation from its allies and friends.

Achieving the Zionist and imperialist objectives of strengthening their control over the area.

Establishing an alliance between Egypt and Israel against the Arab nation's supreme interests.

Isolating Egypt and transforming it into an instrument of the U.S. imperialism, obstructing restoration of the Palestinian people's national rights and obstructing full withdrawal from the Arab territories.

Striking Arab solidarity and creating a split among the Arab states to pass the plan.

Achieving a separate solution at the expense of the Arab territories and of the Palestinian people's rights.

It is thus confirmed now, contrary to what advocates of the U.S. solution have been trying to implant in the minds, that al-Sadat's initiative is

not an interpretation concerning the means but a treason against the Arab nation's cause and a deviation from the principles of Arab solidarity.

Without trying to dig up the past, it is the duty of the states that remained silent toward the al-Sadat initiative at its outset, and regardless of their good intentions, to engage in self-criticism regarding their responsibility for the results with which the initiative has ended.

Silence over deviation, stabbing Arab solidarity and violating all the national resolutions adopted at the highest levels under the pretext of protecting this solidarity and of preserving the unity of the Arab ranks--ranks which have already been shattered--have, in fact, been tantamount to and have been understood by al-Sadat and those planning his initiative to mean encouragement, support and backing for continued efforts on the path of treason to its end.

In view of the clear results and of the enormous dimensions of the treason, it is time for those who have been deceived and deluded to revise in a fundamental manner their positions in regard to dealing with the devious Egyptian regime, with the American solution and with the U.S. policy that is interested primarily in continuing to exhaust the Arab resources and in insuring Zionist superiority as a means for continuing this exhaustion.

Al-Sadat's insistence that the United States be a full partner in the solution with the Zionist side means that Washington should guarantee the outcome of the Camp David accord and should use its influence to silence any opposition to this solution, be it Arab opposition or opposition from any other circle.

It is perhaps the most ironical thing to hear these days voices from Cairo and Rabat urging the need for Arab solidarity. Whose solidarity with whom and against whom? There is only one solidarity--solidarity for liberation and not with treason.

Now that al-Sadat has sold himself to Zionism, what is required today of all the patriotic forces throughout the Arab homeland is to work for toppling the regime of treason and for bringing back Egypt to the Arab ranks--an Egypt that will be what it used to be, a struggling front. Rejection of the accord and of its consequences requires that all forms of aid given to al-Sadat's regime under the name of Arab solidarity be stopped. Without this, the rejection will be a mere underlining of a principled position and this will not serve Arab solidarity and the Arab cause in any way.

Al-Sadat has extorted enormous sums of Arab monies in the name of solidarity, steadfastness and liberation. Now that he has abandoned liberation finally and that he has sold out the cause, by what right should Arab monies continue to flow to support a treasonous regime?

ALGERIA

COMMENTARY WARNS OF UNPRECEDENTED IMPERIALIST-ZIONIST OFFENSIVE

Algiers EL MOUDJAHID in French 21 Sep 78 p 4

[Article by Ahmed Fattani: "Bye Bye Camp David!"]

[Text] Camp David is all over. It is a name that rings in Arab ears with the same intensity and causes the same repugnance as mention of the Balfour Declaration. Everything would lead us to believe that the Egyptian "Ra'is [President] decided after 3 days of negotiations to play heads or tails with the future of the Arab Nation; in analyzing the "acquisitions" of all parties, everything leads us to believe that we are in the presence of an unprecedented imperialist Zionist offensive.

Indeed, less than 1 year after the "Ra'is'" visit to Jerusalem, events have been precipitated.

There have been, let us remember, the Ismailia meeting, the work of the Joint Israeli-Egyptian Commission in Cairo, the al-Sadat-Carter meeting at Camp David in February 1978, the visits of Moshe Dayan and Ezer Weizman to Cairo and Cyprus Vance's tours. It was all that "political landscape" that finally gave birth to Camp David.

That means that al-Sadat's capitulation at Camp David is no surprise to us. The countries of the Arab Resistance Front meeting at the Tripoli summit last December had clearly demonstrated in their analysis that the Egyptian step was heading toward that conclusion. So to us the peace concluded in that Maryland "district" is just the "pax Americana" the White House has always dreamed of establishing in the Near East. It is a shameful peace that is occurring over 10 months late--and does not surprise any Arab nationalist.

Yasir Arafat, president of the CE [Executive Committee]-PLO [Palestine Liberation Organization], has also predicted the results of the Camp David summit 5 days before it started.

"It is the big bluff," he said. "To pretend that the United States is going to be at a greater distance from Israel is an outrageous lie. Israel depends on Washington for everything--"from the floor," as they say in English.

"As far as Palestine is concerned, the expression 'P and P' might be used: 'Palestine and Petroleum'. The Palestinian affair is tied in with oil considerations".

Forty-eight hours after the signing of the "Camp David accords", al-Sadat stated that Saudi Arabia was tacitly supporting them. But Riyadh refuted and rejected that treaty of capitulation. The other eloquent indication of "oil fever" that is making the West delirious is the message Jimmy Carter sent to the Emir of Qatar--the first message sent to an Arab chief of state--to inform him of the results of the Begin-al-Sadat accord. Camp David is already giving off a strong smell of oil.

In clearer terms, Mr Carter, as much as Mr Begin, has applied himself to marrying a rich commoner tarnished by internal political considerations, but chiefly to putting back on the rails, jointly with Begin, a "revised and corrected policy" of imperialism-Zionism in the Near East.

The governments of the Western capitals are the first to applaud the "peace accords" and to emphasize their total interest in the future of peace--still impossible--in the region. Their press agencies set the tone. Are they not all reconciled to whittling down the consequences of capitulation by indicating only that the accord "from now on" opens the way to the coming of peace in the Near East? The facts are still classic. And so are the reactions. There is nothing new about writing that the "Western conspiracy", prompt to applaud truncated solutions, is responding to selfish interests.

However, the West is hardly concerned about hundreds of thousands of Palestinian refugees, nor about the inhuman conditions under which they have lived for 30 years. But such behavior naturally raises again the pitiless logic of imperialism, which wants premium selfishness even with regard to humanitarian considerations.

Was it not the same media that two days ago were eager to give the terms of the al-Sadat capitulation accord, that announced immediately afterward that all Israeli stocks quoted on the exchange had gone up?

For the dollar it is the same story! The operators are optimistic and are confidently awaiting the reaction of the "principal" oil-producing Arab countries to the accords.

Nothing surprising about all that transpired in the halls of Camp David; the accords were just the ratification of a long progress by al-Sadat toward defeatism, which began the very day of the Suez Canal crossing during the October War of 1973.

It is known that the Sinai would have been almost totally liberated if Anwar al-Sadat had left elbow room for his army and his chief of staff, Gen Sa'd-al-Din al-Shadhili. Since then, in "small steps" the al-Sadat political system has been applied to preparing Egyptian opinion to accept that surrender by crowing to them about the wonderful days to come. As far as the

heralds of the al-Sadat regime are concerned, once peace with Israel is concluded dollars and American manna will rain on Egypt. But what will be the people's reaction today in the face of the lie?

"There is an Egyptian army, an Egyptian people that will never accept this treacherous accord", said Gen al-Shadhili, former chief of staff of the Egyptian armed forces, as he was passing through Algiers.

"The sun of liberty will shine again in Egypt, for there are still men in this great country!" , Gen al-Shadhili exclaimed again.

"Al-Sadat thinks he can solve all the country's economic problems with the American aid that will be poured in after the Camp David accords."

For Washington and Tel Aviv, the elimination of Egypt from the field of confrontation would open the way to regulation to preserve American-Israeli interests and with the same stroke weaken the former members of the "battle-field": Syria, the PLO and Jordan.

The tour that Cyrus Vance is currently beginning leans toward this objective: to make certain Arab governments, known for their sympathy with the West, join in the capitulation plan.

Kissinger's successor will attempt to rally those governments to the Camp David thesis by resorting to the down-at-heel theme of the "Soviet threat" and certainly to the theme of the political fallout for those regimes in place if political leadership animated by the PLO revolutionaries should happen to be established at the head of an eventual Palestinian state. It will all be crowned by promises of many-faceted American assistance for those countries. To the part which is in favor of the "pax Americana", the number one objective is to do away with the famous resolution of the Rabat Arab summit authorizing the representativeness of the PLO to support and maintain "Arab dissension". Also, the coming weeks will be employed by the Americans and Israelis in exerting pressure on the Arab regimes. But can they do it?

Riyadh has rejected the peace formula agreed upon at Camp David, while calling it "an unacceptable formula for a definitive peace". To Saudi leaders it obviously seems that this time al-Sadat has gone too far to claim even discreet support.

Ditto for the other Gulf countries.

So the only supporter will still be King Hassan II of Morocco, "the political go-between", as the Zionists call him. The Moroccan sovereign in the coming weeks could be in charge of pleading the cause of the Camp David accords around the capitals, which at least explains the anticipated visit of al-Sadat to Rabat.

Arafat reacted immediately to Brzezinski's celebrated "Bye bye PLO" phrase with "Bye bye United States interests in the Near East".

Everyone, including Carter himself, remains convinced that without a just settlement of the Palestinian problem there could not be true peace in the region.

For the Americans, the PLO must be evicted and replaced by a new group of Palestinians favorable to a kind of "peace of brave men". Introducing these new elements should also overturn the Near East political chessboard and, for each of the parties, lead to redefining the strategy deployed up to the present time.

For the Palestinians, the unification they have postponed since the Arab Resistance Front summit in Tripoli is avowed to be the condition sine qua non the effectiveness and the future of the struggle they have conducted against Israel for 30 years.

Afterwards, it is fitting to accelerate the process of hastening with a Lebanese solution, thus preventing certain Arab parties from falling into the snares held out by Israel and the United States.

Be that as it may, the Arab Resistance Front will have a determining role to play in the future, for peace as much as for war in the Near East. Although it is all over now for Begin, Carter and al-Sadat, for Arabs everything is just beginning. We are tempted to say in our turn, "Bye bye Camp David".

CSO: 4800

ALGERIA

STEADFASTNESS FRONT SAID EMBODIED IN ARAB MASSES

Algiers AL-MUJAHID in Arabic 22 Sep 78 p 3

[Editorial: "Popular Depth of Steadfastness and Confrontation Front"]

[Text] The days have added to the history of the present ruler of Egypt a new shameful and dark page written by the Camp David meeting which has bolstered the [Jerusalem] visit that was tantamount to a stab against Arab dignity, a destruction of the will for struggle among the Arab generations and a squandering of the great accomplishments made by the liberation vanguards throughout tens of years of struggle and steadfastness at both the national and pan-Arab levels.

The Jerusalem trip was a surrender to the Zionist enemy. At the time, the Arab masses from the Gulf to the ocean declared that what had happened was an attack against their sovereignty, an insult to their dignity and a plot against their fundamental cause. So, these masses raised their voice with condemnation and denunciation and rushed with all their zeal for and faith in their rights to say 'no' to the trip of capitulation and defeat. Since then, the Arab masses have adhered to their positions, confronting every attempt to make them shirk the national and pan-Arab responsibility and to slip into the path of concessions to the Zionist enemy.

The Steadfastness and Confrontation Front has been a true embodiment of the conscience of the Arab masses from the ocean to the Gulf. The will of these masses was embodied in the Tripoli and Algiers summits whose resolutions reflected the faith of the peoples in the need to struggle and to stand fast until victory. At the time, the eyes of millions of the Arab nation's sons turned to this torch which was raised by the Steadfastness Front in each of Tripoli, Algiers, Damascus, Aden and the arena of the steadfast Palestinian Revolution. Egypt's ruler has imagined that the expending sphere of reaction around him settles this matter in favor of his capitulationist stances and permits history to record such serious events without any ramifications to follow.

All the reactionary regimes in the Arab ocean also imagined that al-Sadat's initiative was the rescue boat and the start of the era of their prosperity and of their taking charge of affairs on the Arab arena. Perhaps the

reactionary regimes found in their large numbers something to reinforce their illusion.

But the reality is contrary to what the reactionary current in the Arab ocean has imagined. The Steadfastness and Confrontation Front stands on a popular ground extending from the ocean to the Gulf. The front's field is all the Arab countries and its support are the missions of citizens who do not accept defeat and capitulation. Moreover, the message that the front carries in this critical situation through which the Arab homeland is passing is the message on which the eyes of all the Arab generations are focused and the message which they expect to be realized. It is the message for which free men from the various popular groups in Egypt Morocco and in every place where the reactionary regimes are using the means of oppression, terror and exploitation against their peoples are struggling. The call of the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front is a positive reflection of the will of the Arab masses in rejecting every plan intended for capitulation to the enemy, for accepting the fait accompli and for squandering the rights of the Palestinian people who are now facing the enemy in the battlefield alone. The broad Arab masses are turning again to the summit of the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front in Damascus and are expecting from its resolutions that more strongly reflect the requirements of the current phase and that are more determined to exert serious efforts to implement all the revolutionary resolutions, beginning with Tripoli and Algiers and ending with Damascus.

The Camp David table has added to the memory of the Arab masses the elements of a new nightmare and these masses can endure no more after the new step recorded by al-Sadat on the path of liquidating whatever remnants, if any, of a national conscience, a pan-Arab responsibility and of the dignity of a head of state that he still retains.

The battle is more open now than ever before because the reactionary regimes in the Arab homeland allied with imperialism no longer conceal their cards and their weapons. They are in the arena of challenge openly and they are moving on more than one front against the Palestinian revolution and against every patriotic, free and revolutionary voice rising from the heart of the masses. There are in Egypt struggling and steadfast people who have not surrendered despite the Jerusalem trip and the Camp David meeting. Thousands of their sons are rushed to prisons and detention camps every day and their intellectuals are being detained and are being exposed to all kinds of harassment, oppression and insults. This current is carrying on with its plan on a broad level to liquidate the Palestinian revolution and then to strike all the positions of the revolution and of the popular movement wherever it may exist in the Arab homeland because the revolution is an effective movement proceeding ceaselessly toward changing the poor conditions, running affairs in the interest of all the people and eliminating all aspects of exploitation, domination and oppression. This is something that, naturally, scares the reactionary regimes. This is why the reactionary monarchal Moroccan regime has been engaged in a war of aggression

against the Western Sahara people, as if this war can silence the revolution's rifles and oppress the will of the masses.

This alliance between the reactionary regimes in the Arab homeland and Zionism and imperialism to liquidate the Arab revolution's positions adds special importance to the steadfastness meeting in Damascus. This situation can no longer withstand truces and peacefulness because the destiny and future of the Arab nation is the "subject of the wager." In any case, this is the firm base on which the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front stands. This front possesses all the effective weapons. It has the popular masses from the Gulf to the ocean with their capabilities, their will for liberation, their faith in the better future and their everlasting hostility to reaction, exploitation, tyranny and capitulation. The front also possesses all the principles, the ideals and the just causes which it has undertaken to defend. The front reflects the conscience of the Arab masses which constitute its depth. Let this front rise to the level of the masses' aspirations.

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CSO: 4802

ALGERIA

COMMENTARY: ACCORDS CANNOT RESTORE PEACE TO REGION

Algiers EL MOUDJAHID in French 22-23 Sep 78 p 1

[Article by L. Hamdani: "The Determination of the Arab Masses"]

[Text] Yesterday evening the Arab Resistance Front carried on the work of its third Damascus summit, with a view to adopting a platform of action defining the strategy and the fields of intervention of the member countries, with the goal of ensuring a strengthening of the Arab peoples' struggle against imperialist and Zionist aggression in the Middle East, despite Cairo's withdrawal from the confrontation with the enemy. The Damascus summit is thus directly written into the context of the stipulations and orientations of the fight sanctioned by the Algiers summit. It marks the determination of the Arab Resistance Front to go on with accomplishing its historic mission in the light of the serious events our Nation is living through.

Although the Tripoli summit in December 1977 had announced to the world the Arab desire to take up all the challenges by creating the Arab Resistance Front, while al-Sadat in Jerusalem committed himself to take the road to surrender; although the Algiers summit in February 1978 determined the principles and fundamental objectives of the Front; the third summit, in Damascus, is devoted to making it an operational activity.

Holding this third summit at the moment when the Camp David capitulation accord has just been signed can only be interpreted as a demonstration by the Arab Resistance Front countries of giving blow for blow to attempts to scuttle the cause of the Palestinian people and the Arab liberation movement. In that way the program of action being studied by the chiefs of state of the Front and the leaders of the Palestinian Resistance, as a result of five sessions of highly responsible debates, is aimed at making still more concrete and more effective the Arab Nation's fight against Zionist expansionism.

That effectiveness is all the more assured by being supported by the active and vigilant support of all the Arab masses, as attested to by the public protest registered in the Arab world at the time of the announcement of the contents of the Camp David "accords". That means that the Arab Resistance Front's objectives are fully responsive to the aspirations and interests of those Arab masses that are unanimous in disapproving of al-Sadat's treachery. The latter has committed nothing but his own person, not even the Egyptian people, who were not consulted in any way and who have many times affirmed their full fellowship in the anti-Zionist and anti-imperialist fight. After all, there are still more observers who recognize that Camp David will be just an ephemeral success for the Zionist enemy and the event will not be able to place an obstacle in the path of the Palestinian people's struggle in particular and the struggle of the Arab peoples in general. In any case the Camp David accord, which denies the Palestinians' legitimate rights, can in no way bring back peace to the region. In fact it constitutes a supplementary mobilization factor for the Arab Nation and a strengthening of its battle on political, economic and military levels.

A propos of that, the Algiers summit of the Arab Resistance Front had emphasized that the Arab peoples have enormous potentialities at their disposal and sanction their use to cause right and justice to triumph. The recent reactions, after al-Sadat's new betrayal at Camp David, demonstrates that a fierce determination on the part of the Arab masses is being combined with those potentialities to offer an appropriate reply to the imperialist and Zionist conspiracy. The third Arab Resistance Front Summit is expressing that determination and is being used to frame that reply.

CSO: 4800

EGYPT

JERUSALEM, PALESTINIAN SELF-DETERMINATION ISSUES NOT RESOLVED

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 19 Sep 78 p 3

[Article by 'Ali Hamdi al-Jammal: "Between Jerusalem Trip and Camp David Talks"]

[Text] I have preferred not to deal with the Camp David talks which went on for 13 days and which were the hardest and toughest talks in the history of international diplomacy. The problem was as complex as can be and the Israeli delegation, as stated by one of its members, did not intend to sign any agreement. This induced President al-Sadat only a few days after the start of the talks to inform President Jimmy Carter that he had decided not to stay at Camp David. However, the U.S. president pledged to President al-Sadat that the talks would proceed on the path of reaching an agreement.

I say I have preferred not to deal with these talks because they took place in an atmosphere of secrecy, tension and taunt nerves: one day the parties concerned almost reach agreement of viewpoints and then the next day things became complicated. I would not be exaggerating if I say that this also happened from hour to hour.

We lived a strange day in Washington on Sunday, 2 days ago.

They said in the morning that the talks had reached a deadend and that each delegation was preparing to return to Washington.

Around noon, they said that the situation had improved and that the chances of agreement and failure had become equal.

In the afternoon, the reports coming from Camp David projected no hope.

Around sunset, they asked us to head for the White House to attend the signing of the agreement!

Thus, we lived in Washington for 2 weeks in an atmosphere under which no observer could have predicted the outcome of this conference.

Finally, in the east room of the White House and in front of a large crowd, President al-Sadat, President Carter and Menahem Begin signed the agreement which provided a framework for the comprehensive settlement in preparation for lasting peace in the Middle East.

It is certain that this has put the Arab-Israeli conflict or, in other words, the peace process on the right path. The agreement has not solved the problem yet. But it has provided for it the framework within which we can reach the permanent solution for it.

It is also certain that in the coming days, i.e., after 2 or 3 weeks at the most, the talks on Sinai, as well as the talks on the Gaza Strip and the West Bank, will start because the talks on both issues will proceed along parallel lines.

It is also certain that these talks will not be smooth and easy and that they will require ceaseless hard work dictated by the nature of the problem and by its deep roots. This is where the idea of U.S. participation in all these talks emanated--considering that the talks are a testimony to the basic principles reached by the Camp David conference.

There is an important observation that must be underlined and explained, namely that the Camp David agreement has made no provisions concerning two important points: the Jerusalem issue and the issue of Palestinian self-determination.

There are two opinions at the conference: The first says that as long as the talks have dealt with all aspects of the issue, then they must cover these two points and the second was that President al-Sadat thought that the details of the Jerusalem issue and of Palestinian self-determination should not be dwelt on, even though it was necessary to reach agreement in principle concerning the two issues. It was President al-Sadat's view that nobody other than the Palestinians themselves can decide these two particular points--Jerusalem and self-determination. President Carter supported this opinion and agreement was reached that the Palestinians will discuss these two points when they take part in the talks to be held on the future of the Palestinian issue, taking into consideration that the Palestinian delegation members will have the right to veto any decision made on these points.

I have learned that Jordan will be invited to take part in the talks to be held on the West Bank. Egypt will also be invited to participate in the negotiations concerning the Gaza Strip.

King Husayn had spoken to a friend of his on this issue in London and the friend transmitted the conversation with the king to President al-Sadat at Camp David. Consequently, the president contacted the king in London. The venue of the forthcoming talks to be held concerning the Sinai was also brought up during the talks. The Israeli delegation suggested that these talks take place in al-'Arish but President al-Sadat rejected this proposal, considering that the Israeli forces continue to occupy the town. It was then agreed to postpone selection of the proper venue till after the Knesset's approval of the principle of full Israeli withdrawal from the Sinai.

There remains the Golan issue. It was agreed in the talks that what will be applied to the Sinai will also be valid for the Golan. The Syrians will be invited to personally take part in the talks concerning Israel's withdrawal from the Golan plateau.

Now, there are several facts concerning the Camp David agreement that must be underlined:

First, the Egyptian delegation put the issue of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip ahead of the Sinai issue. This delegation also clung to the need for the declaration that Security Council Resolution 242 also applies to them. Israel had declared repeatedly that this resolution has nothing to do with the West Bank.

Second, this is the first time in the history of the conflict in which an agreement covering the Palestinian people's rights is concluded.

Third, U.S. President Jimmy Carter during the negotiations adhered to all the promises he had made. In the address he made 2 days ago at the White House just prior to signing the agreement, President Carter was frank and clear in stressing the participation of the Palestinians in determining their future.

The Camp David agreement is no less important or weighty than the president's visit to Jerusalem. The gains achieved for the Arabs generally and for the Palestinians in particular could not be achieved in dozens of years if it were not for Egypt, with its historical weight, its cultural importance and with Anwar al-Sadat's leadership, that has been able to embark courageously and confidently on the battle of peace which is no less hard or cruel than any military battle with all the damage, destruction and bloodshed that war represents.

With right, determination, patience and persistence, Egypt has been able to end a conflict for which neither those closest to the Arabs nor those most optimistic concerning the Arab cause could have found a solution or a way out. Let the rejectionists say whatever they want to while we fully defy their complete inability to reach any solution.

The Palestinian people must now come forward to determine their future and to shoulder their responsibility and to make up for tens of years during which they have lived aimless and homeless and under the domination of adventurers, opportunists and people engaged in oneupmanship.

8494

CSO: 4802

EGYPT

STAND TO GUARANTEE GREATER ARAB RIGHTS URGED

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 20 Sep 78 p 7

[Article by Wasif 'Id: "Rejectionists Have No Excuse"]

[Text] After continuous meetings for 13 days during which the world put its hand on its heart and for whose success prayers were said by peoples representing the three religions--Islam, Christianity and Judaism--who experienced constant bitterness and danger for 30 years during which they witnessed four wars that brought grief and pain, that harmed economies and morals and that spared nobody their evil [sentence incomplete].

I say that after one third of a century and only in a few days, God blessed these peoples with a flash of light and the representatives of the three peoples met under the care of God and emerged to the world with a peace agreement that is the fruit of a trip started by President Muhammad Anwar al-Sadat with his visit to Jerusalem and with his call [for peace] with which some Arab brothers disagreed and were called "the rejectionists" while other Arab brothers remained silent and were called "the silent." In the past, we could have sought excuses for these and for those because the vision had not become clear to them and because the initiative did not produce what had been expected of it when some people thought that the response would be immediate.

When the initiative maker found that there was delay in the achievement of the just right, he decided with his customary courage to sever the means of communications and to end the talks because he felt that the other side was trying to waste time in an attempt to cause the right to be lost.

Afterwards, by efforts to achieve peace through peaceful means and through avoiding bloodshed and with a concerted diplomacy and the logic of one who trusts God and his people, the efforts succeed in putting the strongest and most influential country in the position of full partner in the problem. The U.S. president invited the parties to the conflict to hold their conference which he attended as a real partner. With efforts for which he

will be credited in the pages of history, the man brought the ship to the safety shore and managed, with the help of the parties to the problem, [sentence incomplete]. The history of civilization has already credited these men with being able to overcome the tendency of man toward greed and his selfish inclination toward acquisition and to end the conflict and emerge to the world with an agreement which reaffirms the civilization of man and which will transform human resources to pursue the goals of peace. They have done this out of appreciation for the role of the Middle East, the cradle of civilization and the place in which all three divine religions were revealed and which has not enjoyed the blessings of peace yet.

O rejectionists, and you too silent ones, this is your day to take a stand to reaffirm whatever guarantees greater Arab right and fraternal solidarity so that nobody may penetrate through your ranks.

Here we have in what has happened in Israel itself in reaction to the signing of these accords an example to bolster our stances and to strengthen our positions. God's words to us, namely the words "you are the best nation on earth" will remain immortal. Is it difficult for us to reaffirm to the world through your conference a stance of courage, a change in the path you have been following and a solidarity which will be tantamount to a return to right and obedience to the voice of the live Arab conscience so that the entire world may become certain that we are truly the best nation?

8494

CSO: 4802

EGYPT

EGYPT, JORDAN SAID TO HAVE LEGAL, MORAL COMMITMENT TO NEGOTIATIONS

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 20 Sep 78 p 7

[Editorial: "Legal and Moral Commitment"]

[Text] The outcome of the Camp David conference is one of the events that nobody can give due study and analysis in a few words. The agreement that the conference has produced is above all expectations and its immediate and far-reaching effects will exceed whatever can be expected at present. The most outstanding of these effects is recognition of the Palestinian people's rights and enabling them to participate in determining the future of the West Bank, including Jerusalem, and of Gaza.

It behooves us to stress at the outset that it would not have been possible to achieve any positive results for peace at Camp David without agreement on the principles to settle the Palestinian issue, the core of the conflict that started 30 years ago. Had matters been different, the negotiations would not have taken 13 full days in a unique conference in the history of modern diplomacy. This is insofar as the form is concerned. As for the essence, the framework of the peaceful settlement for the conflict concerns the Palestinian issue which was dealt with from all angles, thus making it possible to reach the general principles of the negotiations that may ultimately achieve the Palestinian people's national aspirations.

If we examine these principles, we will find that they do not rely on Security Council Resolution 242 which was issued in November 1967 and which failed to recognize the political aspects of the Palestinian issue. We are nowadays urging the Palestinian people to come forward with a spirit of responsibility to define and wrench these rights, both political and humanitarian, supported by the entire Arab family--rather the international community--and strengthened by Egypt and Jordan which [should] participate in all steps of the negotiations out of a legal and moral commitment.

This commitment has been evident in the document on the coming negotiations concerning the Sinai within the framework of the comprehensive settlement because Egypt has been eager to guarantee continuation of its organic relationship with the Palestinian people and with Jordan, the party with

the strongest relations with the Palestinians. The document provides for an express highway to link Sinai with Jordan with guaranteed freedom of peaceful passage for each of Egypt and Jordan. Such a highway will re-establish land communication between the various parts of the Arab homeland.

The commitment is evident and needs no further proof. The next major event after Camp David will be starting the negotiations which the Palestinian people will undertake. These people must begin now the process of self-determination for which they are qualified and which they can undertake.

8494

CSO: 4802

LAST MINUTE AGREEMENT OF SUMMIT PRAISED

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 20 Sep 78 p 7

[Article by Salah Muntasir: "To Egypt and Arabs"]

[Text] The big surprise in the Camp David meeting is that it has ended in this manner which, no doubt, pleases every Egyptian and every Arab loyal to his nation and every peace-loving man in the world.

U.S. President Jimmy Carter succeeded in isolating the conference from the world but could not, of course, isolate the world from the conference. This is why the Camp David summit turned into a peak of excitement and of charging the souls with conflicting emotions between bitterness and sweetness, failure and success, despair and hope.

In the final days of the conference, all that came out of the conference reflected nothing but disagreement.

Until 1 minutes before the 24th hour, the darkness seemed thick, peace seemed to be an inaccessible hope on the horizon and of all possibilities, agreement seemed to be the last expectation.

However, we have not forgotten that those gloating had begun to prepare the campaigns of gloating and of ridicule and that the merchants of the cause had returned to their positions behind their microphones and to riding their wooden horses even though our struggle, our sweat and our efforts are for the right of these people and for doing them justice and returning their lost hope to them. Because God is with the sincere, the sun shone again at exactly 2400 and hundreds of millions everywhere felt that God had responded to their prayers and that the baby of peace was born after inevitable difficulty.

Bells rang for the birth of peace and earth and the skies filled with the hymns of peace.

Hearts filled with the hopes of peace.

With my Egyptian tongue, I say God be thanked. God be thanked that we will live to see the entire land of Sinai restored to Egyptian sovereignty and to see my country's flags flying over it.

With my Arab tongue, I say thank God. After a very long and a very bitter conflict and after displacement in camps and tents and in the streets of other countries, the Palestinian people will regain their right. The Palestinian woman will be again reassured about the life of her children and the Palestinian child will regain his smile for life.

With my Egyptian tongue, I say this is Egypt's leader who pledged to safeguard his nation's rights and kept the pledge and who pledged to regain his people's land and fulfilled the promise. With my Arab tongue, I say: In war he fought and triumphed, and in peace he struggled and triumphed. May God protect his victory.

8494

CSO: 4802

STEPS TO FIRM ARAB SOLIDARITY ENCOURAGED

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 20 Sep 78 p 7

[Article by Dr Muhammad 'Ali al-'Uwayni: "Responsibility of Arabs After Birth of Peace"]

[Text] The Camp David conference ended and two accords representing the framework for a comprehensive settlement were concluded after 13 days of hard negotiations, after the United States played the role of a full partner and after fundamental reliance on secret diplomacy and on information black-out. Then came the surprise, namely reaching the framework for a comprehensive settlement.

It is noticed that the Egyptian policy resorted to taking the initiative, relying on the potentials of the forces at its disposal, even though Arab solidarity could have offered new potentials to the Egyptian policy, even if only through silence.

Is the Arab policy wise? Is it planned according to a scientific basis or is it subject to the whims and emotions of some rulers? The answer to these questions is clear. Precedents make it evident that the Arab policy is characterized by indecision at times, by sharpness at others and by impatience in many cases, in addition to vacillation and instability and to being content with negative stances.

The result has been division among the Arab masses, despair and lack of confidence among the politicians and the loss of many of the Arab masses' resources because of deception, the methods of popular mobilization, brain-washing, falsehood, addressing emotions and evoking the instincts of the herd. This is why the Arab public opinion has become tasteless and without the smell of wisdom. Here we ask: Is the popular Egyptian proverb saying "your fat enemy is better than your friend" true? I personally do not agree with this proverb because an enemy is an enemy and a friend is a friend.

Solidarity among the Arabs has often turned into conflict and the proof is the wars between the Arab countries and the shedding of Arab blood with "dirty Arab hands" or "deceptive hands." It is as if we have become the people on whom heaven's curse has descended. God has given us oil which will last for a certain period. The "petrodollar" revenues of this oil increased after the blood of youths was shed in the October war and after widows and orphans were left behind. But, unfortunately, some of our brothers whose coffers have been filled with dollars began to misunderstand the conditions, to upturn the balances, to violate our sanctities and to forget or disregard the strict Islamic shari'a. Some of them even went too far in tormenting us by encouraging the long lines standing in front of the embassies of some brothers. Do they mean to torment the experts who have done much for the brothers or have they been influenced by the policies of the "chicken lines" standing in front of the Egyptian consumer cooperatives?

Arab solidarity is supposed to be present at all times, both good and bad. This cannot be realized unless the decision-making agencies in the Arab world rise to the level of the age. A policy is the outcome of resources and of the elements of strength and is not the outcome of fiery speeches, black propaganda, deception of the masses and the use of technological progress for destruction rather than construction.

Thus, the Arab elite is the side qualified to achieve Arab solidarity and to find the suitable means to avoid confrontation and to entrench values and convictions connected with humanity, fraternity and the common challenge and destiny. We may disagree because disagreement of opinion may be out of love. There may also be interpretation because he who exerts efforts to interpret and hits the mark is doubly rewarded and he who interprets and misses gets but one reward. But for us to violate the rules of ethics and the divine law and to destroy each other, then this is destruction and this is the state of ignorance that the noble prophet Muhammad, may God's peace and prayers be upon him, fought.

Arab Solidarity After Camp David Summit

Where are you Arab solidarity? Have you become a dream after having been a reality? Where are you, wise Arab men? Has your opinion become dormant for fear of the authority's oppression? What do you know about the authority's oppression? People coming from some Arab countries say that many support the Egyptian policy and are afraid to declare this support. No wonder, because fear has become the decision-maker among many.

Amidst this sweeping, vacillating and tense Arab atmosphere and within the international framework and its strife and complications, the Egyptian policy has moved forward. The American fox is careful and the Soviet bear is rushing, wants to have a role and considers the Egyptian policy a threat to this role. Menahem Begin is being evasive. This is not surprising because he is the maker of the Dayr Yasin massacre and the leader of

terrorism. Thus Anwar al-Sadat, the symbol of the Egyptian policy, faced the American fox and the Israeli prime minister, and signed two documents: The first subject to comprehensive peace in the Middle East and to be preceded by withdrawal from the West Bank and Gaza Strip and the second pertaining to the signing of a peace treaty between Egypt and Israel within the framework of a comprehensive agreement that provides for settling the obstacles facing peace within 3 months.

The Arab world is in an hour of decision and it is time to make the Arab solidarity policy a wise policy. Within the framework of this policy, we may disagree and we may have many opinions. This may be one of the requirements of the phase. But if we disagree with the logic of the pre-Islamic age and if we destroy each other, then our punishment will be severe and the future generations will bring us to account for this.

Arab League's Responsibility

The Arab League position is often characterized by apparent and actual negativity. At times, its position is characterized by outwardly positivity and actual negativity. It is time for the Arab League to respond to the nature of the challenge, to assess matters realistically and to formulate new traditions for Arab solidarity. The first of these traditions should be the tradition of abandoning the system of gains and losses which considers the League posts a gain that must be divided among the people concerned. The League should stop making distinctions between the various nationalities, considering that the Egyptian employee is often treated like a second class official. Moreover, priority is given to people with connections. The League should also streamline the Arab policies and should modernize the policies of the Arab countries through the studies it conducts and the specifications that its political experts are supposed to formulate. The League is supposed to begin with itself so that it may give an example to the Arab countries. The League remembers the daring diplomacy of 'Azzam [a former Arab League secretary general] which was dictated by certain conditions. It may benefit from this diplomacy under the present conditions which require the realization of Arab solidarity. The League should not preoccupy itself with propaganda in the Arab information media--propaganda through certain Arab information personalities that heap praise for the League and for its accomplishments. The League must show action and if it does, then its propaganda will rely on a tangible basis. The question here is: Will the League perform its role or will it continue to be content with the usual negativity or with outwardly positivity and latent negativity? This is a question that will be answered in the coming days.

Finally, where are you Arab solidarity? Are you a dream, an apparition or a mirage? When will the dream turn into a reality? The Arab elite is responsible for achieving the Arab solidarity dictated by the challenges of the age and the responsibilities of the future. The noble prophet said:

"God will bless you for three and will condemn you for three: He will bless you for worshipping Him alone without a partner, for holding unto God's rope and remaining united and for being frank with those whom God has chosen to lead you." If we proceed on this path, Arab solidarity will be realized.

8494

CSO: 4802

EGYPT

ARAB SOLIDARITY SAID ESSENTIAL IN IMPLEMENTATION OF CAMP DAVID ACCORDS

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 20 Sep 78 p 7

[Article by Zakariya Nil: "What Is Arab Role After Camp David Accomplishments? Arabs Must Stand United in Battle of Peace as They Stood in Liberation Battle; What Are Four Focal Points Produced as Result of Political Battle in Camp David Negotiations and What Are Facts Underscored by Phases of Political Battle's Progress Before Surprise Agreement Occurred"?]

[Text] It is an acknowledged fact that this historic agreement will face numerous campaigns of casting doubts. Moreover, some of these campaigns have begun to play their role from Moscow and from the blocs turning in Moscow's orbit. It is the worst catastrophe for us to make hasty judgments on the most delicate issues pertaining to our destiny and the destiny of the generations to follow us. Approaching the major issues connected with the liberation of the national soil is no longer subject to emotional political criteria. What dictates this approach is the reality of the age, its calculations, calculation of the gains and losses, evaluation of the positive and of the negative aspects, taking into consideration the given facts and selection of what is best for the future of peoples.

This is why one of the worst perils is for us to be carried away by the campaigns of suspicion and to obstruct rational criteria under the pressures of emotions charged with tension and rashness.

Therefore, the next phase of the Arab action movement requires us to protect it from the deviations of the hasty issuance of judgments. This cannot be achieved unless we return to true solidarity, unless we abandon the disputes and unless we stand united in the battle or peace as we stood united before in the battle of liberation.

Regardless of what has happened and is happening and regardless of the dimensions of the surprise of the Camp David meetings, the real and biggest surprise has been in the difference of all the calculations and expectations, exactly like the surprise of the 6 October epic which changed all criteria

and equations and which was something whose occurrence could not be believed. The entire world was dominated by a sweeping wave of somberness and pessimism during the 2 weeks preceding the Camp David agreement. It was a period of anxiety, sleeplessness and anticipation of the dangers that the morrow will carry until the surprise occurred after the longest round of negotiations in the history of major international crisis.

What we expect is that the traditional slogan-raising opponents will fill the world with uproar against any peace agreement as long as Moscow has given the signal and as long as its finger has not been in such an agreement.

In view of this international support for the peace efforts, all the Arabs must abandon their disputes and must stand united in the battle of peace as they stood united in the battle of liberation. If there are those who are accustomed to talking about the negative aspects, then every historic action has its positive aspects and its negative aspects. This is something that is compatible with the nature of things, otherwise there would be no need for negotiating and negotiations. The thing of which we, the Arabs, must beware is not to fall in the trap of emotions that have often caused us big losses. Despite all this, what is important in the Camp David accords is not the provisions. What is important is implementation. This framework of the historic agreement is compatible with the Arab nation's demands, even though it represents the minimum degree of these demands. All the Arab countries, especially the frontline countries--except for Iraq which is adopting a negative stance--have their prior approval of UN Resolution 242. Israel has pledged that its conduct in the coming negotiations will be established on the basis of the provisions of this resolution.

Two things are of importance to us in the results of Camp David: The first is connected with the outcome of the major political battle and the second is connected with the facts of the progress of this battle under the hardest and most difficult negotiating practices witnessed by the modern world.

Four Major Focal Points:

The outcome of the political battle which ended with the Camp David agreement was embodied in four focal points which represent the essence of the Arab nation's cause in the conflict with Israel.

First, Israel's unequivocal acknowledgment of withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories and its pledge to proceed on the path of negotiations to achieve this withdrawal, abiding by the basis of UN Resolution 242. This is the most important point in the general framework of the agreement.

Second, Israel's recognition of the Palestinian people for the first time and its pledge not to set up new settlements in the occupied territories.

Third, Israel's pledge to end its military presence in the occupied Arab territories within 5 years during which the evacuation will be carried out gradually and its pledge that sovereignty over the West Bank will be shared by the Palestinians, Jordan and Israel.

Fourth, recognition of the international borders between Egypt and Israel and complete evacuation of the Sinai Peninsula where Egypt will have full sovereignty.

These are the four important points that represent the fundamental axes in the agreement.

Four Facts in Progress of Battle

There were facts underscored by the phases of the progress of the Camp David political battle before the surprise occurred:

First, the Camp David experience has projected the Egyptian leadership's firmness in carrying out the political struggle for peace. During the critical phases of the negotiations, the entire world became aware of the Arab eagerness for true peace, even if only through a thin thread. This is why there have been sweeping reactions of support for the Egyptian leadership that was eager in its negotiating stances to safeguard world security and human prosperity and to avoid future dangers that could suddenly turn into a destructive war.

Second, the Egyptian people's steadfastness in the negotiations battle--and may God forgive those who have done these people an injustice--and the national firmness of the Egyptian leadership and may God forgive those who have suspected this leadership; this heroic steadfastness reflected maximum awareness of the national responsibilities toward the entire Arab nation and an unwavering and unrelenting adherence to this nation's rights.

Third, Egypt's basic logic and starting point in all the rounds of negotiations at Camp David--negotiations which observers unanimously agree have been the hardest and most difficult known to the history of negotiations--was affiliation with the comprehensive Arab rights [sic]. Egypt's movement was tantamount to a round of national struggle for the [coming] Arab generations. Moreover, the difficult Egyptian actions in this process have defined the positions and have laid down the basis and the controls for a comprehensive settlement and have foiled every attempt for partial settlements. Egypt was the conscience of every Arab while striving for a basic principle, namely the principle of complete withdrawal from the occupied territories.

Fourth, the firm Egyptian actions at Camp David have placed the entire world face to face with its responsibilities of guarding the course of the

implementation of the resolutions. The next phase will be more difficult than the previous phase of negotiations. If the states whose prosperity depends on the establishment of peace are concerned with the interest of their peoples, then they must shoulder the burdens of the next stage through sincere and ceaseless cooperation so that implementation of the provisions of the agreement may proceed on its natural path without any fabrications, any obstacles or any ambiguous interpretations.

8494

CSO: 4802

FAITHFUL ZIONISM VERSUS PROFIT MOTIVE

Cairo THE EGYPTIAN GAZETTE in English 21 Sep 78 p 2

[Editorial: "Is This a Dilemma?"]

[Text]

«I DIDN'T come here from Miami Beach to live in Egypt», said Carole Rosenblatt yesterday. Heard that before ? Ms. Rosenblatt won a lot of comment when she first made the same remark to the press last January. She runs a beachside restaurant in Yamit, the biggest of the all-Jewish Sinai settlements. So what's Ms. Rosenblatt thinking of doing now ? Well she's preparing to put up a fight, not very convinced she will win, and at the same time getting herself ready for a return to Miami Beach. To Miami Beach ? Yes, her former home. Ms Rosenblatt has made it very clear she didn't come to live in Egypt. What she didn't make clear until the most recent interview was that she hadn't come to live in Israel either. And what makes her case interesting is the fact that, just as her infamous statement crystallised the mood of the 'threatened' settlers in past months, her current plans reflect the 'alternative' as seen by a large number of her American neighbours. Many of them are considering a return to America, according to a UPI report.

So what are they putting up a fight for? These are the people, remember, who are supposed to represent the vanguard of Zionism, the 'biblical' Jews who are ready to endure desert martyrdom for Herzlian ideals, pioneers of Eretz Israel, lonely frontiersmen holding out against a marauding enemy for the sake of Israel's security. They have been depicted as tough, stoic pick-and-shovel men, as religious fanatics living Spartan lives for stern and uncompromising beliefs. The stories about the beachside restaurants, scuba-diving centres and discotheques, rather too reminiscent of Miami Beach for comfort, were never reported in the Zionist press for outside consumption.

And if the attraction wasn't idealism, then what was it ? Why did Ms. Rosenblatt come all the way from Miami Beach if it wasn't for Israel, and why did she and her friends forsake the comparative glamour of metropolitan life in Tel Aviv for a lonely Sinai beachfront ? The obvious answer, and we see no reason to reject it, is that Sinai was the land of opportunity for a clever businesswoman. Land prices in Tel Aviv are colossally high. Sinai, 'free gift' that it was, was another matter. Settlers didn't have to buy land or develop it in accordance with a government programme. Their status in the eyes of the Zionist leadership was that of the chosen people, the white-haired boys of the rulers in Tel Aviv. They could stake a claim, Wild West-style, on the choicest bit of land and do what they liked with it. If scuba-diving, bingo or amateur archaeology struck their fancy they had the indulgent approval of the occupying government to pursue it. Ms. Rosenblatt had a lucrative little mini-Miami business going for her without any of the difficulties government administrations— American, Israeli, Egyptian or any other — tend to put in the way of profit-making. Her last stand will be made in defence of her restaurant and not her political principles. Then she's going back to where she left off on Miami Beach.

Not all the settlers now in possession of Arab-owned land are in it for the money. Some are in it for 'security' as explained to them by their leaders. But the 'security problem' has been dealt with more adequately than any other issue in the two peace formulae. So the security types are now redundant by any rational analysis, including even that of some of their most bigoted leaders. Then there are the genuine religious fanatics (by far the smallest grouping) who think the Middle East is theirs by divine right and who do lead fairly Spartan lives. But their zeal might be respected more widely if they had a little more to say about the lifestyle of such as Ms. Rosenblatt and rather less to say about the Arabs' innate lack of qualification for human rights.

Should we respect Mr. Vorster or Mr. Smith for their apparent sincerity, for their zeal in subduing a people, any more than for their business acumen or false 'security' complexes. Should we wait for the settlers of Sinai, of the West Bank and Gaza, of the Golan Heights to choose right over money or madness of one kind or another ? Should we leave the fate of the latest, probably last, peace initiative in their hands? Truly, we invent the most extraordinary dilemmas for ourselves.

EGYPT

LIMITED ARAB SUMMIT SAID BENEFICIAL TO ARAB SOLIDARITY

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 21 Sep 78 p 6

[Article by Zakariya Nil: "How Will Arab Responsibility Exercise Its Role? Will Arabs Approach Camp David Agreement With Civilized Means? Limited Summit Is More Beneficial to Arab Action Now Than Any Comprehensive Summit; Will King Khalid and President Numayri Call for Limited Summit for Consultation? What Is Role of Arab League Now in Outlining Course of Joint Arab Action?"]

[Text] There are critical periods through which the life of peoples passes and during which their fates cross important and sensitive turning points. These turning points might be turning points toward distant spheres that can serve the future of coming generations if these peoples can approach them sincerely, faithfully and objectively. What is indubitable is that the joint Arab action is now facing a historical point that is tantamount to a test to this action's ability to comprehend the dimensions of the accomplishments concerning the Arab rights in the Camp David talks.

The question that preoccupies the conscience of every Arab citizen is: Will the Arabs approach the Camp David resolutions with civilized means dictated by the interests of the Arab nation's peoples?

Or will the Arabs enter the same vicious circle under the impact of a few who raise negative slogans and who close the doors in the face of any national logic whenever there is a chance for serious struggle to reach a comprehensive agreement for the issue of the Arab-Israeli conflict?

We have faced the experiences of the past, beginning in 1947 when we rejected the UN partition resolution concerning Palestine and calling for the establishment of two states: one Jewish and the other Palestinian. When Habib Bourguiba, the President of Tunisia, came a few years later after his first visit to Jordan and the West Bank and declared--being a courageous struggler--his opinion frankly, we ridiculed his opinion and he was subjected to propaganda campaigns by all the Arab papers. Those stances of ours led to the loss of most of the Palestinian territories.

We also faced the experience when the united Arab will was fragmented and when we became numerous entities owing their allegiance to foreign influence. Those stances of ours led to the loss of all of Palestine and of parts of Egypt and Syria in 1967.

We also faced the experience when 'Abd-al-Nasir declared his acceptance of the famous U.S. plan known as the Rogers plan. The slogan-raisers attacked him and accused him of treason and capitulation. Then the September 1970 battles erupted between Jordan and the Palestinians and the Arab nation was hit with aimlessness.

We also faced this experience when Egypt concluded the second disengagement-of-forces agreement in the Sinai. Those who had attacked the agreement tried to get less than what it provided for the Golan.

Will the Arabs forget these pages of their hard experience and let their cause be lost again?

Egypt's Responsibility and Returning Trust to People Concerned

When Egypt shouldered the responsibility by itself, when it risked its entire credit of nationalism and struggle and when its leadership endured all the disparagement, accusation and slander that it has endured, Egypt was moving from a comprehensive national starting point and not from a selfish independent starting point. Egypt shouldered all the burdens after the famous Jerusalem initiative and the initiative continued to wage the battles of peace one after the other until it embarked on the most ferocious battle of negotiation at Camp David. Egypt has achieved for its nation through a comprehensive national framework solutions to the Arab issue--solutions that have gained for Egypt the international community's support. Will the Arab role now begin shouldering its responsibility so that the trust may return to its own people?

Those who anticipate events and who make hasty judgments commit a mistake against their nation and homeland and against the generations that will follow them. Loyalty to the greater Arab homeland requires every Arab who believes in his land, his reality and his fate to rise to the level of absorbing and comprehending this historic accomplishment achieved at the Camp David conference and requires him to be an emissary to all those whom the illusions of slogans are trying to deceive.

How Will Arab Behavior Toward Camp David Agreement Be?

The correct approach that will wrench the world's respect for the Arab nation is the approach of civilized behavior toward this great historic action. Moreover, the correct approach for evaluating the facts of the Camp David agreement and for evaluating its position vis-a-vis the Arab rights can only be an approach within the framework of trust in the sincere performance of the Egyptian leadership at Camp David. I can imagine the beginning [of this approach] to be as follows:

Call for Limited Summit:

A call for a limited summit is more beneficial to Arab action than any comprehensive summit, especially in the important stages of the Arab nation's life. Perhaps it is more suitable and accurate to call such a summit "a summit for consultations."

The way to do this is to have a joint invitation issued by King Khalid, the Saudi monarch, in his capacity as the oldest Arab ruler [sic] and his capacity as keeper of the two holy mosques and guardian of the spiritual feelings of the Arab and Islamic nation, and by Ja'far Numayri, the President of Sudan, in his capacity as chairman of the Arab Solidarity Committee. This invitation should include the heads of the states that are remote from political and ideological conflicts. For example, Morocco and Tunisia should be invited from among the Arab Maghreb countries and Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates and Jordan should be invited from among the Arab East countries. A session of consultations should be held so that President Anwar al-Sadat may outline the details of the Camp David negotiations, may explain all the aspects that require explanation and may exchange views with the leaders of this limited summit on the means of common Arab action in the coming phase which will be the most important phase through which the experiment of implementation of the most serious agreement with Israel will pass.

And Another Summit

Also on the path of Arab action, the Saudi monarch and the Sudanese president should call for another limited summit for Syria and the PLO--a summit to be attended by any of the leaders of the summit for consultations who wish to do so. At this summit, the real dimensions of the Camp David agreement, its impact on the restoration of the Arab rights, especially the occupied territories, and the matters pertaining to these rights after the interim period should be discussed.

This method of approaching the Arab situation after the Camp David agreement will be tantamount to the safety valve for the common Arab action and for overcoming the centers of fragmentation and division and proceeding to the natural vessel that unites the Arab nation under an umbrella of unity of the Arab will and solidarity.

Arab League Role

The Arab League has a major role in this phase, especially since Mahmud Riyad, its secretary general, has lived with all the Arab crises and problems in the past quarter century and has shouldered a large share of their burdens. He can, through sincere and serious work with the Arab ministers of foreign affairs who are present in New York to attend the UN General Assembly session, outline the course of Arab action in the coming phase and

can tell the Tripoli axis which is now meeting in Damascus: Enough of the division and negativity that have afflicted the Arab nation in the face of the most serious accomplishment made by Egypt and its leadership on the path of achieving the national goal of this nation's peoples who have continued to live under the impact of misleading slogans for more than a third of the present century. The sincere leaders and intellectuals of this nation should warn the Arab people against any internal setback that may hit the core of the Arab cause and may take the Arabs tens of years backward.

8494

CSO: 4802

EGYPT

SUPPORT FOR CARTER TO HELP U.S. AS A PARTNER IN ESTABLISHING MID-EAST PEACE

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 21 Sep 78 p 7

[Editorial: "Significance of Support for Carter"]

[Text] President Jimmy Carter has gained unprecedented popular support in his country for the role that he undertook at Camp David to reach a general framework of peace that will govern the talks to be held between the parties concerned to implement the comprehensive settlement. The proportion and nature of this support has aroused the interest of many observers because it is directly connected with the extent to which the United States can go to achieve lasting and permanent peace in the most vital part of the world.

The signs borne by such support indicate that the United States is now in a position that enables it to entrench the "balanced policy" to which it resorted to deal with the Middle East issue before and during the Camp David conference. The features of this policy appeared clearly in the three-part aircraft deal for Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Israel and became clearer in the tripartite summit talks which produced the peace framework.

Without this policy, the Camp David meeting would not have achieved such amazing success. There was profound change in the U.S. administration's conduct which approaching the problem and until this administration became aware of the real prerequisites of peace in the area, the most important being the Palestinian people's rights. This is why Carter's policy toward the issue has been different from the policies of six previous U.S. presidents, including the late Harry Truman and the late Lyndon Johnson, who were most biased toward Israel and most oblivious of the Arab rights.

However, the big significance of the support given to Carter by the forces influencing the public opinion and by the decision-makers in Washington is that the United States is now free of numerous burdens that hampered the movement of some U.S. presidents as soon as they showed any sign of approaching the conflict. This is liable to give the U.S. administration the opportunity to complete playing the role of a partner in establishing the peace that will be faced by enormous obstacles until all the Arab goals are achieved.

EGYPT

PALESTINIAN RECOGNITION SAID FIRST ARAB RESPONSIBILITY

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 21 Sep 78 p 7

[Article by Ahmad Nafi': "First Responsibility After Camp David Phase"]

[Text] The path to peace in the Middle East is now open for the first time since the Arab-Israeli conflict erupted with the first official war in the area on 15 May 1948. The opportunity for peace has been made available only through recognition of the Palestinian people's legitimate rights which have been the "axis" of the general framework for the comprehensive settlement. The accomplishment realized at Camp David was an unbelievable dream to the world.

It is evident that the peace framework has not disregarded any of the various aspects of the Palestinian problem. If it has been void of any reference to the status of Jerusalem, then this is due to the acknowledged fact that Jerusalem is an indivisible part of the occupied West Bank of the Jordan River and the fact that this status should be determined with the will of the Palestinian people.

It is also evident that the Camp David accord has relied on all the given facts and changing international elements following the October 1973 war as it has relied on the Palestinian people's struggle and on their right to establish their national entity. The biggest proof of this is the accord's stipulation of the right of the Palestinian people to self-rule in the interim phase and then their right to determine their future afterwards. This represents the peak of change in the situation, especially in regard to Israel that has been forced to recognize the Palestinian people and to acknowledge their rights.

Also connected with this change is the agreement's stipulation of gradual Israeli withdrawal from the West Bank and Gaza Strip, along with starting the interim preparations. Earlier, Israel rejected withdrawal from the West Bank under feeble pretexts and strange interpretations of Security Council Resolution 242 which defined the general principles for the settlement. At Camp David, Israel capitulated to the correct interpretation of the

resolution which stipulates that withdrawal covers all the fronts, including the Golan Heights, the West Bank, Gaza Strip and the Sinai.

Resolution 242 has not been the only basis for the agreement on the right of the Palestinians to self-determination. This resolution has its shortcomings insofar as the political aspect of the Palestinian issue is concerned because it was issued in November 1967 before the world became increasingly aware of the dimensions of the issue. This is in addition to the emergence of the "Palestinian entity" in the manner that it has done since then. This resolution dealt with only the humanitarian aspect of the issue when it stipulated the need for reaching a just solution to the refugee problem.

This is why the general framework for peace has dealt with the various aspects of the issue. The framework also deals with the issue of the refugees and of repatriation of the deportees expelled by the occupation authorities from the West Bank and Gaza since 1967. The framework further calls for reaching measures for a speedy, just and lasting solution to the problem of the refugees ousted from their homes in 1948.

In compatibility with the spirit of change, the agreement also provides for inviting representatives of the Palestinian people to hold negotiations to determine the future of the West Bank, including Jerusalem, and of Gaza Strip, and, even to negotiate on all matters pertaining to the Palestinian people while having the right to veto any resolution concerning them. Resolution 242 will be applied to the West Bank and Gaza insofar as withdrawal is concerned. It will also govern the negotiations to take place between Israel and each of Jordan, Syria and Lebanon for a peaceful settlement. This means that the Palestinian issue will only be solved with the Palestinian people's participation in the negotiations concerning the core of the issue. Jordan will participate in these negotiations in its capacity as trustee over the West Bank after 1948 and as the party with the strongest relation with the Palestinians and the longest borders with Israel. There is no doubt that the Palestinian people are capable of achieving their aspirations and capable of negotiating for their future. They do not lack the spirit of responsibility that urges them now more than ever before to wage the historic phase [sic]. The same way Camp David has been a test of sincere intentions and desire to work for peace, the Palestinian people's negotiations will be the "biggest test" for Israel in full view and hearing of the world.

The ceaseless struggle of the Palestinian people since the revolutions of the 1930's has been recognized and it can complete the path to its goals, despite the difficulties, the deep bitterness and the buried residues, by taking the decision. This is the first Arab responsibility.

EGYPT

OBJECTIVE, NOT EMOTIONAL VIEW NEEDED

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 21 Sep 78 p 7

[Article by Ahmad Bahjat: "Objective View"]

[Text] The question of the Israeli settlements was one of the difficult obstacles that faced the three leaders at Camp David.

The agreement was signed despite all the challenges and hardships. It was also decided to present the agreement to the Israeli parliament to express its opinion on it and on the question of the settlements.

The Egyptian president has stated more than once--the latest time being during his address to members of the Egyptian community in the United States--that:

If the Israeli Knesset fails to approve withdrawal from the settlements and withdrawal of their residents from the Egyptian soil, then everything will come to an end.

The president has also said: We have not reached a peace agreement. But we have agreed on a framework for negotiation. The success of the Camp David conference has evoked a storm of various reactions in the world. Any journalist following the conference is aware of the seriousness and extreme significance of what has happened. This importance and significance are not confined to the present moment but extend forward to tens of years to come. Consequently, rushing into making final judgments on the Camp David conference might be some kind of an unsafe risk.

Two Arab newspapers which have had an objective stance toward the conference have impressed me. They are the Saudi AL-MADINAH AL-MUNAWWARAH [name as published], which is published in Riyadh and AL-ITTIHAD, which is published in Abu Dhabi.

AL-MADINAH AL-MUNAWWARAH has asked the Arab nation to hold consultations and to move deliberately before making its judgment on the Camp David conference. The paper has stressed that consultation among the Arab nation will always be better than conflict, that a deep understanding is better than rashness and that self-restraint is better than widening the disputes because any dispute among the Arabs is a gain for their enemies.

AL-ITTIHAD, which is published in the Arab Gulf [sic], persistently asks for an objective evaluation of the conference results and for an examination of the dimensions and spheres of the post-agreement phase at the level of an Arab summit with the aim of formulating a comprehensive Arab strategy to achieve the genuine goals of our peoples, foremost being the goals of full withdrawal and reaffirmation of the Palestinian people's rights.

We are now in greater need of this objective view than ever before, Throughout the Arab-Israeli conflict, the Arabs have lost a lot because of their emotional stances and their oneupmanship over an extremely sensitive national issue. This is an issue that should be led by wise reason and not by fiery emotions. It is an issue for which only the objective approach that analyzes and examines before expressing an opinion is fit.

This is the case because the destinies of peoples are not decided by slogans and by oneupmanship.

8494

CSO: 4802

EGYPT

ACTIONS OF REJECTIONIST STATES QUESTIONED

Cairo AL-AKHBAR in Arabic 21 Sep 78 p 6

[Article by Ahmad Zayn: "Do Something, Countries of Words"]

[Text] We do not want the world to say that the Arabs are repeating the 1948 tragedy and that 30 years have failed to give them experience, maturity and the ability to steer clear of emotionalism because the onslaught against Egypt, its people, its army and its president that we see coming these days from certain Arab countries is in fact as far as can be from the Arab interest and the Arab cause.

If we do really want to discuss the stance of the rejectionist states, then the question that we should begin with is: What do these countries want and why are they against what has happened? Perhaps we will find there [in the answer] a logic concealed from us or will discover something that has escaped our mind.

First, it is either that these countries want a peaceful solution or want a solution by war and by fighting. Second, it is either that these countries want a solution made by Moscow, whatever the solution, or that they want a solution made with the Arab will and in the interest of the Arabs. Finally, these countries must have their reasons to assume that what has been achieved is not the solution and that they can offer something better in the interest of the Arabs.

These are the three possibilities that we will discuss today and through which we will try to get an answer.

First possibility: these countries do not want the peaceful solution but want war and believe that what has been taken by force cannot be restored except with force, to the end of such slogans. If this is what is wanted, then we are still close to a recent experience, namely the experience of the Israeli aggression against southern Lebanon--the aggression aimed against the Palestinians themselves or the core of the problem. The aggression took

place when the Arab deterrence forces were only a few steps away from the battlefield and when all the rejectionist states had forces that they could throw into the battle. But nobody made a move and nobody fired a single bullet as if the war was between Israel and the United States and not between Israel and the Arabs. We did not hear that an armed force from the rejectionist states which fill the world with words was carried by air to the battlefield or that the aircraft of these countries clashed with the Israeli aircraft that were killing the Palestinians. It may be said that the military strength is unequal. This is nonsense because anybody exposed to aggression defends with all his might. It would have been more honorable for Syria to have its army enter the battle and to have Damascus occupied than to stand as a spectator. It would have been more honorable for Libya, Algeria and Iraq to have thrown their forces into the battle that lasted long enough for these forces to be transported. This is the real struggle. Instead, the tongues became mute and the strugglers fled, leaving the Palestinians to face Israel's forces alone.

What is more, these countries tried to deceive the Arab nation. Syria recorded the buzzing of planes to broadcast it from the radio station and it became evident later that this was nothing but clowning, falsehood and fabrication at a time of tribulation. Iraq also declared that imaginary volunteers had reached the battlefield whereas nobody did. Libya also made announcements about imaginary forces but claimed that Syria did not permit those forces to get to the battlefield. Algeria turned mute. This was the position of these states that peddle the words "war and armed struggle." It is mere peddling and words.

We now come to the second point, namely that these countries want a solution made by Moscow. Let Moscow offer the solution. Thirty years have passed and throughout these years, Moscow has offered us nothing but defeats and losses, the last being the 1967 defeat whose traces we have been trying ceaselessly to eliminate. Moscow did not achieve withdrawal from a single inch of Arab land when the solution was in its hands. All that Moscow has been able to do is to expand Israel's occupation of the Arab land and has done nothing since but talk. This is said out of experience and on the basis of the reality. We have heard nothing but words from Moscow. Moscow gave us only defensive weapons so that we may not liberate our land. Still, let Moscow come forward and show us what it can do and what it can achieve.

We then come to the third point, namely that these countries have reasons to believe that what has been achieved is not the solution. Let us discuss what has been achieved: full withdrawal from the Sinai, this is a fact; recognition of the principle of withdrawal from the West Bank and Gaza during negotiations to organize and implement this withdrawal in accordance with Security Council Resolution 242 which Israel did not want to recognize, claiming that this land was Israeli land; adherence to the Arab rights in Jerusalem.

So, nothing has been relinquished.

Moreover, there is a provision for ending the military rule in the West Bank and Gaza and for withdrawal of most of the Israeli forces from both areas, keeping in mind that regulating the full Israeli withdrawal will be the subject of the coming negotiations in which the Palestinians will participate as of the first day to determine their future.

So, nothing has been relinquished.

Moreover, there will be future phases in which the Israeli withdrawal will be outlined in detail with the parties concerned.

Despite all this, if anybody can offer anything then nobody is going to hold him back and if anybody wants to liberate the land either peacefully or by war, nobody is going to hold him back.

So, what is this onslaught for? Is it because we have regained the Sinai? Is it because we have gotten the principle of Israeli withdrawal from all the occupied Arab territories? Is it because we have declared our adherence to the Arab rights in Jerusalem? Or is it oneupmanship and mere words?

We have liberated the Arab land. We liberated it in the October War and at the Camp David peace negotiations. We will continue to liberate the land whereas the rejectionist states will continue their vilification, their killing, their plots, their assassinations and their bloodshed. Let them all know that the age of false slogans has ended, that the Arab nation has come of age and that the hired pens, the lackey radios and the foolish abuse will not liberate our land and will not restore a single Arab right. We are waiting to see if they achieve anything other than failure, terror and killing.

8494

CSO: 4802

EGYPT

REJECTIONISTS SAID EAGER TO SEE CONFLICT CONTINUE

Cairo AL-AKHBAR in Arabic 22 Sep 78 p 4

[Editorial: "Merchants Who Have Lost Market"]

[Text] A political commentator has said that those who have lost most and who most fear the outcome of the Camp David conference are the rejectionist group and its supporters, the Soviets, because if peace is established in the Middle East area, they will be left without a cause for which to call. They will also lose the market in which they have been peddling their wares and in which they have been engaging in their oneupmanship at the expense of the Arab cause. If peace is established and a settlement is reached for the issue, what will they have to peddle and what will they have to engage in oneupmanship over?

This is true. These Arab countries that call themselves the rejectionist group or, to be more precise, the rulers of these countries would never be pleased to see the end of the chronic problem between the Arabs and Israel and to see the situation in the Middle East stable under any circumstances because this problem is the issue which they peddle at the expense of their peoples and with which they guarantee their survival and their domination over their peoples. When they resort to tyranny, when they rule with oppression, suppression and with tyrannical extraordinary measures and when they deprive their peoples even of the means of sustenance, they claim that they are in a state of war with Israel and that they are saving all capabilities and resources for restoration of the Arab land and for liberating all of Palestine.

Also the Soviet Union has never wanted the Middle East issue to be settled and the conflict between the Arabs and Israel to come to an end. It still does not want this to ever happen because this is the issue through which the Soviet Union is penetrating with its objectives and ambitions to the Middle East and through which it is able to find followers and agents to achieve these goals and ambitions. We believe that all people know that this Soviet Union was the first country to recognize Israel and that it exerted efforts to create it and to support it materially and morally. In

the years in which it monopolized influence over us, it bargained over the Arab rights and over the Palestinian people's rights. Still, when the Soviet propaganda trumpets proceed to engage in oneupmanship over the Middle East issue, they are not concerned with the Arab rights or the Palestinian people's rights but rather say frankly that the Soviet Union is interested in the Middle East area because it is very close to its borders. This means that the Soviet Union wants the Middle East to be its sphere of influence because, to use the Israeli expression, the Middle East is a security area for it.

The rejectionist group, beginning with Hafiz al-Asad and ending with 'Ali Nasir, the president of the People's or communist Yemen, is meeting in Damascus today. They have called for this meeting to declare their rejection, as they say, of the Camp David accords and their provisions for the coming phase to achieve comprehensive and lasting peace in this part of the world and to solve this problem that has gone on for more than 30 years. They have said a lot at this meeting and it has become evident from their words that they have not even read the provisions of these accords. The rejectionists do not reject for any sensible reason but do so because they want no solution to the problem and because they are eager for the conflict to continue. This conflict is the market in which their cheap goods--the goods of oneupmanship and hollow claims--are peddled. The words they have broadcast contain nothing but vilification against Egypt and against Egypt's leadership and similar trivialities that they have turned into the goal of their trade at the expense of the peace issue.

They are in fact merchants who have lost the market. They are not bemoaning peace and they are not concerned with the establishment of peace. They are bemoaning themselves and the aimlessness that is awaiting them.

8494
CSO: 4802

IRAQ

THREATS POSED BY CAMP DAVID ACCORDS IDENTIFIED

Baghdad AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic 19 Sep 78 p 1

[Article by Sa'd: "The Tripartite Seclusion and the Bilateral Agreement"]

[Text] Finally, in spite of al-Sadat's past allegations that he would not sign any peacemaking [agreement] or bilateral treaty with Tel Aviv, the conspiratorial conference has produced a separate agreement between the Egyptian regime and the Zionist entity.

Although the "Camp David" Trio signed a second document that constitutes "a framework for peace in the Middle East," other concerned parties are not bound by this document's effects and its substance.

It is ludicrous and lamentable for the U.S. president to claim that the conference he sponsored for 13 days did encompass all aspects of the Palestinian question.

Does Carter imagine that the Palestinian rebels would accept autonomy on the West Bank after a transition period that would last 5 more years [which they would spend] under the bayonets of the Zionist occupation?

The document's headlines constitute no more than a new formulation and a reiteration of Zionist and reactionary Jordanian projects that have already been adamantly rejected by our Arab Palestinian people and their armed vanguard.

In addition to what has been adduced regarding the possibility of the Jordanian regime joining the subsequent negotiations between al-Sadat and Begin--resumption of those negotiations was agreed upon immediately--it must be stated that resolution of the question of Palestinian representation is tied to several Arab and international considerations.

If one is allowed to arrange the dangers our nation is facing according to the degree of the threats they pose, these would be [as follows]: the

agreement between al-Sadat's regime and the Zionist enemy to sign "a peace treaty" in 3 months that would end the state of war and guarantee the establishment of normal and open relations [between Egypt and Israel]; the arrangement of a step-by-step Zionist withdrawal from Sinai; the determination of secure areas for the enemy; and the demilitarization of Sinai.

And now what do the results of the Camp David tripartite summit [meeting] mean?

First, the Arab fronts confronting occupied Palestine have been broken up.

Second, Egypt has been taken out of the pan-Arab battle of destiny against imperialism and Zionism.

Third, all forms of hostility, combat and warfare between Egypt and the Zionist entity have been terminated.

Fourth, the isolation that was imposed on the enemy has been terminated, and the economic boycott against him has been destroyed.

Fifth, significant concessions affecting Egypt's national sovereignty and the pan-Arab sovereignty of the Arab nation have been made.

Sixth, Arab rights which are historically sacred have been squandered, and the valuable sacrifices that were made by the masses and by their brave armed forces for 30 years have been subverted.

Seventh, al-Sadat has renounced all the resolutions of the summit conferences and the charter of the Arab League concerning Palestine and the other occupied Arab territories.

The results of the al-Sadat-Begin-Carter seclusion have endorsed the Zionist, imperialist will. Al-Sadat was not able to budge the Zionist side away from its well-known ideas and projects on the West Bank.

What remains, first and foremost, is for the Arab masses to speak their peace and for their revolutionary forces to meet the historic challenge and carry on the responsibility of the struggle to defeat the conspiracy and those who are conspiring against our existence and our future.

8592

CSO: 4802

IRAQ

CONFRONTATION DEEMED ONLY ROAD TO VICTORY

Baghdad AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 19 Sep 78 p 1

[Article by Dr Munif al-Razzaz: "What Happens After Camp David"?]

[Text] The Camp David Summit Conference has finally come to an end. The "party" broke up, and the Zionists returned to their people happy with what al-Sadat and U.S. imperialism gave them.

Al-Sadat and his associates returned to their people. Their faces were ashen and fatigued because they had been unfaithful to the rights of their people and their nation. Those are the shameless infidels.

Those who placed their bets on Camp David lost not only their bets, but they also lost everything they owned.

Yet, they were not satisfied with the bet they lost, and they willingly and submissively laid a wager on the future of their homeland and their people. They handed it over without batting an eye. Because of the wretched [acts] they committed, may they be damned whenever they tell a lie.

But, were they surprised when they lost their bets?

Did they think when they went to [Camp David] with an open, begging hand that their personal charm would turn the enemy into a friend and the wolf into a lamb?

If they were surprised--and we don't think they were--we were not. We were not surprised, not because we can foresee what will happen, but rather because we know the nature of the Zionist enemy.

We know the nature of the imperialist, Zionist bond; we know the nature of the "Arab" negotiator; and we know how the rights of peoples are usurped.

We know that Zionism is not merely a state or a "people"; it is an expansionist, aggressive, fanatic and racist "ideology." [We know] that a conciliatory attitude does not make such an ideology relent; instead, it increases its haughtiness and its arrogance. The more we relent, the more obdurate it becomes.

We know that the ties between imperialism and Zionism and the ties between Zionism and imperialism are ties of mutual destiny. [We know] that Zionism cannot survive in the area without the support of imperialism. [We know] that imperialism, in spite of its numerous allies in the area is using the Zionist entity as its spearhead to achieve hegemony over the Arab nation.

We know that the peaceful "efforts" that are made by U.S. imperialism seek to "subdue Arab thought" just as they subdued the Arab regimes. [We know that these efforts] seek "to persuade Arab thought" to turn the "historic struggle" between the ideology of Arab liberation and that of Zionist colonialism into a "geographic struggle" over a few kilometers here and a few kilometers there.

We know that such an enemy does not negotiate; he confronts. [We know that such an enemy] does not confront from a position of weakness, but rather from one of strength. We know that when Tariq ibn Ziyad burned his bridges, he had to fight. He did not burn his bridges so he can make peace.

Because we know this--we who believe in our nation and in our homeland--we were not surprised. Because this knowledge is self-evident and visible [to all] as the sun is, we do not believe that the "Arab negotiators" were ignorant of it. They did not want to know.

This is because what they lack is not mere "knowledge" but rather the will to resist and to fight.

It is not money and weapons that they lack; they lack faith in their nation and in their people. They are not striving for tomorrow, but rather for today; they are not striving for their hereafter, but rather for their [ephemeral] world.

It is for all this that they were submissive, and it is for all this that they went to Camp David.

It is for all this that they returned dissatisfied with the "psychological barrier" they had broken down; consequently, they tore down the barrier of shame and modesty also.

If this is the case of the "submissive ones" who went to Camp David, what about those who "rejected" Camp David but "gave in" to Geneva?

Do they think that changing the location changes the nature of the negotiations? Do they think that the climate in Geneva offers the negotiations an opportunity other than that offered by the climate in Camp David?

Do they think that Geneva changes the nature of Zionism, the nature of imperialism or the nature of the relationship between them? Do they think that Geneva gives the Arab negotiator power that is not available to him at Camp David?

Or is their opposition to Camp David the result of the fact that they are not participating in it and that they, in fact, are not against "the negotiations" but rather against the "separate negotiations" only?

I have never seen people deceiving themselves and trying to deceive all the Arab people as those who are "rejecting" Camp David and "embracing" Geneva!

We--all those who believe in their homeland, their nation and their future--are "accused" of being "extremists" and "rejectionists."

The charge against us stems from the fact that we "know" our enemy; we "know" our people; and we "know" how to deal with our enemy.

[The charge against us stems from the fact that] we have faith in our masses and in our capabilities because we do not lack a "revolutionary will."

And now that the party has broken up and Resolution 242 has fallen, will the Arab masses and the officials who still have some faith in their people pull themselves together and see that the road of deliverance--the "only" one for which there is no alternative--is the road of struggle and confrontation and not the road of negotiation and capitulation?

This is the question.

He who wishes to have faith may do so, and he who wishes to lose faith may also do so.

It is those who have faith who will be victorious.

8592

CSO: 4802

IRAQ

MEASURES FOR LIBERATION IDENTIFIED

Baghdad AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic 20 Sep 78 p 1

[Article by Sa'd: "Liberation To Begin With This Step"]

[Text] The signing at Camp David of the agreement of humiliation and degradation brings the settlement into a new phase. The conspirators have disclosed their intentions, and the mask has fallen from the reactionary, Zionist, imperialist plot, uncovering it completely.

After the conclusion of the tripartite summit, persistence in positions of instability, mystery, irresolution and hesitation became untenable. Matters had to be defined without ambiguity, with or against the ill-omened accord.

The serious and precipitate events that are taking place on the Arab scene have gone beyond half-hearted acceptance and half-hearted rejection. What is being called for now is a decisive choice: full acceptance and final submission to the imperialist, Zionist conditions, or a return to the course of full liberation and the defeat of the conspiracy which has targeted our nation's present and future.

The Camp David Conference and the bilateral talks between al-Sadat and Begin which were sponsored by Carter have completely foiled the Geneva Conference. Some of those who were wavering between acceptance and rejection [of the Camp David accords] professed to favor Geneva as a location for reaching a settlement and a framework for their talks with other participating Arab and international parties.

The talks which lasted for 13 days in Maryland affirmed that the settlement which Washington and Tel Aviv would accept is the one which is consistent with the interests of imperialism and Zionism and with their ambitions in Arab land and resources.

Talking about an "honorable" settlement in the context of the current situation in our area and under the auspices of the reactionary Zionist imperialist alliance is quite impossible. In fact it is ludicrous. Those who promote such talk are thereby guilty of political naivete if not collusion with the conspirators.

What our party and its revolution in the Iraqi state anticipated did take place. Developments did confirm the analyses and the ideas that were set forth by our struggling leadership. A settlement that is based on Security Council Resolution 242 and the resolutions and projects that followed it does not lead to anything but such a result and worse. Nobody expected anything else to happen because what did happen is a close interpretation of the articles of the irreputable international resolution. The official spokesman for the Revolutionary Command Council affirmed this in a statement he issued yesterday.

Those who abandoned the armed struggle and pledged moderation and friendship to the United States are in an unenviable position. They have lost their bets; their policies have fallen through; and they are now completely exposed in front of the Arab masses.

The action that the nation wants begins with a basic step: those who lost the opportunity to establish an official and a popular Arab progressive front are to examine their positions and to criticize their errors. They are to abandon immediately and irrevocably the road of a settlement, the mentality of bargaining and the course of concessions because the path of liberation is clear and its requirements are intelligible and specific.

The only choices they have are the trenches of the fighting masses and the ranks of reactionary imperialists and Zionists who are their historical enemies.

8592

CSO: 4802

IRAQ

IRAQI COMMUNIST PARTY CONDEMNS CAMP DAVID 'PLOT'

Baghdad TARIQ AL-SHA'B in Arabic 20 Sep 78 p 1

[Article: "Iraqi Communist Party Condemns Camp David Plot"]

[Text] The Central Committee of the Iraqi Communist Party has confirmed that the new deal which has been concluded between U.S. imperialism, Zionism and Arab reactionary forces has endorsed full surrender to the plots of the enemies of the Arab National Liberation Movement.

In a statement it issued yesterday the party's Central Committee affirmed that the accords which al-Sadat signed did relinquish the sovereignty and independence of Egypt and disavow the question of the Palestinian people.

O, Great Citizens of Iraq

With the encouragement and the blessings of U.S. President Jimmy Carter, al-Sadat, the president of the reactionary Egyptian regime, and Begin, the prime minister of the Zionist enemy, have signed two agreements that deal with Egyptian-Israeli relations, the Palestinian question and the occupied Arab territories.

Endorsement for Surrender and National Treason

Based on the facts and event that preceded the Camp David Conference, on a complete analysis of the capitulatory, reactionary method of the Egyptian command and also on an analysis of the contents of the two documents that have been signed, we, like the progressive national and pan-Arab forces in the Arab countries and the forces of progress in the world, condemn this deal that was completed between U.S. imperialism, Zionism and Arab reactionary forces. We consider it a new deal that is endorsing full surrender by the Arab National Liberation Movement to the plots of the enemies. It is a blatant national betrayal of the right of the Arab nation in general and of the right of the two Arab fraternal peoples, the Egyptian and the Palestinian, in particular. It is an attack against the Arab struggle for freedom, independence, national sovereignty, social progress and just national goals.

The accords that al-Sadat signed relinquished the sovereignty and independence of our sister Egypt and disavowed the question of the Arab people of Palestine, their legitimate, national rights and especially their right to determine their destiny on their homeland.

The conclusion of this deal by al-Sadat was secretly and openly supported by Arab reactionaries. This confirms the obvious, basic truth that our Iraqi Communist Party has always affirmed. It is the truth about the relationship between this treacherous course [of action] and the hierarchical nature of the Arab forces and regimes which brought about this deal. On the other hand, it must be pointed out that the representative of Egyptian and Arab reactionaries concluded these dishonorable accords in an atmosphere which lacked the minimum measure of unity of struggle among the progressive Arab forces and regimes. In fact, the aspects of the disputes and struggles between those progressive forces and regimes have intensified. This had a negative impact on the struggle of the Arab masses and encouraged the reactionaries to press themselves along their capitulatory course of action.

New Stage in the Conspiracy

What has taken place in Camp David constitutes a new stage in the reactionary, Zionist, imperialist plot whose web and prefatory work were spun a long time ago. This is a conspiracy whose effects do not stop at what has been agreed to. This conspiracy is after more targets by means of dragging Jordan, as a first step; obtaining the blessing of Arab reactionaries; endorsing the expansionist, aggressive ambitions of Zionism; and fortifying U.S. hegemony in the Arab area politically, economically and militarily so as to endanger in a major way the Arab National Liberation Movement, its progressive regimes, those regimes' political, economic and social accomplishments and world peace.

All this entrusts all progressive forces and regimes with the task of successfully opposing this conspiracy, thwarting it, defeating its purposes which are farthest from the path of a steadfast and a firm struggle against the enemies of our movement: imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism; Zionism; and Arab reactionaries.

Let the Progressive Forces Unify Their Struggle

Among the chief requirements for this successful struggle is a serious and sincere effort to unify the progressive forces inside every Arab country and throughout the Arab homeland as a whole. This effort is to be carried out with a superior sense of responsibility. The necessary amount of coordination among the anti-imperialistic Arab regimes is to be achieved, and our alliance with the allies of our struggle--the forces of progress and socialism in the world chief among which is the Soviet Union, the loyal and steadfast friend of our people and of our Arab nation--is to be strengthened.

All progressive forces and regimes have a serious responsibility. The masses which have been shaken and infuriated by the blatant provocation of their feelings by Arab reactionaries and by their treacherous attack on their just struggle and their just goals expect the leaders of their struggle to meet their responsibility and to fulfill their historical role. Inasmuch as those leaders succeed along this honorable course--the course of the progressive forces' unity--will the Arab masses, oblivious to the valuable sacrifices they are making, rush to plunge into the battle.

The fraternal people of Egypt are escalating their struggle, and the Egyptian masses are resisting the policy and the terrorist measures of the reactionary regime in Egypt with courage. The Arab people of Palestine and their leaders, the brave Palestinian resistance, will escalate their courageous struggle which they have been waging for years against the racist Zionist forces of occupation so as to achieve their legitimate, national rights.

Democracy for the Masses

The masses in the Arab homeland will not acquiesce in the shameful course of treason and surrender. Hence, in order to have a successful struggle the tremendous creative energies of these masses must be released and a democratic climate must be provided by escalating the revolutionary struggle against the enemies on all fronts and with all methods and capabilities.

The Certainty of Victory

O masses! O progressive forces! The Iraqi Communist Party has full confidence in the capabilities of the Arab National Liberation Movement for victory. It is appealing to the revolutionary forces [of the Liberation Movement] to unify their struggle. It is calling for the release of the energies of the masses; for strengthening the alliance with the friends of the Arab people; for intensifying their struggle against the plots and conspiracies of the Arab nation's enemies.

The Central Committee of the Iraqi Communist Party

Baghdad, 19 September 1978

8592

CSO: 4802

IRAQ

CAMP DAVID ACCORDS REQUIRE SERIOUS ARAB MOBILIZATION

Baghdad AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic 21 Sep 78 p 1

[Article by Sa'd: "Toward Serious Revolutionary Action"]

[Text] The two treasonous documents signed by the trio of al-Sadat, Begin and Carter have evoked a sweeping wave of wrath and denunciation at both the Arab and international levels either through the press and the various information media or through the popular reactions and through the rejection of these documents by the progressive and national forces and by the world liberation and revolutionary movements.

Even official Arab circles and regimes which supported al-Sadat's visit to Jerusalem and supported his "initiative" publicly or secretly could not justify the results of the Camp David summit or defend their serious consequences and ramifications to the nation's present and to its future survival.

This is why the black White House hastened to establish numerous and various contacts through the telephone calls which Carter made, through the written messages he has sent to regimes friendly to him in the area or through the efforts that Cyrus Vance, the U.S. secretary of state, will exert with King Husayn, Hafiz Asad and King Khalid.

What is important now is not to be content with the shouts of denunciation and not to depend on the escalating Arab wrath because this is the "weakest of faith." What is more, the imperialist, Zionist and capitulationist reactionary circles are trained to absorb this wrath and to channel it toward ineffective labyrinths that constitute no threat to the black plans of these circles.

What is required, and this is the responsibility of the true revolutionary and progressive forces and regimes in the Arab homeland, is to transform the legitimate and sacred popular reaction into serious action and to perpetuate the wave of rejection within the framework of a long-drawn pan-Arab plan.

The official spokesman of the Revolution Command Council has stated: "Liberation and victory against the nation's enemies require rejection of the bargaining and capitulationist solutions or the so-called path of the peaceful solution. They also require that sincere efforts be made in accordance with a comprehensive and long-drawn plan to mobilize the masses and all the nation's resources against imperialism, its interests and its supporters and that the superficial and dramatic activities seeking special interests be abandoned."

Clarity of the course, of conduct and of action is the urgent popular demand in this critical stage. The Arab masses can no longer act leniently toward those who have mastered walking the ropes at the expense of their fateful issues and their just rights. "All the lackeys and colluders, both those who have appeared and those who are still hiding behind tattered masks, must be exposed."

While "affirming our absolute faith in the certain victory of the Arab nation in its struggle against its enemies on the path of liberation and construction," we are also aware of the nature of the fateful struggle and we believe in the importance and necessity of insuring all its requirements and of mobilizing all the nation's resources to settle this struggle in our interest, to liquidate the Zionist aggression and to defeat the hostile imperialist plan.

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CSO: 4802

IRAQ

ACCORDS DESCRIBED AS PERISHABLE FALSEHOOD

Baghdad AL-THAWRAH--Supplement--in Arabic 21 Sep 78 p 1

[Editorial: "Camp David and Settlement Illusions"]

[Text] As we expected, the results of the Camp David conference have come as a new link in the series of settlement illusions. This is a fact that cannot be concealed by all the clamor of the imperialist and Zionist information media. These results will be unable to besiege the will of the Arab nation that rejects the source of aggression and usurpation and that believes in the ability of its struggle to wrench its just and legitimate rights. The nation's destiny cannot be decided by the regimes chasing breathlessly the conspiratorial imperialist and Zionist plans. Anwar al-Sadat's regime will continue to be as far as possible from representing the will of our Arab people. This regime will reap nothing from its wagers on the American role except further squandering of the national rights of our people in Egypt and of the pan-Arab rights of the Arab nation. This regime is thus standing in the trench of the enemies of our Arab people in Egypt and the enemies of the Arab nation.

The Arab nation which has exposed the treasonous and capitulationist character of the settlement-seeking regimes and the nature of the fateful alliance between the U.S. imperialism and the Zionist entity is clearly aware that the new link in the imperialist-Zionist settlement plan will only lead, despite the grave losses it inflicts on the Arab struggle movement, to greater determination to continue the struggle to liberate the Arab land and the Arab man because this is the only realistic way to confront aggression and usurpation. As for the accords of treason and disgrace with the enemy, they can only end in failure. The Arab nation's destiny will be determined only by the Arab masses who believe in liberation and who reject resolutely any form of relinquishing of the Arab nation's historical and fateful rights. Victory will be written only for the nation's will and for its struggling forces.

The Arab nation has not empowered these traitors to speak in its name or to dispose of its rights. It is a strong nation, even though it appears to their eyes weak and divided. Their fear of this nation's strength--a

strength which the nation's sons have begun to become aware of and which the nation's enemies are perfectly aware of--is what motivated them to rush to assail it and what motivated the imperialist-Zionist enemy to do the impossible so that traitors of this kind may attain positions of leadership in the nation and so that it may become easy for this enemy to strike this nation while still not in possession of all the elements of its strength.

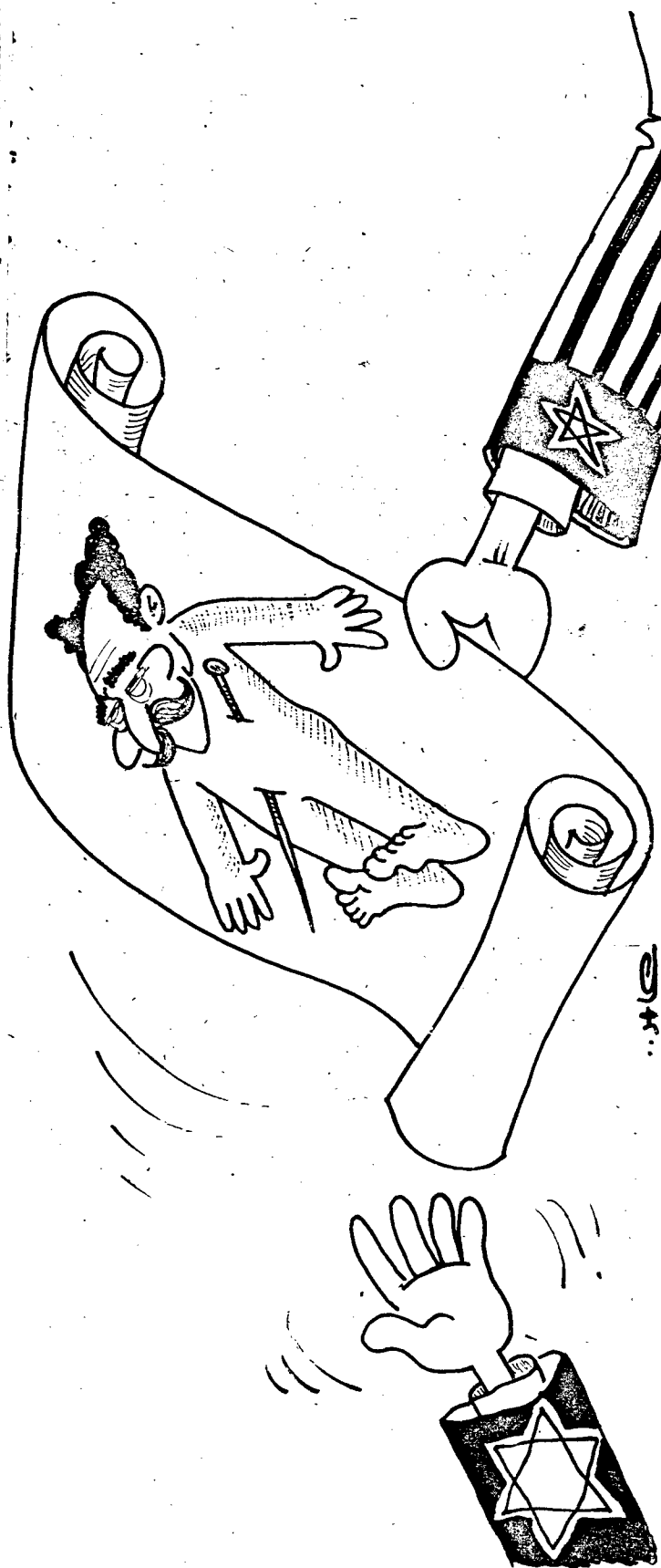
What they have achieved at Camp David is false and all that is false shall perish.

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Baghdad AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 18 Sep 78 p 8

The Final Camp David Document!!!



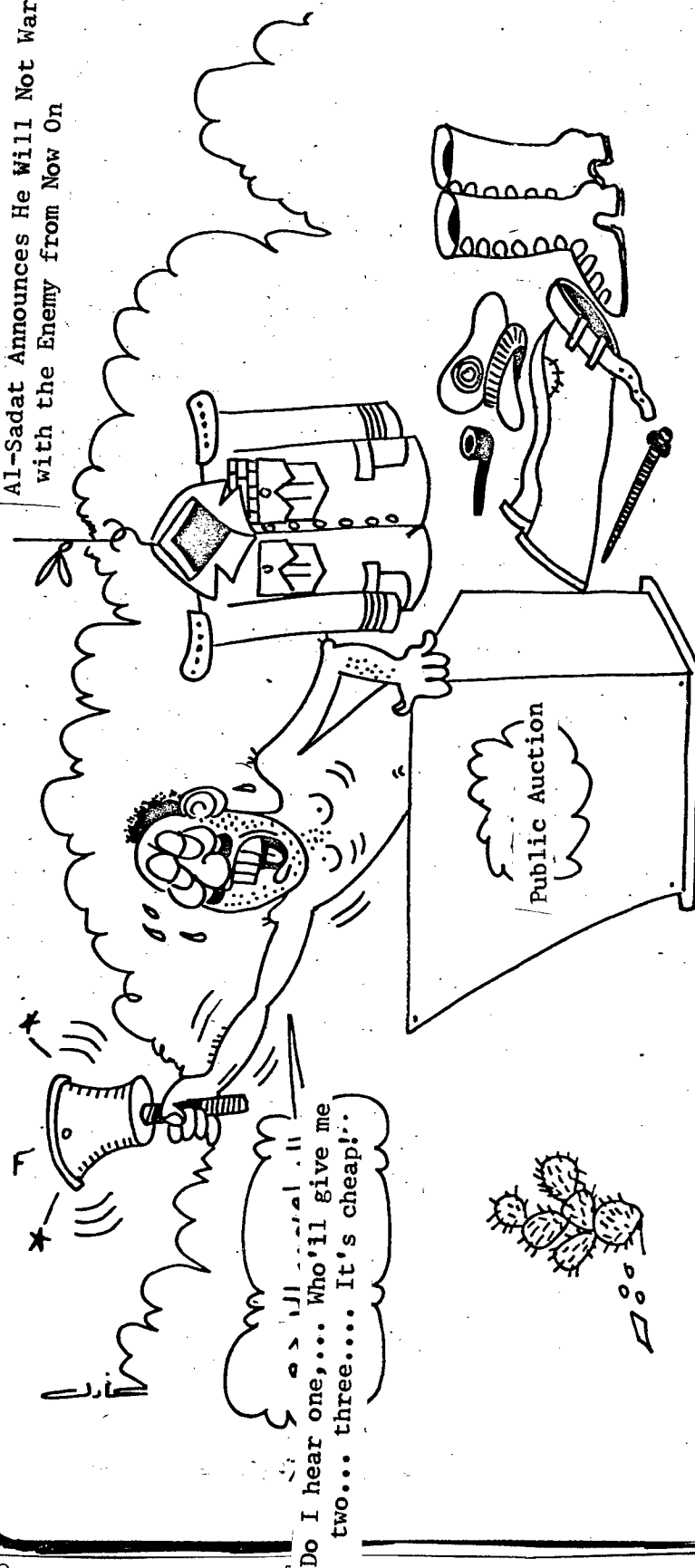
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Baghdad AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 19 Sep 78 p 8



Baghdad AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 21 Sep 78 p 8

Al-Sadat Announces He Will Not War
with the Enemy from Now On



JORDAN

PAPER SAYS SUMMIT RESULTS REQUIRE CLOSE STUDY

Amman AL-RA'Y in Arabic 19 Sep 78 p 1 JN

[Editorial: "The Camp David Results"]

[Text] Whether we like it or not, the Camp David meeting and its results is a grave event, not only because it concerns one or a group of individuals, one country and not the other, but because it concerns the fate of an entire area of this world populated by several nations.

Grave events should never be taken lightly or judged quickly or emotionally. Besides all this, the agreement concluded between Egypt and Israel, contains many obscure points which require thorough consideration and study. On the Arab sides, the agreement will require extensive and comprehensive coordination and consultations, to arrive at an Arab reply equal to this major event which will affect the Arab existence and the Palestinian cause to the core and will also affect our generation and all future generations.

If it is not permissible for us as individuals, states, citizens and rulers to pass quick judgments then it is not permissible for us to be surprised by what has happened. The agreements which took place at Camp David were the expected results in view of the disarray in the Arab ranks. We should take as a guide the pages of history, the examples of agreements concluded between the victor and the vanquished. Then we have to admit that Israel knew how to exploit the circumstances of the settlement to take what it has taken at the expense of the Arab nation, which has deep roots in the area in terms of size, history and manpower. But if the Arab nation wakes up and realizes the far-reaching effects of what occurred, if it unifies its ranks and commits its full strength, it will have no difficulty in overcoming obstacles or emerging from the clouds which are gathering in the horizon. At the least, it will be able to confront the dangers and consequences which might result from them.

Jordan has always dealt with the Palestinian cause from this principle. Therefore, as soon as the news about the results of the Camp David meeting were published, His Majesty King Husayn returned to the homeland to conduct the necessary consultations with a seriousness and a sense of historic responsibility before announcing Jordan's position.

JORDAN

CAMP DAVID ACCORDS NOT VIEWED AS DECISIVE STAGE

Amman AL-RA'Y in Arabic 19 Sep 78 p 12

[Article by George Haddad: "What After Camp David; Message to a Friend"]

[Text] What after Camp David, my philosopher friend asks?

As to why Camp David, because in the view of actual dependence and of the reality of dependence, Camp David constitutes a sharp turning point in the methods of thinking and the systems of work!!

I am answering you my friend, I am answering and answering you because I know that whoever is ignorant of what preceded Camp David is compelled to ask about what comes after Camp David.

The Camp David story begins long, long, long ago. It begins before al-Sadat, before June, before May and before all months of the year, except for October.

Our countries, my philosopher friend, need a real ability for correct evaluation in order to learn how to interpret events, why to condemn some of them and how to give responsibilities their true dimensions and their sound and correct logic.

Our countries, my friend, require that we be unfair to ourselves and that we criticize ourselves a lot, provided that such criticism is not a ritual confession exercised periodically and automatically with the aim or covering up past events and is not a new fad to project us in a new light but is rather an inner endeavor within ourselves, our administration and establishments and our method of work. This criticism must be in the form of a conscientious, rational and historical pause with the self. The destiny of our people and our homeland calls for, rather dictates, such a pause.

Our people, my friend, are waging one of the most serious fateful wars. It is a unique war. Rather, it is the only war in this age that rises to the brink of destiny, in the sense of survival or non-survival.

The war that Zionism is waging against our people is a war of attrition, eviction and annihilation. Whoever ponders our people's constant retreat within the area of their homeland, whoever observes the enormous manpower drain in our nation's body and whoever sees the escalating drain of our capabilities, brains and manpower understands the meaning of the statement that it is a war of attrition, eviction and annihilation!!

It is, my friend, a modern and civilized annihilation in which we do not see the picture of blood, of severed heads and of bodies torn apart, as used to happen in the old annihilation wars. But we see clearly through this war the final uprooting process and the actual caravan of departure.

It is the nature of this unique and fateful war that makes it a long-drawn war of attrition for which the enemy started to prepare at the outset of this century. The enemy started the skirmishes of this war in the second quarter of the century and has been waging it intensely since its state was established 30 years ago!

Despite everything, my friend, and despite all the enemy's victories, I firmly believe that the fundamental and decisive stages are still ahead of us!!

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CSO: 4802

JORDAN

BEGIN'S CUNNING IN CAMP DAVID ACCORDS SPEECH UNDERLINED

Amman AL-RA'Y in Arabic 20 Sep 78 p 6

[Article by 'Umar: "How Judaism Transforms Enemy Into Friend"]

[Text] Camp David has failed; Camp David has succeeded--this is something that we will leave alone not because it is unimportant or because it does not concern us but because what is said about it is a lot and will definitely cover all its aspects. What is important to us here is to shed light on an aspect of the farewell to Camp David speech that Begin delivered after announcement of the good news of the agreement on the need to agree.

Begin viewed his speech as a golden opportunity to implant in the mind of the world that Israel offered what no mind could imagine by accepting the principle of ceasing the construction of settlements for a period of 5 years and of being content with the development of the Israeli army in strategic positions that would prevent any Arab force from taking Israel by surprise in order to safeguard Israel's insecure security.

Amidst breathless journalists eager to convey the news of the agreement, Begin stood to praise what he called the success of the conference and of its participants. Through this praise, Begin made two extremely cunning statements.

In the first, Begin said that he will establish peace with a country that is not alien to the Jewish people because our people--the Jewish people--build the pyramids in Egypt.

These words mean that Israel, the party sacrificing for peace, has made unbelievable concessions, despite its right which is stated in the Torah and perhaps in all the lost books and despite the Jewish sweat and blood spilled during the construction of the pyramids. Despite this sacred right of Israel's and on top of it, Israel has made concessions in the Sinai, the Bank and the Strip and nobody should think of any more concessions.

The second point that Begin was eager to sneak in was his statement: There is a well-known tradition of Judaism, namely that of making the enemy a friend. The enemy is, of course, al-Sadat and the friend is, of course, al-Sadat.

But how has Judaism been able to transform the enemy into a friend? This is left for Begin, for his Torah and for all the lost books to answer.

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CSO: 4802

JORDAN

ARABS URGED TO FACE EXPECTED PRESSURES UNITED

Amman AL-RA'Y in Arabic 20 Sep 78 pp 1, 5

[Editorial: "Jordan's Position"]

[Text] The world information media and press agencies were waiting impatiently for Jordan to declare its position toward the results of the Camp David conference, considering that Jordan's name is mentioned within the framework of the accord to settle the Middle East conflict.

The Jordanian government's statement has come to remind the world that Jordan has firm, principled and clear positions toward the Palestinian issue and that Jordan cannot swerve from these positions, bargain over them or subject them to give-and-take in negotiations that cannot lead to the establishment of just and comprehensive peace in the area. Jordan was not a party to Camp David and the Camp David resolutions do not impose any legal or moral commitments on Jordan. Jordan has believed and continues to believe in the just and comprehensive solution. The breakaway of any Arab party from the responsibility of collective Arab action weakens the Arab position and the chances of reaching the desired solution.

The two Camp David accords, which do not commit Jordan to anything, have ignored the Palestinian people, their land and their rights and Jordan considers these people the main and fundamental party in the final settlement of the Palestinian issue.

Through Jordan's firm and principled position opens the opportunity anew for rebuilding the united Arab position, the other Arab countries must shoulder the responsibility of collective Arab action to achieve a comprehensive solution that guarantees restoration the Palestinian people's legitimate rights on the Palestinian soil and the comprehensive Arab rights on all fronts.

Jordan, which has shouldered and continues to shoulder the burdens and responsibilities of its honorable pan-Arab positions, will spare no effort to defend the just Arab rights and to crystallize an Arab position capable

of confronting the challenges imposed by the nature of the current phase and of the serious coming phases with their direct impact on the Arab presence and on the Palestinian issue's future.

Israel has achieved, by the admission of its leaders, a major accomplishment at Camp David, namely abolition of the role of the biggest Arab force in the Arab-Zionist conflict.

Our nation must prove in this phase that it is capable of continuing to raise the banner of right, justice and peace in their internationally acknowledged sense so that this nation may be able to face the well-known pressures as one hand and one heart because what is done is done, despite our repeated warnings, and because what will happen will be worse unless the united Arab will triumph over the elements of division, conflict, weakness and backwardness before it is too late.

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CSO: 4802

JORDAN

EDITORIAL SAYS JORDAN NOT COMMITTED TO CAMP DAVID ACCORDS

Amman AL-DUSTUR in Arabic 20 Sep 78 p 1, 15

[Editorial: "Jordanian Role Is Not Planned Abroad"]

[Text] The declared results produced by the Camp David summit conference were the focus of study in the special session of the Council of Ministers which was held yesterday afternoon under the chairmanship of His Majesty al-Husayn. The outcome of the discussion, contained in the government statement, has been fully compatible with the clear Jordanian position toward the issue.

In the light of this position, it was natural for the statement to stress that the reference to Jordan made in more than one place of the first document, called "the framework for peace in the Middle East," does not bind this country to any legal or moral commitment for the following reasons:

First, because Jordan was not a party to the conference and because it did not take part in what the conference reached. This reason is one of the acknowledged axioms in the general international law.

Second, the results produced by the tripartite summit have not received collective Arab acceptance, and not even acceptance from most of the Arab parties, especially not from the Palestinian people in their capacity as the fundamental party to the Palestinian issue. This is what the initial reactions show. Meanwhile, adherence to Arab acceptance represents the backbone of the Jordanian position which believes in Arab solidarity.

Third, the declared results have not tied the final settlement of the situation in the West Bank and Gaza Strip to the Palestinian people's right to determine their future on their land but have rather tied this settlement to negotiations in which Israel and those whom the first document describes as "representatives of the inhabitants" will participate. It is not clear whether this description also applies to the inhabitants of the Israeli settlements. This makes Israeli governmental participation in determining the future of the Palestinian land a matter of fact and

Israeli popular participation in determining the future of this land likely whereas the Jordanian position believes that determination of the future of the Palestinian soil is tied to the Palestinian people's firm right to determine their future without any kind of Israeli participation in exercising this right.

Fourth, failure to make any mention of restoration of Arab sovereignty over the Arab Jerusalem has greatly weakened the first document issued by the Camp David summit conference. This failure is not justified by the statement that the holy city is a part of the Bank and that it is one of the Palestinian people's responsibilities. It is true that Jerusalem is a part of the Bank. But it is first and foremost the crux of the issue. The determination to regain Arab sovereignty over Jerusalem as a prior condition to establish peace between any Arab side and Israel is not the responsibility of the Palestinian people alone. This is a pan-Arab and religious duty on the shoulders of every Arab and Moslem. This is why regaining Arab sovereignty over the Arab Jerusalem has been and must continue to be the prior and unalterable condition for reaching any settlement with Israel, exactly as has happened in regard to the Israeli settlements in the Sinai. It is fully obvious that Jordan's adherence to the restoration of Arab sovereignty over the Arab Jerusalem is a firm and constant position and that it has not been affected even by the Rabat summit resolutions.

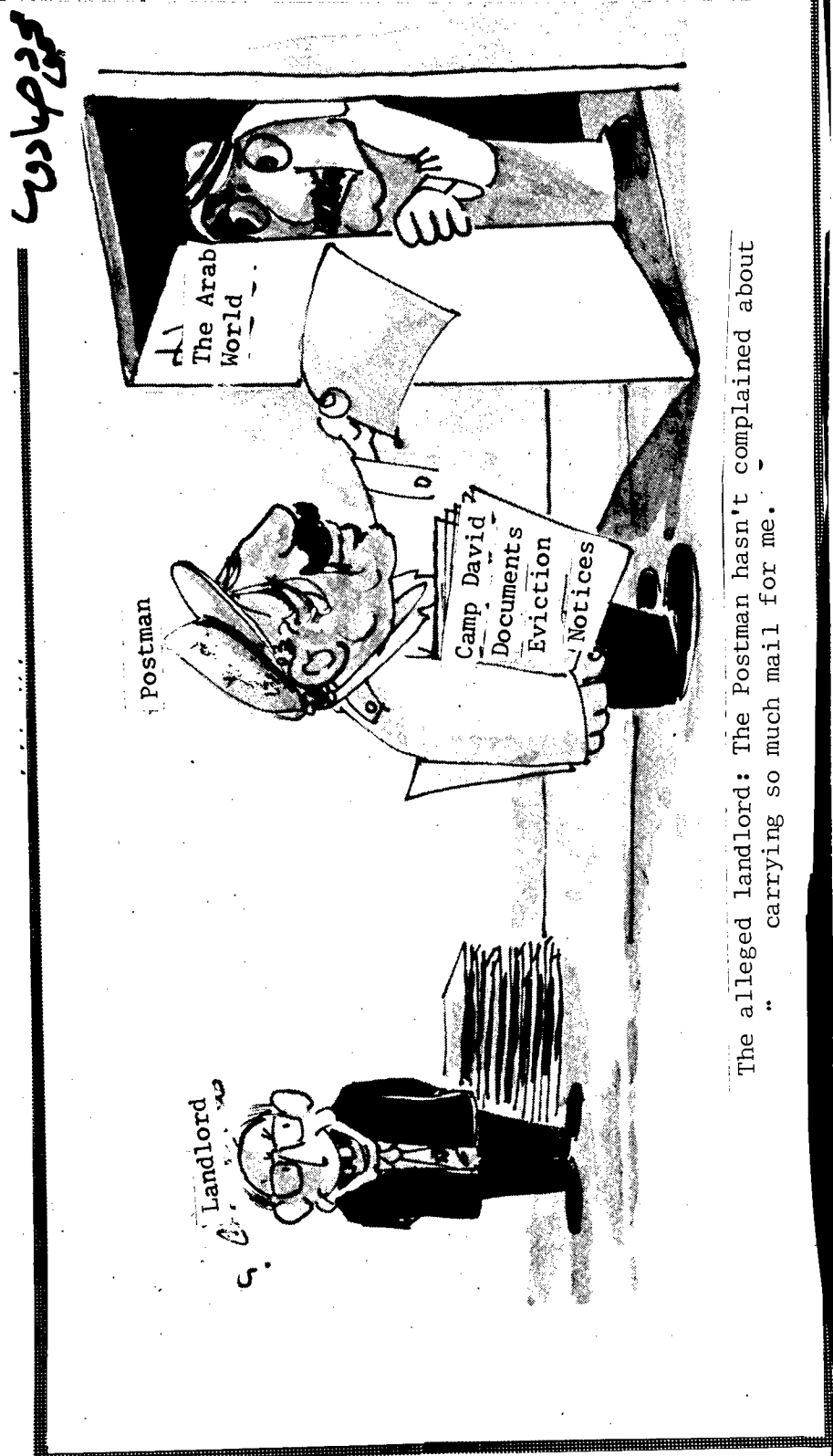
Fifth, the results declared by the Camp David summit have not considered the Arab issue a single issue whose just settlement is represented by a comprehensive solution on all the fronts. These results have divided this single issue into separate issues. It is well known that the Jordanian position and the Arab position generally considers the Arab issue a single issue in order to prevent weakening it with a separate or partial solution.

Because of all of this, Jordan has the full right to deny any legal or moral commitment toward the results produced by the tripartite summit. Moreover, Jordan has the full right to express reservations toward these results generally. This denial and this reservation do not mean that Jordan refuses to perform a positive role to establish peace in the area. But they do mean frankly and clearly that Jordan is ready to perform its pan-Arab role--a role which Jordan refuses to have planned for it abroad and at a conference in which it has not participated. This is a role that relies on Jordan's will primarily, that is established on firm mainstays from which Jordan has not swerved and that derives its effectiveness from Arab solidarity which Jordan considers, in addition to clear vision, an essential basis for the action for the cause.

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CSO: 4802



Amman AL-DUSTUR in Arabic 20 Sep 78 p 16



The alleged landlord: The Postman hasn't complained about
 " carrying so much mail for me."

KUWAIT

SADAT CHARGED WITH SEPARATING EGYPT FROM ARAB COUNTRIES

Kuwait AL-QABAS in Arabic 19 Sep 78 p 1

[Editorial: "Farewell, Mr President; Congratulations Mr Begin"]

[Text] Only now have we realized, Mr President Muhammad Anwar al-Sadat, that you have proceeded on a path from which you will not retreat or return.

The moment you put your signature on the Camp David documents, the Arab history of Egypt ended and the Egyptian history with Israel began.

You have emigrated from the land of Arab destiny without a farewell and you have turned your face from the direction to which the Arabs turn for prayer to an opposite direction. You have opened your heart and your arms for the enemy of Arabism and Islam. An Egyptian-Israeli "axis" has risen in the heart of our Arab world and will, by necessity, lead to an opposite Arab "alliance" which will view you exactly as it views Menaghem Begin. This is what is difficult for the Arab soul to endure.

Your signature on the Camp David accords has wiped out your previous signatures on the Arab accords in the Rabat summit, before it and after it.

We have read Begin's address at the ceremony to sign the final accords of the Camp David conference and have found that every word in his address oozing with ecstasy, pride and victory. We have also read your address and it was closer to humility, going along with others and humility [sic]. There were two victors and two losers at Camp David. The victors are Begin and Carter and the losers are you and Saladin al-Ayyubi.

The Arabs in all their countries would have supported you if you had succeeded in gaining the minimum of the two conditions on which all the Arabs, from the most extreme left to the most extreme right, from the most learned to the most ignorant and from the richest to the poorest, are unanimous.

There are two fundamentally modest conditions that are not denied by international legitimacy or by any human principle: Withdrawal from all the Arab territories occupied after the 1967 war and the establishment of a state for the millions of Palestinians displaced by Israel and Zionism. Despite this, the price that the Arabs would have had to pay in return for these two modest conditions would have been extremely exorbitant, namely abandoning the Palestinian soil forever for Israel to be established on it and for this intruding state to become an original partner with the Middle East states.

You have gone to Camp David and will return without achieving either of these two conditions.

What has happened at Camp David is more like surgery to detach the Egyptian twin attached to the other Arab twins.

You have separated Egypt from the Arab countries with the blessing of the United States and with Zionist encouragement. You have gotten for Egypt a clear-cut agreement and have left for the other Arabs an ambiguous "declaration of principles" in which every word needs a dictionary and a declaration.

In the Egyptian agreement, we read very clearly that Israel will withdraw to the international borders existing between Egypt and Palestine when the latter was under British occupation.

We also read that you will sign a peace treaty before a single Israeli soldier withdraws from the Sinai.

We also read that you will exchange diplomatic representation with Israel, that a part of the Sinai will remain under occupation and that the final withdrawal will not take place for a long time afterwards -- a time which may reach 3 years after you sign the peace treaty.

We also read that Israel will have an equal use of the Sinai airports like Egypt and other countries and that its ships will cross the Sinai [presumably the Suez Canal] and the straits without any conditions or restrictions.

What have you offered the other brothers (Syria, Jordan, Lebanon and the Palestinian people) at Camp David?

You have offered a declaration of principles that disregards Jerusalem and the Sinai and that calls for:

Adopting Resolution 242 as a basis for negotiation in accordance with the Israeli interpretation of withdrawal from "occupied Arab territories."

Confirming the Israeli military presence in the West Bank and Gaza during the interim period, which is an Israeli demand.

Concluding bilateral peace treaties, which is an Israeli demand.

Establishing security arrangements, which is an Israeli demand.

Establishing normal relations, which is an Israeli demand.

Full recognition, which is an Israeli demand.

Abolishing the economic boycotts, which is an Israeli demand.

Exploring the possibilities of economic development, which is an Israeli demand.

Discussing the compensation issues, which is an Israeli-Arab demand.

Nobody knows when the interim period, set for 5 years, will begin because it has to be preceded by hard negotiations that may last 5, 10 or 15 years. The negotiations may never end while the Israeli ambassador in Cairo is giving parties and holding celebrations and while Egypt's ambassador in Jerusalem is talking about the joint projects between "the two friendly countries."

What will your position, Mr President, be after signing the peace treaty with Israel if the Israeli army invades Jordan, for example? What will you do if war erupts between Syria and Israel? How will you act if we here in the Gulf and the Arabian Peninsula are exposed to Israeli air raids against the oil sources or to invasion, which is something included in the plans of the greater Israel?

What will the view be toward the joint Arab action, toward Arab solidarity, toward the fateful issues, toward the Arab organizations and toward bilateral cooperation?

We will be glad when Israel evacuates the Egyptian land and we will accept the word of the great Egyptian people when they say their word freely and courageously on the accords that you signed at Camp David.

As for the other Arab peoples, they have already said their word. You have turned your back to them without a word of farewell.

You have proceeded on a path from which you will not retreat or return,
the path of Israel.

Don't be surprised then, Mr President, that we are saying to you: farewell.

And congratulations to you, Mr Begin.

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CSO: 4802

KUWAIT

ACCORDS CALLED TOTAL SURRENDER TO ISRAEL

Kuwait AL-RA'Y AL-'AMM in Arabic 19 Sep 78 pp 1, 19

[Editorial: "David's Ambush"]

[Text] Those who keep up with us in this corner certainly remember that since the beginning of the Camp David conference we expected this fearful outcome with which the conference has ended. What is more, we said verbatim 2 days ago: "The fact is that we pointed out long ago that the course seeks to achieve a new bilateral agreement on the Sinai to be wrapped with a few elastic words concerning the Palestinian destiny as a justification and a reinforcement for the Egyptian negotiator's position."

This is exactly what has happened. The conference has concluded with this outcome: A separate agreement that ousts Egypt finally from the Arab-Israeli conflict and places it on the threshold of concluding a peace treaty after only 3 months and then Eliahu Ben Elisar will most probably be the first Israeli ambassador in Cairo!

If, by any criterion, it is possible to consider the accord concerning the Sinai an Egyptian-Israeli peace accord, then it is certainly considered an absolute surrender to Israel insofar as the Palestinian issue and the entire Arab-Israeli conflict are concerned. We even believe that the Egyptian negotiator allowed himself to fall into an ambush prepared in advance by the United States and Israel.

Perhaps it is crystal clear now that the "magic" of the 99 cards in America's hand to exert pressure on Israel have turned against the Egyptian negotiator and have been transformed into cards to exert full pressure on him, thus making him get embroiled in what nobody has ever committed.

In fact, we do not know what aspect of gain can the Egyptian negotiator present to rational people in this nation, even to his own minister of foreign affairs.

If the Egyptian negotiator has gotten himself involved as a result of the rivalry of intransigence against the other Arabs, then this negotiator has, in this regard, surpassed the intransigence of the Israeli negotiator. But what a difference between the Egyptian negotiator's intransigence and that of Menaghem Begin! The former has been intransigent in making concessions whereas the latter has been quite the opposite. We mean that the Egyptian negotiator has given what he does not own to somebody who does not deserve. The Egyptian negotiator has given with a generosity that confirms that he wants to get rid of the Arabs and of their cause at any price. He wants the Sinai (demilitarized and with nothing in it, of course) and fails to get anything for the Palestinians, who are the axis of the conflict and the core of the problem.

It is thus obvious that the Egyptian negotiator wanted to confirm his withdrawal from the cause and acted without any consideration, and not even as a favor, for the other Arabs. The Egyptian negotiator's concern has been to regain sovereignty (even hollow sovereignty) over the Sinai. As for Palestine, let it be left for Israel to dispose of its people and of its future as it wants.

While writing these words, the television carried pictures of the celebration to sign the accords. Darkness spread before the eyes and tears rolled from them and we knew not what to say. The defeat was eloquent and we felt that those who were laughing were laughing at us as human beings, as a history and as a cause.

We said: How trivial are we and how orphaned? Oppression, humiliation and defeat are ours. We die under the hoofs of the victorious, depart in despair and are driven by the winds of disappointment.

The doors have been closed in our faces and the pictures and swords of the White House have penetrated us and entered our heads. Shame has overflowed, the tears of comfort have disappeared from our eyes and we have wept like the desert.

What time are you, we asked? It was the time of the wound and of blood. The scaffold is over the threshold and on the mast there are the remnants of a flag and the remnants of Arabs. The mast is crying and burning and the flags are mad letters. People are bemoaning him who leads them and write about him what has never been written.

The delirium persists and the Arabs cry:

Baghdad, O citadel of the lions. And the nostalgia for Baghdad overflows.

What if suddenly Baghdad goes tomorrow to Damascus and we again become Arabs,
not Abbasids or Umayyads?

The televised ceremony ends and we move aimlessly among the Arab capitals
shouting: Are you Arabs?

8494

CSO: 4802

ARAB, PALESTINIAN STRUGGLE TO CONTINUE

Kuwait AL-WATAN in Arabic 19 Sep 78 p 1

[Editorial: "Falsification of History and Expected Deluge"]

[Text] When the weapons are laid down, the victor has to submit his conditions and the defeated has to sign them obediently. This is how wars have always ended. But has the Arab-Israeli conflict ended with the same historical rule? It is difficult for the Arab nation to accept this rule. Nations have fought and have triumphed and been defeated. Throughout its various phases, history has witnessed thousands of wars and thousands of triumphs and defeats. History has also recorded agreements between the victorious and the defeated. Not a single treaty terminating a war has been free of provisions for establishing "just" peace. But the fact is that this peace has always been tantamount to the sovereignty of the victorious and recognition by the defeated of this sovereignty.

We say this after conclusion of the tripartite conference at Camp David and on the occasion of the unanimous agreement of Carter, al-Sadat and Begin that signing the two accords produced by the conference was a "historic moment."

But the Arab people from water to water [the Arab Gulf to the Atlantic Ocean] are unanimous that the history of those moments is a falsified history that distorts our nation's struggle, sacrifices, will and future. Since the beginning of this century, this nation's history abounds with struggle against colonialism. The liberation war against Zionism, which was an extension of the British colonialism and then became an instrument of the U.S. imperialism, has not stopped since the Palestinian revolution of 1936 and until the present day. The stubborn struggle of the Palestinian people, and the Arab peoples behind them, will not end with these sparkling phrases that speak about "peace in the cradle of civilization and of religions."

The Camp David accord has not only dropped the Palestinian people's rights but has also dropped the Egyptian people's right to their sovereignty over the Sinai, the Syrian people's rights to their sovereignty over the Golan and the rights of all the Arab peoples to liberation. This accord has wasted the Arab blood sacrificed in the wars of 1948, 1956, 1967 and 1973 and the Palestinian blood that has never dried since the Palestinian issue started.

The accord, drawn up in a bright formula, has come not only as capitulation to the aggressor but has also kept the path open "for the kings of the earth to come to him kneeling," as Begin said in Arabic at the outset of his speech to the Knesset during the famous Jerusalem visit. The "summit" has drawn up a framework for negotiations between Jordan, Syria, Lebanon and the other neighbors so that this framework may constitute the rope with which the Arab countries are to be dragged one after the other to recognize aggression's victory and to abandon the Palestinian entity.

Even though we will not dwell too long on these void accords, we know how much the Arabs have paid to open the direct dialogue. The Lebanese war constituted a basic "dowry" to win over the enemy's favor. This is in addition to the division that has afflicted the Arab world since the initiative. But we cannot estimate now the new blood deluge threatening the area as a price for implementing the "false historic documents." Perhaps al-Sadat was talking about this deluge when he speculated some time ago about the "lakes of blood in Syria, Lebanon and others."

This nation has been destined to continue to make sacrifices in the face of all those who want to subjugate and crucify it. This is why it will refuse to be tamed now in the name of peace so that it may become "cow producing milk generously" in the American corral. But this rejection must be embodied in national alliances to foil the plot against the Palestinian head and the Arab body.

8494

CSO: 4802

KUWAIT

SADAT'S AGREEMENT TO CONCESSIONS OPEN TO SPECULATION

Kuwait AL-SIYASAH in Arabic 20 Sep 78 p 20

[Article by Mustafa Abu-Lubdah: "But Why Has Carter Agreed to Abandon All Previous U.S. Plans and Why Has President al-Sadat Agreed to Make Such Concessions?"]

[Text] Even the independent settlement between Egypt and Israel that may result from the Camp David conference is not surprising. Even though such a settlement was abolished from previous American plans and was rejected constantly by the official Egyptian program, it was still constantly projected as a possibility. The Egyptian minister of state for foreign affairs had pointed out that Cairo may resort to this possibility if forced to.

Even handing over the Palestinian future to parties other than the PLO in accordance with the Camp David conference is not surprising. Even though the United States has exerted direct and indirect efforts to hand over to the PLO, after taming it, the responsibility of leading the Palestinian future, resorting to other alternatives has always been a possibility in the minds of all the parties concerned, if Washington were forced to resort to it.

In other words, the declared accords produced by the Camp David conference contain no surprise whatsoever. It is the estimate of the professional political circles that the only surprise in the declared results of the Camp David conference is that Cairo and Washington offered Israel concessions beyond what had been expected and this has given rise to the following question: What made the U.S. president offer Israel all these concessions at a time when the U.S. administration is eager to contain the Zionist ambitions and to obstruct the plans for the present Israeli administration? What has made President al-Sadat accept these concessions in return for which he has apparently gotten nothing convincing? The

justification for these questions is that the president of a country like the United States was not compelled to give the Israeli leadership all these victories and all these cards, especially since there is between the present U.S. administration and Israeli administration enough variance and conflict of views to make the observers surprised to find Carter offer Begin concessions of such dimensions that strengthen Begin's domestic and international position to a degree that the United States is supposed not to want.

This is unless there are other secret arrangements that have not been made public. The same question applies to President al-Sadat. The Egyptian minister of foreign affairs resigned on the grounds that the president offered concessions beyond what is required. It is no secret that agreement to extend official and diplomatic recognition to Israel (even though this recognition is stipulated fundamentally in the U.N. resolutions approved by all the Arab countries) -- this independent Egyptian recognition gives Israel the biggest card in the negotiation supposed to take place in return for no Israeli concession of the same dimensions.

So what has made President al-Sadat give this concession if there are no other undeclared arrangements of the same dimension to guarantee a final solution to the Palestinian problem different than the solution mentioned in the signed and published document. It is hard to believe that this document can be implemented.

It is true that U.S. President Carter has emerged from the Camp David summit with personal victories and with a popularity that qualifies him to run for the presidency for a second time. But is this price which Carter has gotten enough to interpret the political concessions he has made at the expense of his administration's program and plans to solve the Middle East issue?

Is this personal gain by President Carter enough to say that Carter exerted pressures on President al-Sadat to make concessions of the kind that may affect the Egyptian position on the Arab arena, considering that the Sinai issue and the Palestinian issue have been separated so that each of them may be dealt with in accordance with an independent agreement and with separate steps?

These questions are liable to open a broader sphere for speculation that there are secret arrangements that have been agreed upon to provide a caesarean solution to the Palestinian problem, that such arrangements are what made Carter outwardly abandon his administration's plans to solve the Middle East crisis and that they are what made President al-Sadat make concessions of the kind that made his minister of foreign affairs resign. The speculation on the presence of secret arrangements is supposed to be coupled with the conviction that nobody other than the three presidents has been familiarized with these arrangements so that they may remain secret even to their top aides.

KUWAIT

CAMP DAVID DOCUMENTS CALLED LEGALLY VOID

Kuwait AL-WATAN in Arabic 20 Sep 78 p 1

[Article by Sulayman Khalid al-Muwatta' al-Muhami: "Camp David Documents Are Void"]

[Text] It is sad and shameful that the end of the Arab people's struggle for a fateful issue is the end reached by the Camp David accords. The blood and souls of martyrs throughout a half century have been and continue to spring and flow into one course, the course of purging the entire Arab land from Zionism--the mainstay of world imperialism. But what has been reached has torpedoed and toppled all the sublime ideals and national goals that have always been the axis of Arab solidarity that seeks the desired unity through common struggle and efforts made out of faith in this nation's common destiny.

What has been done at Camp David is, frankly speaking and as pronounced by these accords, an independent peace with the enemy and is an actual and legal entrenchment of the enemy's presence. What has been done is also in full conflict with all the resolutions of Arab summits and other Arab conferences at various governmental and popular levels since the Khartoum conference which was held in the wake of the 1967 setback and the later conferences of Cairo, Alexandria, Algiers and Rabat.

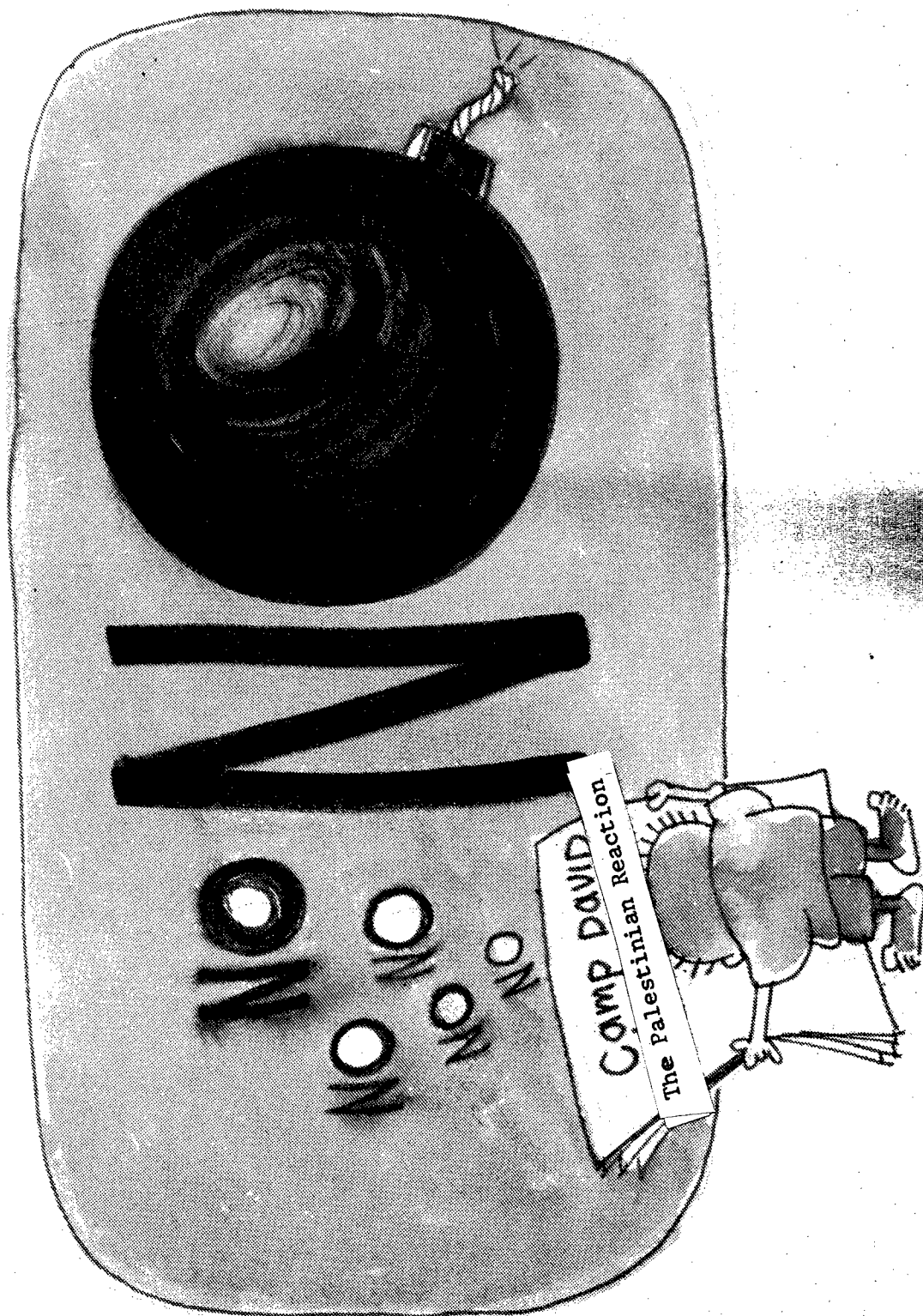
If the Palestinian tragedy started with the Balfour declaration which gave that which it did not own to him who did not deserve, then the Camp David accords have been signed by him who does not represent with an evil and greedy usurper. If the Balfour declaration was made under conditions during which the Arab nation was living under the yoke of the colonialists, then it behooves us not to let the Camp David accords pass at this time in which the Arab nation from the Gulf to the ocean has reached a degree of national awareness and feeling that does not make it possible to keep silent or to turn a blind eye to what is intended against this nation.

A careful study of the documents demonstrates clearly that they are American-Israeli documents in content, timing and place and concluded in the absence of the people owning the firm rights and of the real representatives of the Arab cause. This is why the accords, at least legally, are null and void, exactly as the Balfour declaration is null and void.

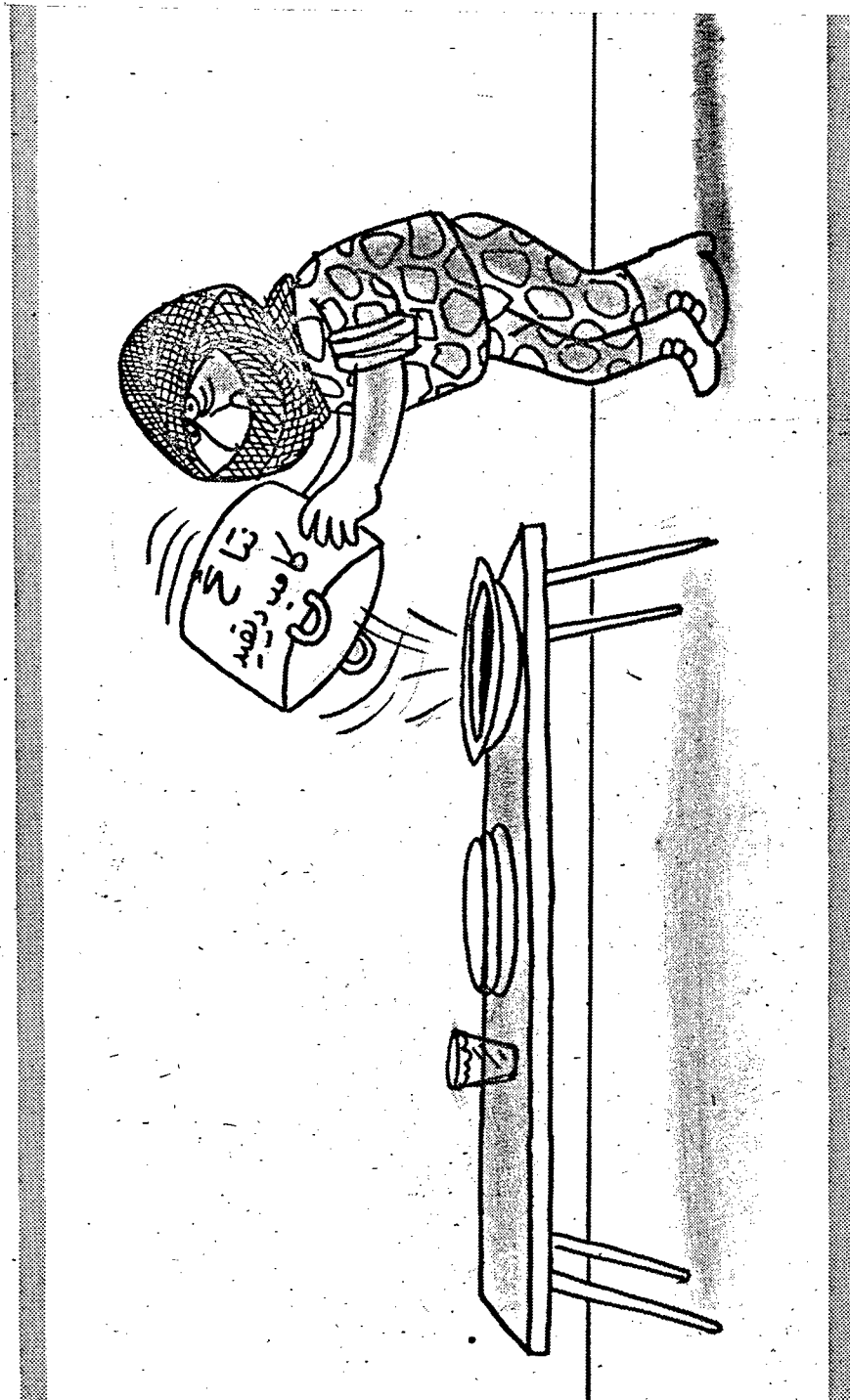
The conscience of every Arab appeals to the Arab governments to denounce what has been done at Camp David and to call for the convocation of an urgent Arab summit to set matters aright and in the direction of a national course backed up and supported by the Arab people and to formulate an Arab strategy whose goal is to achieve this nation's demand of full liberation of the usurped Arab territories, to realize the Palestinian people's hopes and aspirations to establish their independent state on the entire Arab Palestinian soil and to overcome this tribulation which has been created by the said accords.

8494

CSO: 4802



Kuwait AL-WATAN in Arabic 20 Sep 78 p 17



"Results of Camp David"

LEBANON

DAMASCUS SUMMIT URGED TO DRAW UP PLAN TO CONFRONT CAMP DAVID 'TREASON'

Beirut AL-SAFIR in Arabic 19 Sep 78 ppl, 12

/Editorial: "Damascus Summit and Camp David Treason"/

/Text/ Finally, President Anwar al-Sadat signed at Camp David that which even the people doubting his patriotism most had not expected him to sign.

Al-Sadat signed two documents: In the first, he abandoned the Palestinian issue in its entirety and in the second, he exchanged what he did not get in regard to the Palestinian issue for fundamental concessions undermining the Egyptian national sovereignty over the Sinai.

It is easy for people to say things to the effect that al-Sadat's signing of the two documents is like "somebody conceding what he does not own to somebody who does not deserve the concession" or things to the effect that what al-Sadat has done is "treason which the Arab masses will answer for," etcetera.

All this which people may say is simply true. But even if it is true, it is not the correct position to take if it is confined to condemnation, statements and the resolutions "to work to foil the treasonous and capitulationist plan..." etcetera.

The correct position is action.

Before action, there must be a plan.

Before the plan, there must be an evaluation of the true significance of what has happened.

Al-Sadat's signing of the two Camp David documents is not just a signing by a feeble, faltering and treasonous ruler because it is a signing that is bolstered by numerous elements of great weight--elements that must be taken into account.

This signing enjoys the support of:

1. The United States of America with its international weight, with its Arab influence, its Israeli influence and with its far-reaching and entwined interests throughout the Arab land.
2. The western world as a whole, meaning the NATO and non-NATO western Europe, Canada, Japan and the other countries under their control or within their sphere of influence.
3. The Arab oil powers, even though they have not declared their support as a precaution against this or that factor in their domestic calculations or due to the factors of Arab and Islamic reputation. The Arab oil powers are followed by other Arab states that turn in their orbit.
4. Other international forces with a popular character which we have been accustomed, at least since 1967, to classify as pro-Arab forces--forces such as, for example, the democratic socialist parties of western Europe. These forces' support for the Arabs has been established on the basis of Resolution 242 within whose framework the signing by al-Sadat can be placed--with the help of efforts for legal analysis.
5. At the level of the non-official international forces, the signing by al-Sadat at Camp David enjoys the support of at least the official Catholic circles because Pope John Paul urged Christians all over the world to pray for the success of Camp David.

By the criteria on whose basis the conference was held, this conference has succeeded in reaching the settlement according to the U.S.-Israeli logic.

These are the general headings of the forces that support the signature made by al-Sadat at Camp David. These are forces whose weight nobody is thinking of underestimating. However, simplifying matters may lead us to a position tantamount to a serious underestimate.

But on the other hand, it must also be said that the forces that stand against this shameful signing are of no less weight or significance than those that support it, but only if definite plans are crystallized to benefit from their full weight and importance.

1. Foremost among these forces are the Arab governments, organizations, parties and masses that understand the degree of the treason committed by al-Sadat and that aspire to answer and wipe out this treason.
2. Also foremost among these forces is the "Egyptian patriotism"--this "effective force" that embraces in its conscience historical concern for the safety of the Egyptian land and that realizes deep in its mind that it is impossible to separate the Egyptian issue from the Arab issue generally

and from the Palestinian issue in particular because this force has learned from its past and present experience that it is impossible to separate Egypt's security from the Arabism and security of Palestine.

A reservation must be made here: In the short run, the Egyptian popular reactions may be at variance with this visualization. But this variance will only be momentary and the result of suffering caused by a situation whose pressures are secret to nobody.

3. The Palestinian people's national and combatant movement represented by the PLO and the fedayeen organizations under its umbrella and by the large masses that support the PLO whether in the refugee camps, in the Arab capitals or in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The masses there have constantly presented the greatest images of steadfastness and of adherence to a national position that rejects bargaining and capitulation and the greatest images of rallying around the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

4. The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries which oppose the outcome of Camp David stand behind these Arab forces that are against the logic of treason. This major international power is adopting this position at two levels: A level connected with its private international calculations and a level connected with its principled positions. Within the first level and in agreement with the second level stands the statement reiterated frequently by the top Soviet circles, namely that "the Middle East is located very closely to the southern borders of the Soviet Union."

The third summit of the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front will begin in Damascus tomorrow. This summit will be faced by the challenge of what has happened at Camp David. The Front was born in response to al-Sadat's initiative. Now the Arab masses expect the Damascus Summit to weigh with realistic scales what happened at Camp David and to draft a confrontation plan on this basis.

Only then will the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front have actually presented an alternative to the logic of treason embodied in documents and in signatures and will it have mapped a path for a historic confrontation with the treason that has entered the phase of completion.

8494

CSO: 4802

LEBANON

SUMMIT DOCUMENTS SEEN AS FACE SAVING OPERATION

Beirut AL-SAFIR in Arabic 19 Sep 78 p 11

[Article by Muhammad Mashmushi: "Success of Individuals More Than Success of Agreement"]

[Text] What do the two Camp David documents mean?

In the final analysis, they are a joint face-saving operation for the three parties to the conference: Carter, al-Sadat and Begin. Such a face-saving operation was expected, rather certain, since the first moments of announcement of the conference to the moments of its convocation.

Carter, as agreed unanimously by all the U.S. information sources, put himself in the balance as of the moment he decided to issue the invitation to the conference. It is axiomatic that he would not permit al-Sadat-Begin conflict to undermine his position, and especially the position of the U.S. influence in Egypt and Israel, or to reduce his popularity which had actually begun to decline in the U.S. public opinion polls.

Perhaps Carter's statement--Carter was the only one to talk about the still existing major obstacles--that there is need for more efforts and sweat to solve the remaining problems reveals that Carter's eye was focused more on the "success" of Camp David and of Carter personally than on the "success" of the Middle East settlement today, tomorrow or after tomorrow.

Al-Sadat also wanted to save his face. Perhaps his persistent demand that Carter play the role of a "full partner" means that he wanted to seek the protection of the latter or to wear his mask so that he may overcome the "dilemma" of his initiative which gave him nothing and to which he could not even give the resignation which he had promised in the beginning.

The fact is that the Camp David "dilemma" was the alternative about which al-Sadat had spoken repeatedly when he said that he had numerous alternatives in case the initiative failed. It was Carter, and not al-Sadat,

who was required to find a way out of the new "dilemma" and this is what actually happened in the two documents that were signed.

In anticipation of all possibilities, al-Sadat made one concession after the other, without being asked to do so by anybody, so that he may make the task of his two friends, Carter and Begin, easier. A simple comparison between the Egyptian plan presented to the conference and the two documents issued by this conference reveals a surprising concord that gives the impression that America and Israel accepted Egypt's viewpoint whereas the fact is that al-Sadat's Egypt is the party that offered them what satisfies their aspirations and ambitions: A separate solution between Egypt and Israel, selling out the Palestinian people's cause finally and restricting this cause to the Palestinians who will agree to the self-rule proposed by Begin months ago.

Also Begin himself wanted to save his face. He had announced that he clings to the Israeli settlements in the Sinai and the West Bank and to signing a peace treaty with Egypt before any new withdrawal is made. Concerning the settlements in Sinai, Begin referred the issue to the Knesset. Regarding the settlements in the West Bank and Gaza, Begin succeeded in blocking any discussion on them and only talked about refraining from the establishment of new settlements. In regard to the peace treaty with Egypt, he signed a document that stipulates that this treaty be concluded before any withdrawal is made from Sinai or from other parts.

It is enough for Begin, from his viewpoint, to succeed in taking Egypt out of the military and political battle against Israel to be able to tell the Israelis that he returned from Camp David with the "Israeli peace" in his packet. It also suffices that al-Sadat who had repeatedly declared that he would not sign any separate agreement with Israel did agree to two separate documents--one concerning the Sinai, the second concerning the West Bank and no third document on the Golan, for example--and that in 3 months he will sign a peace treaty concerning the Sinai while the Israeli forces, settlements and airfields continue to exist in the heart of the Egyptian territories.

But have Carter, al-Sadat and Begin succeeded in their face-saving operation?

The fact is that they have succeeded temporarily, even though the degree of success varies from one to the other. Perhaps the news of the successive resignations in Egypt in protest against the accord is an indication of the degree of al-Sadat's "success" in saving his face, especially since those resigning are among the ones who enthusiastically approved al-Sadat's visit to Jerusalem and the series of concessions he has made since then. Just the resignation of Muhammad Ibrahim Kamil, Ashraf Ghurbal, and Usamah al-Baz confirms that what al-Sadat offered at Camp David was a lot more than what he offered during his visit to Jerusalem and during his meeting

with Begin in Ismailia, in addition to abandoning the number one Arab issue: The unity of the policy vis-a-vis the enemy for the past 30 years.

The fact is that they have also succeeded in gaining more time in preparation for a new round which will be aimed directly against the Palestinian resistance and against Syria and directed fundamentally against all the Arab states and forces in the area following a liberationist line emanating from the oneness of the Arab battle against colonialism, imperialism, Zionism and Arab reaction.

Though Carter has taken into account the Soviet reaction to the possibility of the presence of U.S. forces in the area, al-Sadat has not taken into account any Arab reaction to his separate treaty with Israel.

Even though Begin has taken into account the Knesset in its capacity as representative, at least theoretically, of the Israeli popular currents and has referred to this Knesset the issue of the settlements, al-Sadat has taken into account nobody in Egypt even though he repeats daily the song of "democracy" and of the "state of institutions."

In any case, the matter may not end here.

If the obstacles about which Carter spoke appear in the path of implementing the new agreement or the new "alternative," it must be that al-Sadat will offer new alternatives to save his face! [Last part of article omitted by censor].

8494

CSO: 4802

VIEW THAT ACCORDS WILL LEAD TO STABILITY QUESTIONED

Beirut AL-SAFIR in Arabic 20 Sep 78 p 11

[Article by Mustafa al-Husayni: "Good Omens of Stability!"]

[Text] In the next few days, long and numerous columns in many papers in the world will be filled with welcome for "the first peace agreement between an Arab country and Israel." Commentators will, and have actually begun, to heap praise on "al-Sadat's courage, Begin's wisdom and Carter's devotion." The same papers will pour words of censure on the Arabs and non-Arabs rejecting the "peace agreement." The world press will talk about "the elements with the interest in instability in the area" and will define these elements all along a broad front beginning with the Palestinian resistance and Colonel al-Qadhdhafi and ending with the Soviet Union which finds in the area's instability the suitable atmosphere to regain the influence it has lost in the Middle East.

The "refrain" on which this tune, which has already begun, will focus is the "refrain" of stability in this important area with its strategic position which makes it the "navel" of the old world, the vital artery linking its Far East with the new world in the far west and the center containing the most important arteries of the international commercial maritime traffic and the most important commodity--to these papers and to the interests behind them--transported along these arteries, namely oil or this strategic substance without which the western civilization will die. It is also important to vary the "refrain" of stability in an area in which the coffers of the rulers--usually found outside their countries--are bulging with hundreds of billions of dollars. To survive and to perform its major message, the western civilization needs these dollars to be repumped, as oil is pumped, into the arteries of the western economy, the mainstay of this great western civilization.

So the "refrain" is stability.

But will this accord actually lead to stability?

A man does not need to know much political science and many of its laws to say that stability is established on the attainment of the point of equilibrium in the balances of power.

A man does not need to know much political science to say that the provisions of the accord and the framework governing it further upset the already disturbed balance of powers in the area and introduce an element of imbalance in the international balances. The accord does this in the following cases, among many others:

1. The accord detaches the Sinai militarily and in terms of security from Egypt, thus moving Egypt's first defense line to the Suez Canal. This means that if Egypt wants to avoid being dealt the first hostile blow in its heartland, which begins with the Suez Canal, it will have to either militarize or to develop the Sinai. Militarizing it is prohibited by the dictates of the accord and developing it will expose an enormous population, development and construction density to that first blow.

This is an obvious addition to the imbalance between the "victorious" Israel and the "defeated" Egypt or the basis on which al-Sadât chose to behave.

2. The document on "the framework of peace in the Middle East" disregards an entire people and places a part of these people for an interim period under the control of any authority hostile to them to be then annexed to the authority most ferociously hostile to their cause and aspirations, namely the Jordanian authority and the Israeli authority.

This is another obvious addition to the disturbance in the balance between Israel and the Palestinians. This balance has been suffering from an obvious and flagrant flaw since 1948.

By the logic of those who support this stability in the west, this point creates a strong yeast for instability in the area. What is a better cause to create instability than denial of the right of an entire people to a national political entity?

3. The two aforementioned points place Transjordan and Egypt under the shadow of the Israeli militarism or in its "hip pocket," as athletes say. The Israeli forces will be only 3 kilometers from Egypt's international borders (which Israel has been kind enough to recognize) whereas the Egyptian forces, "deleted" to the point of dissolution, will not be permitted to come closer than 50 kilometers from the same borders, which are at the same time Israel's borders. In the West Bank, the borders and the security measures will be determined after 5 years. It is understood that not a single military bullet (as something different from a police bullet) will be permitted to be present on the land of the West Bank.

4. The provisions in the accord concerning the early warning stations (it is understood that they will be American and similar to what was done in Sinai in 1975) and its provisions concerning U.S. guarantees for the accord will give the United States a military presence and an influence in the area exceeding whatever the United States has gained since al-Sadat assumed power. This will take place at the expense of the Soviet presence on the one hand and at the expense of the local military forces (Arab and Israeli) on the other hand. This is not considered a disturbance of the international balance, which is the base of stability, by the definition of those same people who play the tune of peace, stability and prosperity.

Let us wait and see. [Last part of article omitted by censor]

8494

CSO: 4802

CLEARLY DEFINED GOALS SAID NECESSARY FOR LEBANESE DIPLOMACY

Beirut AL-'AMAL in Arabic 19 Sep 78 pp 1, 7

/Article by Dr Ibrahim Najjar: "Questions After Camp David; Clear Position Required"/

/Text/ We here in Lebanon are not interested so much in the content of the results produced by the Camp David summit as we are in the fact that the summit has ended. The results of the summit were known in advance because the United States, Egypt and other Arab countries concerned were seeking continuation of the negotiations and the achievement of peace between the most important frontline country on the one hand and Israel on the other.

The contents of what the Camp David summit has achieved may be historic and may be no more than a diplomatic stopover in wait for the historic events that will follow the summit and that will come in time.

However, the ending of the summit will be beneficial to Lebanon because the western countries no longer have a pretext to procrastinate in extending a helping hand to entrench Lebanon's independence, security, sovereignty, the unity of its lands and the foundations of its future. We were told in the past to exercise self-restraint and to prevent the spread of the atmosphere of confrontation and of domestic war and the eruption of foreign war and it is now our right to ask, having paid the bills of blood and destruction, the countries that have led us to our present situation to repay our bills.

From now on, it seems that the security setbacks that may afflict us are liable to be solved in a fundamental manner through the use of the physician's scalpel and the surgery table so that the same causes may not lead to consequences similar to those that have afflicted us. A change in the fundamental mainstays of the political situation engulfing us has become necessary, possible, likely and expected.

Renewal for the deterrence forces cannot be a conventional and routine renewal surrounded by danger and wrapped in the elements of oppression.

The support for the legitimate authority cannot be confined to goodwill because this legitimacy is now required to be present freely, effectively and actively and in a manner compatible with the aspirations of those who are asking this legitimacy to give more than it has given so far.

The Lebanese diplomacy cannot continue to be in a whirlwind, angry at this sister, considerate with that sister and going along with this or that ambassador. This diplomacy's role should proceed at present on the basis of goals, and I mean clear, programmed, declared and daring Lebanese goals. The records of renewal for the western forces in the south and for the Arab deterrence forces in the rest of Lebanon cannot dominate the Lebanese political arena forever. Neither France, Syria, the major Arab countries nor the other major powers will accept this.

Parliamentary and ministerial actions must turn into an effective system and into a government that rules so that it may rise to the level of the new phase.

The entire world can now respond to what we want if we know what we want. It is time to say that our war, a war we are engaged in on behalf of others, has neared its end and that the issue is now being presented to its original parties. We are tired of the vacillators, those who go along with others, with the logic of weakness, with the policy of the ostrich and the method of waiting as we have gotten tired of peddling fundamental issues for personal or factional interests.

What is required today is a clear declaration that concerns itself with the following issues:

1. Lebanon's position toward the logic of war or peace in the area: Does Lebanon want war or does it accept peace? What are the practical steps to achieve the specified goals? Does Lebanon expect to be invited to Geneva or something similar?
2. Lebanon's official position toward the concluded accords: Does Lebanon want to introduce changes in them or will it decide to declare that they are void? How can Lebanon's view of affairs be applied and how can this application be programmed?
3. Lebanon's position toward renewal for the western and Arab deterrence forces: If Lebanon decided to replace the borrowed security by its own security, what are the practical steps to achieve this goal? Does destroying the parties or the attempt to destroy them lead to creating the Lebanese army?
4. Lebanon's official view vis-a-vis the regime's identity and toward the nature of the national action: Can a balance be established in Lebanon between those who try to turn Lebanon into a dwarf and to exploit it for their interest and those who try to resurrect it from the ashes of the long war in accordance with its historical and cultural message?

5. Does Lebanon want to be the constant hostage of the Arab policy of axes or will it decide to rise and form with those who respond to it an axis influencing the events? If Lebanon joins a certain axis, will it accept to be the silent partner?

6. Lebanon's official position vis-a-vis the chronic social problems, such as the issues of evacuees, of the deprived and of the oppressed, and towards its economic problem.

7. The government's position toward the political forces in Lebanon: Will we continue to change our position according to the logic of moving closer to those who move close to us or is a new policy possible now? Is it reasonable to exclude detente as long as no go-ahead signal has been given by this or that faction, what kind of detente will it be and what new structure for the new Lebanon will there be?

The president of the republic may answer some of these questions at his swearing-in address on the 23rd of this month and he may not.

However, it is certain that the question is present, even if it does not get the expected answer, because what has happened at Camp David will lead to a fundamental change in Lebanon.

8494

CSO: 4802

LEBANON

SUMMIT SAID TO INVITE 'RIDICULOUS' COMMENTS

Beirut AL-'AMAL in Arabic 22 Sep 78 p 8

/Editorial: "Camp David's Mop"

/Text/ May God help Camp David. It has turned from a beautiful resort into a mop. The only sin of this camp, which used to be a U.S. marines facility and then turned into a countryside resort to which the U.S. political leadership turns for relaxation, is that it has hosted al-Sadat and Begin.

Camp David's catastrophe would be easier if those who wipe the floor with it and attack it ruthlessly were at the level of those who have conferred in it. It is logical and acceptable for the "steadfastness and confrontation" leaders to comment on the conference. It is also natural for those who are lower than these leaders in position, such as ministers, directors and the like, to also comment on it. But the catastrophe lies in the fact that the escalating "campaign of comments" is shouldered by a large number of pro-Russian statement makers and statement makers with no brains. It is a mess. Give me your hand and follow. What is important is for the music to play and for the tambourine to be beaten so that the monkeys and the bears may dance in a big group dance called in the science of politics "the popular reactions to al-Sadat's capitulationist initiative."

The statement circulated by the local news agencies in Beirut on the outcome of the Camp David summit are ridiculous or the closest thing to amnesia. That the ancient deputy's opinion is thus and thus, this "smart" politician's opinion is such and such, that "nobody's" opinion is so and so and this "gypsy's" opinion is such and such and so on and so forth. And why not? Dealing with politics is like dealing with hashish and should not be monopolized by the "feudalists and imperialist agents." It is a right of the peoples. Consequently, Hanna Fakshu /fakshu means tripped him/ believes that Begin has tripped al-Sadat and Sa'id Tafish (we beg the pardon of both Ibn Tafish and 'Adnan) says that the Arabs must foil the "treasonous and reactionary initiative of al-Sadat." Welcome and welcome again.

It is the misfortune of the world and of politics that people in Lebanon no longer like to preoccupy themselves with the politics of the /vineyard/ guard and of the mukhtar. Everybody now talks about the "policy of international detente," and about the Camp David lobbies. Why not, considering that there is now in southern Lebanon a so-called "peasants federation" about which no peasant in southern Lebanon or in any part of Lebanon has heard.

"Popular political awareness" requires this and Camp David is no better than Camp Sharshabuk /slum area near Beirut inhabited mostly by Kurds/, even if Camp David has turned from a resort into a mop on which all tongues, both learned and ignorant, dive at just as bees and other insects dive at flowers and other things.

8494

CSO: 4802

SADAT'S ACTION AT CAMP DAVID CALLED TREASON, CAPITULATION

Beirut AL-NIDA' in Arabic 19 Sep 78 pp 1, 6

/Editorial by Political Editor/

/Text/ The plot will not pass. The capitulation and treason plot whose final contract al-Sadat has signed at Camp David will not pass.

Al-Sadat has concluded the trip of treason, which he started with the visit of shame to the Knesset, with the agreement of full and shameful capitulation at Camp David. The two documents with which the conspiratorial summit has ended (details of documents in another part) are the two contracts of capitulation which al-Sadat has pledged to observe in the presence of Begin and with Carter's "testimony" and which he has undertaken to work for, to spread and to attempt to impose on the Arabs.

The so-called "framework for peace in the Middle East" which the Camp David summit has managed to achieve, thanks to full concessions by al-Sadat (see page 5), is nothing but acceptance of the Begin plan and a surrender to his will--a surrender under the patronage of Carter, the "full partner." In accordance with this document, al-Sadat has declared, despite all the allegations that his hypocrisy had permitted him to reiterate, his final disavowal of the Palestinian people's cause and of their sole legitimate representative, the PLO, and his readiness to sell the West Bank and the Strip and to give Begin what the Zionists have been unable to take throughout 30 years. The theatrical of self-rule and of handing over the civilian administration and security issues to Jordan and to "elected representatives of the Palestinians" cannot conceal the truth and dimensions of the treason--a treason of entrenching the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and the Strip through the continued military presence that will assure Israel of "spreading its sovereignty" over the Palestinian land. As for the issue of "suspending the settlement," this also is nothing but a part of the theatrical--a part exposed by the Israelis themselves when Yadin said: "What has been said about freezing the settlement activity for 5 years is not true. I cannot disclose the correct provision." As for the decision "to be adopted by the Knesset" for evacuating the settlements, Yadin said:

"I do not know whether we have to evacuate these settlements now, after 20 years or after 10 years." Moreover, this "peace framework" totally ignores the issue of Jerusalem which means tacit surrender to Israel or, at least, giving Israel the possibility of keeping Jerusalem "united under its control." Al-Sadat's allegation while trying to justify his treason with the philosophy of "complete self-rule" (under Israel's grip)--an allegation to the effect that the issue of Jerusalem was not dealt with because Jerusalem is a part of the Bank--was exposed by the U.S. ambassador in Israel who pointed out that Jerusalem will remain out of the discussion for a long time! This "peace framework" document which, according to the Israeli radio, was signed on Saturday is the capitulation document that urges--as al-Sadat urged with utter rudeness in his address--the other Arab countries, namely Syria, Jordan and Lebanon, to join and to discuss the details. As for the principles, they are not subject to discussion and only obedience to them will be accepted!

As for the second document, the document of the "peace agreement between Israel and Egypt," it is the "independent peace treaty" which al-Sadat has signed despite all his hollow and conspiratorial claims that he will never sign an independent peace treaty.

The gist of what the conspiratorial summit has emerged with is this: An independent capitulationist peace concluded by al-Sadat and a peace that is to be spread through the so-called "peace framework" among the other Arab countries, beginning with Jordan. This is also what Yadin confirmed when he said : "Practically, we will get independent peace with Egypt." As he has sold what he does not own, namely the rights of the Palestinian people and of the Arab peoples, al-Sadat has also sold the Egyptian people, the Egyptian people's rights and the blood of the Egyptian people's martyrs by concluding the independent peace. Neither the issue of the settlements in the Sinai nor that of the Israeli military presence in it has been settled because the promise is still there, as made evident by the reports about the conspiratorial summit, to give Israel military bases in the Sinai. This is in addition to the fact that the "separate peace" deal and the "framework" built on its basis strike the foundations of the comprehensive settlement and are hostile to real peace. From this angle, the deal is a plot against the Arabs and against peace and it bolsters the Israeli occupation, as Tass, the Soviet news agency, has said (read details in another part).

What the conspiratorial Camp David summit has emerged with constitutes the beginning of the most serious phase of the plot. This is the most serious plot against the Palestinian cause and the Arab cause. This plot makes it incumbent on all the Arab national forces to confront it with all the strength and resources they possess, relying on the support of the Arab masses and the support of the strong and loyal friends of our peoples, namely the Soviet Union, the socialist countries and the world's progressive and liberation forces. The first and fundamental condition for the confrontation's success is that all the Arab national states and forces

hasten to shoulder their responsibilities in the face of the serious plot, to unite their efforts and to put their subsidiary conflicts aside so that they may devote themselves to deal with al-Sadat's treason and with his capitulationist course and to confront the U.S.-Zionist-reactionary plot.

Al-Sadat does not represent the Arab peoples and is not the Arab masses' spokesman. The PLO's word and the West Bank's word expose al-Sadat's treason and reject any act disposing of the Palestinian people's right. The reactions in Syria, Algeria, Libya, the Democratic Yemen and Iraq (details in another place) which condemn the capitulationist agreement confirm that the Arab will is not and shall not be subject to what the traitors commit and that the resources are available to confront and strike the plot.

The position declared by the Lebanese National Movement is the position that reflects the interest of the Lebanese homeland and of the Lebanese people in confronting the agreement that prepares the way for further plotting against our people and homeland. This is the position that reflects the determination of the Lebanese patriotic forces to confront the plot to Zionise Lebanon and to liquidate the Palestinian and Arab right.

The call to the National Movement and to the Palestinian resistance to stage a general strike and to move among the masses reflects the will of all the Arab masses to confront the plot and the capability of all the Arab masses for confrontation.

Let tomorrow's strike rise to the level of the steadfastness of our people and of their national movement in the face of the plot throughout 3 full years, to the level of the danger we are facing and to the level of the responsibility and of the challenge.

8494

CSO: 4802

WRITER WARNS AGAINST DIVIDED ARAB WILL

Beirut AL-NIDA' in Arabic 19 Sep 78 p 1

/Article by Nabil Hadi: "After Camp: Fragmenting Arab Will or Fragmenting Capitulation"/

/Text/ Camp David has succeeded and failed. This is what we said last Friday. It has succeeded at the Israeli level and failed at the Egyptian level. It has succeeded at the Israeli level to the degree where the "impossible has happened," to put it in Menahem Begin's words. It has failed at the Egyptian level to the degree that Anwar al-Sadat could do nothing but smile palely when the Zionist prime minister was declaring to the "people of Israel" that the dream of the Zionist organization since its creation has been realized.

The pale smile--after the disappearance of all sense of shame--will be reflected in the Egyptian history and the Arab history that is placed at the disposal of the hero of the Dayr Yasin massacre, as if the Arab nation with its history, its martyrs, its pains and its aspirations is in need of a "Balfour declaration" from Menahem Begin to have the right to live.

Begin stood boastfully and arrogantly to declare once again that his forefathers participated with the Egyptians in building the pyramids.

The first time was when "Muhammad Anwar" went to the Knesset. At the time, Begin invoked the spirit of his forefathers and built pyramids of Israeli peace countered on the other side by pyramids of humiliation by the Egyptian "side" which promised that the October war would be the last Arab war.

The trip from the Knesset to Camp David has taken place and the impossible has happened because this impossible was not really impossible and because those who blow the trumpets of Anwar al-Sadat and the U.S. propaganda experts deluded people into believing that the disagreement was violent and deep-rooted and that only an American miracle, coupled with sufficient prayers, could achieve the impossible.

Thus came the blackout plan and as a result, the Camp got pregnant secretly and delivered publicly. So, the other Arabs must trust the American physician with the magical powers and must come to him humbly because he is the alternative to the international resolutions and the alternative to the Arab will.

The propaganda plan is an intelligent complement to the political plan and the principle of blackout imposed on the Arab citizens is the practical complement to the principle of humiliating them. If gaining full Arab recognition of Israel and striking the Palestinian people's entity is an old Zionist dream, then this dream will not be realized unless the Arab masses become content with prayers for America and unless these masses become decisively ineffective in regard to what is happening on the Arab arena. The Camp's calculations may come true, except for this one calculation.

The trip from the Knesset to the Camp is the trip from the "psychological shock to remove the barriers" to the real shock intended to transform Egypt into an "Israeli" barrier against Arabism and against liberation and progress. This is a dream of al-Sadat's which almost constitutes the other side, or the distorted side, of the Zionist dream of gaining control of the land of the alleged forefathers and the land of the pyramids.

For this dream to be realized, it also needs to abolish the role of the masses in Egypt and in the other Arab countries in determining their own affairs.

This is because what is happening is not only a ferocious attempt to wrench away the entity of the Palestinian people according to the Begin plan, 99 percent of which has been approved by the Camp David conference, but also an attempt to wrench away the entity of the entire Arab people and to abolish their political role and their right to determine their own affairs, in addition to their right to their land.

The Arab land, which is being violated and on which the Zionist presence is entrenched in return for nothing for the Arab side, is a mirror of the violated Arab will. When Menahem Begin was declaring to "his people" the good news that "peace has descended upon us," the Egyptian information media was declaring shamefully that Anwar al-Sadat had abandoned the Arab people's right to their land and their will by abandoning the principle of full Israeli withdrawal and abandoning the Palestinian people's rights and their sole legitimate representative, the PLO, by accepting the /principle of self-administration under the shadow of the Zionist rifle in the West Bank and by agreeing to exchange ambassadors with the Zionist entity before the Israeli troops begin leaving a single inch of the Sinai territory itself.

Regardless of how the trivial journalists "demonstrate" the success of the tripartite summit--as they demonstrated its failure two days ago--

regardless of the timid reassurances that Anwar al-Sadat will give the Egyptian people so that they may be content with silence and prayers and regardless of the hands that will extend to King Husayn to make him participate sooner or later in the capitulationist negotiations and in selecting "representatives" for the Palestinian people from among those "participating in the self-rule," an enormous fact is being more and more clearly confirmed on the Arab land in light of the developments cropping up between the Knesset visit and the two statements issued by the Camp. This fact is that there is an attempt to "steal" the Arab people's right to determine their future and to distort the Arab citizen's relationship with his land.

Here appear the dimensions of the role that the forces opposed to al-Sadat's capitulation must play. The new phase of the U.S. onslaught will lead "gradually" to transforming "al-Sadat's Egypt" into a center of confrontation for implementing the U.S.-Zionist plan against the Arabs, the Africans and against every liberation torch in the world. The new phase of aggressive coordination wants to divide the Palestinian people into "West Bank and Gaza Strip Palestinians" and "Palestinians in exile" and wants to lead gradually to dividing the Arab nation into "Arab Arabs" and "Zionist Arabs."

Let the steadfastness conference which will be held in Damascus tomorrow, the other official meetings and the existing popular movements and the movements required to appear rise to the level of the responsibility toward the present phase, now that treason has reached the bone.

It remains for us to point out a direct and "immediate" aspect of the expected dangers, namely that al-Sadat will free himself in light of the "Camp's" resolutions to participate in new aggressive plans against peoples in light of the U.S. strategy. Menahem Begin will also free himself for direct aggressive activity against Lebanon, Syria and the Palestinians. This is what makes the responsibility and the role of the Arab masses bigger.

8494

CSO: 4802

LEBANON

U.S. PRESIDENT'S INTEREST IN LEBANON AFTER CAMP DAVID ANALYZED

Beirut AL-NAHAR in Arabic 20 Sep 78 p 1

[Article by Michel Abu-Jawdah: "Carter, Internationalization and Arabization; Implementation of Camp David Passes Through Lebanon"]

[Text] New York, 19 September--Whereas Lebanon was conspicuously absent from the Camp David summit talks, from their declared results and from the general conversations, the issue of Lebanon suddenly emerged in President Carter's speech to the Congress in the presence of the Egyptian president and the Israeli prime minister.

Nobody knew the immediate reason. The UN Security Council session had ended one hour before the U.S. president's speech with a vote to renew the stay of the UN forces in southern Lebanon for 4 more months. The only thing to arouse interest during the session was the statement of Andrew Young, the U.S. delegate, that Lebanon's neighbors should help it solve its problems. The U.S. delegate's address was written, like the addresses of other delegates. However, this address assumed its full significance only after the U.S. president's speech and it was immediately circulated that the U.S. president's speech and the address of his delegate flow into one course.

Questions and queries were raised immediately by the Lebanese delegation's chairman and by the chairman of the Arab delegations and between New York and Washington. The U.S. president made statements about Lebanon that surpassed the ordinary human interest and surpassed also the expressions ordinarily reiterated by the U.S. officials about safeguarding Lebanon's independence and sovereignty, the safety of its lands and the unity of its people and about bolstering its legitimacy, embodied in President Sarkis' government. President Carter's words surpassed all this to speak about a U.S. movement jointly with a number of countries. It is true that President Carter said that President al-Sadat was the one to bring up the issue of Lebanon at Camp David and then in the helicopter from Camp David to Washington. But it is also true that the U.S. president's response was more than a mere response. Moreover, the U.S. president's statement that the issue of Lebanon was the cause of sharp arguments between himself,

President al-Sadat and Menahem Begin stresses that the question of U.S. movement did not merely emanate from the Egyptian president's wish to talk in passing about Lebanon.

Will Lebanon, in this entangled and entwined stage at both the Arab and international levels, become the subject of entanglements of a new kind or will it become the subject of approaches on new bases? Has the Camp David summit arranged for Lebanon, with everything in it and everybody on it, something that goes beyond Lebanon and beyond its issue to connect Lebanon with the proposed tripartite solutions for the Middle East crisis?

Will Lebanon, with whatever and whomever is in it, become an obstacle in the face of implementing the two documents signed by Carter, al-Sadat and Begin? Did the Egyptian president bring up this obstacle after approving to proceed with the issue of the two documents, thus anticipating what could happen in Lebanon with whatever and whomever is in it? Or has the United States finally decided that solving the Lebanese problem might be the ideal inlet to solving the Middle East crisis?

The mission of the U.S. secretary of state in Saudi Arabia, Jordan and Syria is connected not only to the outcome of the Camp David conference but also to Lebanon with whatever and whomever is in it. Considering that President Carter has mentioned Syria, Saudi Arabia and France, in addition to Egypt, as likely partner-countries in the movement for Lebanon, then this means that the U.S. president may take up the issue of Lebanon in the more comprehensive discussion with parties other than Egypt and Israel, such as the parties concerned in the West Bank. This may perhaps be a prelude to the still more comprehensive discussion, with the parties concerned and others, on the other aspects of the Middle East issue. The European countries themselves, in addition to France, may be brought to participate in this more comprehensive discussion.

The fundamental question remains: Where does the Soviet Union stand in regard to all this and why did President al-Sadat bring up the issue of Lebanon? Was he the one to bring up the issue on his own? Will Lebanon, despite its entire tragedy, continue to be the fundamental sphere for foiling any solution plans, especially the Camp David solutions, or will it again be the center of a local, Arab and international political confrontation, in addition to continuing to be the center of a military confrontation?

The interest in Lebanon worries the Lebanese as much as it reassures them, especially this kind of interest that has been expressed by the U.S. president. This is why there is a need for a Lebanese movement to learn everything about the U.S. movement which assumes the nature of open internationalization, in addition to expanded Arabization. Lebanon may be the way into the comprehensive solution. It may also be a way out, after the Camp David conference, for those incapable of overcoming the basic obstacles in Lebanon and in the area.

LEBANON

OFFICIAL LEBANON VIEWS ACCORDS AS DAMAGING

Beirut AL-NAHAR in Arabic 21 Sep 78 p 1, 10

[Article: "Lebanon Considers Itself Party Damaged Most by Results of Camp David Summit; Government Prepares to Request Extension of Deterrence"]

[Text] The results of the Camp David summit polarized yesterday the official Lebanese interest. In its weekly session before noon, the Council of Ministers reviewed the information available to Fu'ad Butrus, the minister of foreign affairs, on the outcome of this summit. The council expressed its "extreme concern" over the ramifications of these results on Arab solidarity and on the Palestinian issue, especially in connection with resettlement. (See page 2)

A government source has pointed out to AL-NAHAR the reason motivating Lebanon to adopt this non-supportive position, saying that these results are unacceptable for purely Lebanese national considerations, as well as pan-Arab and humanitarian considerations. Undermining Arab solidarity will harm and will have an impact on Lebanon directly. The evidence to this is abundant, including the 2-year war. Arab conflict was one of the most prominent causes of this war, even though there were other important causes. This war was brought to a stop in the wake of the restoration of this solidarity after the Riyadh and Cairo summits.

The government source expressed his fears of the rekindling of this war as a result of the setback suffered by Arab solidarity and the Arabs' resumption of their conflicts on the Lebanese arena. This is something that makes Lebanon stand against whatever undermines this solidarity.

It is the opinion of the same source that the second direct harm caused to Lebanon by the outcome of the Camp David summit is the result of the fact that this summit has not dealt with the issue of the Palestinians in exile. This indicates clearly the intention of those who cooked the settlement to resettle these Palestinians, each in the country in which he resides. The major victim will be Lebanon because of the large numbers of Palestinians it contains and because of the great disturbance that the resettlement will create in the Lebanese political equations.

Issue of Extension for Deterrence

In addition to this, the issue of extending the stay of the "Arab Deterrence Force" was the focus of official and non-official interest. The president of the republic, the prime minister and the ministers of foreign affairs and of defense met before the Council of Ministers session and reviewed the outcome of the efforts exerted with those rejecting and opposing the extension to persuade them to change their positions.

Within this framework, President Sarkis met with Pierre al-Jumayyil at noon last Tuesday. According to informed political sources, al-Jumayyil did not give the president any final answer and was content to express his goodwill and the readiness of his party to proceed on the path of any extension offer, provided that such extension guarantees Lebanon's independence and its free will and that it opens the opportunity for building the state's military and non-military institutions. The sources also said that the Phalanges leader advised the government to contact ex-President Camille Sham'un and to exert efforts to soften his intransigent position.

Sham'un-Butrus Meeting.

Ex-President Sham'un's invitation to Minister Butrus to have lunch at his residence in Fagra yesterday, after a period of estrangement, provided the opportunity to discuss the issue of extension for the Deterrence Force. Informed sources have said that Butrus familiarized Sham'un with all details of the situation. [11 lines censored]

The same sources added that the discussion touched on the security plan to be implemented in the coming stage after the extension and that provides fundamental roles for the army and the domestic security forces, in addition to the "Deterrence."

[Seven lines censored]

These sources have described the meeting as being positive, especially since it came after a period of estrangement between Sham'un and the regime. The sources expect a number of contacts and meetings to take place at a later time.

Syria's Position

Sources close to Damascus pointed out yesterday that the Syrian officials have informed Lebanon of their official position toward extension for the "Deterrence Force." This position is summed up in the following:

1. Syria's unwillingness to discuss the issue of extension in principle.
2. Syria's willingness to hear Lebanon's demands concerning the Deterrence Force, its tasks, the possibilities of amending these tasks and other issues,

in addition to its willingness to consider any security plan drawn up by Lebanon to stop the deterioration that has been going on for months.

The same sources have pointed out that the meeting expected to take place between Presidents Sarkis and al-Asad shortly may discuss all these details after the request is made for an extension for the Deterrence Force which Syria considers the strength of the Lebanese legitimacy that is represented not by only one official but by three officials, namely: The president of the republic, the speaker of the chamber of Deputies and the prime minister.

Will President Sarkis announce his intention to extend the stay of the Deterrence Force in his message on the second anniversary of his assuming his constitutional powers?

Informed sources find this very likely and have even confirmed it, regardless of the positions of the other parties concerned. The president relies in this on the positivity produced by the efforts exerted with those opposed [to extension]. This positivity appeared clearly in the wake of the latest meeting held by the Lebanese Front.

It is the belief of well-informed sources that the battle of rejecting the extension for the Deterrence Force is not easy as a result of the changing facts in the area. The Americans are not ready now to anger Syria after its rejection of the outcome of the Camp David summit. They will try, in cooperation with the moderate Arab countries, to keep Syria in the sphere of those working for "just and honorable peace." This is why the Americans cannot support anybody who annoys Syria. The Americans are supported in this by the moderate countries.

There remains Israel which has no interest at present in touching off the situation or in supporting whoever wants to touch it off because Israel is at the threshold of a peace treaty with Egypt and this is something it cannot squander due to its historical importance.

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CSO: 4802

PALESTINIANS SAID TO HAVE GOTTEN NOTHING FROM CAMP DAVID ACCORDS

Beirut AL-HAWADITH in Arabic 22 Sep 78 pp 20-21

[Article by Rajih Khuri: "Camp David Summit or Peak of Carter Victory? Egyptians Have Gotten Agreement and Palestinians a Promise; Palestinians Expect Pressures to Lay Down Rifle and Keep Olive Branch; U.S. Official: Accord Has not Abolished Rabat Summit Slogan of 'Sole Legitimate Representative'"]

[Text] What is the simple practical outcome produced by the Camp David summit after 14 days of debates and discussions which took place in an atmosphere of secrecy and ambiguity that intensified the interest in the talks and focused the eyes on them?

Perhaps the best answer to this question is what a political expert has said, namely: "The Egyptians have gotten an agreement and the Palestinians a promise." The fact is that there is a big difference between an agreement and a hoped for promise. An agreement is substance, content and provisions and it legally binds its signatories whereas the promise and the Camp David document concerning the West Bank and Gaza Strip are no more than a promise. It is subject to disavowal because it contains no legally binding provisions and no tangible and practical definitions which makes it subject to any consequences, regardless of how negative, when practical efforts are started to transform it from a promise to an accord.

The truth is that a careful reading of the two documents issued by the Camp David summit demonstrates that whatever is connected with Egypt has been clear and obvious whereas whatever is connected with the Palestinians has been ambiguous, subject to different interpretations and analyses and to various disavowals by Israel and by the parties possessing the element of strength and the pressures of power. What is ambiguous is usually interpreted in the interest of the stronger party.

Perhaps the opponents of the Camp David summit have proceeded from this particular point in their statement that the accord concerning the West Bank and Gaza Strip has come only as a cover for the accord between Egypt

and Israel so that the results of the tripartite summit conference may not appear as a separate accord between the Egyptian and Israeli sides. Covering the "accord" with the "promise" would make it seem as if the whole thing was done within the framework of the endeavour for achieving a comprehensive settlement.

Arab opponents are not the ones who have formulated these negative interpretations of the two accords. The western journalists who attended the major press conference held by two high-ranking U.S. officials at noon last Monday beat the Arab opponents to these interpretations in their explanation of the results achieved by the Camp David summit. These western journalists focused their questions on the issue of the connection between the two accords and on whether they will be implemented simultaneously or whether each accord is considered independent of the other!

To this precise question, the high-ranking U.S. official gave an ambiguous answer when he said: "My personal understanding, and I stress 'personal understanding,' is that each of the two documents is considered independent of the other. But the Egyptian and Israeli sides hope that the negotiations will advance on the basis of both agreements together and there is no wish whatsoever to separate them. I believe that not only the previous fact that I have defined by stating that each of the two documents is independent of the other but also the political reality which contains an indirect connection with the progress of each of them should be taken into consideration!"

These words by the high-ranking U.S. official, especially the part concerning the non-connection of each of the two documents with the other has further strengthened the conviction of the opponents of the tripartite summit that what the Palestinians have gotten is nothing but a cover for the accord obtained by the Egyptians. But supporters of al-Sadat and of the tripartite summit say that Carter's promise to the Palestinians surpasses in importance Balfour's promise to the Jews and that it is rather an official declaration of intentions that has defined the general framework for settling the Palestinian issue, even though the matter involves a time period that reaches 5 years.

The opponents of the tripartite summit comment on comparing "Carter's promise" with the Balfour declaration by saying that the Jews got on 16 May 1917 a promise from Balfour for the creation of a Jewish state and that they were able to realize the promise after 31 years whereas the Palestinians have gotten in 1978 a promise from Carter not to establish a Palestinian state but to attain self-rule and that they will be able to realize this promise in 31 years also. As for the talk about the 5-year period, this is a totally different story.

Those who feel optimistic about the tripartite summit and its results add that the resolutions signed by the three leaders contain a frank acknowledgment that Israel did not want to make, namely the Palestinianism of the West Bank. This Palestinianism had been rejected by Menahem Begin who had

insisted on calling the West Bank "Judea and Samaria" and calling things by their name at Camp David constitutes a move from Begin's intransigent position to the plan formulated by President Jimmy Carter to solve the Middle East crisis and settles decisively the battle which was said to be raging between the United States and Zionism--a settlement in which President Carter has triumphed.

If this issue can be considered a settlement and a victory in Carter's favor and a defeat for Menahem Begin, then it is a diluted defeat of the kind that can be endured because when Begin is defeated by Carter and the Israelis by the Americans, then this does not mean that they have been defeated in the objectionable sense of the word because America is ultimately concerned for them and because America is ultimately the main guarantor of their existence and survival.

What will emanate from the promise that the Palestinians have gotten? At his press conference, the high-ranking U.S. official was eager to deny indirectly the immediate press comments made during the press conference and stating that the agreement on the principle of negotiations between the Jordanians, the Israelis, the West Bank and Gaza citizens practically drops the outcome of the Rabat Arab summit which raised the well-known slogan that considers the PLO the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinians. The U.S. official said that "the document refers to the Palestinian people, to the Palestinians and to the inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza." The official pointed out that there is no provision prohibiting the election of anybody to the membership of the administrative council to be set up in the West Bank and that the document concerning the West Bank and Gaza contains no provisions prohibiting the election of residents of the two areas who belong to the PLO. But the official did point out that the representatives selected from outside the West Bank and Gaza Strip will be subject to the approval of each of Israel, Egypt and Jordan.

Consequently, the question that poses itself in the Palestinian circles is: If we assume that Yasir 'Arafat, Dr George Habash, Nayif Hawatimah and other leaders of the fedayeen organization agree to take part in the said administrative council, which is unreasonable, and if the Jordanians and Egyptians approve their participation, would Israel approve it? If it doesn't, would the matter be settled by a democratic vote or will the question of the administrative council be torpedoed altogether?

Far from these questions which seem marginal and premature, political experts say that in the wake of the issuance of the promise to the Palestinians, it is assumed that international efforts will increase and intensify to change the nature of the Palestinian action and to transform it from a popular action following the path of armed struggle into a clear and definite political action expressed by a free Palestinian government and seeking ultimately to receive the Palestinian share after the 5-year period stipulated by the promise.

Therefore, the questions projected on the Palestinian arena again and again are: How will the international and non-international pressures try to change the nature of the Palestinian action? How will they try to spur the Palestinian revolution to lay down the rifle and to keep the olive branch? Will this be done through peaceful actions or through resorting to means of violence and blood; and many they are? Will this be done at the hand of the Arab forces, and they also are numerous, or by Palestinian hands which, also, are numerous? Will it be done by international hands, and they too are numerous and divergent, or will it be done at the hand of the Israelis who are experts in Palestinian bloodshed?

The fact is that answering these questions now would seem premature. The course of events in the coming days and months is what will bear the answer. However, political observers say that various states, especially those which benefit from the accord and regardless of whether they have taken part in making it or not, will endeavour to get numerous parties to play a role in transforming the Palestinian action into its new form and will endeavour to get several forces on the Palestinian, Arab and international arenas to spur the Palestinians to drop the rifle and keep the olive branch. Perhaps this is what the Palestinians are expected to oppose on the grounds that what has been given them is a mere promise. In addition to the fact that time is the graveyard of promises, the promise itself does not constitute a concession sanctified by tangible, practical and legal provisions, as is the case with the Egyptian accord.

Reports on the Camp David conference say that Muhammad Ibrahim Kamil, the Egyptian minister of foreign affairs, has resigned in protest of the concessions made by President al-Sadat and leading to the accord. Even though the Egyptian president explained in a peripheral statement after announcement of the results that his minister of foreign affairs resigned last Friday when the conference was faced with a deadlock--though an accord was made possible in the last moments--the cables circulated by the news agencies from Washington reiterated that Kamil had resigned because of the concessions and that Ashraf Ghurbal, the Egyptian ambassador to the United States, had resigned for the same reasons. One of these cables has said that after the ceremony to announce the outcome of the conference, the Egyptian delegation's official spokesman was asked about the reason for the resignation of Ibrahim Kamil, the minister of foreign affairs, that he referred the question to Ambassador Ghurbal who was standing next to him and that the ambassador immediately answered the spokesman saying: "Ask your president of the republic."

An Arab diplomat in Beirut has commented on these resignations, saying, "President al-Sadat's visit to Jerusalem led to the resignation of Isma'il Fahmi, his former minister of foreign affairs, and the results of the Camp David summit have led to the resignation of Minister Muhammad Ibrahim Kamil and Ambassador Ashraf Ghurbal. From now and until the comprehensive Middle East settlement is achieved, we will find that there is a league for the resigning ministers and diplomats who may include not only Egyptian citizens."

The talk about Kamil and Ghurbal's resignation leads to the talk about what President al-Sadat has given in return for the accord. Concerning this point, observers say that what the Egyptian president has given is silence on the issue of Jerusalem and silence on the fact that the provisions of the two accords fail to deal with the PLO. Even though al-Sadat has made no concession to acknowledge legally what he had not acknowledged in the past, as Begin has done in regard to Jerusalem, al-Sadat has, however, resorted to silence on the issue of Jerusalem and of the PLO. This silence is equal to half a concession at least, if it is not a full concession. As for the issue of the Golan, observers have noted the Egyptian president's statement in which he said that the door is open for Syria to enter the negotiations arena. However, this statement itself does not absolve the Egyptian president of censure, especially since he has accepted a document that bears his signature and makes no reference to his statement concerning the Golan.

In any case, Arab observers attach prominent and utmost significance to the Egyptian-Israeli accord, not from the angle of the fact that it stipulates withdrawal from the Sinai nor from the angle of the fact that it acknowledges the establishment of full diplomatic relations between the two countries within one year after implementation of the accord's provisions but from another angle. These observers say that Israel will consider the accord between itself and Egypt a fundamental base for establishing peace between itself and any other Arab country. To the Israeli logic, what is good for the Sinai is good for the Golan and if the gates of Cairo will be open to Israeli diplomatic representation, then the gates of Amman and Damascus must be opened for similar representation. The accord with Egypt has defined the form of the agreement with all the Arabs.

Amidst the deluge of reports and comments circulated by the news agencies from Camp David and from the Arab capitals, many people paused last Tuesday while reading words that U.S. President Jimmy Carter delivered at the ceremony to sign the two accords and in which he acknowledged that "there still are numerous obstacles and hard issues to be solved. The issues that have brought the Middle East war and suffering throughout the past 30 years cannot be solved overnight."

The observers who have paused before these words noticed that the U.S. president was the only one to touch on the difficulties and complexities whereas Egyptian President al-Sadat, at least, and Israeli Prime Minister Menahem Begin agreed that what had happened at Camp David was a unique historical victory.

Whatever the value and degree of the victory, it is primarily an American victory. It is an American victory over both Israel and Egypt. The impact of this victory has been escalated by the dramatic manner in which President Carter has produced it. It seems that the U.S. president felt that he had a major political gain in his hand and wanted to employ it in his favor as

best he can and to exploit it in his interest to the maximum. This is why he prepared a skillful information atmosphere for this gain. After the riddles, the secrets and the ambiguity, the statements about the possibility of failure came to increase the interest of people and of observers. At the last moment, the "surprise" came and the two accords were declared. President al-Sadat and Israeli Prime Minister Menahem Begin took part in polishing the American victory through the two addresses that they made after the accord. Matters reached the point where Begin said that the conference should be called the Carter conference and not the Camp David conference.

Amidst a flood of statements of praise and denunciation, Carter's words about the "pending major difficulties" have gone without any comment or analysis, except for a small news item from the West Bank which has been considered the best interpretation to these difficulties. The report is simply about a small fedayeen operation which took place 2 hours after the announcement of the Camp David accord when a fedayeen hurled a grenade on a bus carrying Israeli troops in al-Birah near Ramallah. Most of al-Birah's inhabitants were not able to hear the news of the results coming from Camp David because they were under arrest.

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JOURNALIST COMMENTS ON SADAT'S AGREEMENT

Al-Sadat's 90 Days

Beirut L'ORIENT-LE JOUR in French 20 Sep 78 p 1

[Article by Issa Goraieb]

[Text] I am flying like a rocket and my detractors are still going on mule-back, Anwar al-Sadat claimed on the day after his amazing trip to Jerusalem. Still under the earthquake blow of Camp David, the Arabs will only have more trouble following the Raid [president] in his final sprint toward peace.

Between Israel and the top military and demographic power of the Arab world there is practically no more disagreement; in the face of the windfall, the Knesset will not be too reluctant to approve the elimination of the Sinai colonies. As for Egypt, she gives her Arab partners 90 days to insert themselves in their turn into the negotiations; after which, she will loosen her ropes. Alone or accompanied.

It would be naive to believe that the demonstrations of anger and indignation registered yesterday in various capitals have any chance now of changing the course of events. Massively supported by Washington, benefiting from Europe's favorable prejudice and especially betting on the laziness of 40,000,000 Egyptians who have been psychologically demobilized for several months, Nassir's successor does not appear to be too worried about the survival of his regime, at least in the immediate future. And that despite of an unfortunate tendency to lose his Foreign Affairs Minister at every slightly sharp turn in his policy.

On remains thunderstruck, however, by the size of the concessions to which the master of Egypt has had to make up his mind, he who paid cash--and at a heavy price--to recover the Sinai. He obtained no commitment for retreat from other occupied territories, contenting himself with a vague reference to Resolution 242 of the UNO and even then in its most restrictive interpretation; not a word on Jerusalem, nothing on the refugees, no self-determination, but simple autonomy for the inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza, where Israel will keep a solid military presence. Then, after the five-year maturity date, absolute blackness.

There are so many "provisional" solutions which even several days ago were judged unacceptable by President al-Sadat himself. They are still unacceptable in the eyes of the prudent Husayn of Jordan. And the Saudis, although they are zealots of the diplomacy of silence, had to join with record alacrity in the concert of protests. Without resolving, for all that, to formally condemn the Rais. That says something about the difficulty of the task awaiting Secretary of State Cyrus Vance at Amman, Riyadh and Damascus. Mission impossible, unless the administration of the United States thinks it is in a position to offer the undecided--and those who are radicals against their will--solid guarantees for the future of the Palestinian homeland thus done away with. In other words, perhaps everything was not made public at Camp David.

If such is really the case, and on condition that one arms oneself with a good dose of optimism--and confidence in the intentions and capabilities of the Americans--one might detect in the framework-agreements more than one element likely to open the way to a substantial expansion of that Pax Americana. For the very first time Israel concedes that the outcome of the negotiations must recognize "the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people"; it is also stipulated that among the negotiators, at the sides of the representatives of the West Bank and Gaza, may appear "other mutually acceptable Palestinians" (moderate elements in the Diaspora, for example?). Jordanians and Saudis, it is obvious, are just asking if they can believe it.

The essential point of the efforts of the debaters is now going to be carried to Amman and Riyadh, with the hope of isolating Egypt totally. For the rest, the maneuvering room of the members of the Steadfastness Front seems very slender: a Resistance torn to pieces and out of wind; a Syria caught in the Lebanese crisis; and a Libya plunged into embarrassment by the Sadr affair, while Iraq, mixed up at one and the same time with Assad and Arafat, is no longer part of the family.

Beyond the traditional demonstrations of anger, the hardliners, wedged into a veritable strategic bottleneck, impotent to make war without Egypt's agreement, are in danger of badly resisting the Lebanese temptation: whether to pursue the confrontation by enclosing it within a limited framework, or quite simply to gain ground by waiting to see what happens. Especially if the USSR, frustrated by the role that fell to it in Geneva and worried about the emergence of a vast American military alliance uniting yesterday's enemies, decides to fully play at destabilization with the goal of attracting the malcontents within whatever Arab variant of the Warsaw Pact.

If the White House leader can be believed, the time has come to settle accounts and work toward a settlement in Lebanon, where the problem of those refugees completely passed by in silence is posed with special acuteness. And a great number of whom, as all the world knows, Palestinian state or not, will have to be reestablished elsewhere.

Very amiable, is Mr Carter; but more than one pious prayer will be required for the grace of Camp David to descend upon Camp Sabra. For the white smoke

of the peace conclave not to be paid for in the black smoke wreaths of the Lebanese furnace.

Siamese Twins

Beirut L'ORIENT-LE JOUR in French 21 Sep 78 p 1

[Article by Issa Goraieb]

[Text] Of all the Arab capitals, large or small, rich or poor, renegade or militant, that are rivaling each other in denouncing the Camp David resolutions, Beirut is without a doubt the most qualified to devote itself to the national game of indignant protest. And dumbfounded protest.

What a tragic destiny is that of this compromised Republic, which nothing seems to predispose to serve as a springboard for the reconquest of Palestine. Or as a cemetery for it.

A bicomunal state which was conquered during the obsession with a break in the equilibrium, Lebanon was the least prepared to withstand (without risk of an explosion) the formidable weight of hundreds of thousands of politized and armed refugees, the living incarnation of the bad Arab conscience. The small size of its territory, the weakness--and weaknesses--of its little army deprived it of any hope of resisting the inevitable reprisals involved in Fedayeen activity.

But it is precisely because of all that that the Choice was directed toward this land: by cold, cynical calculation in chancelleries. Or by means of that terrible unawareness, that political masochism which has led the Arabs to fall regularly into history's traps. That says about us, as well as about the Palestinians, that we were properly (!) deceived.

Can the protagonists still disengage themselves, when it is time for a disastrous balance sheet for all, from the bloody mess whose seeds have been sprouting for a decade already, from the sum of conspiracies, intrigues and errors succeeding each other in an implacable chain?

One shudders before the misleading candor of Carter, who, because he succeeded in making peace between al-Sadat and Begin, because he ensured his reelection to the White House, states that the moment has come to put an end to Lebanon's suffering. How is that to be arrived at, when the Palestinian Diaspora is superbly ignored, when all the political and military institutions remain solidly settled on this land that someone is suddenly claiming he can pacify?

If the Lebanon conflict alone made Camp David possible, the most elementary logic would dictate that the aftermath would take place in that very theater. Here is where some are going to try to dilute the refugee problem one way or the other. Here is where others will attempt to check it. With a good chance--and this is the most terrible part--of arriving at the same result, for time, too, does its work.

And how could it be otherwise?

Promoted as the sole holder of Palestinian legitimacy by capricious Arab regimes with unfathomable intentions, the PLO let more than one historic opportunity go by before it allowed itself to be pinned down in its transient fief. Just as it is true that certain leaders of the Palestinian struggle, the spearhead of the Arab progressive movement, lacked revolutionary audacity, daring political initiatives, terrorized as they were by classic oneupmanship. Erected in state within Lebanese state, the Resistance will again be without any state at all; today it is under house rest.

The impasse is no less total for the Lebanese. In the innumerable diatribes hurled yesterday against the truncated Camp David peace, there reappears like a leitmotif the obsessional fear of a final implantation of refugees on Lebanese soil. Even before principles, it is instinct for preservation that makes the Sunnites revolt; just as it is the specter of an enforced colonization of the South that alarms the Shi'ites.

The positions of Lebanon's Christians is doubly tragic. For in the end they would have to be the most ardent defenders of the Palestinian fatherland concept. In fact it is on the condition that they would have such a home that the refugees would go away. Or would become people like everyone else.

Doubly tragic because the gulf of blood and hate, the genocide complex brandished on one hand and the other, the manipulations of all kinds have precipitated all to the very bottom of the abyss. The PLO contributed to reducing to a sinister concrete forest the model of coexistence proposed--the height of irony--by the top of the United Nations tribunal. And some Lebanese factions were seen forming alliances against nature: with those very ones who, by keeping Palestine's gates bolted, intend to install the refugees "where they are". In Lebanon, in a nutshell.

Solidarity? Fraternity? Forcibly: whether there is division or integration, they will have succeeded in making the damned of Palestine and Lebanon into companions in misfortune. Into perfect Siamese twins.

Political and Parliamentary Views

Beirut L'ORIENT-LE JOUR in French 21 Sep 78 p 3

[Text] Whereas most influential leaders are taking hopeful positions, in various Lebanese political circles mitigated reactions to the Camp David summit resolutions are noted, the general tendency being toward disapproval, which is doubled by an appeal to the "Firmness Front" to work seriously and efficiently.

Here, in the area of the negative reactions registered yesterday, are the speeches made by various parliamentary and political personages.

Shafiq Wazzan, president of the High Islamic Council and a member of the Islamic Assembly: "I believe that those who were still hesitating and who

thought it possible to achieve any result by peaceful means have finally understood that Israel doesn't buy that, and only submits by force, that force it used to plunder Arab rights. In other words, the method adopted by some has run aground and the Arab nation has nothing left to do but to struggle and resist. It must amass all its potential toward that end. It was not by chance that the Steadfastness Front summit was held the day after the Camp David summit, whose deplorable resolutions are making the Arabs face their historic responsibilities in order to preserve their rights and the Palestinian cause, betrayed by Camp David".

Toufic Assaf, Jumblattist deputy from Aley: Unity of ranks and solidarity among Arabs must not be limited to the Steadfastness Front countries. All the Arab states must proclaim their determination to struggle to recover their rights and their dignity. The Arab nation must play a determining role in the future of the world, for it has at its disposal an enormous human and material potential. The Arabs should turn that potential and their natural resources to account in order to recover their rights in Palestine and build themselves up to a world power. But through Camp David the Arab nation has just suffered one of the sharpest reverses in its history. The Steadfastness Front countries are expected to show resistance, calmly and within the framework of an efficient action, to preserve the dignity of the Arabs, but also to preserve their reputation. If the Camp David resolutions are enforced, that would mean shame and degradation, not only for Egypt, but for the whole Arab nation. May the participants in the Damascus summit be able to be at the height of the aspirations of the Arab peoples, in order to thwart the accords concluded, whether they are proclaimed or kept secret".

Nasib Barbir, member of the Islamic Assembly: "The attitude of Saudi Arabia and Jordan, which have implicitly rejected the two accords concluded at Camp David, must encourage the Steadfastness Front countries to adopt an attitude capable of effectively thwarting these accords by bringing Amman and Riyadh along in their wake. Arab solidarity can influence even the enforcement of the adopted resolutions, since opposition has been drawn up even in Egypt, supported by intellectuals and Arab nationalists. But it is important to avoid impulsive and irrational reactions, in order to win the greatest possible number of partisans to the Arab cause. The Steadfastness Front has as its objective to thwart Israeli occupation, to restore to the Arabs the Holy Land and their plundered rights, with no concession or compromise".

Nazem Kadri, deputy from West Biqa' and president of the Parliamentary Commission for Administration and Justice, stated for his part that before making any pronouncements on Camp David he must wait for the details, stressing that what has been published is only the broad outline of the accords that were concluded. Mr Kadri said that before one is up-to-date one cannot prejudge the impact of these accords on the Lebanese scene.

The central bureau of the "National Confrontation Front" of the North, a pro-Syrian group, meeting yesterday, issued a communique stigmatizing the Camp David accords, calling them "treason against the Arab nation" and warning against "plots that may be hatched, especially in Lebanon, to get the accords passed". The communique called for "all the Arab peoples and

especially the Egyptian people, to revolt by bringing about the fall of the al-Sadat regime". It adds that the results of Camp David are going to "reverberate fatally in Lebanon, where they are going to go ahead with implanting the Palestinians, a project refused by the Palestinian people themselves. So Israel is going to try, through its agents, to make our domestic situation explode, to exert pressure on Syria and incite it to participate in the negotiations".

Ibrahim Koleilat, leader of the "Murabitun", dealt with the question, for his part from the angle of the next visit to the region by Cyrus Vance, the American secretary of State. Mr Koleilat said:

"In our opinion this visit constitutes the verbal follow-up to the accords signed in writing at Camp David, whose resolutions cannot but have negative fall-out on our national cause and on our popular masses. The Vance visit should also make it possible to obtain clarification on the obscure points in the two Camp David accords. Our movement will announce its detailed position on Camp David and Vance's visit later on. We are awaiting the results of the steadfastness summit at Damascus before we will know how to thwart the historic challenge hurled by Anwar al-Sadat.

Adel Osseirane, deputy from Zahrani and former president of the Chamber: "When President al-Sadat went to Jerusalem, he believed in that way he could destroy the psychological barrier between the Arabs and the Israelis, imagining that was the real obstacle to peace. That was a fundamental error, as the results achieved at Camp David have proven. In fact he did not obtain restitution of all the territories occupied in 1967, the Israelis continuing to reject any proposal in that direction. So what happened is not likely to restore the Arabs' rights. Moreover, no mention was made of the fact that the PLO is the only representative of the Palestinian people, as al-Sadat admitted. Moreover, the concessions he seems to have obtained may remain dead letters, for Israel can refuse to yield, since no one can force them to do it. At Camp David there was no question of the Golan, as if Syria, the most concerned in that region, did not exist. President al-Sadat would not have had to sign anything and could have submitted a simple plan to his Arab partners. But by acting as he did he was not even speaking in behalf of Egypt, where huge opposition has come to light. Now the Arabs must meet together and decide on a joint action, from the moment they reject the Camp David accords".

Rafic Chahine, deputy from Nabatiyeh: "The Camp David accords are contradictory to the resolutions decreed at the time of the Arab summits and even to Resolution 242 of the UNO Security Council, which stipulates Israeli withdrawal from all the occupied Arab territories. Moreover, these agreements have complicated things, ignoring the necessity for creating a Palestinian state. So equitable peace seems to be still farther away, since the depth of the problem is ignored. There will be peace only when Palestinians obtain their rights".

Anwar Sabbah, an Assaadist deputy, stated: "We are very worried about the South, for the Camp David accords aim to implant Palestinians among us. There should be no substitute for the Palestinian state in any Arab country. Arab solidarity is more imperative than ever".

Reservations of "Lebanese Front"

Beirut L'ORIENT-LE JOUR in French 22 Sep 78 p 3

[Text] Reactions to the Camp David accords, as well as to the Steadfastness Front summit which is meeting at Damascus are multiplying. While the "Lebanese Front" takes a hopeful position, waiting until all the Camp David resolutions are revealed, the progressives, like a number of Lebanese politicians of all persuasions, continue to break out against the tripartite accords.

Some see in it the supreme treachery against the Arab nation, while others are principally worried about Lebanon, which in the end might well pay the damages.

Yesterday, at the end of a talk with the United States ambassador, Richard Parker, who had come to say goodbye to him before his approaching final departure from Lebanon, the president of the "Lebanese Front", Camille Sham'un, indicated in response to questions from the journalists:

"Mr Parker did not furnish me with details on Camp David, for they are no more available to him than to me, not having the exact information."

The ambassador, who was accompanied by his first adviser, Lucien Kinsolving, confirmed Mr Sham'un's words, still in response to questions asked by the journalists present:

"I have no available interpretation of the solution envisioned at Camp David concerning the Palestinians and their presence in Lebanon."

We point out in addition that the leader of the PNL [National Liberal Party] yesterday received Emir Farouk Abillama, the director of General Security, as well as Chaker Abousleiman, president of the Maronite League.

During a telephone conversation with Dr Albert Moukheiber, Raymond Edde, the leader of the National Bloc, who is in Paris, indicated that "he is afraid Camp David will have negative consequences for Lebanon".

The "Amid" was also asked about the reasons why Cyrus Vance refrained from including Lebanon in his Middle East trip. "Mr Vance could have made a ten-minute visit to Beirut, since President Carter had personally expressed his concern about seeing the Lebanese crisis brought to an end".

Mr Edde finally informed Dr Moukheiber that in conformance with what was announced several days ago in the press he is on the verge of going to Beirut and that his return will take place toward the end of October.

For his part, Boutros Harb, deputy from Batroun who last Wednesday had severely criticized Camp David, yesterday proposed, in his capacity as reporter for the Parliamentary Foreign Affairs Committee, convening that committee to debate the results of the tripartite summit and their possible fallout in Lebanon. Mr Harb added that the state, for its part, must go ahead with a swift and effective diplomatic offensive in order to prevent the dangers that threaten the country because of the accords concluded, "accords whose local repercussions can only be negative. In addition", he said, "we must hasten to react on the domestic level, to resolve the crisis and to arrive at national understanding if we want to meet a possible regional explosion", the member of Parliament concluded.

For its part, the "National Movement", which had already, conjointly with the "Patriotic Front" (pro-Syrian), sent a dispatch on Wednesday to the Steadfastness Front, yesterday again sent them a memorandum relative to the situation in Lebanon in the light of the possible consequences of Camp David.

This memorandum urges the countries participating in the Damascus summit to grant all possible aid to Syria so she can thwart "the imperialist, Zionist and Sadatian conspiracy being hatched against Syria on the Lebanese scene". The text of the document was delivered for transmission to Yasir Arafat in his capacity as chief of the unified Palestinian-progressive forces.

In Beirut Oussama Fakhoury, in a press conference, read the "National Movement" memorandum. This document accuses President al-Sadat of having betrayed "Egypt's national interests as well as its army by allying himself with Israel under the aegis of the United States". Where Lebanon is concerned, the memorandum again takes up the themes of the traditional attacks against the Phalanges and the PNL, which are accused of "constantly provoking the Arab Deterrent Forces".

The memorandum then notes a series of claims, all flowing from the necessity for a definite rejection of the Camp David accords, and insists, on the local level, on renewing the FFA's [Arab Deterrent Forces] mandate and rejecting recourse to the National Army, as well as "the radical military solution to the problem posed by the Phalangist and Chamounist bands". Finally the text apologizes for the rapprochement effected between Sulayman Franjiyyah, Rashid Karamah and Walid Junblat and denounces the attempts to divide Lebanon. In the end it calls for unconditional support of the Palestinian Resistance.

For its part, the Social Democratic Party of President Kamel el-Assaad met yesterday and issued a communique reaffirming "the organic orientation of Lebanon to the Arab nation, which is threatened by the recent accords concluded at Camp David". The communique enumerates the damage caused by President al-Sadat's initiative, especially where it concerns withdrawal from all occupied Arab territories and the self determination of the Palestinian people, factors that were breached at Camp David. The PDS [Social Democratic Party] also mentioned Jerusalem's fate and concluded by emphasizing that the accords are in danger of bringing on the definite implanting of the Palestinians in Lebanon, which the inhabitants of the South are rejecting.

The al-Najjada Party believed the Camp David decisions are written in contradiction to the resolutions of the seventh Arab summit held in Rabat, which had sanctioned the PLO's role as representing the Palestinians. And they stated that the flagrant submission to Israel has nothing to do with the just peace the Arab nation is seeking.

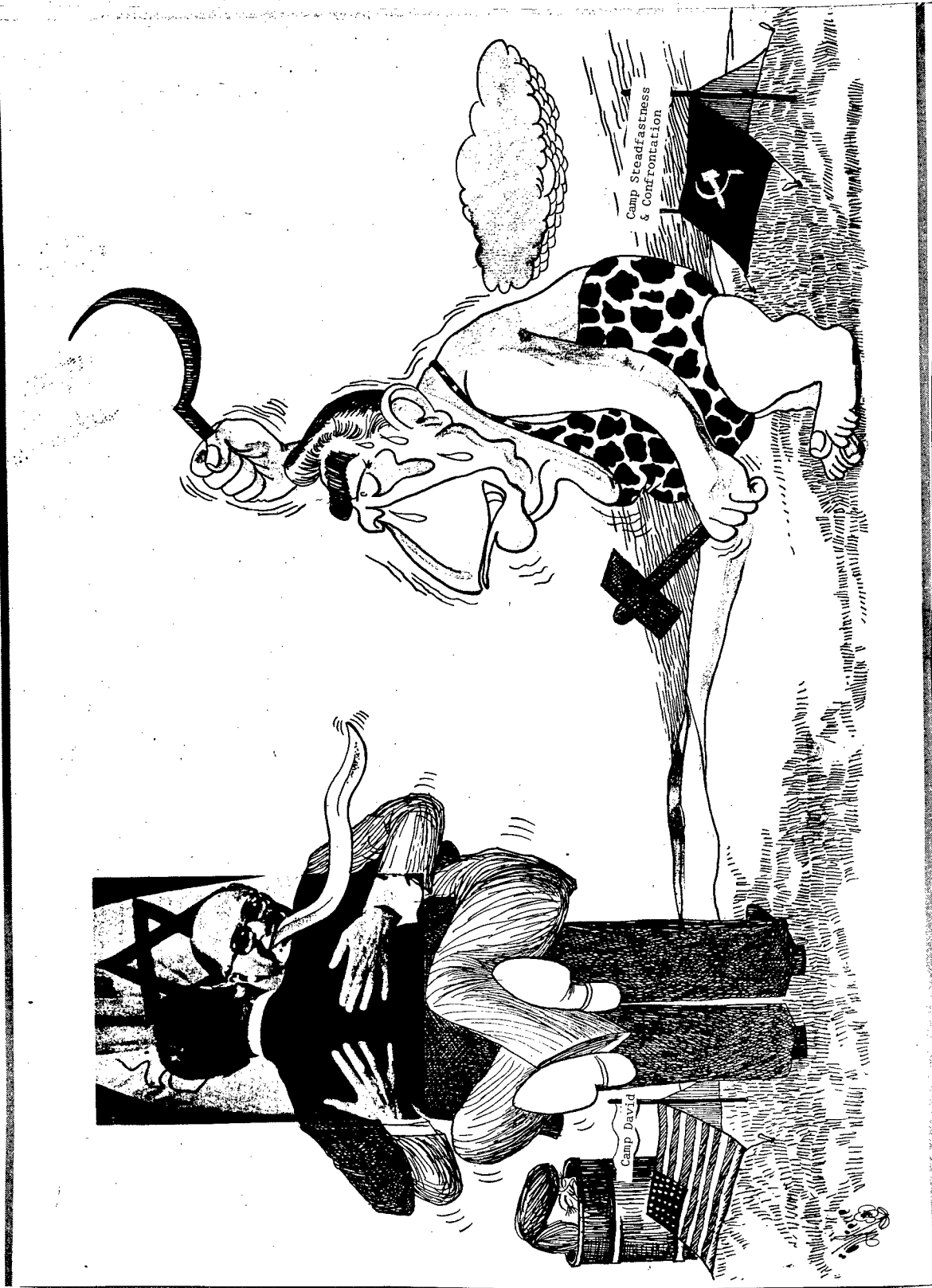
The Damascus summit, said President Adel Osseirane, deputy from Zahrani, is praised and favorably received by all who have faith in Arab nationalism as opposed to imperialism.

Emile Rouhana Sacre, deputy from Jbeil and allied with the National Bloc, indicated in substance that the eyes of the Arab world are turning toward Damascus, where the refusal summit is being held. And he added that the results of Camp David settle nothing.

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Beirut AL-'AMAL in Arabic 20 Sep 78 p 8



[Caption not given]

LIBYA

ACCORDS DENOUNCED, AL-SADAT CONDEMNED, RESISTANCE AFFIRMED

Tripoli AL-FAJR AL-JADID in Arabic 23 Sep 78 p 3

[Article: "Arab, International Associations, Organizations, Trade Unions Condemn Disgraceful Accords; Accords Dictated by Master, Approved by Lackey"]

[Text] Arab and international associations, unions and popular organizations have affirmed their rejection of the humiliating, ignominious and degrading accords which the Egyptian president concluded with the terrorist Begin at the [Camp] David stables.

These associations, unions and organizations announced in their statements that the Egyptian president had sold the question of the Arab people of Palestine, in particular, and that of Arab land, in general. They affirmed the truth of the Egyptian president's capitulatory and defeatist fall.

The General Association of Arab Farmers condemned the accords of humiliation and ignominy which the Egyptian president signed with the Zionist terrorist, Begin.

In a statement it released 2 days ago the association stated that the Egyptian president had gambled with the entire ancient past of our nation and that he had sold its values and its customs in the markets of imperialists and racist Zionists.

The statement added that the lackey, al-Sadat had clearly proven his total separation from everything that is related to our Arab nation.

The Nasirist Unionist League of Arab Students in Tripoli has also issued a statement attacking the capitulatory accords of the Camp David stables. In its statement the league adjured the masses of the Arab nation to mobilize [all] their material and manpower capabilities to confront this vicious Zionist offensive.

The official spokesman for the Popular Palestinian Defense Front stated that the results generated by the summit meeting that was held at the

Camp David stables are to be considered a reactionary, Zionist, imperialist conspiracy to liquidate the Palestinian question.

The spokesman added that the treacherous deal which the governor of Egypt undertook and which squanders the national rights of the Palestinian and Arab people and sanctions the Zionist occupation is rejected in sum and in parts by all the masses of the Palestinian people and the Arab nation.

Establishing Palestinian Unity

The spokesman called for an expeditious establishment of a Palestinian national unity and for the consolidation [of efforts] with all the international liberation movements for the purpose of warding off this conspiracy. The revolutionary committee in Bani Walid denounced the agreement of humiliation, dishonor and ignominy [which was concluded] at the Camp David stables.

The committee affirmed that these accords constituted a tempting offer to confirm the colonialist phenomenon in the Arab homeland. They deliberately ignored the dignity and the rights of the Arab human being who has always been fighting to regain his dignity and his rights.

The Union of Truck and Taxicab Drivers in Tobruq also issued a statement denouncing the agreement of humiliation and ignominy. The union affirmed that the masses of the Arab nation will destroy any agreement signed by the lackey governor of Egypt who, for a few dollars, sold the dignity of the Egyptian people and of the Arab nation and surrendered to the enemy.

The union affirmed that responding with silence to what Egypt's lackey governor had done would be considered aiding and abetting him, in fact, to sanction the Zionist occupation.

The Teachers' Union at the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya issued a statement regarding the current Arab situation following a board meeting of the Public Teachers' Union at the union offices in Tripoli 2 days ago. The statement included [the following]:

We Will Not Be Silent

"O people of our Arab nation, we are willing to accept any idea and to discuss any opinion, but we are not ready to pass over any allegation in silence or to ignore any falsehood. We are not prepared to consider questions of our existence from the perspective of our humanitarian logic. It must not be assumed that we would betray our nature and our pan-Arab cause or that we would ignore our duty and destroy our freedom with our own hands.

"Our generation has vowed to remain true to itself and has resolved to give itself an identity, to give its psyche an emotional life and to give itself a spirit and a sense of certainty that an opinion which it would not oppose

and discuss before accepting it is a deficient one and a conviction which cannot stand up [to opposition] and becomes worn out by such a posture is only good for extinction. This is what the glorious revolution of the first [of September] taught us."

The statement added, "Based on the principles of our Arab nation which emanate from and express the will of our nation that has never yielded to any subordination and was never vanquished by any of the campaigns launched by the enemies of freedom and the enemies of humanity in general; and based on the statement of our intellectual teacher and commander Brig Gen Mu'ammal al-Qadhdhafi which he made on the ninth anniversary of the glorious first of September revolution at a time when our Arab nation was experiencing the sorrow of disputes and strife that were set in motion by the enemies of the Arab nation and effectively carried out by their lackeys; and based on the resolutions adopted by the Arab teachers in their emergency meeting in Tripoli after the visit of dishonor and ignominy and the concessions that accompanied this visit, we, the teachers of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamihiyah, on the basis of all this, affirm the following:

"We support and we confirm the statements made by our commander and teacher, the intellectual revolutionary Brig Gen Mu'ammal al-Qadhdhafi on the ninth anniversary of the glorious first of September revolution."

Stillborn

"We consider the agreement that has been reached at the Camp David stables a broken agreement, even before it is signed. It is a stillborn agreement not only because it lacks legitimacy, but also because it lacks all the components that can lend it support.

"We strongly condemn the capitulatory agreements that were signed by the Egyptian president wherein he represents no one but himself. We affirm that they are doomed to extinction and that the accords are good for no other purpose but as fuel for a fire.

"We affirm our support for the resolutions adopted by the Arab teachers at their emergency meeting in Tripoli on 28 December 1977.

"We will stand in the front line trenches to liberate the land; we will continue to reveal the plots of colonialism and Zionism; we will destroy the castles of reactionaries; and we will demolish the nests of colonialists and reactionaries.

"We are calling upon the citizens of the Arab nation from the ocean to the gulf; and we are calling upon the progressive forces in the Arab homeland--indeed, throughout the world--to condemn this agreement and to oppose these conspiracies whose purpose is to obliterate the Arab struggle."

The Armed Struggle

"Honest Arab revolutionaries are to play their trailblazing role at this stage which al-Sadat has changed from a stage of cultural development to one in which every step taken on the road of struggle and construction is destroyed. In fact, [al-Sadat has changed this stage] into one of concessions made to the murderers of children, old men and women.

"Our refusal to coexist with the Zionist enemy is considered historical. Our relationship with the Zionist enemy, as [our] commander and teacher, the revolutionary intellectual Brig Gen Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi says, can only be one of armed struggle until the poisoned dagger is removed from the heart of the Arab nation.

"We can only consider the Egyptian president's deviation from the Arab will as clear evidence of the despair which is haunting him and assuming the shape of a terrifying specter that will doom him to annihilation.

"We are aware of and we know about the position of the Egyptian people and the brave Egyptian army. At this time we are saluting the people of Egypt and the Egyptian army and we are calling upon them now, more than at any other time in the past, to define their position and to declare their revolution against the hideaways of lackeys and reactionaries."

Removal of the Nightmare

"We declare that we stand beside the Egyptian people and the Egyptian army and that we support them to remove the nightmare that wants nothing else but to impede the Arab nation at the most important stage of its revolutionary struggle and its cultural development in the context of unified Arab solidarity. Finally, we want to call the attention of everyone who deviates and digresses from the Arab will that he is chasing a mirage on a dead end road and that any signed document which contains symbols or statements whose purpose is to obliterate our Arab character and play down our Arab struggle will ultimately lead to the realization of our enemies' goals and ambitions. We will return these documents to their authors; we will return them in shreds; in fact, we may even burn them and blow the ashes into their eyes.

"We are affirming our call to the Arab masses to wage a decisive battle against reactionaries and lackeys, against the enemies of our people and against those who deviate from its will.

"Long live our Arab nation! Long may its struggle live! Long live the Arab revolution, achieving victories for the masses of our Arab nation who look forward to the day of victory and the full liberation of every inch of Arab land. Down with the fragile facades..

"May the first of September revolution live forever!"

The Secretariat General of the Union of Arab Social Workers in Benghazi, issued a statement 2 days ago in the morning on the occasion of the Egyptian president's action: he had signed the treaty of treachery and betrayal at the Camp David stables. The statement of the Union of Arab Social Workers included the following:

An Expected Betrayal

"O Arab people from the ocean to the gulf, what the Egyptian president had the audacity to do at the Camp David stables was a betrayal that was expected by anyone who examined the steps he has been taking since Egypt was unfortunate enough to get him.

"We have confidence in the revolutionary forces of Arab Egypt--[a country] which has been at the forefront of the Arab struggle and the revolutionary expansion in the Arab homeland. Egypt's revolutionary forces are capable of resisting and confronting all the dangers that result from the defeatist and capitulatory steps that the governor of Egypt dared to take.

"The popular revolt of 18 and 19 January 1976 is only the truest indication of the deep roots of the 23 July Revolution which will remain defiant and proud regardless of how fiercely the forces of colonialism and Zionism rage against it.

"Social workers in the Arab homeland are announcing their rejection of the policy of humiliation and the degradation that is being pursued by the Egyptian president. It is a policy that will not affect the forces of the Arab revolution; it will rather increase their determination and their strength so they can crush anyone who may be enticed to infringe upon the dignity of the Arab nation."

Popular Palestinian organizations in Tobruq issued a statement 2 days ago in the morning which included [the following]:

The Masters Dictated It and the Lackey Agreed

"O masses of our great Arab people, at the time when our Arab question of Palestine is experiencing its most critical moments, the lackey, al-Sadat comes to us from the Camp David stables with resolutions that were dictated to him by his masters in the U.S. White House, by the leaders of international Zionism in Arab Jerusalem and by international terrorists who mastered the art of torturing our people. At the time when the Zionist enemy is strengthening his racist occupation of Arab land, we find the president of an Arab state kissing the hands of his masters, venturing to shake their hands and coming to us with resolutions that obliterate the legitimate rights of our people in an attempt to terminate their existence and their presence.

"At the time when the Arab nation needs to align its ranks and to act as one unit, we find the lackey trying to break up this nation and to further undermine its position by signing these accords, thereby denying the Arab people of Palestine all their rights.

"As the Palestinian Arab masses condemn these resolutions and those who drew them up and signed them, we pledge to you to continue the course of the armed struggle until the full liberation of Palestinian soil [is achieved]."

The executive office of the General Union of Tunisian Students issued a statement strongly condemning the agreement of humiliation and surrender which the Egyptian president signed with the terrorist Begin at the Camp David stables.

The General Union of Tunisian Students also announced their renewed, full and unconditional support of the Palestinian people who are fighting to obtain their legitimate rights and to determine their own destiny on their land under the leadership of the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

The League of Social Services Employees in Ben Ghazi also issued a statement yesterday morning concerning the signing of the treaty of betrayal and deception at the Camp David stables. The text of this statement follows.

The Fall of the Defeatist Policy

"The treaty of deception and betrayal for which the Egyptian president sold the question of the Palestinian people, in particular, and the question of Arab territory, in general, is in fact the expected downfall of the defeatist policy in which the Egyptian president has sunk.

"We are aware that the revolutionary forces of Arab Egypt--the students, the workers, the farmers, the professionals and the revolution's young men in the armed forces--will not accept surrender and will defend the land and the honor which the submissive Egyptian president has given away. O brave men of Egypt, take up your arms and wipe out the dishonor. Let the revolutionary young men of Egypt take control of affairs and let Nasirist Egypt become once again the stronghold of free men. We are impatiently awaiting those moments when the young men of the first of September revolution will embrace our free young men in Egypt [to celebrate] the removal of the nightmare that has hovered over Egypt since the death of the late leader Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir.

"Long live the forces of the Arab revolution! Long live Arab Palestine!"

The Hegemony of Imperialism

Two days ago the World Peace Council [WPC] in Helsinki strongly condemned the resolutions of the conference that was convened at the Camp David stables.

The WPC stated that it was U.S. imperialism which had drawn up these accords to strengthen its control over the Arab region.

On the other hand, the WPC expressed its point of view in the statement it issued 2 days ago that the resolutions adopted at the Camp David stables were inconsistent with a large number of UN resolutions regarding the Arab region.

Separate Peace

Two days ago all the popular organizations, the associations and the trade unions in Jordan denounced the defeatist results of the [meeting that was held in the Camp] David stables.

All the trade unions in Jordan and the Jerusalem Rescue Committee denounced these results 2 days ago and described them as a separate peace between the Egyptian president and the Zionist enemy.

The General Federation of Trade Unions in Jordan issued a statement condemning everything that took place at the Camp David stables.

The statement issued by the Women's Union in Jordan called upon all the Arab states and all the popular agencies to stand firm and to resist the Zionist plots. The statement issued by the Society of Jordanian Attorneys considered the accords reached at the Camp David stables to be a giveaway of the Arab nation's rights.

All the agencies, organizations and trade unions have also expressed their support for the Jordanian government's position on the Camp David accords.

The Socialist Democratic Party in Lebanon has announced its rejection of the accords concluded at the Camp David stables.

After a meeting it convened 2 days ago the party issued a statement condemning the Egyptian president and explaining that the Egyptian president had changed his mind on [the question of] full withdrawal and had abandoned Jerusalem and self-determination for the Palestinian people.

The Socialist Democratic Party considered the agreement concluded at the Camp David stables to be a document that condemns the Palestinian people to total exile.

The Moroccan Association for Supporting the Struggle of the Palestinian People condemned the surrender agreement which the Egyptian president signed with the terrorist Begin at the Camp David stables.

In a message sent to Brother Yasir 'Arafat chairman of the PLO's Executive Committee the Moroccan Association affirmed its support for the just struggle which the Arab people of Palestine are involved in to regain their dignity and their land.

In its message the association declared that the PLO was the sole legitimate representative and the only official spokesman for the Arab people of Palestine.

The Socialist Union of the Popular Forces of Morocco condemned the accords concluded at the Camp David stables which were signed by the Egyptian president and the terrorist Begin, describing them as a point of departure for a new series of concessions in the interests of Zionist expansionist ambitions.

In a statement it issued 2 nights ago the Socialist Union declared that "the agreements of humiliation and surrender which the Egyptian president signed at the Camp David stables will constitute the beginning of a series of bilateral agreements between Egypt and the Zionist enemy. These agreements will enable the enemy to achieve his aggressive strategy against the Arab nation and [to win] his principal case in Palestine."

8592

CSO: 4802

LIBYA

NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN OLD FRAMEWORK DOOMED TO FAILURE

Tripoli AL-USBU' AL-SIYASI in Arabic 25 Sep 78 pp 6-7

[Text] Only a few hours separated the atmosphere of pessimism which dominated observers immediately after the 12 day third American-Egyptian-Israeli negotiations, and the surprise--if the expression is permissible--which the spokesman announced under the title The Third Summit, in Camp David in the state of Maryland. Wherein the Egyptian and Zionist parties to the negotiations arrived at the wording of a treaty and a statement of principles.

The majority returned to its senses immediately after the initial results were issued. They repeated their assurance that the United States, which called the conference, knew what it was doing. Moreover, it knew how to make the atmosphere of pessimism a cause for confusion. The United States knows the president with whom it can do business. The United States did not call the above-mentioned summit because it is concerned with peace, or concerned with United Nations resolutions or pressure against Israel. Rather, Carter called this meeting to salvage American policy in the region after it ran up against Arab steadfastness in the face of al-Sadat's traitorous initiative. This initiative lost its luster, and all the "doves" which had gathered around it have flown away.

Carter called the Maryland meeting to assure al-Sadat's continuation in the lap of American endorsement of the principle of occupation of land by force. This American endorsement was behind their hard line against every attempt by the international community to condemn Zionist occupation of Arab lands. It was also behind the volume of American military aid to Israel which is equivalent to more than half of [all] American aid to foreign countries.

Through his deprived visit to occupied Jerusalem, the agent al-Sadat has yielded concessions which have expelled him from the national estimation. He began, ready to offer the utmost--everything that America demanded of him. This is called the "moderate" solution.

For a number of months, American policy has been to search for a way out of the predicament in which capitulation projects were rejected, and wherein it

became necessary to create an excuse to continue them. This finally came to pass in the "Stable David" negotiations. These were just old words, newly presented in the guise of a treaty and a statement of principles.

After 12 days of negotiations in Camp David, which took place under a cloak of secrecy, a so-called statement of principles which dealt with the future of the West Bank and Gaza, as well as a treaty concerning the future of the Sinai appeared.

The first observation which is evident from a general look at the treaty and the statement is that they were drawn up in general and broad terms, some of which are satisfactory. This led the American president to state immediately after the end of the discussions that he is satisfied with Israel's being able to enjoy peace within recognized boundaries.

What is New Here?

The negotiations dealt in appearance and form with the sum total of all the plans which have been put forth from the 1967 defeat up until the Camp David meeting. Boundaries, recognition--these are nothing but the shell which covers reactionaries and manipulators in Zionist and imperialist circles. The essence [of the matter] is the beginning on the road to settlement in the Arab mind. The [notion of] settlement [has taken over] this mind, and no progressive nationalist feeling remains.

A return to the Likud electoral statement is necessary now, to compare it with what is called "a statement of principles concerning the West Bank and Gaza." Let us notice the extent to which this statement disregards the Likud statement. We must, necessarily, reread Begin's settlement plan, because there is much in it which needs no confirmation [to prove] that the basis of the Camp David statement depends on the details of this plan. But it is worth noticing that Camp David confirmed the following group of facts:

1--Al-Sadat's initiative did not happen for mere consumption one day. It was present in the sum total of Egyptian policy--internal and external--as well as in economic measures within Egypt.

2--American imperialism's understanding of settlement is that it is not a geographic plan, but rather deals with economy and culture. But this is no escape from the strangle hold of world capitalism.

3--Al-Sadat's Egypt fell completely into the lap of the imperialist plan. It began to try to play an executive role in this plan.

4--Some don't even consider [this plan] "half a solution" to the Middle East problem. It does not satisfy the parties to the struggle. But imperialism and Zionism will pursue their plan until it is completely imposed on the region.

One View of the Struggle

What happened in Camp David confirmed the nature of the imperialist view of the struggle and the settlement, and the unity--in this view--of Zionist and imperialist interests. In the practical application of the Zionist understanding of settlement, it is important that as much fluidity as possible [be achieved], that the time available for achievement of complete domination of the region be extended, and that the furthest boundaries be attained.

Indeed, Imperialism, which was bothered by stagnation for such a long time, knows the extent of its agents' confusion and involvement in the region. It decided that the Camp David meeting was one way for the Egyptian regime to vindicate itself, and that it would help to achieve the maximum exploitive, expansionist accomplishments.

Camp David guaranteed the Zionist leadership a new gain, whereas al-Sadat completely abandoned his relationship with the Palestine Liberation Organization and the Palestinian question. Another stage of his "breaking the tie" was his assurance to the Zionists that Jerusalem could remain [their] unified capital.

The attempt to put new life in the veins of al-Sadat's initiative at the moment when his final ruin [seemed] imminent succeeded. [It did so] in the secrecy with which Carter policy strove to avoid a fiasco this time. While the two sides--Israel and Egypt--did not reach a separate agreement, this does not prevent them from entering into one as complete partners to grasp a solution which could be imposed at the negotiating table. For this, he [al-Sadat] is respected internally and externally, and the future of the Zionist imperialist plan depends on the outcome of this journey.

Yes, the imperialists succeeded in some of their steps. While we talk about a people's war of long duration, we know no harm in this. The conspiracy will not continue forever while the strength of the revolution is present and steadfast.

Carter was astonished at the speed with which al-Sadat accepted the invitation. The reason for his astonishment was that he believed that al-Sadat still held to the position that Israel should be required to justify its crimes before the Arab and Egyptian people. Begin was confident about the farce of his negotiations and his falling into the lap of the United States. His [al-Sadat's] attempt to be the good guy with Carter forced continual concessions in the face of Zionist inflexibility. If he [Begin] reconsiders the circumstances in which al-Sadat ended the meetings of the joint committees in Isma'iliyyah--due to Zionist inflexibility--there would be nothing but amazement with regard to the reasons for which he [al-Sadat] accepted the invitation to "Stable David."

The Two-Fold Agreement and Nothing Else

What happened at "Stable David?" What is new about that which was previously rejected--that with which al-Sadat returns?

Very shortly, according to Egypt the two-fold agreement preserves a few km of the Sinai. This is a natural result--anticipated, even while al-Sadat was still on his way to Maryland bearing only some portfolios. In return for Israeli withdrawal from the Sinai, the region will only serve as a target--to [protect] civilization--with the establishment of an early warning system there.

Al-Sadat lacks the power to implement any of that which has been attained. Every step is judged on the scale which the Zionists deem appropriate. In addition, many clauses of the treaty allow an interpretation with more than a single meaning--like the story of "the lands" or "land" in resolution 242.

CSO: 4802

Tripoli AL-USBU' AL-SIYASI in Arabic 18 Sep 78 p 3



"The Dance of the Sacrificial Victim"

MAURITANIA

CAMP DAVID: MAKESHIFT ACCORDS

Nouakchott CHAAB in French 22 Sep 78 pp 1, 8

[Text] "We are worried, for it appears from all indications that the Palestinian people are not concerned over the Camp David accords. Any solution that ignores the Palestinian people can in no way, a priori, be satisfactory," Lt Col Moustapha O.M.S., president of the CMRN [Military Committee for National Recovery] and head of state, declared yesterday in an interview with the AFP in answer to a question relative to his sentiments after the Camp David summit meeting.

These words eloquently express Mauritania's position relative to an event that has caught the attention of the entire world and given rise to a wave of commentaries, often hostile, in the Arab world and even elsewhere. As for us, we believe that the tense situation in the Near East still remains unresolved.

This dangerous situation is a result of the aggressive and warlike policy of the Hebrew state.

It has also arisen from the policy of Jewish settlements practiced shamelessly by Israel inside several territories it has usurped in that area.

The danger is all the greater in that the Zionist state, scorning all sense of morale, persists in occupying Arab territories that it refuses to evacuate despite the many demands it has received from everywhere. The danger will surely and inexorably increase, since Israel is continuing to oppose reason and common sense with arrogance and provocation.

As a matter of fact, after Camp David are we not further than ever from peace in the Near East?

Have not the obstacles on the road to peace been multiplied?

Indeed, the fundamental and urgent problem remains intact. The rights of the Palestinian people, martyrs for more than 30 years and deprived of their native land, remain; they are the evidence, the keystone of any real or overall solution to the problem of the Near East.

Begin and his associates do not want to understand that and continue to ignore it.

Do the Zionist leaders really want peace? It seems that Israel's maneuvers are aimed rather at hiding its sinister designs on this area.

Whatever the case may be, any step toward peace that ignores the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people as well as the urgent need for a total and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli troops from all occupied territories will inevitably be doomed to grievous failure. Israel has not understood that, and that is so much the worse.

In view of this dangerous situation, the Arab nation must quiet its transitory antagonisms more than ever and view the future with more determination, courage and unity of action in order to take up the challenge.

The Arabs must henceforth close their ranks and strengthen their unity in order to confront the common enemy.

At that time, Israel, whether it likes it or not, will respond to the question: When will the Palestinian people and the Arab nation have rights?

8568

CSO: 4800

MAURITANIA

ACCORDS IGNORING PALESTINIANS CALLED UNSATISFACTORY

Nouakchott AL-SHA'B in Arabic 22 Sep 78 pp 1, 8

[Editorial: "Path to Solution"]

[Text] Lt Col Moustapha Ould Mohamed Saleck, chairman of the Military Committee for National Recovery and the head of the government, said in a press interview yesterday that he is very concerned in regard to the results of the recent Camp David summit, especially since these results have ignored the Palestinian people.

The head of the government has stressed that any solution ignoring the Palestinian people cannot be satisfactory under any circumstances. Thus, the chairman of the Military Committee for National Recovery summed up in a few words Mauritania's position and the feelings of all the Mauritans toward a major event that has attracted the attention of the entire world and that has been the subject of extensive and frank comments in all parts of the Arab countries.

Insofar as we are concerned, the issue is clear and obvious. The tense situation in the Middle East resulting from the Zionist settlement in Palestine and in Arab Egyptian, Syrian and Jordanian territories and from the Israeli arrogance shadowing other areas, especially Lebanon, does really require a quick and decisive solution.

But such a solution cannot be achieved in the absence of those who have paid more heavily than others the price of the distortion of history, of the usurpation of land and of the violation of sanctities.

The core of the problem of the Arab-Israeli conflict will remain, as it has always been, the issue of those who were made homeless, who watered the soil of Palestine with their blood and who still carry the rifle to regain the usurped right and to restore their dignity.

Without these people, there will be no comprehensive or just solution.

It is true that they are not alone and that the Arabs of the Sinai, the Golan, the West Bank and, in some cases, of Lebanon have shared with them the evil of settlement, invasion and domination but the matter means primarily and before anything else the need to unite the ranks and to pool the efforts to face an intransigent enemy proven by history and by the reality to be the enemy of all the Arabs and not of some Arabs to the exclusion of others.

It remains to say that the united Arab position to which we aspire to confront the difficulties of this phase is the only ideal path for the just and comprehensive solution.

8494

CSO: 4802

MOROCCO

ACCORDS DESCRIBED AS BLOW TO ARAB-PALESTINIAN CAUSE

Casablanca AL-BAYANE in French 20 Sep 78 pp 1, 4

[Article by Abdellah Layachi]

Text After 13 days of discussions interspersed with "suspense," real or simulated, the Camp David negotiations announce that Egypt and Israel "are undertaking to make peace between themselves and likewise for the entire region." In order to do this, President al-Sadat and Israeli Prime Minister Begin, under the auspices of Mr Carter, have adopted two "frameworks of peace," whose broad outlines are given below.

Thus, our apprehensions and those of all partisans of the Arab and Palestinian cause are confirmed: it is no more nor less than an accord for a separate peace treaty between Egypt and Israel within the framework of the American concept of peace. More serious than that, despite its quality of being separate, this peace treaty aims to settle the entire Israeli-Arab dispute in the absence and at the expense of those who are concerned, particularly the Palestinian people and the PLO, which represents it and directs its struggle for freedom.

The concessions made by President al-Sadat are all the more serious in that they bear on what is fundamental in the Israeli-Arab conflict.

To be sure, Israel is pledging "to re-establish Egyptian sovereignty over the entire Sinai peninsula," but Begin refused the Egyptian president's demand concerning the disengagement of the Jewish people in the Sinai. "Let us leave it up to the Knesset," he said, "to make a decision on this point."

Concerning other Arab territories occupied since June 1967, nothing provides for their evacuation in the near future and their return to their rightful owners.

Israel's occupation of the West Bank will be maintained behind what the Camp David accords call the granting to its inhabitants of a "full administrative autonomy of 5 years." With maintenance of Zionist political and military

authority, to be sure. As for the "definite status of the Palestinians," according to the same accords, there will be "negotiations between Egypt, Jordan and Palestinian representatives" on the basis of Security Council Resolution No 242, which considers the Palestinians as simple refugees!

Moreover, silence on the Syrian Golan Heights is all the more significant, inasmuch as the Zionists have never concealed their desire to annex it definitely under the deceptive pretext of preserving their security!

Thus, the concessions granted by the Egyptian president are all the more outrageous, considering that he obtained practically nothing relative to the essential points of the dispute. The Camp David accords support Israeli expansionism to the detriment of the Arab peoples and tend definitely to bar the way to recognition of the national aspirations of the Palestinian people. They also have the objective of widening the gap among the Arabs and of aggravating their domestic conflicts in order to give greater attention to Zionist enterprises and to enterprises of their allies, the American imperialists, first of all.

This intrigue must be stopped. This will require the Arabs, particularly those that are progressive, to overcome their differences and join ranks around the PLO in the face of their common enemy.

CSO: 4800

MOROCCO

ACCORDS VIEWED AS CAPITULATION TO BEGIN PLAN

Casablanca AL-MUHARRIR in Arabic 21 Sep 78 p 1

[Editorial: "Will Arabs Shoulder Their Responsibility This Time?"]

[Text] What we feared has finally happened. The independent and improvised initiative of Egyptian President Anwar al-Sadat has led to what was inevitable--to drawing up the framework that permits signing a bilateral "peace" treaty between Egypt and Israel. The Camp David conference which crowned al-Sadat's initiative, crowned its labyrinths and crowned the concessions made by the Egyptian regime during this initiative has ended with the formulation of a general framework for similar concessions to be made by the other frontline countries on the one hand and with a clear and frank initial agreement to sign a separate peace treaty between Egypt and Israel.

In our view, the vague phrases on withdrawal, on the Israeli settlements and on self-determination--phrases which al-Sadat gave one meaning and which Begin hastened to give another meaning--are not important. What is important is that the new and very serious series inaugurated by the ominous initiative has led the Egyptian president to accept Begin's plan, with fluid and superficial phraseological amendments. On the basis of this plan, he slipped into agreeing to sign a separate peace treaty with Israel while seeming to tell all the Arabs: I have drawn up for you the capitulationist framework to sign separate bilateral agreements and here I am giving you the example by agreeing to sign a peace treaty with Israel in the name of Egypt alone, so come do what I have done.

They are clear and obvious results: A new and serious series of codified capitulation protected and encouraged by a major power is now offered on the Arab arena. So will the Arabs confine themselves to the verbal rejection of this series or will they shoulder their historical responsibility in these serious and decisive circumstances? The few coming days will show what the answer to this question will be.

8494

CSO: 4802

PAPER SEEKS ASSESSMENT OF CAMP DAVID WITHOUT 'ABUSE'

Casablanca LE MATIN in French 28 Sep 78 pp 1, 3 LD

[Editorial by Ahmed Alaoui: "The Camp David Agreements"]

[Text] If the two parts of the Camp David agreements had constituted a final treaty, it is certain--everybody is in agreement about this--that they would have marked a retreat from the stances clearly defined by the Arab community at the 1974 Rabat summit.

The same applies to the overall agreement: If its [?provisions] were final and were to be peremptorily imposed without other conditions, it would run counter to our aims.

On the other hand, the peace agreement envisaged between Egypt and Israel is acceptable in itself, inasmuch as, taken in isolation, it offers a valid solution to the conflict between Egypt and the Zionist state. If those two countries alone were involved, it would even be a classic solution.

But it must be borne in mind that the conflict goes beyond the Israeli-Egyptian bilateral framework: It is an Arab-Israeli conflict, and if Camp David had resulted in this bilateral agreement alone, it would have been possible to speak of a separate peace.

But in fact--and this is clear from reading the documents carefully--the two agreements, that is, the overall framework for a peace settlement and the signing of an Egyptian-Israeli treaty, if not formally linked, are nevertheless complementary. The draft treaty between Israel and Egypt even constitutes a model which is valid for the other sides in the conflict.

Moreover, President Al-Sadat, both during his press conference in Rabat and in the numerous statements which he himself and the members of his government have made, has been anxious to stress two important points. The first is that the agreements which have been concluded are in no way final and that they constitute a framework, a blueprint--to use the Egyptian head of state's own expression--whose provisions are capable of development and improvement.

The second is that Egypt still regards itself as committed on the side of the other countries of the battlefield and there is no question of a separate peace. Egyptian Foreign Minister Butrus Ghali has just reiterated this, and Egypt's fate remains linked with that of the Arab community. Nor does Egypt intend to abandon the responsibilities which history has placed upon it.

When viewed in this light, it can be said that these agreements, whatever criticisms may be leveled and whatever reservations may be made, are positive in themselves: in view of their perfectibility, the capacity for development of the provisions which have put forward and, especially, in view of the fact that they constitute only a starting point--a beginning rather than an end. They are therefore an interesting contribution to peace.

To use a well-known saying, they have, moreover, the merit of existing.

But it is, nevertheless, still necessary for the other side to play the game and not nullify the provisions laid down at Camp David before the negotiations even begin by inopportune statements, intransigent restrictions and categorical refusals, especially with respect to the two essential points without which there can be no settlement in the Middle East--withdrawal from all the occupied territories, including Jerusalem, and the future of the Palestinians.

These two points are the objective, which is certainly distant but is essential and irrevocable with respect to restoring peace.

That is why, before adopting a stance, it is advisable first of all to study thoroughly the documents drawn up at Camp David and bear in mind that this is only a framework, which is designed indeed, taking into account the present situation and the balance of forces, to initiate a real peace dynamic.

With the help of time, just as there has been habituation to war, the reverse phenomenon can occur. Provided that each displays the same good will, another habituation could begin--that of negotiation, coexistence and cohabitation, whether one likes it or not, these are very important psychological factors which could play a considerable role in the future.

At all events, if an independent Palestine eventually comes into being, its future will no longer concern Israel but the Arabs. Moreover, what matters to the Zionist state is peace and recognition, which involves, in return, recognition of the Palestinian state.

This is where the framework for peace which has been laid down at Camp David should lead, if--we repeat--there is equal good faith on both sides. It is at this price that the trust necessary for peace can be established, because it is only trust which can remove the consequences of 30 years of hostilities--30 years which explain why everybody wants in the immediate future to surround himself with the maximum number of guarantees.

Last, the Camp David agreements were not signed solely by Anwar Al-Sadat and Begin; they were also signed by President Carter, and this commits one of the two superpowers as a party in the settlement plan which has been set underway. Knowing the special ties between the United States and Israel, one can be confident that Washington's influence will be brought to bear on its protege to urge it toward greater understanding and less intransigence.

This is how the Camp David agreements may be viewed.

This is an essentially objective opinion, because there can be no question of expressing a moral judgment or questioning intentions. Still less can there be any questions of resorting to abuse, first of all out of respect for Arab solidarity and fraternity and, second, out of respect for a man and a country which have given so much to the Arab cause.

At all events, we, for our part, will go further and say that if the present generation--the generation of war--will only lay down the framework, it will rest with the future generation to perform this task and be the generation of peace.

CSO: 4800

MEETING RAISES MORE QUESTIONS THAN IT ANSWERS

Jiddah ARAB NEWS in English 19 Sep 78 p 6

[Editorial: "Not Good Enough"]

[Text]

The Camp David agreement between President Sadat and Israel's Menahem Begin raises more questions than it answers. The most important, of course, is whether it will lead to an overall settlement in the Middle East. The agreement is not final even for the parties which have concluded it and President Carter has underlined that substantial differences persist.

One such difference raises the first important question: What would happen if in two weeks' time the Knesset fails to agree on dismantling all Israeli settlements in Sinai? President Sadat has linked final signing to the removal of Israel's settlements.

Another question involves the stipulation that Israel's military presence will continue in areas of the West Bank and Gaza Strip and there will be security zones in Sinai. Isn't that a continuation of the occupation under a different guise or form? And who would guarantee the security of the Arabs on the other side of the borders?

Then there is the question of the West Bank. The future of the settlements there has been ominously side-stepped and Israel will phase out its military presence in five years. Seen from the opposite side this also means that Israel will prolong its occupation by five years during which the Palestinians of the Bank and Strip will enjoy only a few more advantages than they have now. But they are expected to renounce the PLO in return for these advantages without even the promise of statehood in five years. And what about Jerusalem? The West Bankers may have been offered such a poor deal with the advance knowledge that they will reject it. President Sadat could then say that he tried to help the Palestinians but they refused and proceed with his unilateral agreement with Israel.

This raises the most important question of the day. If the Palestinians and King Hussein reject the deal worked out at Camp David does not that leave President Sadat alone to conclude separate peace with Israel? There has been a great deal of talk about a future role for King Hussein but the Jordanian monarch is offered even less than the Palestinians.

He is asked to approve a deal which, at best, will give the West Bank and Gaza Strip to their inhabitants and, at worst, will perpetuate Israeli domination of the two areas. So what is in it for the king? Why is he supposed to play the game? King Hussein has already interrupted his European plans and flew home for consultations. He is clearly unhappy with the turn of events.

And what about the Golan Heights? They are not mentioned because Syria has not participated, but could there be a settlement while they are occupied? What would happen if Syria and Israel fought a war over the Golan Heights or in Lebanon? Would Egypt step in or stand idly by?

The presence of international forces also raises another thorny question. If the U.N. Security Council is supposed to vote on them what guarantees that the Soviet Union will not use its veto power to torpedo the whole plan? What guarantees that China will not veto the proposal?

Is it not true to answer all questions by saying that the agreements were the best under the circumstances? They are not good enough.

CSO: 4820

SUCCESS OF SUMMIT MAGIC QUESTIONABLE

Jiddah ARAB NEWS in English 20 Sep 78 p 6

[Editorial: "Camp David Magic"]

[Text]

The announcement in Washington that Secretary Vance will visit Syria, Jordan and Saudi Arabia to "promote" the Camp David settlement has underlined the pivotal role that these countries will play in the success or failure of the American-sponsored settlement. Jordan and Syria have a direct interest while Saudi Arabia is indirectly involved, but the ultimate result of the summit conference in the woods of Maryland will rest with them as much as with Egypt and Israel.

The Camp David documents envisage a role for Jordan during the transitional period of five years when the Israeli military government will give way for a self-governing authority. King Hussein will come under tremendous pressure from the Americans to play ball. He will also come under equal Arab pressure to stay out. Assuming that the opposing pressures eliminate each other, Jordan could then treat the agreements in the light of its own national interests. In this case it is given a choice between the poor and the unacceptable. If the agreements do lead to a peaceful settlement, the West Bank will have been lost to the Amman government. If, on the other hand, snags develop and Israel refuses to withdraw from the West Bank, Jordan will have been made party to the legalization of the occupation. On top of this, the Camp David proposals leave a big question mark hanging over the future of Arab Jerusalem. King Hussein will not easily abandon his country's claim to the holy city no matter what he is promised in return.

Jerusalem figures even higher in the official Saudi thinking. As custodians of the Muslim holy places, the Saudis shoulder a religious, national and emotional commitment toward the holy city whose liberation was the life ambition of the late King Faisal. But even before getting to this hardest of all nuts, the Camp David documents leave much to be desired as far as the Saudi position goes. It must be recalled that before President Sadat left for Camp David, an official

Saudi announcement was issued to support his quest for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. In the broadest possible terms, this peace can only rest on the withdrawal of the Israeli forces from the occupied territories and the restoration of legitimate Palestinian rights. Secretary Vance will do his best to assuage Saudi misgivings about the deal made at Camp David. The Saudis will be much harder to convince than President Sadat because they do not suffer from the same limitations. They are at one time ready to do everything for peace but determined that Arab rights are not lost in achieving it.

If Jordan and Saudi Arabia opt to stay out, the settlement will degenerate into a unilateral peace between Israel and Egypt. President Sadat has said that he will not hold a separate peace and, on the face of it, he has not. But the non-Egyptian part of the deal is questionable. Once it is formally turned down the only thing left will be a separate peace agreement. The Washington administration will be desperately trying to avoid such an ending. But it has probably used up all its magic at Camp David. Its magic, at any rate, does not work equally with everyone.

CSO: 4820

SAUDI ARABIA

ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL FROM JERUSALEM FUNDAMENTAL DEMAND

Jiddah AL-BILAD in Arabic 20 Sep 78 p 1

[Untitled Editorial]

[Text] With utter clarity, calmness, rationality and confidence, the kingdom has explained its position toward and its visualization of the area's developments and of the results of the Camp David conference which project a certain visualization for solving the area's problems and for establishing peace. It was natural for the kingdom not to accept the formula drawn up by the conference as a final solution to the Middle East problem. It is not an acceptable formula that realizes all the demands stipulated by the Arab strategy and called for by the Arab summit conferences. The kingdom has not resorted to this position out of the lack of desire for peace, considering that the kingdom has been and continues to hope and aspire for peace and that it is still exerting its utmost efforts so that the sincere endeavours may provide a suitable base for just peace in the area which, in fact, is in the direst need of such peace. But the kingdom does not accept these results because they have not stated frankly and have not made an Israeli commitment for withdrawal from all the occupied Arab territories, because the kingdom does not see in them a final solution to the issue and because they do not offer an Israeli withdrawal from the city of Jerusalem. We consider this city one of our fundamental demands and its restoration a fundamental condition for the establishment of peace in the area. The results also fail to restore the Palestinian people's legitimate rights for which the Arab countries have been struggling for 30 years and for which these countries have been able to polarize international backing.

While stressing this, the kingdom has, on the other hand, expressed appreciation for the great efforts exerted by U.S. President Jimmy Carter to make what has been realized a means for achieving peace. But we cannot abandon the legitimate Arab rights. On the other hand, we do not permit ourselves the right to intervene in the domestic affairs of any Arab state. Each country has the right to choose, according to its strategy and to its visualization of this strategy, the suitable path for regaining its land

and its rights, provided that this also achieves the supreme Arab interest to which all the fraternal Arab states must be committed.

Peace in the area is an Arab demand. This is what has been underlined and reaffirmed by the statement of the Council of Ministers. The kingdom cannot, therefore, close the door in the face of any of the well-meaning endeavours that may help to achieve the restoration of the rights, foremost being the Palestinian people's rights. This is why the kingdom asks all the brothers to rally all the capabilities and resources at this sensitive time. It also believes that all the fraternal states must rally to unite the ranks and to bolster Arab solidarity because this is the only path that guarantees the rights of all of them and safeguards the supreme Arab interest.

8494

CSO: 4802

SAUDI ARABIA

ENDEAVORS TO UNITE ARAB WORLD AFFIRMED

Jiddah AL-MADINAH in Arabic 20 Sep 78 p 11

[Editorial: "Kingdom's Position: Bolstering Nation's Confidence in Its Present and Its Future"]

[Text] In this important phase of the Arab and Islamic nation's history, under these serious circumstances in which the Arab and Islamic world is passing a decisive turning point at which the nation's present and future will be decided and under the circumstances produced by the fluctuating atmosphere in the various parts of our world since last year's pilgrimage, it would be redundant to stress that clarification of the political positions contributes effectively toward determining the dimensions of the Arab nation's confidence in its present and its future.

As for the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, the heart of the Islamic world and the backbone of the Arab structure, the entire world attaches ever-increasing importance to learning the kingdom's positions toward the current developments.

It is natural for those who have known the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia since its foundations were laid down by the late King 'Abd-al-'Aziz to see the firmness of positions and the clarity of statement in the lines of the communique issued by the emergency session held yesterday by the Council of Ministers under the chairmanship of His Majesty King Khalid and devoted exclusively to discussing the results of the Camp David summit. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has always been and will continue to be most concerned with the safety of all the Arab rights, especially the usurped right of the Palestinian people and the right of the Arab and Islamic nation to the third of the holy shrines, the sacred Jerusalem.

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has also been and will continue to be most concerned with the means to unite rather than divide and to bring together rather than estrange the Arab nation.

Because one of the most prominent things that unite the Arabs and unify their positions is Arab abidance by the resolutions adopted by the Arab

summit conference, then continuing this abidance will be one of the most important features that will spare the Arab nation division and conflict.

The Saudi reservations declared by the kingdom in its position toward the Camp David resolutions represent in fact reservations on all the gaps in the attempt to establish the foundations of a lasting and stable peace which cannot be attained without dealing with the fundamental issue in the Middle East problem.

The Palestinian people who have endured homelessness and pains and the PLO that has led their armed struggle and embodied their hopes and aspirations and that has been recognized by the Arabs, through their kings and presidents, as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people are facts that no endeavour for peace in the area can disregard if this endeavour is to achieve any positive results.

By reaffirming its positions and expressing its reservations on the Camp David results, the kingdom is thus reflecting its firm and constant stance and its eagerness to unite the Arab word and the Arab efforts to ultimately serve the Arab nation's supreme interests. The kingdom is thus laying down forever a deep and firm foundation for the Arab and Islamic nation's confidence in its present and its future and in its ability to regain all its rights, with God's will.

8494

CSO: 4802

SAUDI ARABIA

ACCORDS NOT CONSIDERED FINAL ACCEPTABLE PEACE FORMULA

Riyadh AL-RIYAD in Arabic 20 Sep 78 p 1

[Editorial: "Projected Peace Is not Enough"]

[Text] Without being spasmodic or hasty in making judgements and in expressing decisive opinions on the most serious developments to which the Arab world is being exposed, the kingdom's official position has come as a position governed by reason and one that warns that true and just peace is still far from the reality because the results of Camp David are not considered the final acceptable formula for peace.

The kingdom's reply bears the answers to all the questions projected in the past 48 hours. Riyadh has been and is still an advocate of peace, of reestablishing the legitimate right and of holy struggle. It acknowledges the true and sincere efforts and appreciates any correct step toward the peace which the kingdom's leaders have always advocated, which they have stressed and to which they have adhered at more than one conference and meeting.

Peace can be established in more than one form if it preserves for each side its full rights and recognizes this side's presence, land, freedom and destiny. But the Camp David peace has disregarded these fundamental mainstays and has failed to mention them. It has ignored the issue of Jerusalem, the Palestinian people's legitimate rights and their right to self-determination and to establish a free and independent Palestinian state on land usurped by Israel. What is more, Israel insists on keeping the traces of occupation on every inch of Arab land it seized by force. What sort of peace is this? How can what has happened be considered a formula suitable for peace negotiations? Where is the correct mainstay or base on which we can take the position of the strong and not of the weak?

This is why the kingdom's position stresses that the framework which "stunned" the world yesterday is not the right framework for the desired peace and that it is not suitable as an inlet to continuing the negotiations

and the discussion because it flouts and challenges Arab and Islamic resolutions which may have escaped the minds of the Camp David negotiators while they were announcing to the world the good omen of peace "in its present form."

The kingdom has been and continues to be the house of the Arabs. It has adopted all their causes and has exerted utmost efforts to heal the widening crack in their ranks. It has obstructed bloodshed in more than one country and has participated in the development and prosperity of more than one country. It has done all this without interfering in their domestic affairs out of its eagerness to safeguard the unity of the Arab ranks.

The kingdom has been the vanguard of their solidarity and of uniting their ranks and their word. It is doing all this to safeguard their supreme interest and so that their primary cause may not be lost and their ranks may not be divided.

The kingdom has been stressing and it reaffirmed its stress yesterday that the one thing that it will not permit is undermining the Arab cause, that acting within the framework of safeguarding the supreme Arab interest is the essence of logic and understanding and that the Arab nation's interest always lies in its unity and cooperation and not in the realization of partial gains that undermine the supreme Arab interest.

The simultaneously balanced and firm position of the kingdom is in fact a sincere call for restoring Arab solidarity and a constant reminder of the correct principles of the just peace which all can accept.

There will be no peace without the restoration of Jerusalem to the Arabs.

There will be no peace without the establishment of the Palestinian state.

And there will be no victory without reviving Arab solidarity.

This is a clear position backed up by the commitments and the pledges that the kingdom has undertaken since its establishment. It is time for the world to understand at this particular time the fate of the Camp David resolutions and the fate of peace in the Middle East in particular and in the world generally.

8494

CSO: 4802

SAUDI ARABIA

RESTORATION OF ARAB SOLIDARITY COULD BE PRELUDE TO VICTORY

Riyadh AL-RIYAD in Arabic 21 Sep 78 p 1

[Editorial: "Losing Wager"]

[Text] The Arab reactions of rejection of the Camp's peace are now complete.

The Arab unanimous agreement to adhere to the essence of the issue and to consider what has happened at the Camp as ambiguous things that are not suitable for the Arabs or for peace has been as surprising as the results of the negotiations.

Perhaps the world has been expecting decorations to appear from the Gulf to the ocean in celebration of the newborn who lived only for moments in the oxygen tent.

Perhaps the world has thought that the present Arab aimlessness is the opportunity suitable for imposing what this world considers the fait accompli policy.

The world has also come to believe that the support given to the resolutions by some and their rejection by others may be equal, that the issue will be solved to the chagrin of one group and not the other and that containing the people with the legitimate right will ultimately become easy with the absence of the united Arab word and through the personal differences themselves.

But none of this has happened or will happen.

Insistence on the comprehensive and correct solution has been stressed by all the countries of the area, regardless of any personal, ideological or partisan considerations. This is what makes the surprise greater and what makes observers ask: Where are the Arab disputes?

The decisive answer comes: The Arabs have never disagreed on their cause even though their interpretations and their methods and courses for restoring their rights may have differed.

There are superficial differences and there are political differences. Part of these differences have been settled and the rest will be settled shortly.

But what is certain is that there is no essential difference whatsoever between one leader and another on the need for the restoration of Jerusalem, of the Palestinian state and of just peace.

The unanimous Arab agreement is clearer than the resolutions and stronger than the exported peace produced by a caesarean. An infant born by a caesarean does not live long. He who lives will see.

There is no doubt that Europe and many other countries have been hasty in their expression of optimism and in considering the resolutions great historical accomplishments. These countries, especially the friendly ones, should have waited for the reactions of the people concerned with the issue, as the positive French position has done. The Arabs have come of age and they no longer need the custodianship of any "giant."

Some people may ask: Why wasn't such a unanimous agreement reached vis-a-vis Resolution 242? The answer is that the division at the time was over the interpretation and not over the essence and that the Arabs of yesterday are not the Arabs of today. Moreover, the degree of the resolution's seriousness is much smaller than that of the Camp David resolutions.

Tragedy unites.

The unanimous agreement of the Arabs while they are suffering most from tragedies must be considered the beginning of the restoration of Arab solidarity and of the unity of the Arabs ranks and of forgetting the differences. Let this restoration be the prelude for victory and for removing the ghost of defeat definitely and forever.

8494
CSO: 4802

ARAB SUMMIT ADVISED FOR PEACE SETTLEMENT

Jiddah ARAB NEWS in English 25 Sep 78 p 6

[Editorial: "Comprehensive Peace"]

[Text]

The visit of the U.S. Secretary of State to the Kingdom has not been altogether unproductive. It was, in diplomatic jargon, useful, in that it served to project the American viewpoint with regard to the Camp David accords as well as to the concept of a comprehensive peace formula which is adopted by the Saudi government. Mr. Vance said that the Camp David accords were only a step in that direction but this was hardly adequate to assuage Saudi fears that further substantial steps may not be forthcoming in the near future. It was particularly distressing that the future of Jerusalem was not even discussed at Camp David and that this omission—very serious to Muslims everywhere—has so strengthened Mr. Begin's intransigence that he demanded in a public address immediate American recognition of the holy city as the capital of the Jewish state.

During the talks with Mr. Vance however, the Saudi side recognized with appreciation President Carter's efforts to bring about a peaceful and just settlement in the Middle East. Indeed, no other American administration has tried harder to find a fair solution of the Middle East problem. But the Saudis, like many other Arabs, want the problem to be tackled at the grass roots—that is finding a place for the PLO in the negotiations to restore the rights of the two million Palestinians rendered stateless during the last 30 years. How can anything approaching a just solution of the problem be achieved if these people remain in exiles or under Israeli military and political control? Mr. Carter knows this and has said nearly as much—though not in so many words—during the past two years. But the problem, the crux as it was called by President Sadat during Mr. Begin's visit to Ismailia, was not even broached by the Camp David accords.

Here also lies some of the weaknesses of Mr. Sadat's stance. Until he went to Camp David, he insisted on this "crux" being tackled first and foremost

In all this gloom, it was heartening to hear Mr. Vance refer to the Camp David accords as a step in the direction of a comprehensive peace formula for the Middle East and that President Carter will pursue this goal in the near future. Perhaps President Sadat can still do something to salvage the situation by pressing for positive Israeli concessions before he sets his seal to the proposed peace treaty with Israel. Israel would dearly wish to go ahead with the peace treaty without giving up anything further.

There is already talk in the "Steadfastness Front" of forging an alliance with the Soviet Union to counter the "Camp David front" as they called it, unless something drastic happens to upset the Camp David accords before the signing date. The Soviet Union would cherish an opportunity to return in force into the Middle East and gain access to Jordan this time—if this is at all possible. But this may only complicate matters even further without doing much to assist the Steadfastness Front to achieve its objectives militarily. Is it conceivable that the Soviet Union would arm the Front to an extent as to enable it to liberate the occupied lands by force? We hardly think so. So the Front has to look for other alternatives. Perhaps an Arab summit, even at this stage, is still the best way out of a potential crisis similar to those that were prevalent in the Middle East of the late fifties and early sixties where half the Arabs were either traitors, stooges or reactionaries in the eyes of the other half.

CSO: 4820

SAUDI ARABIA

PAPER SEES PAN-ARABISM NECESSARY FOR COMPREHENSIVE PEACE FORMULA

Riyadh AL-RIYAD in Arabic 25 Sep 78 p 1

[Editorial: "Riyadh and Pan-Arabism of Cause"]

[Text] The words that Vance has heard in Riyadh reaffirm the kingdom's firm position which is established on the pan-Arabism of the cause and on the fact that lasting peace cannot be achieved in the area, unless collective in formula and comprehensive in nature.

The kingdom, and with it the unanimous agreement of its Arab nation, has its comprehensive and indivisible view of the Middle East problem. Even though every Arab leader has the right to seek to liberate his occupied territories either by military action or by peaceful political action, this does not mean that this leader's view of the solution can be in conflict with the supreme Arab interest. The cause is pan-Arab and the interest is collective. No Arab leader is entitled to or possesses the right to get a separate solution on his front conflicting with the pan-Arabism of the cause or to claim for himself custodianship over the other fronts, to speak on their behalf or to visualize the solutions for them independently.

The present Arab reality cannot accept--after long years of hardship, after a state of war that has lasted for more than 30 years, after usurpation of the land and of Jerusalem and after the loss of the Palestinian right--anything less than a comprehensive solution that opens the road to a just peace. The steps of this comprehensive solution are known and its provisions are confirmed in the conscience of every Arab and its echoes are reverberated in every statement made by any Arab official. It is unreasonable for the unanimous Arab agreement to accept after all these years of war, aimlessness and loss of rights the crumbs of solutions or solutions that please the disposition of Israel's rulers. What pleases their dispositions there is in conflict, by necessity, with the supreme Arab interest and with the goals of the nation's honorable and long struggle that started long ago and still continues.

In the reply he got, Vance, the U.S. secretary of state who represents his country's eagerness to hear the opinion of the kingdom in its capacity

as the state with the effective weight and the party with the major role in its nation's issues, heard clear words that can only mean one thing and that can be interpreted only one way.

Peace in the area cannot be established unless collective in formula and comprehensive in nature because the kingdom believes in the pan-Arabism of the cause and because it is eager to bolster and safeguard Arab solidarity.

Any deviation from this solidarity is rejected altogether because it does not mean advancing the cause but rather means pulling it backward. The Arab nation unanimously condemns this and refuses to retreat a single inch.

Withdrawal from the venerable Jerusalem and its restoration to Arab sovereignty is an issue that is not subject to discussion, that withstands no bargaining or delay and over which a whisper of doubt must not be made. The venerable Jerusalem will never be an item on the table of any negotiations. This is final and must be accepted completely.

Recognition of the Palestinian people's right to determine their future is the essential fundament for solving the Palestinian issue. No peace can be established in the area without recognizing this right and the need for the PLO, in its capacity as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, to perform its natural role in this regard.

These are the words that Vance heard in Riyadh during his latest visit and these words are not new to the ears of the American diplomat or to the ears of the world.

These words reflect the kingdom's firm and constant position toward the prime Arab cause.

This position came to represent Arab unanimity as of the moment of the announcement of the Camp David resolutions.

The pan-Arabism of the cause is a fundamental and tacit rule.

Bolstering and safeguarding Arab solidarity are required for any movement. The path of the Arabs was known and defined 30 years before Camp David.

8494
CSO: 4802

SAUDI ARABIA

BEGIN'S INTRANSIGENCE, NARROWMINDEDNESS SAID TAKEN TO CAMP DAVID

Riyadh AL-RIYAD in Arabic 25 Sep 78 p 3

[Article by Turki 'Abdallah al-Sudayri: "Camp Begin; Israel Looked for Price of Peace, not Peace; Begin Went to Camp David With Rabbi's Mentality; Palestinians Are Essence of Conflict and Are Ones With First Voice; There Is a Difference Between Political Settlements and National Issues; Kingdom's Communique Is National Charter, Why Don't Arabs Rally Around It?"]

[Text] Chapter three of the Book of Exodus in the Torah says the following about the children of Israel:

"God told Moses: Take off your shoes from your feet because the spot on which you are standing is holy land. I am God your father and the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob. Moses covered his face because he was afraid to look at God and God said:

"I have seen the humiliation of my people in Egypt and I have heard their cries to their oppressors. I have learned of their suffering and I have descended to rescue them from the hands of the Egyptians and to bring them up from that land to a good and vast land that flows with milk and honey, to the land of the Canaanites, the Hittites, the Assyrians, the (Fusites, the Humites) and the Jebusites. The cries of the sons of Israel have now reached me and I have seen the harassment caused them by the Egyptians. Come, I will send you now to Pharaoh to bring my people, the sons of Israel, out of Egypt."

Here ends the Torah quotation.

The first observation on this quotation is that the idea of God to the Jews is not general but private to the children of Israel. He is their God and calls them My people, i.e., he makes them special.

The second observation is the full conviction that what they do is with God's guidance and His will and that the violations they commit are not considered offenses because they are within God's instructions.

This is why we find that God in the Torah does not send Moses to guide Pharaoh and the Egyptians so that the children of Israel may live peacefully and securely with them, with the Canaanites, the Hittites and the Jebusites but sends Moses to lead the sons of Israel alone and to enable them to seize the lands of others after leaving Egypt.

I am certain that Menahem Begin was reading this quotation when he went to Camp David and that he believed in it and dealt with all the items of negotiation on its basis.

Menahem Begin, the fanatic Jew whose fanaticism borders on narrow-mindedness, was the only one to take with him his private cook to prepare for him religious Jewish food [sic] that prohibits mixing the fat of the two souls [sic] in one vessel and so that he may not fall into the "uncleanliness" of what any Christian or Moslem eats. Menahem Begin got to Camp David with this mentality and visualization and this ideological and historical view. The man would have preferred to be hanged on the Camp David gate and go to the paradise of the God of the children of Israel rather than violate the teachings of his religion, especially in regard to the lands located east of his state--namely, the Bank and what is behind it.

Dialogue with this man should be at the level of his intransigence and narrow-mindedness and the other party to the dialogue must be a mixture of a man of religion, a statesman and the commander of a force who dictates and does not try to talk back and forth and to give and take. The most difficult thing faced by the Camp David conference, considering what is known about Begin's personality and about the previous negotiation committees, is that many wished the conference failure. Failure would protect the little remnants of the past Arab gains and would have made all concerned believe in the need to return to Arab solidarity. Success, if achieved, would be at the expense of squandering these gains.

A record of the Arab-Israeli conflict throughout 30 years has not inflicted as painful and as severe a defeat on the Arab side as the defeat inflicted by the outcome of the Camp David conference. At the Palestinian level, for example, the Arabs struggled in the face of world public opinion to explain the cause of a people driven homeless by a declared and well-known war in 1948 and in 1967 and international conviction has been created in regard to the need to repatriate these people on their own land, if not on all of it then at least on what was usurped in 1967. This is a clear right that is subject to no falsification. The fact that Yasir 'Arafat has spoken from the UN rostrum represents international recognition of the legitimacy of the PLO's struggle and of creating a Palestinian homeland. All this has been wiped out by the Camp David conference and a reference has been made defining the Palestinians as those living in the occupied territories, i.e., no reference has been made to or about the problem of the homeless.

Second: There is a loss here at the international level. The world public opinion which has become familiar with the truth of the Palestinian

problem is excused if it doubts the sincerity of the Arab positions and the validity of the Arab national demands, especially when this world public opinion finds that a conference in which the Arabs have participated adopts the Israeli viewpoint that there is no homeless Palestinian people and that the PLO is not the representative of this people.

How many years have we spent, how much efforts exerted and how much money spent to reach this conviction? How many years have we moved backward now that we have confirmed the Israeli viewpoint?

Third: The psychological situation in each of the Arab and Israeli societies has changed a lot. In the near past, we were hearing the news of the counter-immigration leaving Israel after becoming certain that life was unstable in a combatant society living under conscription and under the constant fear of the outbreak of war at any moment. This is a factor that does not encourage settling down and this is why the population of Israel has remained almost unchanged and has not experienced leaps threatening the large percentage of Arabs in comparison to the small population of Israel. This situation has now changed completely and the Jew in any part of the world now finds incentives to emigrate and to settle in a land usurped for him by the ruling Israeli authorities themselves.

That persistent anxiety and that constant fear of the consequences of wars and even those sharp disagreements between the Likud Bloc and the other parties and between Begin himself and his opponents have now turned into an overwhelming victory for Begin who has returned to Tel Aviv as the hawk of peace who has gotten what he wanted.

In the past, the question was whether the generation of old pioneers, such as Begin, Meir, Dayan, Peres, Ben Gurion and Eshkol, was able to establish the state of Israel with its deep faith and its bloody experience and what would happen after this generation of pioneers disappears.

A society needs stability and social security to grow and multiply. The generation which will succeed the generation of Israeli pioneers will not be as combatant or as intransigent as the present generation of pioneers. This means that this small entity is threatened with fusing in the big Arab bloc. Moreover, this small entity is currently deriving the strength of its presence from the current international circumstances which are in its favor militarily by virtue of the excessive U.S. sympathy for this entity. But these circumstances will change after the disappearance of the generation of pioneers.

Fourth: Why are we searching for peace?

Peace in itself is not a goal because of the importance of the national issues and of the land, and peace should not be established at the expense of either. If the Torah gives the children of Israel a special god and a land that extends to the furthest part of the Arab East, then Islam also defines the need for peace.

The venerable Koran says: "If they are inclined toward peace, then you too go for it." This means that if the peace "initiative" comes from them, then accept it. But for the values of Islam and for the rights of Moslems, the Koran says: "Prepare for them all the force you can." Force is not only the force of arms but also the force of the unity of ranks and of opinion.

Economically, socially and in terms of manpower, we do not need peace as much as Israel needs it. We possess the land, the wealth and the large population and we can absorb more Israeli occupation even if Israel swallows an area twice its present size. Israel cannot under any form of occupation guarantee a permanent peace or secure borders. The continuation of war throughout tens of years is the biggest actual defeat for the Israel society which will not expand without social security and will not establish relations of international cooperation beneficial to its trade and industry in the face of continued Arab hostility.

Concepts and appearances become confused at times and things may get names that do not indicate their prime reality and peace may bear the aspect of capitulation despite all the signs of victory with which this capitulation is surrounded.

The remnants of the Nazi commanders who signed the peace treaty in the wake of World War II were nothing but defeated commanders. The same thing happened when the Japanese might was broken after the Nagasaki and Hiroshima bombs. Even though Marshal Petain was ruling France internally during the war, he was a defeated commander in Vichy and General de Gaulle, who was fighting with the allied forces, was the real victor despite the small numbers following him.

In the Indochina wars, Nixon was not a peace hero but he did face the U.S. society that had become scared of the enormity of the war there. The real hero was General Giap who trampled the U.S. arrogance on the edges of the marshes of the Cambodian Parrot's Beak.

Fifth: Settlements and concessions may be accepted in political issues which are very different from national issues.

Settling small problems concerning borders or concluding friendship and economic cooperation treaties are political issues that are not fundamental and they may be implemented or a state may back down on them. But the issue of the displacement of an entire people, the loss of an entire homeland and the occupation of a sacred city firmly connected with national and religious affiliations are not issues that can be dealt with easily or that can be settled through the declaration of flexible principles that are left to the political tricks of America and Israel.

Sixth: It is ridiculous to say that an agreement formula had to be reached and that a declaration of principles had to be made because the issue is

connected with the position of U.S. President Jimmy Carter in the coming elections. This is strange. What do our national issues have to do with President Carter's election? Are we custodians of the U.S. presidency? What is more, do we benefit from these elections? The major beneficiary is Israel. So why hasn't Israel given enough concessions to keep Jimmy Carter president forever? Why are we the ones paying the price of electing this president?

Because of the United States itself, Israel does not want peace. In the name of war, Israel is getting unconditional aid from the United States of America and collects annually no less than 700 million dollars in donations alone. So why go for peace?

This being the case, peace should come bearing in its folds national and material compensations for whatever Israel will lose as a result of the termination of the state of war.

The detente game, along with the peace game that has put the rich Middle East area between the jaws of Israel and of the Soviets and then started to wave the flag of the dangers of the communist invasion, had to understand that we are not concerned more with these rich areas because we are not exploiting them in the manner required by the west's industry and its civilization [sic].

These games also had to understand that the compensation settlements and the waving of the flags of danger are a cheap price for a big homeland that extends throughout two continents and in which 120 million people live. One out of the more than 20 countries forming this homeland can feed and harbor this homeland's population.

The unanimous agreement in rejecting the Camp David resolutions is a great Arab gain. But what is sad is that even though the tragedy is enormous, the reaction has not produced any positive formula to foil the new steps to partition the area's geography, and even to fragment the entity of its population.

The kingdom's communique has been clear and sincere in defining the Arabism of Jerusalem, the Palestinian state and the restoration of the territories as fundamental conditions for ending the state of war in the Middle East. So why don't the other Arab countries rally around this clear communique which reflects the essence of the latest Arab summit resolutions. Why don't they do this without allowing themselves to be lost in classifications, fronts and conferences. The clear national objective can withstand no disagreement over it.

What is surprising in the Camp David accord is that it has changed nothing in Israel's view of Security Council Resolution 242 or in Begin's plan. What is more, the negotiations of the previous committees were more flexible than what Camp David, which should be named Camp Begin, has produced. This intransigent and narrow-minded Begin has returned with what he believes to be the Torah's instructions to lead his people eastward, as the God of the children of Israel wants.

SAUDI ARABIA

Jiddah AL-MADINAH in Arabic 19 Sep 78 p 1

[Text]



"Souvenir Picture"

CSO: 4802

SYRIA

ARAB NATION MUST ACT TO THWART AL-SADAT'S 'CONSPIRACY'

Damascus AL-BATH in Arabic 19 Sep 78 pp 1, 11 LD

[Article by Mahmud Kamil: "The Front of Steadfastness in Confrontation With the Surrender Plot"]

[Excerpts] What has al-Sadat obtained from the Camp David agreements and the previous talks at the King David Hotel in Jerusalem? What price has al-Sadat paid in return for this? What has Israel obtained and what has it paid?

As a first stage al-Sadat has obtained an agreement for a partial withdrawal from the Sinai within 9 months from the signing of the agreements. He has also obtained a promise for another partial withdrawal within 3 years. Under this plan most of the Sinai will be demilitarized but the Israeli forces and settlements will remain.

Al-Sadat has also obtained Israel's approval for the establishment of self-rule in the West Bank and Gaza sector, something which Israel had previously suggested in various plans and which al-Sadat, the Arabs and the Palestinians had previously rejected.

What has al-Sadat paid in return for what he obtained?

Al-Sadat has offered all that Israel had asked for previously; he has given Israel all that it wanted.

Al-Sadat has abandoned everything--the rights of the Palestinian Arab people, Jerusalem, the principle of total withdrawal from the Arab territories, and even the principle of a total Israeli withdrawal from the Sinai--and accepted continued Israeli occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza sector. He has accepted the establishment of political, economic and cultural relations with Israel, and agreed to end the boycott and to open the doors for movement between Israel and Egypt as well as for the possibility of setting up joint projects in every field. In other words, al-Sadat has agreed to sever himself from the body of the Arab nation and to join Israel as its ally, thus implementing what Begin proposed during al-Sadat's visit to Israel. The time has come for the Jewish genius and Arab finance and manpower to establish a new civilization.

What has Israel obtained and what has it paid?

Israel has paid nothing. It has obtained at the expense of the Arabs the biggest victory in the history of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Not only has it obtained Egyptian recognition, but it has also split the Arab countries and entrenched its control of the Arab territories as well as its actual control of Egypt. It has also obtained the agreement of al-Sadat, the head of the biggest Arab country, to ignore the PLO and to maintain the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza sector on the grounds that the local people are the ones concerned, meaning the Palestinians and the inhabitants of the Israeli settlements.

Does what al-Sadat obtained merit all these sacrifices, concessions and dangers?

If we compare what he has obtained with what Israel has given up, then the answer is no. What is now required of the Arabs in order to confront the grave conspiratorial situation resulting from al-Sadat's policy?

What is required is a united stand with the Arab front of steadfastness and confrontation; what is required is a united stand with the base of steadfastness--Syria; What is required from the Arab nation's masses and the leaders of movements, parties and forces is to act to thwart al-Sadat's plan; what is required is that the Arab nation's masses should express their rejection of the way in which their aspirations and their future are being undermined.

The leaders of the front of steadfastness and confrontation will meet in Damascus, the base of steadfastness, tomorrow. All attention is focused on them and all hopes are pinned on them so that the front may move toward taking new steps capable of confronting al-Sadat's conspiracy and creating a base capable of defending the Arab future--a base that possesses all the capabilities to confront the new conspiracy.

CSO: 4802

SYRIA

ACCORDS VIEWED AS TOTAL SURRENDER BY SADAT

Damascus AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 19 Sep 78 p 1

[Article by Ahmad al-Hajj 'Ali: "End of Darkness and Beginning of Relibious Dawn"]

[Text] What we expected has come true, rather the logic of things has come true and Egypt's ruler has declared his relinquishment of everything. It was not a sudden or a surprising event. The final fall of al-Sadat came as a natural result of a suspect march led by the man since the hands of death snatched away Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir, the Arab Egyptian leader. Though we are not about to analyze what has happened and what is happening, the least we can do is to underline the Arab citizens' rejection of the Egyptian downfall and to underline the world's, the entire world's, rejection of a conduct that gives everything and that gambles on the destiny and on the future freely and in a manner that neither the conscience nor the mind can withstand. The most surprising thing is that the Zionist enemy leaders feel that they are getting what seemed to be impossible, offered to them by Egypt's ruler on a gold platter, and that they are realizing all the old dreams of Zionism that are being renewed on the hands of Egypt's ruler who is tampering with the national life to the point of slaughtering this life on the altar of falsehood, megalomania and gratis political downfall.

Al-Sadat has turned the free will and the fateful struggle into a backward tale which is only followed by the deceived and the deceiving and demanded only by the backward, as he says. He has smashed the Arab sword in the face of the rifles of treachery and has come forth to claim that he is laying down the foundations for a civilized march whose mainstay is capitulation, whose essence is capitulation and whose appearance is capitulation.

Al-Sadat is trying to offer Zionism, Israel, U.S. imperialism, all the rancorous and the lackeys, the freedom, the destiny and the right of the Arabs as a cheap gift. He has taken upon himself the performance of the role of blessing whatever Israel wants, what pleases America and what he believes will crush the Arab cause.

Al-Sadat has stabbed Egypt in its Arabism and has stabbed Arabism in its Egypt. Across the fields of pain and the stream of honorable blood offered by our people everywhere, al-Sadat disregarded values and defended with enthusiasm beyond the enthusiasm of Begin himself and beyond the prevarication of the traditional policy of the United States itself.

In al-Sadat's view, Israel is not a hostile and not an aggressive country and is perhaps, as al-Sadat himself has declared, the closest thing to his soul, to his heart and to his mind. In al-Sadat's view, nothing will stand in the face of his friendship with Israel. Palestine will not deter him, the Sinai will not remind him of any duty and the martyrs will cause him no embarrassment whatsoever. The only important thing is that he perform his role and that he give the enemy what the enemy has not even dreamt of.

In al-Sadat's view, neither right exists nor the war for the right is necessary. He has worked ceaselessly so that the state of peace without peace may be achieved. At a time when Israel is brandishing every weapon it possesses in the face of the Arabs, beginning with politics to psychological warfare to nuclear weapons, the ruler of Egypt collapses with an absolute sadism [sic] unprecedented in history and asks the Arabs to follow his example.

Egypt's ruler has done it the way he wanted it and the way he planned it. Even though the Arab mind has understood al-Sadat since the beginning of his political presence, this intellect has taken into consideration that there is a limit to concessions and that downfall has its criteria and price. But for matters to reach this limit and for Egypt's ruler to fall in the lobbies of Camp David and at the doorsteps of Begin and Carter, this has been stronger than the Arab apprehension and beyond the endurance of the national and human mind.

How could Israel get the land and the history when it failed to realize the minimum degree of either through war and how could a ruler like al-Sadat give Israel what it wants and give it the authorization for the land, the blood and the history?

How could the Egyptian leader unite with the Zionist enemy with his intellect and thinking and with his awareness and conduct to the degree where this ruler is ready to fight on Israel's side against any Arab position disturbing the Zionist dream and against any Arab position that rejects slavery, downfall and capitulation?

How could the Sinai, Palestine, the Bank and the Strip be offered a free gift to a murderous enemy that lives on treachery and that persists in his aggression?

Whatever we say and however we react to what is happening, Egypt's ruler will continue to be this terrible riddle that defies logic and that is

beyond the imagination of man, any man in this universe. The issue, as led by the Egyptian leader, continues to be another issue with its own goals and its own dimensions and, regrettably, with its own assisting circumstances which are embodied fundamentally in the present moment of Arab stumbling. In the face of behavior like that of al-Sadat, we cannot but say that the man is either a Zionist fundamentally, a Zionist in his affiliation, Zionist in his thinking and Zionist in his actions or that he does not possess the bare essentials of reason, logic and feelings. It may be easy to state that Egypt's ruler himself is tantamount to an independent Zionist-imperialist plan--a plan which started in the Deversoir, in the Kilometer 101 negotiations, in the first and the second disengagement-of-forces agreements, in the Sinai agreement, in the visit to the occupied Jerusalem, in the political lies that continued for long months until landing at Camp David where al-Sadat emerged from his shell stained with disgrace, engulfed in downfall and shackled by weakness and defeat. The ruler of Egypt wanted it to be a war against the national existence and a cheaper war to create backwardness and division in this unfortunate area. He wanted it to be a darkness that would engulf everything and that would permit the enemy to infiltrate into the Arab life and into the Arab will. Here he is now leading from his position a message of division and a lot of degeneration.

At Camp David and while Begin, Carter and al-Sadat were drinking a toast to the deal's success and while the embraces were at their warmest, the Arabs, and the world with them, were denouncing what was happening because the Arabs, and the world with them, cannot at all believe that land and peace would be given to Israel and that nothing but shackles and capitulation would be given to the Arabs, led by Egypt.

In this difficult phase, Arab Syria is moving ahead, raising the slogan of steadfastness and declaring that the world which rejected aggression and crime still rejects aggression and crime and that the Arab nation knows that muddled circumstances do at moments of violence produce types like al-Sadat. But this nation also knows for certain that the will for struggle produces for humanity, for history and for civilization a thousand leaders like Hafiz al-Asad. Whenever an Arab individual falls in exile, a thousand Arab leaders rebel in Cairo and Damascus.

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CSO: 4802

SYRIA

ARABS EXPECTED TO PAY EXORBITANT PRICE FOR CAMP DAVID ACCORDS

Damascus TISHRIN in Arabic 19 Sep 78 p 1

[Article by 'Ami Khuli: "Initial Reading of Capitulation Contract"]

[Text] If faulty premises lead to faulty conclusions, which is scientifically true, then the outcome of the march of al-Sadat's concessions could lead to no result other than that reached by the Camp David meetings, namely the capitulation contract.

If we return to the description that struggler al-Asad gave the Camp David meeting long before it was convened, a description characterizing the meeting as "an ambush for the Arab nation," then any result produced by the conference could not exceed in its danger the description of an ambush and the meaning of an ambush.

In fact, the result has been a real ambush for the Arab nation.

This is why it was not surprising for al-Sadat's regime to conclude independent peace with the enemy. Syria was not expecting a different result for al-Sadat's course since the renegade al-Sadat started his trip with ignominy and treason in the Kilometer 101 talks, rather since he started the theatrical penetration in the Deversoir, the Sinai tunnels, the visit to the occupied Jerusalem, the King David Hotel meetings and ending with Camp David.

Syria understood perfectly well that the path of concessions will lead by necessity to what the Camp David summit has led to: Separate peace on Israeli terms.

The bitter fact is that had Begin himself been asked to prepare the text of a treaty with Egypt dictating his terms and the terms of world Zionism, he would not have been able to come up with a more Zionist text and a text more humiliating to Egypt than the provisions of the accord signed by al-Sadat.

The statements made by Begin and by Weizman, his minister of war [sic], in which the former said "we have achieved the impossible" and the latter said "we have realized the dream that the Zionist movement has had since long ago" reveal clearly the serious nature of what al-Sadat committed at Camp David and underline the depth of the tragedy that al-Sadat has inflicted on the Egyptian people and on their national destiny.

What is surprising is that the accord has not given al-Sadat even an Egyptian national solution. There will be no withdrawal from the Sinai and no removal of Zionist settlements or air bases from it. All these principled national demands have been ignored by the accord.

After all this, we don't know what peace framework this is and what peace has al-Sadat achieved at Camp David if the Egyptian land--the Sinai--will remain under occupation for an interim period during which al-Sadat's peaceful intentions are tested and if the Zionist settlements and air bases will also remain. This is if we disregard the Palestinian people's right to their national state and to determine their future and if we disregard the other occupied territories.

Isn't it a logical and urgent question to ask: In return for what has al-Sadat capitulated? In fact, if we refer to the text of the accord we will not find a single answer.

As long as this is the case and as long as the end has been arranged on this shameful basis, why did al-Sadat play his political theatrics to deceive his people under the slogans of the comprehensive solution, of the Palestinian rights, of suspending the negotiations and of withdrawing delegations? Wasn't the entire Sinai offered to 'Abd-al-Nasir as pure national Egyptian territory in return for a bilateral treaty and was not the offer turned down? How could al-Sadat sign the accord in return for a part of the Sinai and how could he disregard all the well-known mainstays of just peace?

The most dangerous aspect of the accord is what follows it and the required smokescreen to pass the accord. The most serious aspect of the accord is that al-Sadat has officially moved Egypt from the Arab side directly to the hostile Israeli side and the Arab nation has thus lost twice: First when Egypt departed from the Arab line as a major military and manpower force and the second when this force was added to the other hostile side so that they both may become allies against the Arab nation.

The most dangerous aspect of the accord is that the price will be exorbitant for the Arab side and bigger than the price of the Sinai agreement which we have all come to know. The most dangerous aspect of the accord is that its price will be more Arab division that may reach the point of armed clashes that will be nurtured, and of course financed, by America, Israel and al-Sadat.

This is why the responsibilities of the steadfastness summit which will be held in Damascus tomorrow grow bigger and why the responsibilities of the steadfast Syria, the principled Syria, al-Asad's Syria with its firm national position and the Syria that is the axis, center and goal of steadfastness will grow bigger.

The steadfastness summit is required to be the national answer that directly opposes the capitulation accord and that understands well, in terms of military, material and popular calculations and preparation, the requirements of steadfastness, and effective steadfastness at that.

8494

CSO: 4802

SYRIA

U.S. SAID TO SEEK TO DOMINATE MIDDLE EAST THROUGH ACCORDS

Damascus AL-BA'TH in Arabic 20 Sep 78 pp 1, 3

[Article by Dr Fadil al-Ansari: "David's Deal"]

[Text] What has happened at Camp David is not surprising. Matters have been proceeding with premeditated planning and determination since al-Sadat's visit [to Jerusalem] last November. They have been proceeding within a dramatic series and with carefully-produced fabrications to tame the Arab mind in the biggest falsification operation in history--an operation whose protagonists are prominent actors who have mastered their roles after numerous rehearsals. Those who have believed this operation are naive.

It may be beneficial, as a sidenote to what has happened, to underline certain memories:

The events of the past 2 weeks, such as the aspects of the blackout and of pessimism, and of the preceding 10 months--beginning with the statements that al-Sadat had made and on which he backed down successively and gradually, whereas Israel clung to all its demands, and the sudden announcement of the suspension of the meetings of the political and military committees and then the resumption of contacts with the United States--these events remind us of what happened before the last Sinai agreement. When the negotiations between Egypt and Israel were in progress, through the shuttle visits of Kissinger, failure of the negotiations was announced suddenly and an Egyptian statement was issued attacking Israel and "its intransigence." But at the same time, a round of secret talks was begun and then the well-known Sinai [disengagement-of-forces] agreement was announced--an agreement which achieved all that Israel wanted--at a time when the world had almost despaired of getting any agreement.

The well-produced theatricals--beginning with al-Sadat's visit to the occupied Jerusalem and ending with the last scene at Camp David--have sought to tamper with the minds of people, to reduce the impact of the shock and to display what America and Israel have dictated on the basis of the "impossible" Begin plan as an accomplishment for all the parties concerned

and for the world and as a "magnificent" act that calls for relaxation after exhausting efforts and maneuvers. This has been done in a manner which portrays what has been done as the utmost Israeli concession possible, considering the demands of the Jewish state.

I am not about to analyze the provisions of the "David" deal and their dangers here. This is a different issue on which others may dwell in detail. But in the final analysis, I have reached the following conclusions:

1. All that the deal contains is in conflict with the Arab interests and the biggest winners are America and Israel.
2. America and Israel realize that what has been achieved at Camp David does not constitute security to the world or to anybody and that it neither achieves peace nor prevents war.
3. The outcome of "David" deal is the result of Arab weakness and not the result of America's strength and Israel's influence.
4. The concessions which started with the Jerusalem visit will not end with the conclusion of the "David" deal and with the implementation of its provisions. The collapse in the Arab position will continue and the area may witness developments, none of which are designed to be in the interests of the Arabs.

These conclusions highlight the following four facts which are connected with the nature of the deal, its courses and its results:

First, weakening the Arab nation and absolute domination by the U.S. interests in the area, with no possible alternative and in a manner in which all the Arab conditions are arranged in the interests of the United States and of its ally, Israel, will lead to:

Strengthening the U.S. economy and sparing it possible crises and providing the U.S. monopolies with all the means of free movement to dominate the world. Western Europe and Japan are considered foremost among the countries that will be affected by this phenomena.

Posing a real threat to the international liberation movement through domination of resources and prices in a manner which will make the developing countries, in particular, poorer and less capable of achieving their aspirations and more willing to follow imperialism. The independence of numerous countries will again be threatened.

Conflict between these countries and the socialist bloc, especially the Soviet Union, to whose borders the area is close. This also is in conflict with the policy of detente and of peaceful coexistence which is exerting pressure on the U.S. president's policy after a series of failure.

This is why America has been eager to reach these results by any means, regardless of the previous pledges to which it had committed itself--such as resolution 338, the Geneva conference and the joint U.S.-Soviet communique on the Middle East issue. Consequently, the U.S. efforts to conclude the "David deal" have been compatible with the goals of the United States to impose its domination on the area through ambiguous and gelatinous treaties concluded solely under its auspices and supervision and in a manner that makes the Arabs incapable of war and far from peace, provided that these deals balance all the Israeli demands, which will become legitimate rights and precedents to be followed in dealings, and minimal and unessential Arab demands, ignoring the Palestinian rights and the occupation of territories and containing nothing but broad headlines with no official meaning. These are the accords that are being trumpeted and the ones whose "accomplishments" are praised with utter disregard of the Arab mind.

America--through the provisions of this deal, through the ambiguous and postponed stipulations and through attaching many matters to later negotiations--retains the greatest degree of the freedom of future movement to deal with any sudden obstacles conflicting with its general or phased strategy. This course is compatible with the Israeli interest and mentality, which explains the way most of the provisions of the David deal have been phrased.

This is why America will move fast to gain support for the deal. It will employ enormous information resources at whose service the Zionists will place all their experts and means. America will also exert pressure on certain Arab parties to declare their support. Vance's visit to the area constitutes the automatic start in this direction.

Second, the inter-Arab conflicts are a required substitute for the Arab-Zionist conflict. All the partition and regional tendencies will be mobilized under these conflicts and the efforts for development and liberation will be diminished. This will ultimately constitute the proper atmosphere for entrenching submissiveness and realizing America's domination in the area.

This is why imperialism and Zionism have worked ceaselessly to implant the Arab land with easily-flammable conflicts and why they have prepared a column of professional opportunists for igniting these conflicts. Zionism and imperialism have been directly behind events where the Arabs fought each other (Lebanon is a living example of this direction).

Therefore, it is not unlikely that new explosions will be planned for the Arab countries to pit Arab against Arab and to rearrange, through such explosions, the Arab policy and to draw up new maps more compatible with and complementary to the deal and of greater guarantee to the continuation of the plotting path.

Third, the acts of murder committed against innocent citizens in this region or against the Palestinians everywhere are not only intended to weaken Syria's confrontation of Zionism and of imperialism and not only to contain the Palestinian action, to abolish its role and to undermine the Palestinian cause and to extinguish it in the conscience of the world. These acts also seek, and this is the biggest danger, to eliminate the possibility of Arab action and to extinguish the capabilities of the Arab revolution to confront the "post-David deal era" in the future, considering that:

Weakening Syria and Palestine is equal in importance to keeping the Arab nation weak, incapable, with wasted resources, oppressed and with its land and its citizens open to [exploitation] by everyone.

The acts of murder and of bloody terror against the abovementioned goals and under false revolutionary slogans seek to extinguish the revolution's awareness, to cause its sparkle to fade and to diminish its capabilities. Such acts diminish the political incentive and reduce the motive in the Arab generations to sacrifice for the Arab revolution, especially in the sea of aimlessness, in the labyrinths of verbal nonsense and in the oneupmanship of words.

The repeated tragedies of gang-style suppression and permitting Arab bloodshed to escalate amidst a sea of meaningless words may lead the movement of the revolutionary generations to a phase where the mere fact of political affiliation becomes hateful. Inasmuch as they serve the phase preceding the David deal and the phase accompanying this deal, these acts are also intended to curb positive moves and to paralyze Arab confrontation in the future.

Fourth, while becoming demilitarized, while abandoning the Arab-Zionist conflict, which will inevitably continue, while being totally preoccupied with the negotiation procedures, with the issue of sovereignty or non-sovereignty, with the presence of settlements and with ensuring the means of protection for the Israeli presence on Egyptian soil and while the farce of diplomatic exchange and economic cooperation between the two sides continues, Egypt is sinking in its domestic problems and is floundering in its relations with the world.

On the other hand, Israel is devoting its efforts to bolstering its military capability, and the U.S. coffers and storehouses are easily accessible to it. In all this, Israel is bound by no restrictions. The United States has even pledged "and with a clear official provision" to build for Israel air bases costing nearly one billion dollars as compensation for the Sinai airfields which will become civilian airports.

Through all this and through the new conditions, Israel has become stronger economically and politically and better prepared to receive and absorb waves of new Jewish immigrants and to settle them in the Arab land.

All these are new facts that pose new dangers in whose presence the issue of the presence or non-presence of the Arab nation itself becomes subject to reconsideration and whose harm will spread to many countries outside the Arab homeland. Each of the aforementioned facts requires a method of confrontation and of dealing with the ramifications that may be produced by each fact. It also requires that a comprehensive action program be formulated to deal with the new situation on the basis of a new strategy that takes into consideration all the available resources to mobilize the masses and their revolutionary forces, to overcome the elements of [inter-Arab] conflict, to deal with the various forms of hardship among the masses and to map out a practical path for the real confrontation. The support of our friends should be employed in all of this. The international liberation movement's backing should also be employed to the advantage of this strategy.

Within this framework, the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front should advance to the phase of serious action that rises to a level of effectiveness which makes it possible to deal with the dangers of the David deal. All this requires a position that provides the steadfastness base--Syria and the Palestinian revolution--with all the means of strength and with material, moral, political and economic backing. The Steadfastness Front has real capabilities to polarize not only the interest and sentiments of the Arab masses but also their boundless resources.

Moreover, the international liberation movement and the socialist countries are called upon to shoulder their responsibilities vis-a-vis this plot that threatens them directly and that causes serious harm to their interests.

The road is open to support Syria with any sincere Arab or friendly effort. This support is also a duty within the framework of confronting the David deal plot and whatever surrounds or emanates from it. This is an issue pertaining not only to the Arabs' defense of their presence and their rights but is also connected firmly with the core of the international liberation movement's commitments toward the struggle of one of its components and toward itself.

8494
CSO: 4802

SYRIA

MASSES URGED TO SUPPORT STEADFASTNESS FOR JUST SOLUTION

Damascus AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 21 Sep 78 p 5

[Article by 'Abd-al-Latif Miqdad: "Al-Sadat's Treason and Arab Masses' Responsibility"]

[Text] Al-Sadat has not stopped at the point of signing the treason and surrender accord at Camp David but has gone on to declare his determination to proceed on the path of surrender that he has mapped out and from which he will not retreat.

Al-Sadat has realized for Israel a dream which Israel has never dreamt would be realized in this manner. He has realized this for Israel in principle through the provisions of the Camp David accord. So what is to prevent al-Sadat from persisting in his treasonous march and from turning the provisions that he has signed into a reality?

Al-Sadat has surrendered to Washington and Tel Aviv and whoever surrenders finds it easy to implement all the consequences of surrender.

Now that al-Sadat has met all of Begin's demands for official recognition of the Zionist entity and of almost full Israeli sovereignty over the Sinai, that he has ignored the Palestinian issue, the core of the problem causing the Middle East conflict, and that he has put his neck in the grip of America and Israel, it is no longer difficult for him to continue the march of humiliation and disgrace that he has mapped out for himself.

If al-Sadat has chosen for himself this path, which is a treason against the Arab cause and a plunge into the embraces of the United States and of Israel, then the Arab masses who believe in the justice of their cause must shoulder their historical responsibility and must rise to foil the surrender plan that Carter and Begin have drawn and that al-Sadat has undertaken to implement. The masses should rise to foil this plan by supporting the Steadfastness Front which is holding its conference in Damascus currently to confront the results of the Camp David conference. This steadfastness conference is the source of hope for drawing up a strategy capable of foiling the conspiratorial and capitulationist plan and of attaining a just and comprehensive solution that guarantees the Palestinian Arab people the right to repatriation and to determine their future on their own land and that also guarantees liberation of the occupied Arab territories.

SYRIA

ACCORDS SAID TO TORPEDO JUST PEACE IN AREA

Damascus TISHRIN in Arabic 20 Sep 78 p 8

[Article by George Qaysar: "Lessons From Camp David Accord to Face Possibilities of Next Phase"]

[Text] The curtain is being finally drawn on the theater whose acts were started with the Egyptian president's visit to the occupied Jerusalem and whose scenes have unrolled in quick succession. Some of these scenes have been so well-produced that they could deceive even the extraordinary spectator whereas the others have been clearly fabricated and false.

What is important is that what Syria expected has happened. Al-Sadat has signed an independent accord with Israel and has thus concluded a major phase of his march toward full surrender to Israel with all its aggressive and expansionist ambitions and with its constant threat to the area's security. Thus, a series of claims made since the Jerusalem visit have dropped:

The Egyptian president's claim that he would never sign an independent accord with Israel has dropped.

His claim that any peace treaty he signs must take into main consideration Israel's full withdrawal from all the occupied Arab territories and restoration of the Palestinian Arab people's rights has also dropped.

His claim about observance of the Arab summit resolutions, especially Rabat summit and particularly concerning the legitimacy of the PLO's representation of all the Palestinian people, has also dropped.

After all that has happened and after the full squandering of the Arab rights, the essential and important question is: What are the practical measures required to foil the big plot?

It is natural for us to say that the post-Camp David phase is the most serious phase in the Arab-Israeli conflict because the coming phase will

witness the practical implementation of the imperialist-Zionist alliance's strategy. This places the Arab area on the doors of a new phase of the conflict's equation--a phase which may ultimately lead to a new and serious collapse in the Arab position if no practical steps are taken to stop this collapse.

Before we begin to define all these steps, we must point out that any future Arab action must take into consideration a number of consequences and results that have begun to appear on the surface and in the core of the Arab situation for over a year, and perhaps since the first Sinai [disengagement-of-forces] agreement was reached.

Because the Camp David accord is ultimately the main outcome of those negative reactions, the future Arab action must proceed from the angle of the accord itself: The angle of its main provisions, of what it contains, what it means and what it seeks.

How should we view the accord and what is the initial view that the accord produces?

Without embarking on futile and meaningless details, we will outline here the points in the accord signed by al-Sadat and Begin as follows:

The conclusion of a peace treaty between Egypt and Israel even before Israeli withdrawal takes place. This is essentially compatible with the Israeli interests and gives Israel the right opportunity to control in a final manner the keys to peace and war, not to mention the keys to withdrawal or non-withdrawal from the Sinai itself, let alone what is farther.

Establishment of diplomatic relations between Egypt and Israel within 9 months. This means giving Israel the opportunity to become one of the area's countries, thus gaining legitimacy under the shadow of its aggressive policy in connection with the existing situation in the occupied Arab territories and even in connection with the situation in the Sinai itself, considering that the accord stipulates that withdrawal from the Sinai--which, in the final analysis, is a partial withdrawal, considering that Israel will retain certain areas on the pretext of security--will take place 2 to 3 years after conclusion of the peace treaty.

Also in regard to the Sinai itself, the Camp David accord has left the issue of the settlements unresolved, pending the Israeli Knesset's decision to remove or to keep them. This means and presupposes two points: First, the parties taking part in the Camp David conference were determined, under the pressure of factors concerning each of them, to come up with any results in line with the previous expectations. The second point imposes an urgent and important question: What if the Knesset fails to agree to remove the settlements within the specified 15 days? Will the Camp David accord be considered null or will Carter define his role as a partner to

continue what he has started? The accord does not at all touch on this issue. Even though the likelihood that the Israeli Knesset will issue a resolution clearly refusing to remove the settlements is a small likelihood because of numerous considerations connected with the form and content of the theatrical, the likelihood of procrastination continues to be present. Perhaps several factors will interfere to find a way out for all these issues, and this is a definite possibility.

Concerning the West Bank, the accord contains Begin's entire plan for self-rule under the Israeli military presence. This means that Israel is determined to spread its control on the area and determined to reject the Palestinian people's right to establish their national state on their own soil. Al-Sadat has fully responded to Israel's will in this regard.

This means that the central link in the Arab-Israeli conflict, namely the Palestinian issue, will continue to be present. Because things are this way and because al-Sadat has not gotten a Palestinian authorization to discuss the Palestinian issue, the likelihood of explosion in the area will continue to exist, i.e., any peace treaty in this case does not at all mean anything other than ousting Egypt from the Arab-Israeli conflict which will continue in one form of intensity or another.

We have mentioned these points and their significance without getting into details and particles of the Camp David accord to stress the following main points:

The issue is not essentially one of new and equal negotiations to make it an issue of details and particles.

The aim of all that has been reached is to create the proper atmosphere for spreading the U.S.-Israeli control over the Middle East area with all the economic, political and military dimensions of this control.

Getting into the details of what has been declared does not mean a thing as long as there are undeclared--secret--accords that continue to exist. This is something that has its important precedent in the secret provisions and supplements of the two Sinai agreements. This means that the Camp David accord contains other secret provisions which, even though undeclared, also essentially provide the opportunity for implementing the imperialist-Zionist goals in the area. Perhaps these secret provisions deal with points much beyond what is expected of or designed for an initial analysis. Let us point out in this respect that the explosion in the Lebanese situation was the result of the Sinai agreement and later became a part of the imperialist-Zionist plan to pass the current Camp David accord.

After all this, it is legitimate to ask: What is required to foil the plot?

First of all, objectivity requires us to point out that the Camp David accord is intended, as it is fully clear now, to oust Egypt finally from

the Arab-Israeli conflict arena as a first step whose main goal is to enable Israel, in the shadow of the disturbed strategic balance, to achieve its expansionist ambitions and to give the United States the opportunity to spread its economic, political and strategic control in an area considered presently, and until further notice, a vital and major source of energy. Control of the junctures of this area is an important step toward the economic control of a not a small part of the world.

Whoever examines the goals and plans to which the U.S.-Zionist strategy in the Middle East area has been adapted can notice with all the needed clarity that this policy started with the onset of the current decade to take a fundamental direction toward control of the area's economic and political affairs and toward controlling its resources and employing these resources to serve the international monopolist interests. To achieve this goal, this policy has followed numerous courses, such as touching off local conflicts, causing the Arab regimes to fall into the abyss of the U.S. policy and economic pressure, stemming from a premeditated plan whose ultimate aim is to open a window through which Israel and the United States and their monopolies and interests can enter the area. In Egypt in particular, we can say that the implementation of this strategy started with the blow dealt to the Egyptian regime--the regime of the progressive national revolution--by enabling the parasitic bourgeoisie to control the government. When this class managed to get this control, the process of devoiding the Egyptian regime of its fundamental principles and of its social, political and economic mainstays started. Retreat on the progressive steps adopted by the revolution domestically and shifts in the foreign alliances also started. Blows were dealt to the Egyptian-Soviet friendship through the instigation of constant doubts around the importance and benefit of this friendship. This led to the well-known weakening of the Egyptian army and this weakening has been used as a justification to depart from the arena of the Arab-Israeli conflict. In other words, the parasitic domestic bourgeoisie carried out a wide-scale sabotage operation against the Egyptian economy to justify later the act of full plunging into the U.S.-Israeli alliance under the various slogans, forms and concepts. By comparing the new situation with the current goals of the U.S.-Israeli alliance, especially in regard to controlling the area's markets and exploiting them to serve the U.S. and Israeli monopolies and interests, we can understand the full seriousness of the link that has connected and continues to connect all the steps adopted at the domestic level and the steps that appeared at the Arab level to sabotage the clear Arab solidarity heading toward just peace and its mainstays.

There is no doubt that the march to confront this accord that seeks to link the area firmly to the strategy of the imperialist-Zionist alliance with its far-reaching ambitions and goals must be built and based on a clear vision of the imperialist-Israeli goals vis-a-vis al-Sadat's regime and its goals.

These goals not only seek to strike all the possibilities of a just peace in the area but also seek essentially to restore the area to full subservience to the imperialist control and plans. If this happens as planned, then it will not exclude this or that country from its ambitions but will include all the Arab countries by the various possible degrees and by the degrees compatible with the given facts here and there.

Thus, what is required for the next phase becomes fully and precisely clear. Full mobilization to shoulder what is required also becomes an inevitable necessity if the area is not to fall anew the captive of imperialist domination.

8494

CSO: 4802

SYRIA

SADAT SIGNING OF ACCORD CALLED TREASONOUS

Damascus AL-BA'TH in Arabic 21 Sep 78 p 1, 11

[Editorial by Yasir al-Farra: "He Signed Treason Agreement, Thus Deserving People's and History's Curse"]

[Text] Al-Sadat has finally signed the humiliation and shame accord at Camp David, has rebelled against the Arab nation's unanimity and has surrendered to the Zionist enemy and to the instructions of the U.S. imperialists, thus deserving history's and the people's curse.

AL-BA'TH expected the conference to succeed because al-Sadat will continue to make concessions to Carter and to Begin in order to reach any accord with the enemy, even if the outcome were only the continuation of negotiations between them because his return to Egypt empty handed would be tantamount to the national catastrophe, according to the president of the Egyptian regime.

The accord has dealt a blow to the Arab nation's aspirations of liberation from the Zionist occupation and of restoration of our Palestinian people's rights. It has also ignored the fundamental issue which has been the axis of the Arab struggle since the Balfour declaration in 1917. The accord has further offered Jerusalem to the Zionists as a pledge of friendship and good neighborliness and as a symbol of goodwill toward the enemy's state which has massacred and continues to massacre thousands of our citizens. All this has been done to please the U.S. president who played the role of a partner at the conference in response to the wish of al-Sadat that the United States play an effective and essential role to bring success to the negotiations with the Israeli side.

Whoever reads the statement made by Carter after [sic] the signing of the two "peace" documents describing the conference results as exceeding all aspirations becomes clearly aware of the degree of the concessions made by the Egyptian regime's president to reach the accord with the Zionist entity.

The Egyptian president has disregarded the Arab people's objectives, has rebelled against the summit resolutions adopted by the Arab kings and presidents in Khartoum and Rabat and all the Arab League resolutions, has ignored his own speeches, addresses and statements regarding Jerusalem and the PLO, the Palestinian people's legitimate representative, and has concluded a separate peace with Israel. This is something that he had always firmly rejected and condemned in the presence of the correspondents of Arab and foreign papers and news agencies.

Whoever reads the Egyptian papers issued after these treasonous accords feels that as if the Egyptian regime has scored a magnificent victory for the Arabs. These papers are displaying flashy bannerlines about the Israeli withdrawal from the Sinai, the West Bank and Gaza as if the agreement is what the press bannerlines have highlighted and not what issues have been agreed upon--issues that make withdrawal mere ink on paper and that even entrench occupation and the continuation of occupation, that keep authority in the hands of the occupiers and that keep the occupiers' bases, troops, police and laws.

The logic of treason with which the Egyptian papers emerge is a truly serious precedent to which no Arab has ever resorted.

Otherwise, how can we explain AL-AKHBAR's statement: "What we have achieved so far is considered a victory for the Arab nation which this nation has not been able to gain during 30 years of wars and of bloodshed. Moreover, those wars caused destruction, losses and Israeli expansion without realizing anything for the Arabs. Since 1948, Israel has been expanding and since 1948, the talk about Palestine and the Palestinian problem has been no more than mere words and military parades that have led to catastrophes for this Arab nation--military catastrophes, economic catastrophes and attrition of the human and material resources--without realizing anything. There has been a change in the situation and this change is what has realized the withdrawal."

This is a sample of what the Egyptian press is saying. We doubt that these words are coming from people who believe in their homeland and in their nation's goals.

These people have ignored the thousands of martyrs of the sons of the great Egyptian people who offered their souls for the sake of the cause. They have also disregarded Egypt's great stance in the face of the Zionist ambitions and its honorable wars which made the Zionist entity, backed by U.S. imperialism, plan and plot to oust Egypt from the battle and to isolate it from its Arab brothers, and they have achieved what they wanted through al-Sadat's treasonous regime.

The Egyptian ruler's turn toward the enemy and the enemy's friends, his striking of his people's and nation's goals and his abandoning whatever

pertains to the Arab cause is, of course, a change in the situation. If this is a heroic act that deserves praise and applause because it has replaced 30 years of catastrophes and attrition of the nation's resources, then why did al-Sadat wage the 1973 war and why did the valiant Egyptian forces cross the canal and offer sacrifices as long as change in the situation is what leads to withdrawal?

The masses of our Arab people in Egypt who have gotten us accustomed to magnificent uprisings throughout the various phases of history will undoubtedly bring to judgement the makers of treasonous accords and those with a treasonous logic. The outcome of the Camp David conference will not deceive these masses, regardless of how ornamented and beautified it is made in order to appear as victories for Egypt and retreats for the Zionists.

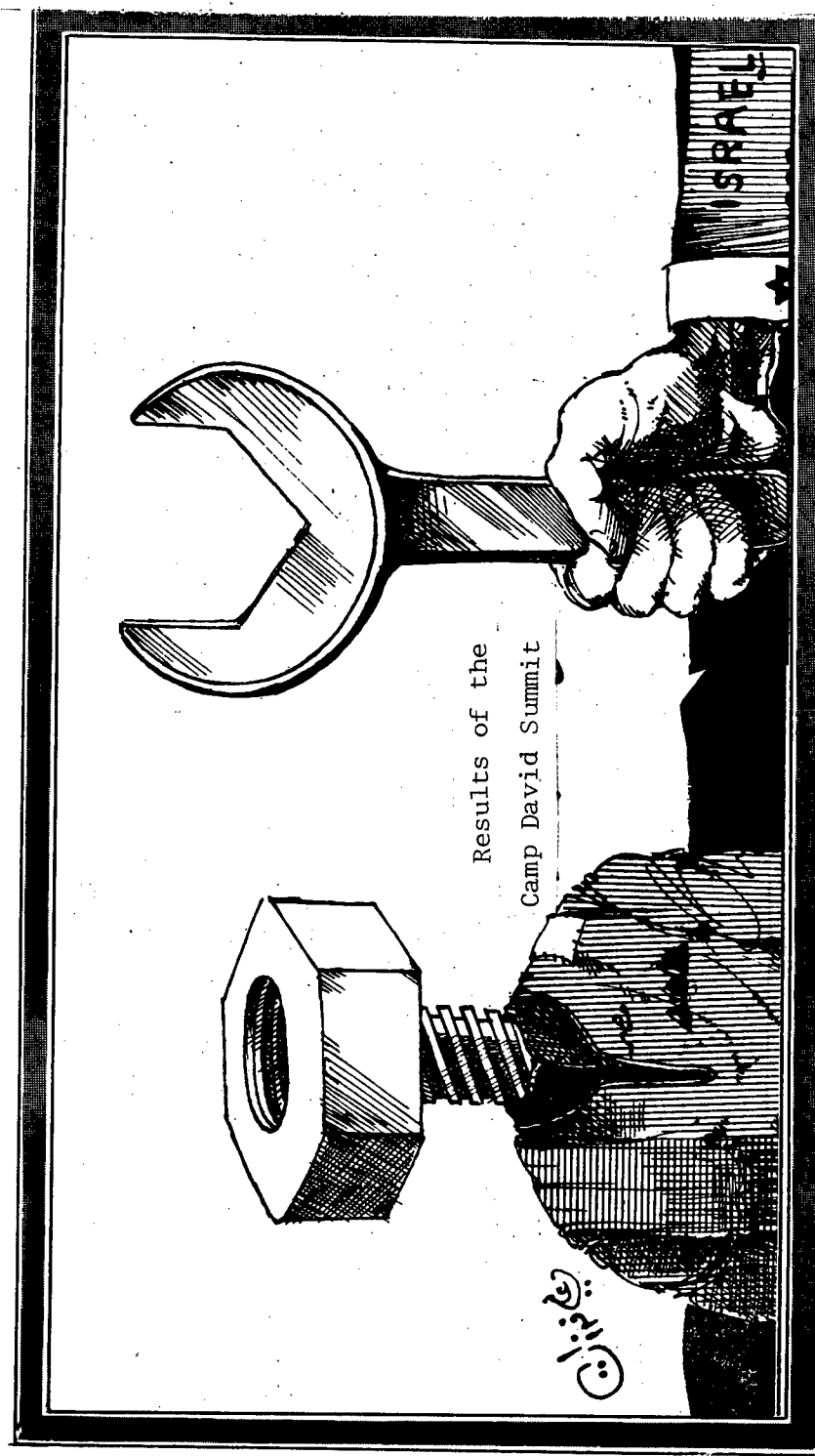
The position of the Syrian Arab region, of the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front and of the entire sons of the Arab nation is the fundamental position that remains loyal to this nation's goals of continued struggle until the decisive victory, of full withdrawal from all the Arab territories and restoration of the legitimate national rights of the Arab Palestinian people, including their right to establish their national authority over their land, represented by the PLO which alone is their spokesman and the symbol of their struggle.

We will continue the struggle to achieve the aspirations and hopes agreed upon unanimously by our nation and we will work to foil all the resolutions of treason. We will triumph as long as the nation's resolution is to continue the struggle until the real victory. Hopes are now attached to the summit conference of the steadfastness and confrontation states to lead the Arab nation to the sphere of serious and ceaseless action for this victory.

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CSO: 4802

Damascus AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 19 Sep 78 p 12



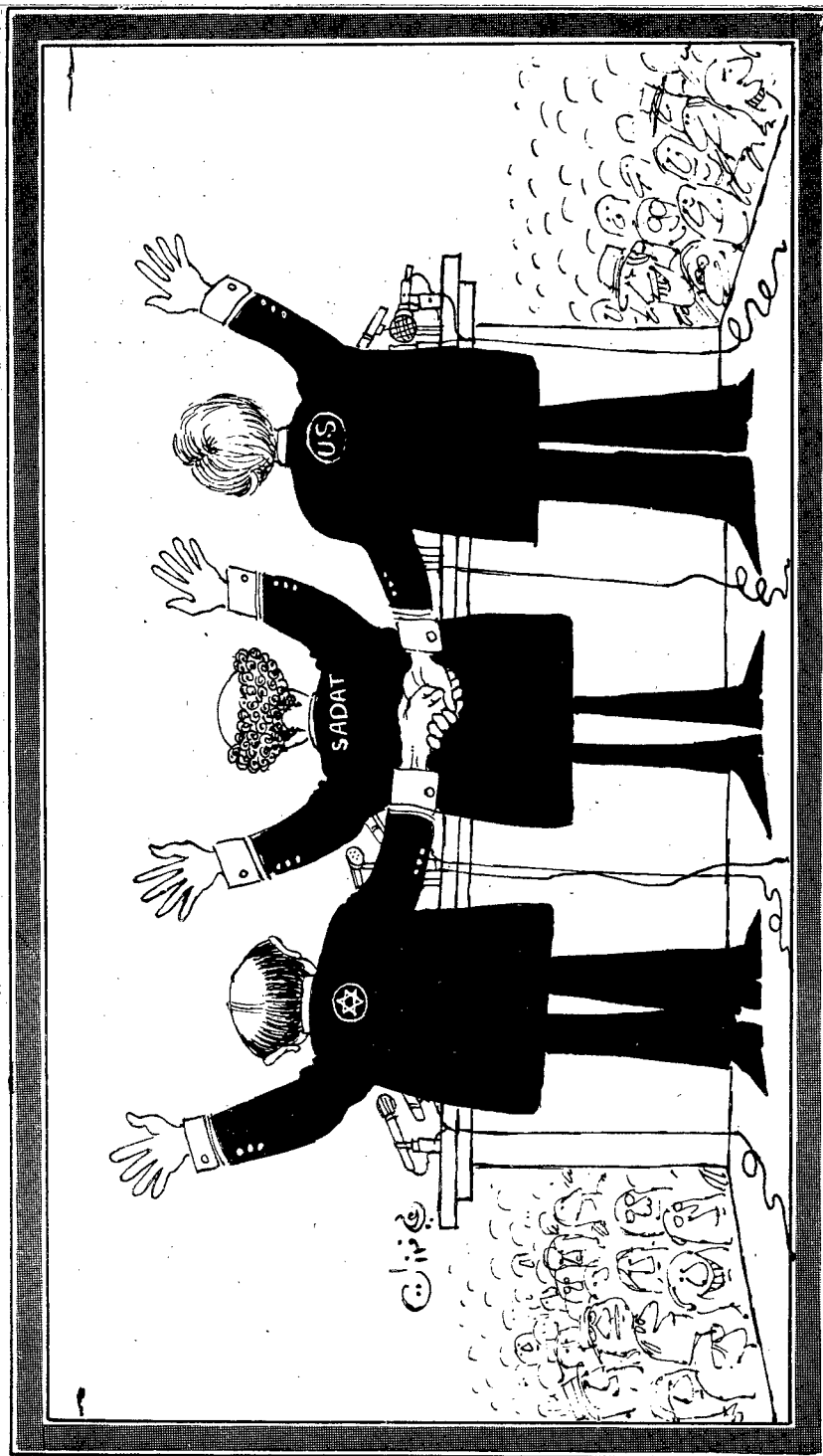
SYRIA

Damascus TISHRIN in Arabic 19 Sep 78 p 12



A Bilateral
Agreement on the Arab
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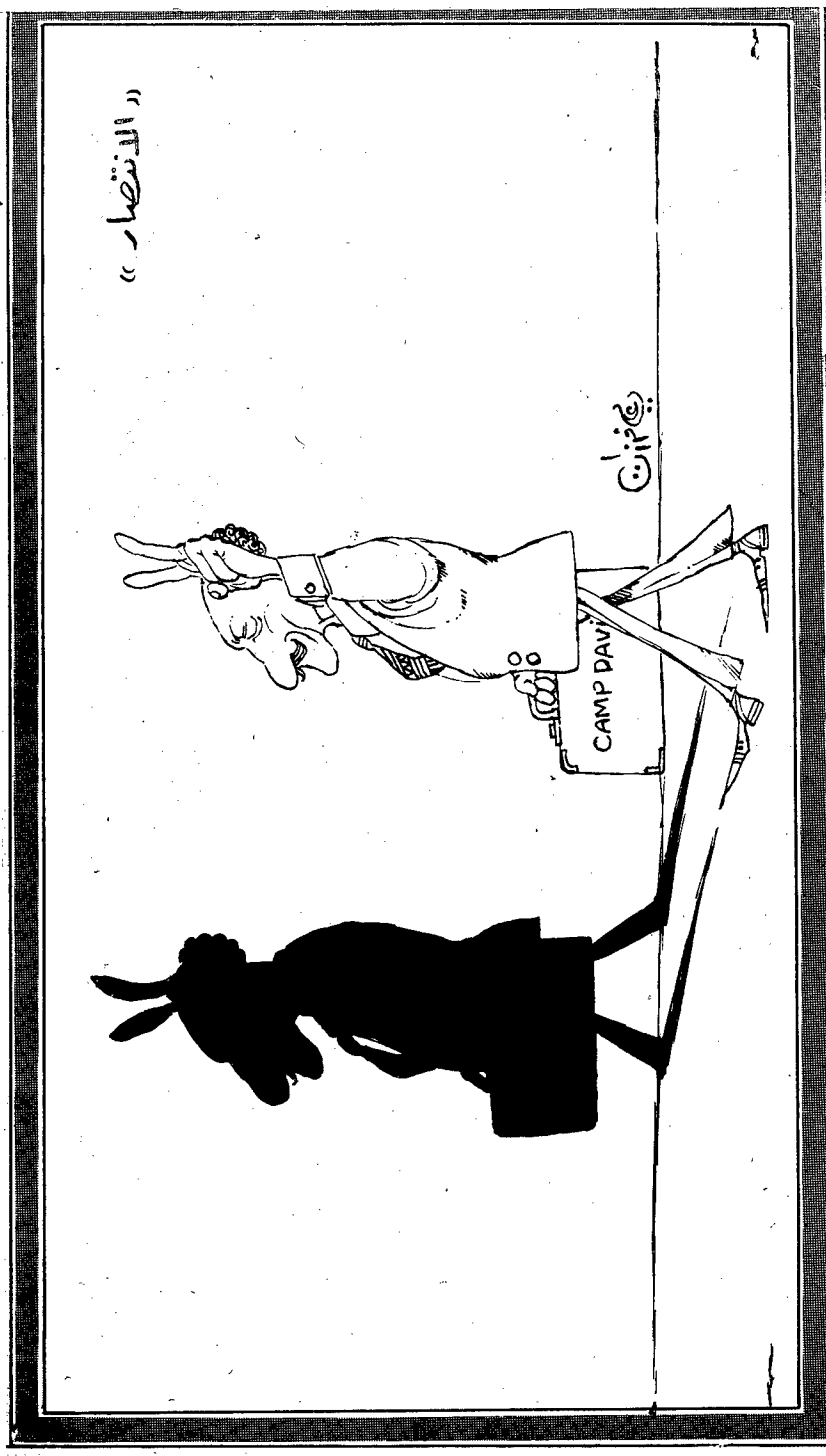
Damascus AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 21 Sep 78 p 12



[Caption not given]

SYRIA

Damascus AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 22 Sep 78 p 12



"Victory"

TUNISIA

CAMP DAVID SAID TO HAVE FAILED TO TACKLE CORE ISSUE

Tunis AL-SABAH in Arabic 20 Sep 78 p 1

[Untitled Editorial by Yaqzan]

[Text] The Camp David summit went into labor, so what has it given birth to?

The declared results after the conclusion of the Camp David summit have not been up to the level of the clamor that preceded the conference. The summit has resulted in framework agreements which is something that had been discussed before and called the declaration of principles after which negotiations would be held with Israel. Many Arabs have felt that this outcome cannot be considered progress on the path of peace in the Middle East area because this outcome has ignored the mother issue, namely the issue of the Palestinian brothers because of which wars have erupted in the area.

In accordance with this framework agreement, the Palestinians will remain under Israeli domination for 5 more years as a result of the abnormal situation which will be created in the West Bank and in Gaza Strip where the inhabitants in the two sectors will take charge of their administrative affairs, but under the Israeli military control. The PLO has been ousted from the arena even though all the Arab countries have acknowledged it as the Palestinian people's sole legitimate representative. This means that whatever pertains to the destiny of the Palestinian people can only be determined through negotiations with the PLO and with its approval. Consequently, the peace about whose establishment in the Middle East area they are talking will not be achieved and will not become stable unless the Palestinian people in the West Bank, in the Gaza Strip and outside them are empowered to establish a free state on their own soil. How could this fact be ignored and how is it that no decision was made on it in the negotiations at the Camp David summit?

When we perused the text of the address that President al-Sadat delivered to the Egyptian people 2 days ago and in which he spoke to the Egyptian

people about the Camp David summit, we came across his statement: "I devoted a large part of the 13 days consumed by the Camp David summit to sharp discussions on the West Bank and Gaza Strip and I was able to reach an agreement that grants the Palestinians the right to self-determination and not just the right to run their own affairs." We then read the following in the latest issue of AL-AHRAM: "The Camp David summit left two issues aside, namely the Jerusalem issue and giving the Palestinians the right to self-determination." We stand before these two statements surprised and not knowing which one to believe. However, the contents of the framework agreement confirm that no agreement has been reached on the Palestinian right to self-determination, that the issue of Jerusalem has been ignored and that agreement was reached on the abnormal situation under which the West Bank and Gaza Strip population will live for 5 more years.

They say that negotiations will be held in the future to embody the provisions of the framework agreement. Nobody can tell how much time will pass to embody the contents of the said agreement.

From the results produced by the summit, we feel that President Carter did not exert any pressure on Israel and that it is more likely that the pressure, if any, was exerted on the Egyptian side and that what has been realized is tantamount to giving the Israelis the opportunity to gain time in order to continue their occupation of the Palestinian land. In view of this, duty nowadays requires the Palestinian resistance to rely on itself and on its revolutionary activity against the enemy, to unite its factions and to fuse in a solid unity of struggle that is not divided by affiliations or ideologies. This, in our opinion, is the right factor for imposing the desired solution on the enemy and on those who support him.

There have been numerous comments on the outcome of the Camp David summit. However, words alone are of no use if this event does not motivate the entire Arab nation to again carry out its duty in defense of its entity and dignity with vigilance, unity and foresight.

8494

CSO: 4802

TUNISIA

EFFECTS OF ACCORDS ON ARAB CAUSE AND PEACE QUESTIONED

Tunis LA PRESSE DE TUNISIE in French 20 Sep 78 p 13

[Article by Moncef Ben Amor]

[Text] Peace unachieved. Peace begun. The Camp David accords are creating, nevertheless, a new situation in the Near East. The balance of forces is now broken and although Israel can feel itself considerably strengthened, especially militarily, Syria and Jordan on the other hand find themselves seriously weakened. The signing of the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty in the next three months is apparently a foregone conclusion and it is hard to see how Syrians and Jordanians could be tempted to assert themselves militarily in the face of an Israeli army that is stronger than ever and that will only have to fight on two fronts. Moreover, the success won by President Carter places the Kremlin in a very embarrassing situation, since Moscow now bears more responsibility toward the "Resistance Front" countries and their head, Syria.

In fact, these accords incontestably represent success for the American President. A great success. Even several weeks ago Begin stated that Israel will never evacuate the whole of the Sinai and that the Jewish settlements will never be pulled down. At the same time Tel-Aviv made it known that it will still demand minor adjustments of borders and that it will accept no other interpretation of Resolution 242 of the Security Council than its own. Practically everything changed at Camp David and Mr Carter, playing his role of "full-share" partner in the negotiations, ended up by imposing his own ideas. In fact it is necessary to refer to the clauses of the Egyptian-Israeli framework accord to realize the importance of the concessions wrested from Begin. In Washington they are letting it be understood that this framework for accord might eventually serve as a basis for future negotiations with Syria.

On the subject of Gaza and the West Bank of Jordan, the Camp David accords are nevertheless still ambiguous, although reference is made to the study of the Palestinian problem (in all its aspects" and even to "the legitimate rights" of the Palestinian people. The PLO was totally ignored and it was never indicated, even implicitly, that it will one day be invited to participate in negotiations.

True, a success for President al-Sadat, too. But what is the situation of the Arab cause and the future of peace in this region? Will King Husayn agree to join in the negotiations? Under what new conditions? Would al-Asad be tempted by a military solution? What will Moscow's new attitude be? There are so many questions that one is justified in asking oneself after this new and spectacular forward leap by President al-Sadat.

CSO: 4800

TUNISIA

LA PRESSE: ARABS MORE DISARMED THAN EVER

Tunis LA PRESSE DE TUNISIE in French 20 Sep 78 pp 1, 13

[Text] "I have not come to you to conclude a separate accord between Egypt and Israel. That does not enter into Egypt's policy. The problem is not between Egypt and Israel, and a separate peace between Egypt and Israel or between any of the states of the confrontation and Israel would not bring a just peace to the entire region. Moreover, if peace were established between all the states of the confrontation and Israel, without a just solution to the Palestinian problem, that would never lead to the permanent and just peace the entire world insists on today.

"I have not come to you to seek a partial peace, which would consist of putting an end to the state of belligerence at this stage and pushing the settlement of the whole problem back to a lower stage. That is not the in-depth solution that would lead to permanent peace."

So spoke al-Sadat less than a year ago, in November 1977 to be exact, in Jerusalem.

It will be recalled that the famous journey had in itself stirred up the most contradictory passions. But the keenest pessimists and skeptics of that time kept in their hearts a remnant of hope, thus formulated: "Wait and see, you never know".

On at least one point al-Sadat did not deceive. In Jerusalem he had played at facing--indeed defying--the Zionist state while making use of the sensitive chords of a public opinion shaken by "too much boldness". His speech was not that of a man begging for miracles. With the demands he called for he was able to appear to be intimately tied to the Arab cause, without compromise or concessions. The Israeli response was not that of a distributor of gifts. In all of that we were still in the area of a certain logic, perceived through an Arab nationalist perspective which is inevitably demanding, and another Zionist perspective which is fundamentally intransigent.

The traditional opposition between the two attitudes, much more cracked by Sadat's solitary choice than by any effect of his trip to Jerusalem, was to

lead the two participants in the dialog to Camp David, where Mr Carter, by now a full-share partner, awaited them.

Meanwhile the Arabs had recourse to their usual game. They split up, they regrouped in opposing fronts, they sanctioned, denounced, threatened. Too late, the Al-Sadat-Begin-Carter machine took its first steps. Irreversible ones.

Surprise! Al-Sadat's speech at Camp David, concrete--in facts, that is--disagrees with his speech in Jerusalem. The Egyptian chief of state in fact managed to do the exact opposite of what he was saying quite loftily to the world's consciousness less than one year ago.

What exactly happened at Camp David? What do the two frameworks for accord, triple-signed, represent for the future?

"Success for Egypt", "a stab in the back", "treason". Which appraisal is to be accepted?

If the signing of the accords surprised some observers of the crises that shook the Camp David negotiations, their content astonishes no one. It is written in the same logic as the Sadat initiative, condemned from the beginning by Syria and the PLO [Palestine Liberation Organization] first, then by everyone in the "Refusal Front" formed for the occasion. And then Jordan has just rallied to the camp of the "forsaken".

Al-Sadat has pulled Egypt out of the perpetual Middle East muddle in vain. Is this final? The Egyptian chief of state is really saying--he was saying it even a year ago--that the problem is not between Egypt and Israel.

There is still Syria, and Jordan, but there is still, and especially, the Palestinians. That is to say the PLO. Its cause is the very foundation of a problem that a separate peace could never solve. Sadat agrees to it, but he may--perhaps--have his reasons for having accepted it. Reasons which, whatever their nature, cannot help being frustrating as the Arab finds himself more disarmed than ever, as Sadat took the risk of doing things halfway. And it is a fact that this could be costly for the region.

CSO: 4800

TUNISIA

CAMP DAVID ACCORDS CALLED PRELUDE TO A GREAT SHOWDOWN

Late by One Peace

Tunis L'ACTION in French 21 Sep 78 p 1

[Article by Tahar Nefzi]

[Text] Time, which generally alleviates pain, aggravates it in the Middle East. However, they had believed, for a moment, that they could at last leave it to the great ones, in order to try, with reasonable chance of success, to emerge from the deadlock crisis and to caress the hope of seeing the gravest injustice of modern times repaired--the one perpetrated against martyred Palestine 31 years ago. Nothing came of it and the situation is in danger of "getting dirtier."

By signing the accords setting the framework for future "global" negotiations, by inviting the last descendant of the Quraysh to "assume his responsibilities on the West Bank," Carter, al-Sadat and Begin anticipated closing a debate that was a quarter of a century old. In truth a formidable triangular step, in which Washington recovered the freedom of the city in Machrek, Israel got back its "security" and its definite borders, Egypt recovered its occupied territories.

But what became of Palestine in all that? Mandated by the Arabs, recognized by the Third World, admitted by the UNO, solicited by Europe, the PLO--still proclaimed in Rabat the only and unique legitimate representative of the Palestinian people--was superbly ignored at the summit which was "the longest in the postwar period".

I think not. One does not erect a building of peace on moving sand. An injustice is not mended by another injustice.

The "hero of Suez" (crossing the Canal) may have his reasons for committing himself to the road to total normalization of his relations with Israel--reasons justified by the domestic situation in the country. But whatever the magic trump cards of his secret diplomacy, they cannot be dissociated from the geopolitical context of the region and consequently they overhang his statements relative to his attachment to historic Palestine.

On the Israeli side, we are familiar with the lapidary replies of the Zionist leaders from Ben Gurion to Begin: "There is no such thing as Palestinians". Now, they exist so that Israel, since 1967 and particularly since October 1973 no longer make war except with Palestinians. Not only in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem, but also in Paris, Bonn, London, New York and--Entebbe. As simple and as cruel as that.

It is true that other peoples have also suffered from the evil of exile and have accommodated themselves to it finally. But what is to be done if the Palestinians refuse to be compared with those peoples? Less realistic? More Utopian? Perhaps. The fact is that they manage, despite everything, to bring themselves to the world's attention. Despite Israeli atrocities and despite the resignation of some "brother countries and friendly countries".

Whether such an attitude can relight the fire of war in the Near East or whether it even risks pushing humanity all the way to the nuclear precipice, the Palestinians are in a position less consistent with right and justice.

All the exegetes in the world, the wisest political doctrines, the ideologic interpretations of certain "beautiful minds" of the West, the American behaviorism, the Anglo-Saxon legalism, the Latin Cartesianism can do nothing against the primary truth that, 61 years after the Balfour Declaration, is more alive, more active, more haunting, more cruel than ever.

The Camp David accord is in a sense an historic accord. It is the end of a period of Israeli-Arab conflict and the prelude to a great showdown. This accord will cause much ink to flow and will stir up popular demonstrations. However, the main point is that it will not cause much blood to flow. If it is not quickly corrected, it is in danger of giving birth to political and popular events with unforeseeable consequences.

Is a hot October on the horizon? We have seen others. With this difference, however, that this time the event is in danger of assuming the dimensions of a real planetary earthquake.

CSO: 4800

SADAT SAID TO HAVE PAID PRICE OF SUCCESS OF CAMP DAVID MEETING

Tunis AL-RA'Y in Arabic 21 Sep 78 pp 1, 12

[Article by Mustafa ibn Ja'far: "No Peace Without Palestinians"]

[Excerpts] The Camp David summit concluded with the signing of a general framework accord to continue the negotiations and another accord to sign a separate peace treaty between Egypt and Israel. Even though the western information media have lauded the dazzling success achieved by President Carter, objectivity requires us to examine the results deeply. These results are, regrettably, modest in comparison to the peace plan that al-Sadat himself presented to the summit and contain nothing new, except for the important concession made by President al-Sadat concerning the fundamental issue, namely the issue of the Palestinian people who are represented by the PLO.

Restoration of Egyptian sovereignty over the Sinai and entrusting administrative self-rule to the inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza Strip are two provisions contained in the proposal made by Begin when al-Sadat went to Jerusalem. So there is nothing new, except for Begin's pledge to present to his parliament the issue of dismantling the settlements in the occupied territories [sic].

These results are liable to strengthen the position of whoever predicted failure for the summit and denounced in advance al-Sadat's concessions and the intransigence of the Zionist position.

It is naive of any rational person to expect the issuance of a comprehensive and just solution for the Middle East issue. But how can the Arab citizen and the Arab people now be persuaded--the results being what they are--that the president of the greatest power on earth, a power that controls the reins of Israeli affairs economically and militarily, has put all his weight in the balance to compel the Israeli side to be flexible?

All the signs indicate that the pressure was ultimately exerted on al-Sadat and that he has been the one who has paid the price for the "success"

of the summit, thus guaranteeing indirectly another term for President Carter as President of the United States.

In any case, it was not difficult to predict the failure of the Camp David summit. President al-Sadat went to the meeting from an obviously weak position because after his "historic" visit to the occupied Jerusalem and his continuing the negotiations with the Israeli side independently and because of the division caused to Arab solidarity by all this, al-Sadat did actually put himself in the position of the isolated and placed his destiny in the hands of the United States alone. Al-Sadat thus shackled himself and left himself no outlet other than continuing the march to where President Carter instructs him. He went to (Leeds) and decided after the failure of the meeting there that he would not go to similar meetings unless Israel changes its position. However, he did go to Camp David whereas the Israeli position continued to be as determined, intransigent and inflexible as ever.

Now, what will the future be? The Palestinian revolution will continue the struggle for dignity and the Arab peoples will continue their support for the Palestinian people and for their steadfastness in the face of Zionist aggression and expansion. However, politics and wisdom require that we rely on the reality, that we proceed on the basis of this reality and that we exploit whatever is positive, regardless of how small it is.

Our call today is addressed to the Arab brothers to put aside whatever emphasizes division and to support whatever unites their ranks and their word. The fundamental goal is the goal of the restoration by the Palestinian people of their rights. Because of this, we should not give the enemy any opportunity to maneuver among us even if this leads us to make concessions to one another.

The most serious danger is embodied today in the division of the Arab ranks. There is no doubt that the coming days will witness concerted pressures on the Jordanian monarch to make him join the negotiations bandwagon. We do not think that al-Husayn will proceed in this direction as long as Israel has not acknowledged full Arab sovereignty over the occupied territories, including Jerusalem.

The Arabs must work ceaselessly to bolster their solidarity and must make it easy for al-Sadat to return to the Arab ranks despite the disappointment he has caused.

As for President Carter, his responsibility will be greater than it has been so far because his entry into the negotiations "as a party with full rights" makes it incumbent upon him--so that his victory may not be transient--to follow closely what Israel will do. The world knows that he has at his disposal means of pressure capable of spurring Israel to make serious concessions that would revive a real hope in the ranks of the Palestinian people. He has the power and he must prove to the free peoples that human rights have a meaning more sublime than the temporary strategic interests.

TUNISIA

ACCORDS SAID TO RESTORE MIDDLE EAST TO INSTABILITY

Tunis AL-SABAH in Arabic 21 Sep 78 p 1

[Article by Zaydan: "Bolstering Policy of Axes and Underlining Instability"]

[Text] In his speech to the Congress on the occasion of the Camp David summit accord, President Carter declared that President al-Sadat and Israeli Prime Minister Begin have always gained his admiration.

This may be a word of courtesy on the occasion of an event which President Carter will use for propaganda exceeding all expectations. But this courtesy emanates from a fact proven by the Camp David negotiations and embodied in the concluded accords.

This fact is that the inevitable result to which these accords will lead is the return of the policy of axes in its most obvious form to the Middle East. What has happened at Camp David, whether in regard to isolating Egypt from the arena of the Arab-Israeli conflict, to assassinating the PLO's legitimacy or to burying the international recognition of this legitimacy, will entrench the division of the area into countries following the United States and others following the Soviet Union. This confirms the fears that we expressed when the Arab states became more divided and factionalized in the wake of President al-Sadat's initiative and his visit to Jerusalem a year ago.

It seems now that this policy of axes is more strongly emphasized now than ever before and that on the basis of the Egyptian-Israeli-U.S. accords, this policy will be the starting point for reactions that will bring the area nothing but instability, destruction and the attrition of resources.

Events have proven in recent years that the method of reaction in this violent conflict between the major powers is built on inciting domestic sedition, wars of attrition and all kinds of troubles that lead to the shaking of regimes. This has happened in areas less explosive and less polarizing than the Middle East area. So what will happen in an area where polarization, the policy of axes and explosiveness have reached the

peak of peaks, especially since modern weapons are being piled up in this area to the degree where they perhaps exceed the weapons of both the NATO and Warsaw Alliances? What, other than sedition and instability that serve well-known interests nurtured by the plans of World Zionism, will happen?

Taking the Middle East issue out of its correct and agreed upon framework embodied in the Geneva conference and, consequently, ousting the Soviet Union from the settlement arena will inflame the fearful international conflict and will push the Middle East area forcefully to fall finally into the U.S. and Soviet axes. This is compatible with the programs and goals of this or that major power. It also strengthens the general plan seeking to exhaust the Arab strength, to disperse its resources and to doom the Arabs never to stand united in the face of Israel.

The Arab states are required now more than ever before to besiege this plan calmly and skillfully and to save themselves from the dangerous pitfall that is being planned for them.

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UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

ARAB SUMMIT TO MAP OUT FUTURE STRATEGY ADVOCATED

Abu Dhabi AL-ITTIHAD in Arabic 19 Sep 78 p 1

[Editorial: "Every Morning"]

[Text] And now what?

What will follow the results that were brought about by the Camp David conference? This is the question that the Arab nation must ask itself and must respond to with absolute honesty and with total objectivity in analyzing [the conference's] results and evaluating its business.

There were three parties to the conference who concentrated on dissecting the problem of the Arab-Israeli conflict--or this is what they were supposed to do for 15 days. What was the outcome of all this?

With an unmistakable simplicity we are saying [the following]:

The American party--American in its premises and in its returns--emerged with a measure of success. Jimmy Carter had gambled with his political future. He had gone to the conference with his eyes on the Jewish vote and on the support and blessings of [U.S.] Jews. Carter won the votes, the support and the blessings in a manner expressed by the Israeli prime minister when he re-named the conference, the Jimmy Carter conference.

The Israeli party won security guarantees from the largest Arab state which represents the basic component in the Arab-Israeli struggle equation. Israel won a formula which tendentiously and deliberately sidestepped the question of sovereignty on Sinai--which will be divided into security areas--and on West Bank where Israel deigned to grant the Arabs autonomy. This means that [West Bank Arabs are to attend to] municipal and rural affairs; public cleanliness matters; health services; housing; and local transportation facilities. But Israel retained for itself the right to have its army stationed on Arab soil. It is as though it were reducing the costs of the military occupation of Arab areas. This is a matter that contradicts all the practices of sovereignty as these are understood by tradition and by constitutional and international laws.

The matter amounts to political provocation when we call to mind--if we have not forgotten--the fact that this distorted view of sovereignty is subject to a 5-year transition period--60 months during which Israel can continue its plan to create a situation which sanctions the occupation or transfers power or even Israeli hegemony and superiority to the West Bank and to Gaza. In spite of the sacrifices of our people and the blood of those who were killed in battle, it is as though we were thereby allowing the Israeli occupation to continue for a period of 20 years or a little less.

Israel won legal recognition which is the highest form of recognition in international law. This recognition will be turned into relations which the memorable Camp David accords termed normal, political, cultural and tourist relations and strong trade relations. These are the relations which will enable Golda Meir--if God prolongs her life--to achieve the dream of her long life and to go shopping in the streets of Cairo.

Israel won [the right] to keep the Zionist settlements on our occupied land in the West Bank, Gaza, the Golan Heights and Sinai without dismantling them. This is the self-evident significance which is equivalent to sanctioning the existence of these settlements which are the symbols of the Israeli occupation and the Israeli presence at the present time and in the future. Moreover, Israel won President Carter's sanction as a witness to the agreement to establish the anticipated normal relations between Tel Aviv and Cairo. Israel won a U.S. guarantee that sanctions an unbalanced, distorted notion of sovereignty and offers a pre-endorsement of the military settlement and occupation of the [West] Bank and of other Arab regions.

After all [these gains], doesn't Menahem Begin have the right to conclude his statement at the signing ceremony by conveying to the Israeli people from the White House the news of the accords in Hebrew? Press agencies reported that the Israeli people were overwhelmed with joy.

And what did the Egyptian party win? What did "the Egyptians] accomplish and achieve?

Everything that President Carter won and everything that Israel won during the negotiations was won at the expense of the Egyptian party. This is the nature of any negotiations in history.

What is not called for in these decisive moments is a reaction--regardless of how reserved, critical or dissenting it is--that rises to an emotional and a convulsive pitch and becomes [imbued with] negative posturing which would have our problems solved by [uttering] inflammatory slogans and by making hasty accusations or verbal condemnations that are neither useful nor beneficial. What is called for is an objective evaluation of the results of Camp David. What is called for is a consultation among responsible Arab leaders of the dimensions and the expectations of the period that will follow this agreement.

The purpose [of such a consultation] is:

[1] Such a consultation would draw up a comprehensive, Arab strategy in whose context Arab moral and material capabilities would be utilized to achieve our nation's original goals. Chief among these goals are those of full Israeli withdrawal and guaranteeing the rights of the Palestinian people.

[2] It would keep Arab Egypt, its history, the sacrifices its people made in war and in peace and its strong gifts the throbbing heart of the Arab struggle and a front-line stronghold for our nation's struggle against the Zionist, colonialist attack that is taking up positions against Egypt's destiny.

The road is still open for Egypt's return to the field of joint Arab effort and of joint Arab struggle. [The road is still open] for Egypt to safeguard itself against sliding into unjustifiable partial solutions or concessions which can only steer the Zionist, colonialist project towards its objectives. It would then turn into a vital reality whose danger would first threaten the security, the peace and the free will of Egypt and the future of its future generations. We are calling for a joint Arab effort. [We are calling for] an emergency Arab summit whose deliberations would be carefully considered and whose results would not be hasty.

These are urgent circumstances because the danger is imminent, and a positive effort is imperative before it is too late.

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UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

CAMP DAVID ACCORDS FAVOR ISRAEL, DESTROY ARAB SOLIDARITY

Abu Dhabi AL-WAHDAH in Arabic 19 Sep 78 pp 1, 12

[Article by Rashid ibn 'Awidah: "Our Position: What Is This Peace that Is Emerging from Camp David?"]

[Text] The Camp David accords between President al-Sadat and the prime minister of the enemy, Menahem Begin constituted another step backwards in the series of steps that the Egyptian president took since his visit to occupied Jerusalem. The accords may constitute one of the grimmest serious relapses to which the Arab nation has been subjected. As far as their consequences are concerned, they are equal to those of the usurpation of Palestine in 1948. The Camp David accords sanction and legitimize this usurpation. This is what Begin was referring to when he addressed the Israelis yesterday morning and told them, "I bring you peace. You will keep the land of your ancestors, not only for this generation, but also for future generations."

Such an agreement which was received with incomparable enthusiasm in the Zionist state will not contribute to the creation of stability in the Arab region because it is another one in a series of partial agreements between Egypt and Israel which will provide a radical solution to the Middle East crisis and will not restore what is right to those to whom this right is due. Furthermore, the accords are radically incompatible with the resolutions of the Arab Summit and contradict UN resolutions which had stipulated that the PLO was the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. These resolutions recognized the right of the Palestinian people to establish an independent state.

Although the accords went beyond the origin of the Arab-Israeli struggle, they resorted to a deliberate division of the Palestinians. The accords divided the Palestinians into those who live on the West Bank and those who live outside the occupied territories. [The latter] had never before been referred to.

Hence we question the nature of this peace which was mentioned in the Camp David accords. What peace can be achieved without referring to the occupied land in the Golan Heights and without recognizing the right of Palestinians to establish their state?

What peace can be achieved by means of an agreement that clashes in sum and in its parts with the resolutions of the Arab League and with the resolutions of Arab kings and presidents?

What peace is this that would maintain the Israeli positions on the West Bank?

To be specific, [this so-called peace] is the surrender that Israel wants. Ever since the beginning Israel has wanted the Arabs to surrender and to recognize that its usurpation of the occupied land was legitimate. It waged four wars against the Arab nation to achieve this purpose which the Camp David accords have made possible.

The enemy wants, first, that the Arabs recognize that his existence in the area is legitimate. Second, Israel wants to penetrate the Arab countries economically, socially and politically so it can play the role of a new colonial power and thus gain hegemony and control of the capabilities of this strategic area of the world.

The Camp David accords give Israel what it wants. A paragraph in the accords which stipulates that diplomatic relations be established between Egypt and Israel 3 months after the agreement, gives Israel the legitimacy and freedom of action it wants. Six hours after the Camp David accords were signed, the Israelis, therefore, were eager to discuss a joint development plan between Egypt and Israel. Israeli technology would join with Egyptian labor to achieve what the Israelis termed, "development in the area." We are also saying one more time that the Camp David accords give the enemy an opportunity to penetrate the area economically and politically by utilizing the most modern methods of the new colonialism.

Menahem Begin has called the accords historical [documents], the likes of which had not been signed since the 19th century. Why [did he say this]? What will the enemy gain from this agreement which was signed with President al-Sadat at Camp David?

By making a statement of the profit and loss in the accords, we can say that the Israeli gains are as follows:

[1] Israel gained the establishment of diplomatic relations with Egypt. This means that its illegitimate existence in the heart of the Arab nation has been sanctioned.

[2] Israel's isolation abroad was broken up because over 100 countries in the world had opposed Israel for ignoring the legitimate rights of the

Palestinian people. The accords gave the enemy the right to ignore the Palestinian question.

[3] The accords drove the last nail in the coffin of Arab solidarity. After such an agreement solidarity is gone forever from the Arab arena. Consequently, it will be difficult to achieve a uniform Arab will.

[4] The accords isolated Egypt, the strongest military front among the confrontation countries. They gave the enemy the opportunity to launch attacks against one front, the Syrian front. Fighting on two fronts, the eastern and the western, used to cause the Israeli military considerable anxiety, but the accords neutralized the western front. This will give the enemy the opportunity to devote his attention to the eastern front.

[5] The accords will enable the enemy to arrange his future plans inside the country and abroad. Inside the country Israel would get rid of the economic crisis it is suffering from. Its future plans abroad [include] procurement of more Jewish immigrants to settle in occupied Palestine. Afterwards, Israel would concentrate on achieving its technological superiority over the Arabs after having achieved political and military superiority over them.

These gains, which the accords bring to Israel, realize for the enemy what he had not been able to achieve in four wars against the Arabs.

What kinds of accords are these, and what kind of peace is this?

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CSO: 4802

ARAB PRESS COMMENTS ON SUMMIT

Abu Dhabi EMIRATES NEWS in English 19, 21, 24 Sep 78

[Editorial]

[19 Sep 78 p 3]

[Text] The Camp David summit figured in Arab press comments on Monday.

AL ITTIHAD

Al Ittihad wrote that Arabs could change the negative results of the Camp David summit to boost their national causes and achieve a wider base of international understanding and support. It said the negative results of the summit denoted that there were many major issues which had not been solved during the 15-day talks to reconcile the contradictory stands.

The daily said that Israel had refused to commit itself to withdrawal from the Arab lands it had occupied in 1967 and had also refused to recognise the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. It added that Israel was also opposed to Arab sovereignty over Jerusalem.

The paper said that what Israel wanted was absolute concessions — concessions over the land, sovereignty and historical rights. In other words, the daily said that Israel wanted land, peace, future and guarantees.

The daily said that Arabs could expose and foil Israeli expansionist ambitions only through unified efforts. The efforts could be incorporated in an Arab unified policy and that would necessitate the mobilisation of intellectual ability and economic resources, the paper added.

AL WAHDA

Al Wahda said that the results of the summit would have repercussions on the Arab situation in general and on the situation of the confrontation states in particular.

It said that a number of media were trying to make out that the results of the summit were in the interests of Arabs. It added that dangerous situations would result if Arabs were to seek solutions to crucial issues through American intervention.

The daily warned that the Arab region was facing a national enemy who could not be fought easily or through negotiations but only through a unified stand.

It added that the United States and Israel were making all-out efforts to make Arabs lose this unity at different levels. The paper regretted that some Arabs were contributing to this instead of facing the enemy firmly.

AL FAJR

In a front page commentary, Al Fajr commented on the fear of the US administration that the failure of the Camp David might result in an Arab summit conference.

"The American fear of holding an Arab summit for restoring Arab solidarity is not a surprise to us but the frank announcement by American officials of such a fear is a surprise", the daily said.

The paper said the American fears reflected the real dimension of Arab unity as the US administration perceives that Arab solidarity is the right way to put the situation in the Arab world in the right path.

[19 Sep 78 p 3]

[Text] The results of the Camp David summit evoked comments in the Arab press on Tuesday.

AL ITTIHAD

Al Ittihad wrote that the summit was a success for the United States and President Jimmy Carter, who had staked his political future, had won Zionist votes and support. It said that this was evident from the remark of Prime Minister Menahem Begin who stated that the summit should be renamed as Jimmy Carter conference.

The daily said that Israel had secured guarantees from Egypt by winning sovereignty over Sinai and administration of the West Bank. It added that in the five-year transition period Israel would be able to consolidate its position in West Bank and Gaza.

The paper said that Israel had also won the right to Zionist settlements in occupied lands such as Gaza, West Bank, Golan Heights and Sinai.

All that Carter and Begin had won at the summit, the daily said, were at the expense of Egypt.

The daily said that the results of the summit should be studied by an Arab summit to evolve a comprehensive strategy for the total

withdrawal of Israel from occupied lands and recognition of the rights of Palestinians as also to keep Egypt in the front line of struggle against Zionism.

The paper called for an urgent Arab summit to discuss the situation resulting from the Camp David agreement.

AL FAJR

Al Fajr wrote that the agreement at Camp David had resulted in an atmosphere of uncertainty.

The immediate impact of the agreement was the deepening of differences between Arabs, the daily said.

The paper said that the Arab nation was passing through a critical stage and called upon Arabs to close their ranks.

AL WAHDA

Al Wahda expressed surprise over the summit agreement which had ignored the fate of Jerusalem as also that of four million Palestinians.

It said that the bigger loss to Arabs was their solidarity.

The paper feared that the agreement would cause setbacks to Arab unity.

The Camp David agreement is a retrograde step taken by President Anwar Sadat, wrote Al Wahda's editor-in-chief Rashid bin Oweidah.

Oweidah wrote that the agreement would not help in finding a final solution to the Middle East problem as it had bypassed the United Nations' resolution on the role of the Palestine Liberation Organisation.

He said that Israel had achieved at Camp David what it could not achieve in four wars with Arabs.

According to him, the gains of Israel were as follows:

- * The establishment of diplomatic relations with Egypt;

- * The breaking of Israel's isolation (More than 100 countries had ranged themselves against Israel as it did not recognise the legitimate rights of the Palestinians). This will enable Israel to ignore the Palestinian issue;

- * The obstacles to Arab solidarity.

Oweidah said the agreement would give Israel a chance to bring more immigrant Jews to live in occupied Palestine.

[21 Sep 78 p 3]

[Text] The accords reached at Camp David figured in Arab press comments on Wednesday.

AL ITTIHAD

Al Ittihad wrote that contradictory statements issued by Egyptian and Israeli officials were released no sooner the agreements were signed at Camp David. It said that the agreements were hailed in Cairo as a step towards the complete withdrawal of Israeli troops from the occupied territories.

On the other hand, the daily said the statements made by Prime Minister Menahem Begin confirmed that Jerusalem would never be divided and remain the capital of Israel, that Israel's settlements would continue to exist and that their expansion was stopped only for three months pending the signing of a peace agreement with Egypt. It added that Begin had also categorically denied any idea concerning the independence of the West Bank and Gaza strip—contrary to what has been provided for in the agreement regarding local self-government in the West Bank.

The contradictory statements, the daily said, have impelled the Arab people to find out the truth and the entire dimensions of the Camp David agreements. The Arab people who have made sacrifices have the right to know everything about the agreements signed by Egypt and Israel and guaranteed by the United States, the paper added.

The daily said the Arab people want to know, for instance, why Egyptian Foreign Minister Mohamed Ibrahim Kamel resigned on the eve of the signing of the

agreements. Clarifications on these points have to come from the political leadership as is the practice in a democracy, it said.

AL FAJER

Al Fajer wrote that the strong reactions to the outcome of the Camp David summit were due to the fact that there are many issues which are not clear.

It said that Jerusalem, the areas from which Israel will withdraw and the Palestinian state did not figure in the agreements.

According to the daily, the inter-Arab disputes were the major elements which helped the summit to reach the agreements.

The daily said that Arab countries could no longer afford to have differences and suggested the convening of a mini-summit to evolve a unified Arab stand.

SAUT AL UMMA

Saut Al Umma said the history of Arab countries was full of glorious events as also of disputes. It said the agreements signed at Camp David were in the wake of the controversial visit to Jerusalem by President Anwar Sadat and the volatile events that preceded it.

The daily suggested a reconsideration of the Arab stand in the light of the new development. This can be achieved, it said, not through propaganda but by holding an emergent Arab summit to be attended by all Arab countries for evolving a unified stand on the issues facing the Middle East.

[24 Sep 78 p 3]

[Text] The impact of the Camp David accords, the meeting between King Hussein of Jordan, Palestine Liberation Organisation leader Yasser Arafat and Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi and the UAE statement on the summit accords figured in Arab press comments on Saturday.

AL ITTIHAD

Al Ittihad wrote that the Arab region was seemingly nearing the verge of a war as a result of the Camp David summit even amidst American moves in Arab capitals seeking to ensure the support of one country, neutralising another and pressurising a third.

It said that President Jimmy Carter was most careful to end the summit on a happy note no matter the price paid by Arab nations for his happiness and that of Israel — as if Arab nations are destined continuously to give their oil and funds to the United States, their lands and the blood of their youths.

The daily said that the American computer which had forecast the results of the summit did not take into account the true feelings of Arab citizens who had perceived that the summit agreements were aimed at serving the enemy despite the fact that the US interests were in their hands.

The paper called upon Arab nations to reconsider who were their enemies and friends in the light of the legitimate rights and aspirations of the Arab people — now and in the future.

AL FAJR

Al Fajr wrote that the meeting between King Hussein, Arafat and Gaddafi was a positive move at the

present juncture. It added that the resumption of relations between Jordan and the Palestinian revolution was essential for strengthening the eastern front against Israel.

The daily said that the initiative taken by leaders of the hardline states in Damascus had come at a suitable time because since 1970 that front had witnessed no activity following the dispute between Jordan and the Palestinians. It called for an end to the dispute and reactivation of the front.

The paper said that the initiative synchronised with the UAE call for restoration of Arab solidarity as the only way to strengthen the Arab struggle especially after the outcome of the Camp David talks which failed to reach a just and lasting solution to the problems of the Middle East. It recalled that the two agreements did not include the withdrawal of Israel from the Arab lands and the restoration of the rights of the Palestinian people.

SAUT AL UMMA

Saut Al Umma wrote that the UAE statement on the results of the Camp David talks was not as enthusiastic as compared to other reactions which overwhelmed the Arab world. It said the statement

outlined the commitment of the state to the Arab summits' decision in recognising the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and the necessity of achieving the minimum of Arab demands.

What was new in the statement, the daily said, was the suggestion for a working program which the UAE called for to achieve Arab solidarity.

The daily said: "Israel is basically bound to hinder the direct contact between Egypt and the Arab world and we should not leave the enemy to achieve its aims". It added that eastern and western major powers were waiting for differences between Arab countries to fix their areas of influence.

The paper said that the most dangerous factor threatening the Arab world was the division between the west and the east and it would hinder the progress of the Arab people and freeze the Arab struggle.

The daily said the call for Arab solidarity issued by His Highness President Sheikh Zayed had a special significance in view of the developments in the Arab world.

UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

CAMP DAVID ACCORDS AROUSE FEARS OF U.S. MILITARY PRESENCE

Abu Dhabi AL-ITTIHAD AL-USBU'I in Arabic 21 Sep 78 p 1

[Editorial: "Responsible Pan-Arab Initiative Carried Out by Arab Gulf States"]

[Text] The first initiative action to attempt containment of what might be the consequences of the Camp David accords--splitting the Arab line, destabilizing the pillars of Arab stability and menacing the Arab rights that cannot be relinquished--came from the countries of the Arab Gulf.

The call for an urgent Arab summit that would draw up a unified Arab strategy to confront the new developments in the situation came from the Gulf. Authors of this strategy who must conduct an objective political evaluation and an observation of the current factors in the area before determining this strategy must ponder an old, new factor that befell the situation in the Middle East. It is a factor that would disturb the balances of local and international forces in our area, which is one of the most sensitive areas of the world.

This factor is the possibility of a U.S. military presence in the heart of the Arab region.

This is an old factor because U.S. and Israeli forces have been reiterating it amidst the events that occurred during the few days which preceded Camp David. They also brought it up while the conference itself was in session. Because pan-Arab reaction rejected any form of foreign, military presence over Arab soil--American or otherwise--the statements made by Israel's Prime Minister Menahem Begin on the day following the signing of the Camp David accords with Egyptian President Anwar al-Sadat bore us the tidings that Israel "welcomed the presence of a U.S. naval base and would be glad to offer military facilities in Israel to U.S. armed forces." In addition, press agencies indicated yesterday that, in accordance with the Camp David accords, the United States will build two airports in the Negev Desert for Israel or for the United States. It would all be the same!

Thus, the old factor of a U.S. military presence in the area became a new factor in the context of Menahem Begin's recent statements. Begin benefited from the recent pan-Arab rejection of this experiment. His statement sounded like a hospitable invitation and a gallant Zionist welcome to the creation of a naval, land and air military presence in Israel, that is, in the heart of the Middle East area. The Soviet Union had announced last week that [establishment of such a military presence] would be construed as an infringement upon its security strategy because the Middle East area is adjacent to its southwestern borders.

Questions in this regard are numerous and confusing.

Have our Arab people in many of their countries fought for the removal of foreign military bases and are they destined after all the sacrifices, the suffering and the loss in lives they endured to find military bases in the heart of their homeland whose presence is encouraged by the government which had usurped this heart of the Arab homeland?

With this U.S. military presence, which Begin is referring to, will the area become a battlefield for states and the scene of a confrontation between the two superpowers the consequences of which no one can foretell, especially if this confrontation over our land becomes a nuclear one?

The questions are numerous and serious.

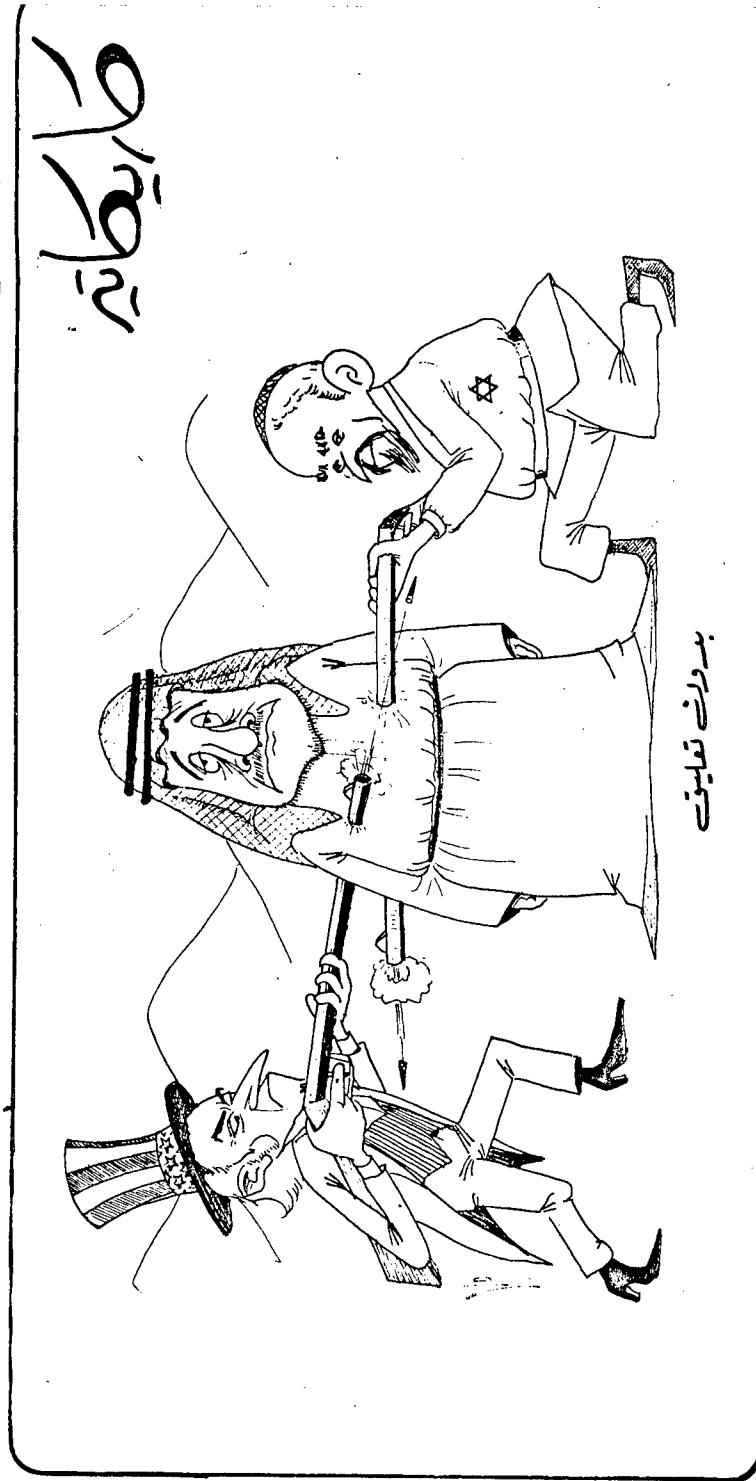
It is only an integrated and a unified Arab strategy that can answer these questions in accordance with pan-Arab national interests.

In view of this fact it becomes incumbent upon us to allow the initiative action of the Arab Gulf states to proceed on its planned course to investigate the new factors in the situation.

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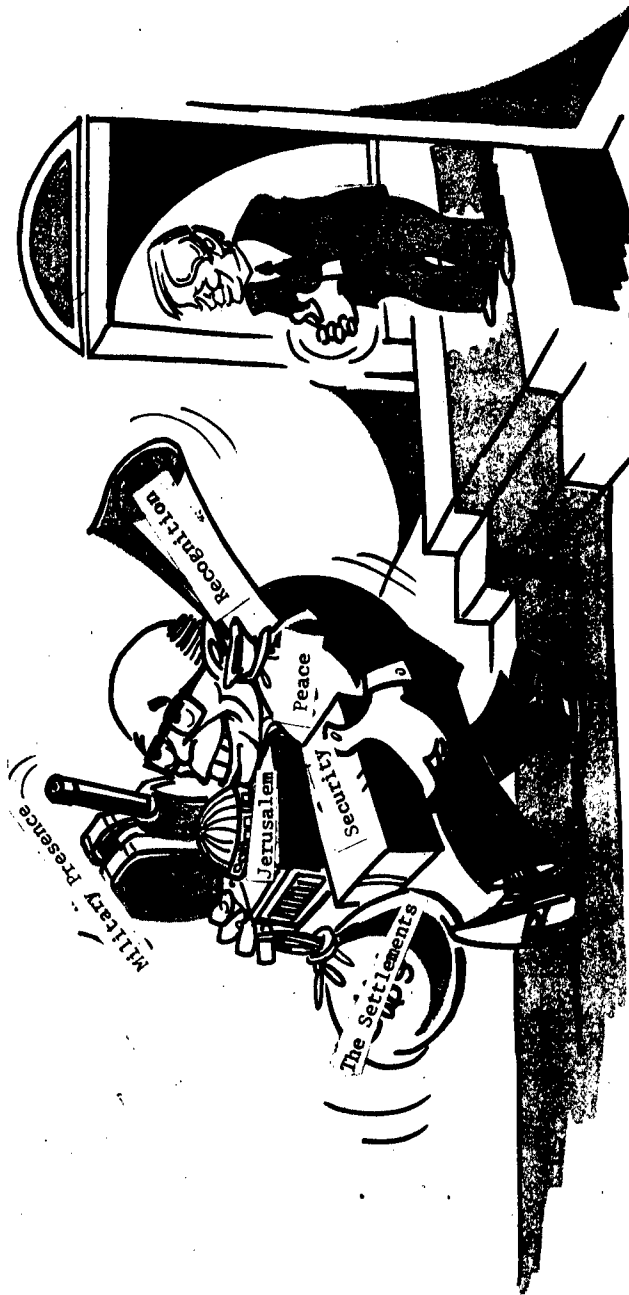
Abu Dhabi AL-WAHDAH in Arabic 19 Sep 78 p 12



"No Comment"

Abu Dhabi AL-ITTIHAD in Arabic 20 Sep 78 p 12

انتقام



The Gifts of Camp David

بريشة : حامد

Abu Dhabi AL-ITTIHAD in Arabic 23 Sep 78 p 12

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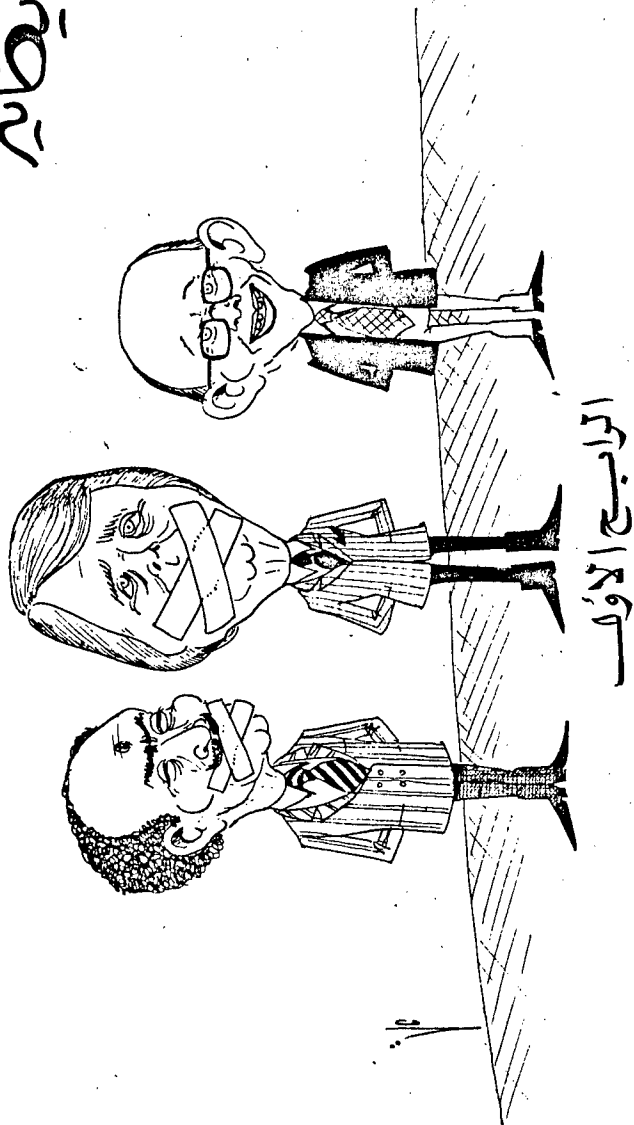


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بريشة : حامد

Abu Dhabi AL-WAHDAH in Arabic 23 Sep 78 p 12

صايطة



Abu Dhabi AL-ITTIHAD in Arabic 24 Sep 78 p 12

انتقام

Begin secures an agreement with Carter to change the name "the Palestinians" to "the Arabs of Eretz Israel"



"Moreover we'll get rid of the name 'Syria' and call it 'the Arabs north of Israel' Jordan we'll call 'the Arabs east of Israel' and Egypt we'll call 'the Arabs south of Israel..!'"

بريئة : حامد

II. PARIS AND LONDON

ACCORDS SAID DETRIMENTAL TO LEBANON, PALESTINIANS

Paris AL-NAHAR AL-'ARABI WA AL-DUWALI in Arabic 23 Sep 78 p 1

[Article by Marwan Hamadah: "Document of Insult to Justice"]

[Text] In every phase of the Palestinian cause--which became the comprehensive cause of the Arabs as of the first moment--the Arab world, rather the entire world, has become [more and more] certain that Israel's onslaught against and disregard for the most obvious principles of the international law has not been the product of an intrinsic capability or of a national quality emanating from Israel's characteristics inasmuch as they are a reflection of the conflicts of the Arab states, the disunity of their resources and the inability of a number of their leaders to curb their conflicts and disputes in the face of fateful dangers.

On this basis, the truth of what we are stumbling through becomes obvious. Failure or success in our confrontations, whether in the Arab East against Israel or at the international level against those who support it, depends on us as states, peoples and parties with their different views, opinions and philosophical and political thinking and belief. We [will fail] if we disperse and we will succeed if we unite. Perhaps unity over a negativity that seems radical is better than a disunity whose harm is caused equally by both those who are wrong and those who are right.

The Arabs--their moderates before their radicals--have said their word on the Camp David resolutions. They have said: No to a separate connection with Israel. They have especially said: No to the provisions that abolish the Palestinian people's rights, that establish these people as a minor and then bless them with the custodianship of a military presence under which they will be under the sole control of Israel.

We in Lebanon reject the Camp David document whose provisions trample the right and insult justice. We reject it because it strikes the most sacred sanctities of the Palestinian people.

We also reject it because it opens ambiguous dossiers which emit the smell of sectarian partition in Lebanon in the interest of Israel that wants to turn Lebanon into an important element in the plans of what it calls its "security"--plans beginning with the partition of the area into mini-states and with resettling the Palestinians and ending with transforming us into a forgotten "quantity" in the balance of the Arab forces opposing its ambitions.

Yesterday, we had an invocation for the failure of Camp David. But now that it has "succeeded" in entrenching the Israeli peace, we have this time a call for foiling its resolutions and its results.

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CSO: 4802

AL-SADAT CHIDED: ACCORDS DEEMED FUTILE

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic 23 Sep 78 pp 6-7

[Article by Nabil Khuri: "To the President Who Is Returning from Camp David: 'Sinai Was not the Problem'"]

[Text] Mr President:

We confess that we are tired.

We are tired of writing, and we are also tired of reading.

We are tired of deceiving ourselves.

All those who followed your steps from Jerusalem to Camp David are tired.

They are so tired, and we are so tired, we are almost [ready] to concede that you have won.

The headlines, Mr President, are flashing.

The headlines state that you've brought back Sinai.

They say that you've achieved peace between yourself and your neighbors in Israel.

The headlines state that the evacuation from the vast Egyptian desert will be complete. There will be no settlements and no airports.

The headlines state that in your elation you did embrace Menahem Begin again.

[They state] that this demonstration of affection did take place in the White House.

[They state] that a bright, sunny future is in store for Egypt.

Although we are tired, we have become accustomed to read more than the headlines and to read between the headlines or under the headlines.

Calmly, we want to tell you what we have gleaned from our reading.

We hope you will have the time to read while you are still elated over your "victory."

This is because we claim that we can sometimes convey to a governor the voice of the people when the people fail to reach him.

What does our reading material tell us?

1. It tells us that you exchanged with Menahem Begin secret letters concerning the future of Arab Jerusalem. We know how much Begin has been insisting on what he calls the unity of Jerusalem. Therefore, you will allow us to question the contents of these letters. In fact, allow us to ask, was the price for the return of the Sinai the loss of Jerusalem forever?

Time and experience have taught us to be apprehensive of any "secret" agreement concluded between any Arab state and Israel. There is no need to go into the details of what happened to us when we signed the first and the second disengagement agreements and how we lost during the process of signing [those documents] many times more than what we had lost in the war.

2. The other price that you paid was also, in our view, exorbitant. In return for the withdrawal from Sinai, you promised to establish "normal" relations--as these have been called--between Egypt and Israel. This means that at the end of the 9 months during which the withdrawal is to take place, Israel will have an embassy in Cairo and Egypt will have an embassy in Tel Aviv--if Israel does not insist that the embassy be in Jerusalem. This will naturally be followed by trade and economic relations, tourism, etc. We know, Mr President, and you know that with this decision you have made Israel's greatest dream come true. The only battle that Israel wanted to win during the last 30 years was that of being recognized as part of the area. You have made that dream come true for Israel. Without exaggeration, your decision gave the state of Israel a new lease on life--a lasting lease on life.

3. The basis and the essence of the battle between the Arabs and Israel was and still is the Palestinian question and the destiny of the Palestinian people. Our quick reading of what you signed at Camp David leads us to observe that "the documents" have increased the complexity of the crisis for the following reasons:

- A. The documents talk only about the Palestinians who reside on the West Bank and in Gaza, but they do not mention or make any reference to the problem of Palestinians outside the West Bank and Gaza. Don't the Palestinians outside those areas constitute the crisis and the problem?

B. The documents approve of an Israeli military presence "inside camps." This means that the occupation continues, but in a different form. Is this to be considered a solution?

C. There is no mention whatsoever in the documents of the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. Instead, the documents talk about future negotiations with elected representatives of the Palestinians. And thus, so simply, the documents that bear your signature render all the resolutions of the summit conferences in al-Rabat and Algeria null and void.

4. We still had a glimmer of hope that the Sinai problem would not be solved at the expense of [our] cause and that Sinai and Egypt would become the Arab trump card for solving every problem. Then we found ourselves reading the following statement attributed to a senior White House official:

"The two agreements--the peace agreement with Egypt and [the agreement pertaining to] the future of the West Bank--are completely separate from each other. They are not related to each other.

"This means," continues the White House official, "that the Sinai agreement and the peace treaty between Egypt and Israel will be signed whether or not West Bank negotiations flounder."

This is a serious remark, very serious indeed, Mr President.

It is serious because such an agreement could have been signed by President 'Abd-al-Nasir one month after the June 1967 War. He could have gotten Sinai back--all of Sinai--with only one condition: that of separating Egypt from the Arabs. You know that such a proposal was made to President 'Abd-al-Nasir just as it was made to you more than once before the 1973 war. Dr Mahmud Fawzi, Egypt's deputy prime minister and its [former] minister of foreign affairs says, "Sinai was never a problem. Any Egyptian president who was willing to dissociate himself from the Arabs and from their issues would have had Sinai returned to him immediately."

This is exactly what you did, Mr President. Sinai was returned to you, but Palestine and the Golan Heights were not returned to us. What greater gift could have been offered to Israel than that of making Palestine, the Arabs' major issue, a non-issue for Egypt?

It is being said that you did this because you are tired and because Egypt also is tired.

Egypt has been exhausted by the years of war which have paralyzed and drained [its resources].

This may be true.

But we are tired too, Mr President.

We are not tired from the war with Israel, and we are not tired with the struggle against it. Not even your signature at Camp David will stop the struggle. This struggle is not yours or that of any other Arab governor [to stop]. The struggle belongs to every Arab whose land and honor were deemed fair game. But we are tired of men in government who believe they can determine the destinies of their people as they draw their inspiration from the vegetation surrounding the Camp David retreat.

If you have time to read this message, we hope that you will later remember that your signature at Camp David which, at the height of your exultation you thought was the end of the road, is only the beginning of the road.

8592

CSO: 4802

ACTION, NOT SILENCE BY ARABS URGED

Paris AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI in Arabic 23-29 Sep 78 p 15

[Article by Walid Abu Zahar: "Freedom Is a Word; the Camp of Silence"]

[Text] A long time ago the Arabs said that silence was a mute devil. Recently, in the late sixties and during the height of the student unrest in France and the intervention in Czechoslovakia, the French intellectual Giradoux said that silence was no longer possible.

It behooves us to repeat the old Arab saying and the modern French saying during these "silent" days of Arab time.

The secret Camp David talks have not been silent. They have proclaimed rather loudly the failure of the U.S.-Israeli-Egyptian road to peace in the Middle East.

From the bloody demonstrations in Iran to the peaceful demonstrations in Lebanon the Middle East does not appear to be silent. It speaks and it communicates in the most eloquent languages. It is sitting on top of a volcano.

It is only the Arabs among the inhabitants of the world who are "silent." It is as though the business of war and peace did not concern them one way or the other even though the oil is theirs, the blood is theirs, and [the question of] life and death is [that of] their lives and their deaths.

The whole world--in the press, on radio, television, in the street, in parliament and in bedrooms--is talking about the Arabs. When the world talks about itself, it follows that it talks about the Arabs. When it talks about the energy crisis, cheap labor, markets, spheres of influence, [etc.], the world finds 1,001 reasons to be talking about the Arabs.

But the Arabs are not talking.

Silence, as the popular saying goes, is the sign of contentment.

This is how the world interprets our silence, even if we were not content. It is their right to interpret Arab silence to mean tacit approval of everything that is going on, indeed, everything that has taken place.

But this is not true because Arab silence is like a banner flying on a roof top. It cannot be a useful witness to what is happening underneath that roof. From Libya to Iraq, and from Mogadiscio to Alexandria people are talking.

Briefly, they are saying that they do not approve of the silence or of the words that are being said. They do not approve of the silence that is sincere, nor do they approve of language that is false.

Camp David is teeming with activity and with discussion, and the Arabs' camp is still and silent. Camp David has failed, but the Arabs' camp has not yet taken action and has not yet spoken; it has not yet succeeded.

Camp David made the most of its historical opportunity in action and discussions. But the Arab camp has not yet begun taking advantage of its historical opportunity even though it has already begun.

The practical failure of Camp David and all the symbols of this failure constitute a theoretical success and all the symbols of that success for the Arabs' camp. This means that the dead end road which al-Sadat has pursued points at the same time to the road that is open to the rest of the Arabs.

Silence and stillness are no longer possible. We must take action and we must speak. Indeed, we must speak of action so that we do not become engulfed by the silence and wrapt by the stillness.

The only opening on the dead end road for al-Sadat, Israel and the United States might very well be the Arabs' silence and their stillness. It is the only light that gives them "hope" after [years of] despair; it is the only bridge over which they can cross from one vacuum to another.

If we were to close this opening and to attempt making preparations for taking the only road available to a real peace, we would be a little late; but we would have taken a first step on the right road.

Otherwise, this silence will lead us to madness. Otherwise, this stillness will eat our hearts out and we will die.

What is being called for here is not "talking" in the superficial sense of the word, meaning verbal wars replete with slogans, statements and oneupmanship. This "talk" that is being called for is action. Language thus appears sometimes to be a treasure of discrepancies, especially when "talk" becomes synonymous with "action."

We have a historical opportunity: if we lose it, history would lose all its meaning and existence itself would become unjustified. The masses of our people are behind us; patience weighs heavily upon them and they are waiting for the green light.

All around us is total despair of the dead end road. Let the other road be opened because silence is no longer possible.

8592

CSO: 4802

SYRIANS ACCUSED OF SQUANDERING ARAB RIGHTS

London AL-DUSTUR in Arabic 25 Sep-1 Oct 78 p 25

[Editorial: "Syrians' Motives No Longer a Secret"]

[Text] The Camp David accords have established what had been established before al-Sadat's visit to occupied Jerusalem: although the Egyptian president bears the greater responsibility for squandering Arab rights, he is not the only one who is inclined to do so. Although this has been said many times before, some benefit is to be gained from this repetition because there are many people who are still hoping for solutions from those who share the responsibility with al-Sadat. They are those who "oppose" al-Sadat's steps but who are at the same time committed to the same settlement policy he is pursuing.

It might be a coincidence that Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad was visiting West Germany while the Camp David Summit Conference was in session. But it was not a coincidence at all for him to assure the German leaders that he was continuing his pursuit of a settlement.

This confirms [the notion] that Vance's visit to Damascus, to digress somewhat, was also not a coincidence. It indicated that Washington was still confident that the Syrian regime favored a settlement. The fact that Damascus agreed to talk to Vance was a Syrian indication that the governors of Damascus did not close the door to the ongoing settlement. It includes what was agreed to at Camp David. This is what the Americans declared in positive terms to justify Vance's visit.

What remains is for us to understand the secret behind the superficial opposition to al-Sadat's steps by other Arab parties that are pursuing the settlement policy--and chief among those is the Syrian Government. In spite of the [Syrian] governors' attempts to hide this fact from their people, it is no longer a secret.

The objectives of such a course are, at best, to improve the settlement positions and, at worst, to make it easier for al-Sadat to proceed towards

a separate solution that would relieve Egypt of its pan-Arab responsibilities for one reason or another so as to justify their own evasion of these responsibilities. This is what is actually taking place.

In [pursuing this course] the Syrians are scoring a point in favor of al-Sadat in front of the Arabs and the world, considering the fact that he is doing what he says he is doing, but they are not doing what they say they are doing. Although they have a different style, they are crooked like al-Sadat.

8592

CSO: 4802

EXPLANATION FOR AL-SADAT'S SURRENDER OFFERED

London AL-DUSTUR in Arabic 25 Sep-1 Oct 78 p 3

[Article by Walid Barakat: "The Four Winds; Camp David To Avoid al-Sadat's Return Empty-Handed"]

[Text] The outcome of the Camp David Conference is tantamount to a major media victory for President Carter who has now begun waiting impatiently for the results of the new polls which are likely to show his popularity rising from the all-time low it had reached before the conference began. Notwithstanding an objective evaluation of this outcome, public opinion is not interested in whether or not President al-Sadat insisted on keeping Rafah or Marsa Matruh. The only matter that is of interest to public opinion is the success or the failure of the conference. This is actually what happened early this week. News agencies reported that Carter was delighted even though he was pale and appeared to be tired.

The situation is the same as far as the Israeli Prime Minister Menahem Begin is concerned. Announcement of the conference's success refuted to U.S. citizens the charge made against Begin that he was obstinate and unyielding. Begin is pleased on two counts: he has become a man of peace in the eyes of U.S. citizens even though the conference did not yield any [new] position that might be considered an abandonment of his previous positions. The outline of the agreement that was signed last Sunday evening in the White House in Washington is a reflection of what Begin had told President Carter in Washington between the 14th and the 19th of last December. Begin had then proposed to Carter a 5-year plan for autonomy on the West Bank and Gaza after which the permanent condition of the West Bank and Gaza would be determined. This is a reiteration of the Israeli reply to the question that was posed by the Americans last spring regarding [the question of] drawing up broad plans for the future of the West Bank. The Israelis had replied to the aforementioned question by saying that there will not be a full withdrawal from the West Bank; that self-determination for the residents of the West Bank must be preceded by a 5-year transition period; and that self-determination will not include the possibility of establishing an independent Palestinian state. Those who

were assembled at Camp David said that self-determination for the West Bank must be carried out with the participation of Egypt, Israel, Jordan--if it wishes to participate--and the residents of the West Bank. [The PLO] which had been unanimously considered the legal representative of Palestinians by Arab states, including Egypt and Jordan at the 1974 al-Rabat Conference, was not to participate. Begin thus came out with a host of victories. In the eyes of U.S. citizens he became a man of peace, but he continued to be a stern man in the eyes of his Israeli supporters and a sophisticated negotiator in the eyes of the Israeli opposition. Moreover, Begin achieved what no other Israeli in the past had dreamed of, namely, obtaining an Egyptian promise to sign a peace agreement that would establish normal, diplomatic relations between Egypt and Israel before any Israeli soldier is withdrawn from the positions Israel is now occupying on Egyptian territory. Begin can boast of this latest victory, in particular, to the Labor Party which had asked him to be flexible so that Israel's relations with the United States and with the West would not be strained. But Begin proved that he had a better understanding of Carter's thoughts and of western thought.

As far as President al-Sadat is concerned, the best commentary on the value of the results he achieved was the announcement in Washington that the Egyptian minister of foreign affairs and a number of Egyptian diplomats had resigned. The minister of foreign affairs was absent from the ceremony during which the two documents yielded by the conference were signed. President al-Sadat agreed to what he had refused previously when he summoned his minister of foreign affairs from Jerusalem last January because of the Israelis' stubbornness and unwieldiness. But during the eleventh hour of the last day of the conference, which lasted 13 days, he agreed to these conditions. It is not strange, therefore, for the Egyptian minister of foreign affairs to consider working with a president who changes his mind so rapidly to be a waste of time and effort. Although President al-Sadat will encounter no problems in keeping his lines of communication with some Arab leaders open--especially the leaders of Saudi Arabia, the Gulf states and the King of Jordan--he will encounter major difficulties in persuading the Egyptians, not to mention the rest of the Arabs, that the results of the Camp David [Conference herald] the success of his initiative and his diplomatic efforts which had grown out of that initiative. Even people who do not read newspaper headlines must inevitably ask themselves: Why would al-Sadat agree to such matters if he did not agree to them 9 months ago? An explanation of al-Sadat's eleventh hour surrender to every one of Begin's plans may be that at the last moment he dreaded total failure and preferred returning [to Egypt] with any agreement, even if this agreement was a complete surrender to his enemies. In this context it would be correct to say of President al-Sadat that he preferred to return with a useless document than to return empty-handed.

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"The Godfather"

بجوري



"After the Camp Summit"

III. ISRAEL

BEGIN STILL FACING TOUGH STRUGGLE

Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 18 Sep 78 p 9

[Article: "Begin Beset by Inner Conflicts"]

[Text] I do not envy Menaghem Begin. Unquestionably he endured many sleepless nights as well as days of intense stress. He was faced by a grave dilemma. Should he remain loyal to his previous views to which he had clung and believed in with a firm and honest conviction or should he lean towards salvaging the meeting and thus further the prospect of an accord? Without a doubt he was conscious of the fact that from his perspective he was making far-reaching concessions that would amaze not only the Israeli hawks but would also provoke the harshest criticism from his own inner circle and from the partisans of the "Great Israel" as well as from the Gush Emunim faction. These were the constituents who were so desirous of having him assume power. I do not envy Managhem Begin as he faces the prospect of a tough, internal struggle in his government, his party, Likud and even from the hawkish circles in the Labor party who may claim that he conceded more than he had to. He was under strong pressure from Jimmy Carter the president of the U. S. and perhaps even from his colleagues and advisers in the Israeli mission. Wrestling with his own conscience was the most difficult of all. The toughest decision he ever had to make was at Camp David. He still faces severe internal struggles. Strenuous efforts will still have to be expended in the negotiations with Sadat and perhaps even with Hussein.

The time is not ripe yet for dancing in the public square. We haven't as yet had an opportunity to study all the documents. There are still some unanswered questions. First in order is the question of the Israeli settlements in Rafiah Junction and in east Sinai. Even to those who are prepared to make magnanimous concessions for the sake of peace, the dismantling of an existing settlement is a matter of deep concern. It is easy to oppose a specific policy of settlement or the establishment of a new settlement. It is difficult and painful however to cede an existing one. Here living people who have struck roots in the land of Israel have to be considered. Every effort should be made to try to persuade Sadat and perhaps beforehand the Americans to allow the settlements to remain within some frame-

work or other which will not impair the principle of the return of sovereignty over the entire Sinai to Egyptian hands. But if in the final stages the painful decision will have to be made; the settlements at Rafiah Junction or peace of necessity peace will be chosen. Begin acted properly in leaving the question open for further negotiation and for the decision of the Knesset. He did not wish to assume the responsibility for the breakup of the meeting against this background.

As was previously noted in DAVAR, on the eve of the Camp David meeting the government on the advice of the finance minister Simha Ehrlikh granted a broad mandate and freedom to maneuver to the Israeli mission. It was authorized to accept any decision that in its judgment would be acceptable to the government. It was not without difficulty that this resolve was approved. Some ministers were opposed to it. But the die was cast and the responsibility delegated to Begin, Weizman and Dayan was awesome indeed. If the opportunity to reach an accord were missed because of the Israeli stand then the responsibility for this unfortunate event would rest squarely on their shoulders. It is to be noted with satisfaction that they bore this historic and awesome responsibility admirably. They completed the task of persuading the government, the coalition and the Knesset to support the agreements they had obtained.

Menachem Begin can say with a clear conscience that up to this moment he accomplished the maximum possible from an Israeli standpoint for the attainment of peace and the prevention of war. It is probable that he will be required to make additional concessions if Sadat will adhere to his word and be prepared to sign a peace treaty even if Hussein refuses to join in the negotiations. There is no doubt that a majority of the people will support Begin in the concessions he has had to make up to the present and also any future concessions he may be required to make for the sake of peace.

Here and there a complaint has been heard. It is intimated in the reply of Prof Moshe Arens, chairman of the foreign relations and defense committee, to the effect that with such far-reaching concessions an accord could have been reached at a much earlier date. This was the impression Ezer Weizman had in the early spring. This opinion was reinforced after the defense minister's meeting with Sadat in Salzburg and the Peres meeting with the Egyptian president in Vienna. But the 10 months that have elapsed since Sadat's visit to Jerusalem cannot be considered a long time by ordinary standards in the history of international diplomacy. Could anybody have been convinced at an earlier date of Sadat's integrity, or of the possibility of reaching an acceptable accord? Would Begin and Dayan have had the opportunity to digest the matter with the extreme deliberation that was called for? All the details and options required a thorough and basic examination. The elapsed time was not excessive. It provided an opportunity to evaluate the Camp David meeting and to realize that it presented a last chance. A failure would reverse the negotiations to

the situation that existed before Likud assumed power. The particular point in time, the place, the host and the high level of the talks all contributed to the final result. This was the highest level and the reputations and futures of the three leaders were in the balance. The opportunity was not missed.

Begin learned from his mistakes. In essence he accepted the thesis which characterized the regime under the leadership of the Labor Party. A supreme effort had to be exerted to effect a prior correspondence in the positions of Israel and the U. S. In conversations with Vice President Mondale and in various other contacts a successful effort was made to achieve a similarity in positions. In the final conversations held on the eve of the meeting between Prof Brezezinski the presidential adviser on security and the Israeli ambassador Simha Dinitz Israel revealed a greater degree of flexibility and a tentative rough draft of a framework for agreement was crystallized. The nearly complete similarity achieved in the positions of Begin and Carter enabled the U. S. president to exert a softening influence on Sadat's position regarding the present Israeli obligations in the matter of the future of Judea and Samaria.

Even though we were subjected to 2 weeks with a complete absence of real intelligence, we confess the result justified the blackout. With an absence of leaks and opposing responses, with no pressures from journalists and politicians and with no accompanying tensions and hunger for news the parties to the summit were able to conduct unhampered discussions. The Camp David concept was a gamble fraught with danger, but it produced excellent results. The credit belongs to Jimmy Carter. For him a possible failure of the meeting would have entailed a catastrophe more so than in the case of Begin or Sadat.

The Israeli doves and people of the "Peace Now" movement and all those in the various political camps who held a moderate view cannot but be pleased. They were victorious and the job was accomplished by others. Perhaps it is better so. Let us imagine that an accord like this one had been brought from the U. S. by Yitzhaq Rabin or Shimon Peres. The parliamentary opposition would have been fierce and outside of the parliament the outcry led by Begin would have been tremendous. Whoever characterized Begin as an Israeli De Gaulle was mistaken. Let us hope that the Labor Party under the direction of Shimon Peres and Yigal Alon will not take the position of rightist critic of the accord or for that matter leftist critic. Everyone has a right to think that a better agreement could have been reached in one particular or in some other central matter. However this is the agreement that has been consummated. It was impossible to obtain a better one under the prevailing conditions. The rest is a matter for historians. Congratulations are in order for what has already been completed. Now we must engage in discussions of the various details and the security arrangements. It is to be hoped that these will produce the optimum results possible in the present situation.

There is no doubt that the heaviest responsibility was borne by Begin and the magnitude of the achievement is to be credited to him. Ezer Weizman's contribution cannot be overlooked. He occupied an important role in the negotiations despite the fact that in the Israeli discussions he pressed for a more realistic approach. He succeeded in establishing excellent personal relations with Sadat and in softening his position. He was instrumental in arranging the Sadat-Dayan meetings and in bringing opposing sides closer.

We must not deprecate the great and decisive contribution of Moshe Dayan in the achievement of the agreement. His position had an important influence on Begin. His contribution to the concretization of the Israeli position expiated to a degree his past grievous errors.

I do not envy Menachem Begin for what he has been exposed to in the past and what faces him today. I am envious that Menachem Begin was privileged to be the first one to sign an agreement obtained as a result of direct negotiations between the Israeli Government and the Egyptian president. I am envious of the glowing prospect facing him of being a signatory finally to a peace treaty.

8995

CSO: 4805

CAMP DAVID AGREEMENT REQUIRES IDF TO REDEPLOY

Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 18 Sep 78 p 3

[Article by Yonah Shamshi: "IDF Must Set Up New Line"]

[Text] With the publication of the Camp David agreements, there is a need to examine several basic questions and their ramifications on the future security of Israel. One does not have to be an expert strategist to know that great importance is attached to the territorial component of Israel's security. There is no doubt that the return of all of the Sinai takes away from Israel maneuver space of great importance in the event of war. Yet the return which Israel is to receive is also a most important component in security considerations, for a peace agreement in itself is an important and essential component of Israel's security.

Beyond the value of territory in the system of security, the IDF will now have to engage in the feverish solution of problems created immediately with the signing of the agreements. It would be not far from the truth to suppose that the General Staff has almost certainly begun developing plans for a new deployment of the IDF -- both in terms of the short term military deployment in the stages of withdrawal in terms of the time table of three months to three years dictated by the Washington agreements, as well as in terms of the long term military deployment at the line which is east of the international boundary between Israel and Egypt.

From the first public statements regarding the agreements, it is clear that Israel will have to withdraw from most of the Sinai within the first year. It is reasonable to assume that what is being considered is the line between Ra's Muhammad and El-Arish. In such a case, the IDF will be simultaneously engaged in the orderly evacuation of large and important camps and installations in Sinai, and in the development of a new temporary line -- and then later it will begin the evacuation and development of the final line. Even if the peace agreements work out well and everything goes according to plan, the IDF will still be involved in the solution of many problems of the period of peace -- namely a reconstruction.

prominent in this system is the question of evacuating the air fields. There is no doubt that the air fields at Etam in Rafiah Junction, Etzion near Eilat, and Ofir at Sharm ash-Shaykh are essential to the effective operation

of the air force. There is no doubt that the location of these three air fields is the best, in tactical and strategic terms, certainly better than any other which will be set for them after evacuation. The space for maneuver, the possibility of advance warning of an attack by planes from hostile countries, is better at the Etam, Etzion, and Ofir air fields than at any other place in territory held by Israel prior to the Six-Day War. It was for this reason that the air fields had been located where they are. The question is whether the loss of these air fields is a severe blow to the strategic deployment of Israel or not. Just as there are military experts, generals whose names are well known, who say that the three air fields are irreplaceable in strategic terms, it is possible to quote equally famous experts who see no reason why the giving of those fields will be an unbearable blow.

Yesterday afternoon, we spoke with Gen (Ret) Aharon Yariv, who was Chief of the Intelligence Branch of the General Staff during the Six-Day War. Later, he was minister of information for a short time, and now heads the Institute for Strategic Studies at Tel Aviv University. Gen Yariv says: First, we emphasize that a peace treaty has not yet been signed with Egypt. What has been signed is an understanding regarding the signing of an agreement and peace within a period of three months. In terms of the Egyptians, this is conditioned on one thing, the removal of the settlements, and it is known that the Knesset will decide on this. In addition, solutions must be found for many other problems, such as detailed security arrangements for the Sinai after the evacuation by the IDF, the lines of areas in which there will be limited Egyptian forces, demilitarized regions, and an international force to maintain them.

The return of the Sinai of which we were informed yesterday is according to the plan of the government which was reported by Prime Minister Menahem Begin in Knesset after the Sadat visit to Jerusalem in November of last year. But, Yariv says, in the agreement made in Washington, Israel has conceded the air fields. There concession was a difficult one for Israel, but Yariv feels that it is not a strategic blow. It is possible to build other air fields, and it is only a matter of money and time. The air force commander who says that there is no other solution than to have these three air fields should re-examine his ability to command the air force. This is not to ignore the many difficulties. But his task is to present solutions to the General Staff under all circumstances.

As for the removal of the settlements, the head of the Institute for Strategic Studies at Tel Aviv University does not attach strategic importance to them. Their removal is in the area of a human problem in that it involves the removal of people from settlements which they built to live in permanently, in the Zionist state of mind which is unaccustomed to removing settlements from ground on which they have been built.

Yariv believes that the period of three years which was set for the completion of the evacuation is too short. For within the first year of the signing of the agreement in which a process of normalization will begin, Israel will return a substantial part of the Sinai to Egyptian hands. The whole process

of evacuation will be completed by the end of another two years. In our bargaining with the Egyptians, the exchange which they gave for a peace treaty was the return of territory, and the Egyptians have stated their agreement for peace. This means that we are giving our part in land principally in the first year, and completely within three years, while the process of normalization and the establishment of peaceful relations could go on for a much longer time. In the awful event that the Egyptians draw back from their intention to carry out their part of the peace agreements, we will not have the bargaining chip, and the Egyptians will have to do nothing but publicly announce their intent not to do their part. The Egyptians would be able to avoid violating any component of the agreement dealing with security arrangements and demilitarized buffer zones, and still not carry out their part of the deal. It would be enough for them to publicly state that they do not want to establish full peaceful relations. In order to avoid such a possibility, not even intended at the start, it would have been better to fix a longer transition period for the completion of the withdrawal and the establishment of de facto peaceful relations, certainly longer than two or three years. Gen Yariv says that a period of five years for withdrawal and the establishment of peaceful relations is more reasonable. Even the removal of the military air fields and the settlements, if the Knesset so decides, requires more than three years.

Even the agreements with respect to Judea, Samaria, and the Gaza Strip, according to details already known, do not constitute a blow to the security interests of Israel. For an IDF force will still be deployed in the territories, and in the five year period of autonomy it will be possible to build a system of relations which will enable a political solution acceptable to both Israel and the Arabs which will not negatively affect our security interests. The remaining of the IDF in the Gaza Strip and Judea and Samaria assures us against any strategic effects. It should be remembered that Sadat made a most serious concession in the agreements which he signed yesterday. One of the concessions was that Egypt would sign a separate peace treaty with Israel, and that he would also sign an agreement for the residents of the Gaza Strip and Judea and Samaria.

In summarizing his position regarding the Washington agreements, Yariv emphasizes that he does not know of any defined situation between Israel and the Arab countries which is not fraught with dangers. There are dangers in the realization of the policy of a greater land of Israel, just as there are dangers in a withdrawal to the 4 June 1967 boundaries, and there is danger in the signing of the agreements with the Egyptian president and the U.S. president yesterday. The question is whether the prospects which have been opened with the signing of the Washington agreements justify the danger which Israel has taken upon itself. The answer of the head of the Institute for Strategic Studies at Tel Aviv University is singular and unambiguous -- it is worth the risk for the prospects are great. At the same time, Aharon Yariv emphasizes that Israel must make it very clear that breaches of elements of the agreements will be viewed by Israel as a casus belli, and its response to any breach will be swift and hard.

7075

CSO: 4805

UNANSWERED MILITARY, SECURITY QUESTIONS POSED

Tel Aviv HA'AREZ in Hebrew 19 Sep 78 pp 13, 16

[Article: "Preview of Problems Attending the Withdrawal"]

[Text] Even though the complete details of the framework agreements reached at Camp David are not known, it is clear that the documents to which the three parties have affixed their signatures contain far-reaching implications from a military and security viewpoint. The label the agreement bears is not important. Essentially it is a separate agreement between Egypt and Israel. If we wish to be more optimistic we may call it the first agreement between Israel and the Arabs.

Nevertheless it appears to me that a prior condition contributing to the success of the negotiations was the unanimous agreement of the three parties to postpone for the time being the full participation of Hussein as a full partner in the accord. Had he joined at the time as a full partner he would have raised the price to Israel far above what it is to pay now. It is doubtful whether Israel would have agreed.

One matter which is still not clear is the role played by the U.S. in the negotiations. How deeply and directly did she involve herself? In the interim agreement the U.S. assumed the role of overseer (warning station, observation flights). Clearly the U.S. will be compelled to pay a significant portion of the economic expenditures growing out of the accords and the withdrawal. The question is however: was any agreement made about guarantees, defense pact and the like? Was this question shelved till the termination of the transition period relating to the West Bank and the Gaza Strip? Perhaps these matters have already been discussed. From a military and political standpoint this is a significant question. On this point we have received no details.

The section on Sinai (Israel--Egypt) is spelled out in greater detail. But even here giant question marks loom. From Israel's viewpoint the accord contains many changes when compared to the plan presented to the Egyptians in the talks at Ismailia with Ezer Weizman and Brigadier General Tamir. The timetable for the withdrawal has been shortened. The talk is

no longer of a withdrawal that would be staggered over a period of 3 years subsequent to the signing of a peace agreement. Now it is to be a massive withdrawal that will begin 3 months after the signing of the accord. The withdrawal is scheduled to be completed in 2 to 3 year.

A characteristic change in Israel's degree of readiness to concede the three airfields she had originally requested in Sinai. At that time we spoke about permission to retain possession of two (Ophira and Eytam) as civilian airfields. Now we are prepared to concede the third and most important one Etzion. It is to be inhabited by civilians but they will be Egyptians. There are security experts who feel that this is a far greater concession than giving up the settlements in Sinai. There are grave doubts concerning the pacification of the eastern front, particularly when account is taken of the heavy arming of the Saudi airforce (60 F-15's).

The effects will be felt by the naval forces as well. They have a large base at Sharm Ash-Shaykh. They will be forced to decrease the size of the facility and move to the edge of the gulf; to the port of Eilat where they will be in range of artillery from the Jordanian shore. There is no doubt that the most profound effects will be felt by the Israeli airforce. It will lose a great deal of airspace. Besides the fact that this space is close to Egypt and the Red Sea it served also as the basic area for air maneuvers (mock supersonic air battles, aerial range etc).

At present it is not clear how our electronic warning will be affected. Will we continue in possession of the Sinai warning station as well as the radar station? The squadrons of Hawk-eyes Israel received will serve to a very small degree to replace the superiority we had electronically when we were in possession of the peninsula. The airforce will be forced to compress itself into fewer airfields than it ever had. As a result its ability to absorb an attack will be diminished. Its vulnerability in the direction of the eastern front will be increased.

The withdrawal will entail the expenditure of considerable sums. Besides the expense of setting up camps for the IDF troops now in Sinai, new emergency warehouses and other factors we shall have to build new airfields. The problem is not solely financial (the U.S. will unquestionably share in the expense). There remains the question of time. It takes 2 to 3 years to build an airfield. Even when the money is available there still remains the problem of labor. We will have to hastily locate suitable places for these fields. This has not yet been done, neither within the limits of the green line or in the Negev.

Another key security question relates to the settlements in Rafiah Junction (previously a tendency to evacuate the settlements along the gulf has been apparent). We may assume that Israel will make a strong effort to retain a small piece of territory in the vicinity of Rafiah Junction. Especially since she has agreed that the autonomy granted to Judea, Samaria and the

strip may be temporary and in 5 years sovereignty may pass over into the hands of the Arabs. In that event Sinai and the Gaza Strip would be joined. Hence Israel strove to separate these two regions by means of Rafiah Junction. It is likely that in the negotiations over the future fate of the settlements Israel may propose a territory exchange in order to save the settlements or at least a portion of them. It may even include saving the Eytam airfield which is in close proximity.

Compared to the questions remaining regarding Sinai the unsolved problems relating to Judea and Samaria are overwhelming. From the standpoint of security these regions present three basic problems: the continued presence of the IDF at specific locations as well as along the entire length of the border during and subsequent to the transition period; the final determination of the borders; agreements and guarantees; affording Israel the opportunity to contend with the terrorists. Very little was said yesterday on these points. Apparently these issues were postponed to a future date.

It is not clear whether the Israeli security forces will be permitted to continue their activity in conjunction with the local Arab police force or the Jordanian police for the prevention of terrorist activities. It is not clear what legal authority will be vested in the local police when dealing with Israeli inhabitants of Judea and Samaria. To continue: the promise not to erect new settlements, does it imply the prevention of expanding the already existing settlements by adding new inhabitants? Also, the future stationing of international forces (not American) may radically change the situation.

These unanswered questions forewarn that the problem of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip can be characterized as a time bomb threatening the Israeli-Egyptian agreement. It is to be hoped that with the passage of time the explosive component will be removed. If not the explosion may very well wreck the agreement and the situation will revert to the original state of affairs. Israel may encounter greater dangers than she faced before the agreement.

To summarize the security question it appears to me that whoever hoped to see quickly a reduced security budget is doomed to disappointment. In the 2 or 3 ensuing years the IDF will have to bear a heavier budget because of the withdrawal and all that is associated with it. From a strategic standpoint the IDF has priorities. The eastern front will become very important, especially if Jordan does not join in the agreement. Concurrently new horizons will be opened to the possibility of new military agreements between Israel and the U.S. Regional military agreements with Jordan, Saudi Arabia and Egypt are also a possibility, but that prospect lies far in the future.

GOVERNMENT URGED TO STRIVE FOR AGREEMENT ON WEST BANK

Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 20 Sep 78 p 7

/Article by Yehoshu'a Tadmor: "To Support the Agreement Despite Its Difficult Terms"/

/Text/ The tidings of peace with Egypt now appearing on the horizon are so big that they hide from many of us the difficult Israeli concessions involved in reaching the agreement: giving up defense lines, the settlements in the Rafiah Junction, the settlements on the road to Sharm ash-Shaykh and most of all, the strategic airfields on the Israel-Sinai border. At a certain stage it seemed that the return of one or two of them could be postponed until final peace was reached with all Arab states, but this was not realized and Begin was forced to give up all his demands one by one after at an earlier stage he had already agreed to recognize Egyptian sovereignty over all Sinai. At one time even the most dovish doves spoke about secure borders and defensive lines as distinguished from annexation and border changes, but those who began the negotiations in this way in the end had to give up everything.

If it is a question of true peace with Egypt, the entire sacrifice certainly is not too dear. The president of Egypt repeatedly promised that Egypt would be prepared to implement a number of security agreements in Sinai. In the next few weeks these promises will be put to their first test. It is a matter of deep demilitarizations, of security zones and of thinning out, which are supposed to prevent a military threat against Israel from the south in the future. All these and, in addition, warning stations and other improved electronic installations accompanied by a strong IDF certainly can serve as a guarantee and security for the future.

However, true peace will not be established on security agreements and various installations alone. True peace involves a full normalization of relations between Israel and Egypt, including trade relations, movement of people, joint development plans and so forth, and one day Cairo may make the realization of these conditional on the progress of the talks on the future of Judaea and Samaria and on the solution of the Palestinian problem.

Several of Begin's supporters hastened to applaud the agreement, noting that it was only a separate Israeli-Egyptian agreement and that the agreement on the bank would be postponed for 5 years.

Those who interpret things in this way lay a dangerous trap for Israel right after the signing. Indeed, the agreement states that the question of sovereignty over the bank and Gaza will be decided "within 5 years." This means that it is possible to open the debates, to drag them for 5 years and in the meantime to hold on to all of Israel's positions without advancing any agreement. But we hope that Begin does not interpret things in this way and that he will change his mind and surprise us this time as well. The truth is that Sadat agreed to sign a separate agreement, but he repeatedly stressed at every opportunity that there would be no peace in the Middle East without a settlement in the bank and a solution of the Palestinian problem.

One can interpret Sadat's statements either way, but, clearly, it is to Israel's interest to expand the framework of the agreement, not to stop at Sadat alone and to soon involve Hussein in the framework of an additional agreement.

We have already learned to recognize the nature of dynamics in the Arab world, which sweeps away the moderates and polarizes all the public moods there beyond recognition. A separate agreement with Sadat leaving the future of the bank open for another 5 years gives an opening to the PLO and to all the radical factors in the region, which from now on will want to torpedo the agreement and the entire process.

If indeed the problem of the bank remains wide open, who knows what will happen within 5 years not only there, but in Cairo and Sinai as well. We must not forget for a moment that Sadat has not detached himself from the Arab world and at the first opportunity will want to return to the center of the stage. It is of vital interest to Israel that Sadat return to it, bringing the banner of settlement and peace and not ultimative demands for a revision of this agreement, while blaming Israel for a breach of this agreement in everything concerning the bank.

The tidings of peace are so big that they must be supported and strengthened even if the terms of the agreement and several of its paragraphs are far from gladdening. It is to be hoped that the Israeli Government will gather strength and continue on the path on which it began to embark. It is to be hoped that it will not satisfy itself with an agreement with Egypt, but within a reasonable period of time will seek an agreement with Jordan on the future of the bank. Without this vital addition the agreement with Egypt will not hold its ground with the political troubles always expected in the Middle East.

11,439
CSO: 4805

GUSH EMUNIM OPPOSITION, NOT METHODS, TO ACCORDS LEGITIMATE

Tel Aviv HAZOFEH in Hebrew 21 Sep 78 p 2

[Editorial: "The Argument Is Legitimate; The Means Are Not"]

[Text] The position that Gush Emunim and its followers adopted vis-a-vis the terms of the accords with Egypt is absolutely legitimate. It is natural and quite understandable that thousands in Israel should oppose these terms. They cannot reconcile themselves to dismantling Jewish settlements in "Eretz Israel" and they oppose abandoning settlements in the Rafah region. Even those who do not agree with this position can at least sympathize with a position that under these circumstances it is preferable to forego peace.

This debate as it is carried out by the Gush Emunim people, along with quite a few others, does not at all hurt Israel and its government even in the negotiations as they are now taking place. On the contrary, it is important that the world, including Egypt and the other Arab countries, will know that we Israelis realize the high price we have to pay. It is important that they appreciate the extent of our concessions. Even in Israel itself, those who support the agreement--and it seems that this is the vast majority--it is important to realize that the agreement came about because of needs and pressures for peace, but that it is at a price of extremely painful concessions. It must be absolutely clear that it in no way is an ideal fulfillment of yearnings.

From this point of view one cannot criticize the struggle of Gush Emunim and its supporters. But with all understanding and sympathy, it is impossible to condone the methods chosen by Gush Emunim, of active opposition in violation of government directives and IDF orders. There cannot be any element in this country that will act in opposition to the law of which the government is in charge. The authority of the government cannot be questioned.

Therefore the Gush Emunim settlements in Elon-Mamreh, in defiance of government directives, cannot be condoned. The confrontation between settlers and the IDF is unacceptable. It is harmful and superfluous to test the government in carrying out its resolutions. The settlers should obey the government's directives, while maintaining their right to continue their struggle in a public relations campaign and in legitimate demonstrations.

3646

CSO: 4805

BEGIN TAKES ONLY PROPER COURSE AT CAMP DAVID

Tel Aviv HA'AREZ in Hebrew 22 Sep 78 p 17

[Article by Polus: "It Is Worth Paying the Price"]

[Text] The reception which the prime minister will receive today, on his return from the Camp David summit, is not being held in his honor because he agreed to return the Sinai peninsula to Egyptian sovereignty; it is not because he agreed to give up the military air fields very close to our old-new border; and it is not because he placed Jewish settlements in danger of being removed from Rafiah Junction.

The masses will cheer Mr Begin today in spite of those concessions. They value peace, even a partial peace (with Egypt alone), more than territorial conquest, more than pioneering achievements across the border, more than military installations which over the years have been described to them as essential security necessities which could never be given up.

It is no wonder that the leaders of the Alignment -- Labor and Mapam -- are confused by this turnabout. They themselves could have achieved that which the Herut leader did, if they had had the courage to concede what the present prime minister has conceded. Neither Golda Meir nor Yitshaq Rabin dared, as much as they believed that the key to peace was in the Egyptians' hands, to dismantle the air bases at Refidim, Etam, El-Arish, Etzion, and Ofira; or to recognize the international boundary from the time of the Mandate as the boundary for all purposes, without distinguishing between a "political" border and a "security" border; or in placing a serious question mark on the existence of the city of Yamit and 20 agricultural settlements.

Now they see that the people, as a whole, is applauding the one who did all of this, and who is even promising to completely eliminate the military government in Judea and Samaria and the Gaza Strip, with an agreement to establish self government in those regions of the country. None of the thousands of Israelis who will crowd into Ben-Gurion Airport today seems to be concerned that the Arabs will use self rule as a seed for an independent Palestinian state, if they will wisely use the possibilities

inherent in the autonomy program--which will be, according to the agreement of the prime minister under the pressure of the Americans, an "interim arrangement" and not a permanent plan, to establish "future relations" between the Jews and Arabs.

If the Alignment leadership had had the nerve necessary to do what was needed in its time -- who knows if they would not have had to suffer Mr Begin now. But, they not only lacked the nerve; they were also seduced by our victory in the Six-Day War into an unrealistic assessment of the political possibilities which that victory opened for us.

Most if not all of them tried to convince themselves that the annexation of East Jerusalem, the holding of Sharm ash-Shaykh, the settlement of abandoned territory in the Golan Heights, and border adjustments along the Judea-Shefela length, were not sufficient compensation for the burden which we bore for 19 years, and the appropriate prize for the victor in a defensive war. The Alignment leaders could not resist the seduction of basically changing the lines of partition which were the result of the War of Independence.

Now it is apparent that in the Egyptian sector there is no alternative to a return to the armistice lines of 1949, and the people is not afraid of this.

To tell the truth, the Alignment leadership did what it did, and avoided what it avoided, because of the great and constant pressure of the opposition, the Likud party.

If there are those now who claim that they will bring peace to Israel -- they, and not members of the "old regime" -- they will be trying to hide a basic fact, that as long as the Alignment was in power, they opposed with all their might any attempt at real compromise with our hostile neighbors. Indeed, the opposition had enormous strength, far beyond that of its parliamentary power; the NRP became a hawkish party, and the true hero of the Herut party of that time was not Menahem Begin, but Moshe Dayan -- and not without reason.

It would be better, therefore, for the Likud people to go about more modestly. Their understandable attempt to extract the maximum party benefit from the agreement with Egypt should not hide the fact that they are the ones who are beginning to make concessions now.

We do not intend to accuse them for this. It could be argued that the total concession of the Sinai peninsula, with everything it involves, perhaps would not have been necessary -- if the prime minister and foreign minister would have adhered to the conception that every sacrifice on the southern front is worthwhile for us if the exchange is that we can strengthen an unchallenged hold on Judea and Samaria and the Gaza Strip.

If the Rabin government had agreed to try and achieve, after the interim agreement with Egypt in August/September 1975, a partial settlement with Jordan as well, then it would have been possible for any Israeli government to take a firmer stand than that taken in subsequent negotiations with Egypt. But when the desire to hold all parts of the West Bank, and to pursue the same policy vis-a-vis Jordan that was pursued from 1967 to 1973, was and is the dominant desire of Likud -- the space for maneuver with respect to Egypt was reduced to nil.

Now we are about to pay the price for this policy. We still want to hope that in some way we will succeed in saving some of the settlements of Rafiah Junction; and if we agree with King Husayn to become part of a political process, perhaps there is some basis for this hope. But if the Jordanian ruler prefers to remain on the side lines -- and in such an event Anwar Sadat would be unable to justify conceding on the removal of settlements in Rafiah Junction because even the Jordanian ruler would be unable to achieve his full demands -- it is difficult to foresee how we would be able to avoid paying the Egyptian president his "price" for the hoped for separate agreement.

But no matter how painful this is, there is also something of a blessing in it. The removal of Egypt from the coalition of our enemies -- i.e. a peace treaty with Cairo -- could bring about a very significant easing of our political and security situation. In spite of the dangers which threaten us from the eastern front -- it is doubtful whether Syria, Iraq, and Jordan would embark on a war against us if Egypt remains on the side. It may be that such a state of affairs would be well worth the price of removal of settlements from Rafiah Junction.

It is reasonable for the Arab leaders in Amman, Baghdad, and Damascus to hesitate to attack Israel without Egyptian participation. The assumption that "Arab unity" is a prior condition for any war against us having any prospect of success, is as strong with them just as we fear a war on more than one front. We should not reject a partial peace just because we cannot get a total peace. This consideration must guide the Alignment and the smaller parties to the left of it, even if they are romantics opposed to "Begin's peace."

It is certain that the "political process" will not end with the signing of a peace treaty with Egypt. It is difficult to imagine that the American leadership will be satisfied with the achievement of Camp David; if the Americans succeed in getting Husayn to join in, sooner or later, with Egypt, there is a great danger that they will demand that the model of the Israeli-Egyptian peace be applied to the issue of Israel's eastern border. The same may be the case on the Syrian horizon, although that appears more distant for the present.

Just as people said, following Sadat's visit to Jerusalem, that there was no turning back to the earlier situation, so now there is no turning back from the road which has been embarked upon at Camp David. If we have decided

that we will not permit the Arabs of Judea and Samaria and the Gaza Strip to set up an independent state of their own after the period of autonomy, then we have no choice but to follow the American lead in drawing Husayn into the political process. The Hashemite kingdom would be a much more convenient neighbor than a Palestinian state. This realization is penetrating into the levels of our government. This is the only explanation of the expanded role proposed by the autonomy plan for Jordan, as it was formulated at Camp David.

The Israeli delegation to the summit conference did what was unavoidable. For that it is entitled to full support. But party accounts such as: "Likud is bringing peace," or "The Alignment did not demand such concessions," are short sighted. Both camps bear responsibility for mistakes of the past; now they must both try to correct those mistakes.

7075
CSO: 4805

FUTURE COMPLICATIONS IN PEACE ACCORD EXPLORED

Tel Aviv HAZOFEH in Hebrew 22 Sep 78 p 3

[Article: "Danger of Future Complications in Peace Accord"]

[Text] It is fitting that we recall the Kadesh campaign or the Sinai campaign 22 years ago and the ensuing results. The Egyptian, Syrian and Jordanian forces were deployed under the Egyptian command. It was clear they were waiting for the opportune moment to attack Israel. In response to the continuous breaches of the armistice agreement, to the continuing murderous attacks the IDF in 7 days conquered the Gaza Strip and the Sinai expanse up to Sharm Ash-Shaykh. Everyone remembers the exciting announcement proclaimed by the government leader D. Ben Gurion when we arrived at these historic locations.

For an interval of 4 months the areas remained in our control. During this short period we built roads between Beersheba and Eilat. The Eilat Beersheba pipeline was laid. It is well known strong pressures were exerted both by U.S. President Eisenhower and by the Soviet Union. Urgent messages laden with harsh contents were dispatched by Marshall Bulganin of the Soviet Union to D. Ben Gurion the prime minister. Eisenhower also joined in by sending letters reminding us of our economic dependence on the U.S. And so after 4 months the government decided to evacuate the Strip and the Sinai in the context of a U.N. force to fill the gap. The Knesset confirmed the retreat in the hope that the U.N. forces would perform our task in the area of security. The results are well known. Of necessity we found ourselves engaged in the Six Day War.

The nation was very happy with the aforementioned areas. With anguish the order to retreat was executed. The nation stood solidly behind its government in the waging of the war as well as in the execution of the retreat. There were no bitter recriminations.

What happened in the present case? Natural ethics and simple logic demand that the attacker be obligated to pay. The one who transformed the vast expanse of the Sinai into a reservoir of attack weapons; the one who made Gaza a launching area for murderous deeds which were fortunately re-

pulsed, he should be made to bear the burden of the adverse results. This precisely, is the root cause of our anguish. We are required to retreat from areas which served to guarantee our security when occupied by us.

The retreat is painful also because we have become attached to every area and district. It is painful not only to those who have built their household there, grown a garden, a field or a vineyard but to every single one of us. When we arose in the morning and stretched we reached from Refidim to Ofira. We have arrived at a stage where the Sinai has become a bargaining card to guarantee our security in a manner far different than has prevailed hitherto. Now a true peace has come on stage in our southern neighborhood.

These days it would be well to remember the old adage; with a good neighbor a door is not necessary, but with a bad neighbor even a fence does not help.

The trouble is that Sadat refused categorically to be satisfied with the extensive and important concession Israel made in his favor; the return of the entire Sinai Desert to Egyptian sovereignty. He insisted that Israel make concessions to Jordan and the Palestinians in the area of Judea, Samaria and Gaza. It is therefore being presented for debate and confirmation in the Knesset this coming Monday. There are two accords: an accord in the framework of a peace treaty between Egypt and Israel and an accord in the framework of a Middle East peace treaty. The latter relates to the areas of Jerusalem, Samaria and Gaza.

The accord with Egypt leaves one and only one problem. Its solution calls for a strong mental effort to retain a cold and sober attitude. The problem we are discussing is the evacuation of Yamit and the settlements of Rafiah Junction. Of a certainty a proposal will be made to move them collectively to the Negev or to the Galilee which still have open areas; regrettably due to the failure of Jews to make aliyah to their homeland. Anyone who has visited Yamit and its environs has sensed the great pain. Two thoughts clash in his mind; the peace and the terrible price the is being exacted. This is bound to be one of the most difficult decisions that has ever faced the Knesset.

The second accord, the one relating to the areas of Judea, Samaria and Gaza will also enter into the debate. At the outset it can be stated that compared to accord A (with Egypt) accord B is foggy and contains numberless paragraphs, assumptions and versions that are open to conflicting interpretations. I shall not weary the honorable reader with lengthy or brief excerpts from the main or secondary sections of this accord. In quantity it exceeds accord A threefold. Suffice it to say that the implementation of this dangerous accord is based on the degree of confidence the inhabitants of Judea and Samaria feel for Hussein. The situation today is a far cry from this. Implementation of this accord depends on a strong

cooperative effort and a feeling of goodwill among the inhabitants. The Palestinians will organize a local police force that will include Jordanian citizens. Joint patrols of Israelis and Jordanians will man observation points for border security.

As stated the accord is lengthy and complicated and much time will elapse before it is implemented. Not that anyone in the Israeli leadership is hoping for a long interval to pass before the settlement of all the details in the final execution of the accord. Quite the contrary; the autonomy first proposed by Begin and now recognized as an appropriate solution, and the presence of the IDF in previously determined positions in Judea and Samaria is acceptable to us.

The problem is that the negotiations relating to accord B, the determination of its real content and the stages of its execution will be a time consuming matter. Sound advice for the members of our Knesset to follow regardless of the party or faction they belong to would be to shorten the interminable debates and considerations of the details in accord B at this stage. There is a proper time for every vexing problem. At the opportune point in time our representatives will insist that no step be taken that may give rise to the establishment of a Palestinian state, that infiltration by members of the PLO be prevented and the right of Jews to move freely in the areas of Judea, Samaria and Gaza be made secure, etc., etc. In the meantime they should concern themselves with the completion of all matters connected with the Egyptian accord.

Basically one problem still remains. It should be postulated that in the Knesset debate, the prime minister by public announcement or the ministers by open responses answer this most critical question: Is the execution of the agreement with Egypt contingent on the signing and implementation of the accord with Jordan and the Palestinians? At the moment it appears that it is not. If we are correct in this assumption then it seems that in the final analysis all that was achieved at Camp David was the accord with Egypt. If in truth accord B relating to Judea, Samaria and Gaza will be signed and implemented in all its provisions then certainly our joy would be complete. In the meantime there is no indication that Jordan is enthusiastic about the agreement.

If the two agreements, with Jordan and with Egypt are connected and contingent one on the other we have reason to fear complications. Israel may begin the process of evacuating its settlements at Rafiah Junction and the removal of its armed forces from the Sinai i.e. we may fulfill our obligations and still fail to obtain a peace with Egypt.

And now for the question at the very head of the list; it is quite possible that the accord with Egypt may be withheld for lack of a clarification of the status of Jerusalem. Intentionally I do not use the word problem when discussing the subject of Jerusalem. As far as we are concerned the

recaptured portion is an integral part of a united city. It is the capital of the state of Israel and as such is the most precious pearl in the crown of the state and nation.

In order not to impede the progress of the peace accords at Camp David the parties contented themselves with a general expression of their contrasting positions on the future of Jerusalem. This we are certain will in no way cause a postponement of the accord with Egypt.

Meanwhile Hussein is bewildered and continues to straddle the fence. Lacking the blessings of the Saudi king and the president of Syria he is in no hurry to become a party to the accords. If at least the Palestinians in the area would come knocking on his door and urge him he might possibly divorce himself from the preclusions of the Saudis and Syrians. However the key to the future arrangements in the Judea, Samaria and Gaza areas is in the hands of the Palestinians themselves. But they also are perplexed and divided. There are those among them opposed to the accord who are supporters of the PLO. Another group is in favor of an invitation to Hussein to come and represent them. They are fearful of openly voicing their view. A third group, the weakest of them all would prefer to be rid of any form of foreign guardianship. They are searching for a way to true independence.

From all this it is clear that the situation regarding a solution of the arrangement for the area of Judea and Samaria is very complicated and still remote. Legally Egypt is prepared to conduct negotiations on the details of an arrangement if Jordan and the Palestinians continue in their rejectionist attitude. Realistically however, without the participation of Jordan and the Palestinian inhabitants of Judea, Samaria and Gaza the prospect of an arrangement is questionable. Moshe Dayan explained that the timetable for the successive steps of the Israeli withdrawal is so constituted that only after a true peace will be perceived will the Israeli withdrawal be brought to final completion. He defines the real peace as including an exchange of ambassadors, trade relations, freedom of movement and freedom of the seas. Any procrastination in the peace process on Egypt's part no matter what the pretext will bring a delay in the progress of Israeli concessions.

In any event we have demonstrated our truthfulness by our readiness to pay a substantial price for the coveted peace.

8995

CSO: 4805

ACCORDS SAID TO HAVE FAR REACHING IMPLICATIONS ON ECONOMY

Tel Aviv HAZOFEH in Hebrew 21 Sep 78 p 2

[Editorial: "The Implications of the Accords on the Economy"]

[Text] The peace treaty with Egypt, assuming it will be signed on time, will have far reaching implications on the Israeli economy and that of the Middle East. Basically, the implications are positive: Reduction of defense expenses and chaneling the resources to social and economic development; an end to the economic boycott; development of mutual commerce while taking advantage of geographic proximity; the possibility of cooperation on various projects, perhaps even in the area of energy; mutual tourism and joint attraction of tourists, etc.

The affected ministries should already gear up for the new era. We have to get ready for the economic advantages that a peace treaty offers and this tool should be used--especially the chance to supply agricultural know-how and instruction--in order to nurture future relations with Egypt.

This process may not enter practical stages for quite some time. In the interim we may face even more difficult economic problems than now. There is a need to set aside tremendous resources to the defense system. Even if we receive the necessary sums from the U.S. the expenditure in Israeli pounds has implications on the runaway inflation.

There is also the possibility that some sources of money from world Jewry will diminish drastically in view of the new situation, even if there is no real justification for it.

In the short run, there is a need for gearing up and for an intensive public relations campaign, both here and abroad. The Israeli public will have to know that it is now called on to exercise even more restraint so that we do not experience an expansion which may hurt the economy and so that we can do something toward economic recovery. World Jewry will have

to be presented with peacetime challenges: A higher rate of immigration, an effort to settle the wilderness and a solution to the problems of the underprivileged that stem from previous waves of immigration. All involved will have to understand that even from the defense point of view we are still far from relaxation. The other Arab countries have not yet joined the peace initiative. Additionally, it is important for Israel to always be strong so that we never have to face surprises.

8646

CSO: 4805

EFFECTS OF AGREEMENT ON WEST BANK EXAMINED

Tel Aviv AL HAMISHMAR in Hebrew 22 Sep 78 pp 3,9

[Article by Dalia Shakhori: "Significance of the Agreement on the West Bank"]

[Text] The beauty of the agreement on a framework for peace in the Middle East is that every decision made in negotiations must be acceptable to all parties. This means that what Israel does not agree to will not occur, and the status quo will be maintained. This is how it was explained to one of the members of our Camp David delegation, when I came to him with a bundle of questions after having carefully read the framework agreements. What that man wanted to say was that even in those places where one is impressed with how far Israel went in meeting Egyptian or U.S. demands -- it always has the right of veto. No decision in the course of negotiations can be made without its agreement, and whenever it does not agree, the status quo will remain.

The right of veto in the agreements appears in the word "agreement" between the parties. For example, the paragraph which speaks of the creation of committees to determine the final status of the West Bank and for formulating a peace treaty between Israel and Jordan, says: "One committee, composed of representatives of the four parties (Egypt, Israel, Jordan, and the administrative council) will negotiate and agree upon the final status of the West Bank and Gaza, and the system of relations between them and their neighbors." The term "agree" refers to the agreement of all parties, and not a majority decision.

A close analysis of the agreement dealing with the West Bank shows that no decision to be made in the future will not be conditioned on the agreement of the parties. This means that in addition to Israel's right of veto, the other parties to the agreement will have the right of veto. If, for example, the question of an IDF presence on the West Bank after five years of autonomy is raised, Israel will always be able to veto a proposal to withdraw those

forces from the West Bank. It is possible that if the three other parties would insist on their demand for an evacuation, then Israel would have to weigh its priorities: continued presence of the IDF, and the wrecking of the agreements, or making a concession on the IDF presence (ultimately to be decided through negotiation), in exchange for the maintenance of the agreements and the continued peace with Egypt.

The necessity for the agreement of all parties for anything decided in negotiations with respect to the future of Judea and Samaria is that which enabled Prime Minister Begin to state, in the U.S. immediately after the Camp David meetings, that Israel would not remove the forces of the IDF from the West Bank after the five year period of autonomy, and that Israel had promised not to erect new settlements during the three month negotiation period with Egypt. In all of the acrimonious talk, what the prime minister meant was that if a demand was made for the removal of IDF forces from the West Bank, or the cessation of Jewish settlement -- Israel would not agree to that, and it would have the power of veto over such demands. He neglected to explain that the other side has the same power of veto, just as he failed to explain the basis of his own statement. He thus gave the impression that these were agreed upon facts at Camp David, and this aroused the wrath of both Egypt and the U.S.

The apparent differences of opinion revealed to exist between the U.S. and Egypt as opposed to Israel immediately after the conference, at the time of Begin's declarations, raised the question of what will happen now: will it be necessary to hold a mini-summit on every disputed point in the agreement, so as to understand the major summit agreement; did Israel, Egypt, and the U.S. sit closed off for twelve days so that every step in the implementation of the agreement would arouse a mass of misunderstanding, accusations, and bitterness.

It is hoped that this is not the case. A member of the delegation with whom I spoke explained that the two documents which were signed as well as the letters which will be publicized are all of the written material which was agreed upon at Camp David. There are no accompanying "secret" documents and there are no oral agreements or understandings other than that which was written. But, within the framework agreements which were signed there is a thought on every comma and line, and with respect to all of the terms which were not agreed upon by Israel and Egypt -- it was decided to be satisfied with the oral explication of each party as to what its understanding of these terms is. Otherwise, there would have been no way of bridging the gap between the two positions. This means that the written text is the obligatory text, while the thoughts and interpretations of each party exist as non-obligatory information, with which each side can comfort itself and continue to make its interpretations.

One of the examples of a difference between the written words and Israel's understanding is Resolution 242. At least four times mention is made of this resolution in the framework agreements for peace in the Middle East. Generally, the resolution is referred to as "Security Council Resolution 242, in all its parts." It was explained to me that this manner of reference

is of no great significance. The resolution is referred to each time there is reference to the basis for peace agreements between countries of the region. There is never any reference made to a resolution relating to negotiations with Palestinian representation, which is not a country. But the words "in all its parts" is significant, and represents a concession by Israel. Until now, Israel was ready to accept only the "principles" of Resolution 242. Now it also accepts the section on withdrawal ("a withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from occupied territories"), which until now was understood by the Begin government as not including the West Bank.

Apparently, the prime minister saw his way to accepting the term "Resolution 242 in all its parts" after it was clarified that the agreement of Israel to accept the principle of withdrawal from Samaria and Judea is not especially decisive since the agreement promises that during the five years of autonomy there will be no Israeli withdrawal, and after the five year period, Israel retains the right of veto with respect to its continued presence or withdrawal. Acceptance of the principle of withdrawal from the Sinai was not problematic, and the principle of withdrawal from the Golan Heights was purely theoretical. I was told that under these circumstances, the Israeli delegation had little difficulty in accepting the phrase "in all its parts." At the same time, Israel explained that the introduction to the agreement was not acceptable to it (an expression of "opposition to the acquisition of lands by war"), and that it did not consider it to be an integral part of Resolution 242.

This announcement by Israel (with respect to the prologue of 242) received neither agreement nor confirmation, and it lacks all practical or legal force. Its sole value is that now both Egypt and the U.S. know precisely what is the Israeli exegesis and the Israeli view on this matter, and there will be no surprises in the future, if problems do surface around that matter.

As for the position of the Palestinians, the whole Aswan formulation of President Carter was accepted, and there was even a supplement. According to the Aswan formulation -- a solution to the Palestinian problem, in all aspects, must be found. There is an obligation to recognize the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and to enable the Palestinians to participate in determining their own future. That is the Aswan formulation. The framework agreement not only enables the Palestinians to participate in determining their own future, but it also gives them the status of full partner: "Egypt, Israel, Jordan, and representatives of the Palestinian people will participate in negotiations to solve the Palestinian problem in all aspects." It continues: "The solution stemming from the negotiations must recognize the legitimate and just rights of the Palestinian people."

The term "just demands" is a new basis which did not exist in the Aswan formulation. Israel was asked to add this, and it was not opposed. But attention should be paid to the precise formulation of the statement: "The solution stemming from the negotiations must recognize." The emphasis is on "recognize", which means that first of all the solution must recognize what was stated in the prior sentence, and that is that the negotiations are based on all the conclusions and principles of Resolution 242, and will

determine, among other things, the placement of borders and the character of any security arrangements. This means that the recognition of legitimate rights, etc is in addition to the resolution on the placement of borders and the character of security arrangements, whose priority is first.

I interpret the resolution regarding "the placement of borders and the character of security arrangements" as a hidden agreement by Israel to withdraw on the West Bank to other boundaries and the possibility of re-examining the presence of the IDF on the West Bank after five years. But I am told that this is an erroneous interpretation. Israel has not promised to accept any other border on the West Bank, and as for the presence of the IDF, it has retained the power of veto.

As for the equal position of the palestinian delegation, I was told that the existing formulation is in fact a compromise with the Egyptian demand, which in turn was based on the palestinian demand that the palestinians themselves would be the body which would decide on its future.

What about negotiations over the West Bank, if Jordan joins the negotiations? The answer is that legally, the negotiations could be conducted even without Jordan, and in fact even without Egypt. Israel could eliminate the military administration and the civilian administration on the Bank even without negotiating with the palestinians -- unilaterally.

Three places in the framework agreement appear to enable the two great Israeli "nays" which have always been its policy: negotiations with the PLO, and the establishment of a palestinian state. In the section which speaks of the opening of negotiations between Egypt, Israel, and Jordan, and about the creation of an autonomous rule for the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, it is stated: "The Egyptian and Jordanian delegations can include palestinians from the West Bank and Gaza, or other palestinians as will be mutually agreed upon." In contrast to another place in the agreement which speaks of "residents of the West Bank and the Strip," here Jordan and Egypt can include palestinians "of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip" even if they are not residents of those places. The right of veto is extended to Israel only in the case of "the other palestinians," meaning not of the West Bank or Gaza. This means that even if Israel wanted to, it would be unable to examine the credentials of palestinians active in the PLO, if they claim that they are from "the West Bank and Gaza."

It was explained to me that practically, this is a nuance lacking in importance, for it addresses negotiations leading to autonomy, and naturally interested parties would participate. It was also reasoned that in any event, what was involved is an agreement of all of the parties.

The possibility of establishing a palestinian state is found in two places -- both of them in the most important section of the agreement, paragraph 1 (c) in the section "The West Bank and Gaza." In another place it is stated: "Negotiations will establish the final status of the West Bank and Gaza." In another place, as noted, Israel recognizes the legitimate rights of the palestinian people.

As for "the final status," my informant agreed with me that this is a much broader term than the term "sovereignty," since it includes all of the possibilities ranging from the continuation of the present status, to the linking of the autonomous body with Jordan, to the establishment of a Palestinian state. Israel would prefer "final status" to "sovereignty" since "final status" allows for a broader range of possibilities, within the framework of which Israel could demand sovereignty over Judea and Samaria, to the extent that opposing demands are made.

Within the delegation, attempts are being made to minimize the expression "the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people," which was agreed to by Israel. But among informed people, there is no doubt that in international jargon, the term "legitimate rights" in conjunction with "people" means only one thing: independent state. The expression used by the U.S. -- until the joint Soviet-American communique of September 1977 -- was "the legitimate interests of the Palestinian people." But in the course of time, Israel has been forced to accept the formula in the framework agreement. The prime minister explained, and this was included in one of the letters, that every place in the agreement which mentions Palestinians or Palestinian people means, as far as Israel is concerned, "the Arabs of Israel."

Another question has been raised by former prime minister Yitzhaq Rabin. In a speech which he delivered this week at the Economic Club of Jerusalem, Rabin asked: If the military and civilian administrations are removed from the West Bank, then what will be the legal basis for the presence of the IDF, the maintenance of Israeli settlements there, as well as the autonomous entity which will be established? Members of the delegation told me that there is a problem here, but that there is a satisfactory answer. The answer is long and complex, and so they asked me to take it on faith that there is a satisfactory answer.

For want of space, I will not get into the different versions on the issue of new settlements. I will only note that Begin promised not to set up new settlements on the West Bank for a three month period of negotiations with Egypt. The different versions about what will be after that period expires originate in the sections of the framework agreement, from which exegesis indicates that in a practical sense Israel will be unable to establish new settlements on the West Bank in the future (because of the right of veto held by the other parties). But apparently there was nothing explicit in the agreement itself, and thus the prime minister could claim that there was no Israeli obligation beyond the three month period of negotiations with Egypt.

It seems that the needlessly provocative statements by the prime minister while he was in the U.S. served most of all to allay his own fears. The Camp David period was a pressure cooker, where almost a day did not pass without a crisis that threatened to wreck the discussions. It is possible that the prime minister himself was having difficulty in coming to terms with the results of the discussions, and he was primarily trying to reassure himself. For example, in his interview with Yediot Aharonot, no one pressured

him to say that the Knesset could decide on the removal of the settlements at a later date, and not now, according to progress in negotiations with Egypt. He offered this "voluntarily" -- even though if he will want it, he is assured a majority in the Knesset and the cabinet, and even though Egypt is definitely conditioning the beginning of negotiations with Israel on an announcement of principle regarding the removal of the settlements.

I have no doubt that Begin "swallowed some fat frogs" on the way to signing the agreements at the White House. He can take some comfort in the knowledge that Israel has the right of veto all along the way. This is a comfort which can psychologically encourage him now. But it would be better for Israel if during substantive negotiations it leaves the veto on ice and uses it only in exceptional cases. For the less that power is exercised, the closer to achievement will peace be.

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CSO: 4805

WHY SADAT HAD TO TAKE THE PLUNGE

Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 24 Sep 78 p 5

[Article by Martin Sieff]

TEN TANTALISING months after he startled the world with his Jerusalem visit, President Anwar Sadat of Egypt has finally taken the plunge and signed what amounts to a separate peace with Israel. The one major concession he has gained from Israel in addition to those offered by Prime Minister Begin last December is the Israeli withdrawal from its two airfields in eastern Sinai. It is also hardly likely at this stage that the Knesset will reject the treaty on account of the evacuation of the Rafiah settlements in northern Sinai.

In return for these gains, President Sadat has effectively accepted the Israeli offer over the West Bank and Gaza for an autonomy whose evolution will be dependent upon negotiations between Israel, Egypt, moderate Palestinians, and Jordan towards the end of a five year transitional period. The status of the Old City of Jerusalem, on which Jordan as well as Saudi Arabia are insistent, was not even mentioned.

It is by no means certain that such "moderate Palestinians," willing to run the wrath of the PLO, will be found. And if Jordan refuses to budge from its united Arab eastern front stance with Syria and Saudi Arabia, then the West Bank negotiations will be a dead letter and Israel will be free of its commitment to the autonomy pledge.

WHY DID Sadat agree to this package now, and not last December or January? The tell-tale clue will probably emerge when the details of American aid to Egypt contingent on the agreements are made public.

As his peace initiative developed, Sadat remained on the horns of a dilemma: whether to hold to the united Arab line against Israel or to go it alone.

On the one hand, he faced the likelihood of crushing losses in another war in which Egypt would yet again bear the brunt of the fighting with Israel.

On the other hand; if he followed through his peace initiative, in an "Egypt-first" policy, popular though that would be with the war-weary Egyptians, he would run the risk of losing his \$2 billion in annual Saudi subsidies.

IT SEEMS THAT a major consideration in getting Sadat to finally take the plunge was the sweeping promises of American aid and investment to pump life into a moribund Egyptian economy that has defied all nostrums since World War Two.

As early as last January, when Sadat unilaterally pulled his political delegation out of the Jerusalem Hilton Conference, reports circulated that the reason was Saudi pressure. The Saudi payments have been carefully calculated to be only

sufficient to tide Egypt over — not enough to enable its economy to develop to the point where Sadat could come to be independant of them.

But now, with American aid enabling him to be free of his Saudi consciousness, Sadat finds himself in a position where he could pursue the "Pharoanist, Egypt-first" policy, whose horizons are rather in Africa.

AFTER AN ATTEMPTED coup in Khartoum in July, 1976 came dangerously close to installing a radical pro-Soviet regime in Egypt's back-door, Sadat quickly moved to sign a military pact with Sudan's Jaafar Numeiry. Each country's air force and navy could use the other's facilities. A joint defence council has since been working busily to co-ordinate military training and operations. The practical value of these moves were shown when Sudan allowed Egypt to use Sudanese air bases for attacks on Libyan targets during the July 1977 "warm-up" mini-war between Sadat and Muammer Gaddafi.

Sudan's value to Egypt goes far beyond the military. Its two and a half million well-watered square kilometres containing 70% of all unexploited agricultural land in the Middle East make it the potential granary of Africa, and a natural breadbasket to be developed by the

hard-working, over-crowded peasantry of Egypt's Lower Nile Valley.

With Sudanese food to the south, a war-free Sadat would also find the doors open to Libyan wealth to the west. The brief but bitter exchanges of 1977 proved that for all his brave talk, Col. Gaddafi's 30,000 strong forces were no match for the veteran, battle hardened Egyptian army of 250,000 men.

GADDAFI AND Sadat have long been bitter enemies, and should Sadat ever move against his foe to the west, he will be relying on tacit American and European encouragement in removing the man who became a menace to the international community. West Libya's oil riches, producing two billion barrels a year — under an Egyptian control — could be the key to Sudanese agricultural development.

The conception is a bold one, but Sadat, half-Sudanese himself, has a far more distinctly Egyptian view of his country's interests than his pan-Arab predecessor Nasser had.

Whether America and Israel will have cause in the long run to welcome the power Egypt could produce is an open question. By pledging massive help in order to free him for signing a pact with Israel, the Camp David peace summit has unwittingly freed him to act in Africa and probably change its map.

CSO: 4820

PUBLIC REJOICING AT CAMP DAVID AGREEMENTS CRITICIZED

Jerusalem HAMODI'A in Hebrew 24 Sep 78 p 2

/Editorial: "Why Do Ye Look One Upon Another?"

/Text/ There is something strange in the Israeli public reaction after the Camp David agreements, something reminiscent of the nature of a "rash people." The transition from one extreme position to another was too sharp. Perhaps this is the result of the exhaustion from wars, or of the prolonged brainwashing to which the "Peace Now" Movement, and not it alone, subjected us. But, after all, even with all the understanding for those who reached the agreements and for its importance for the future it is appropriate to ask: "What is the meaning of this rejoicing?"

The agreement is in contrast to all the expectations of many people, including government supporters. It contradicts the slogans spread by senior government officials. It contains extreme concessions above and beyond what could have been expected 2 months ago. Hesitations and doubts also exist today. There is still a great deal of work ahead. There are problems open to negotiations. Among them there is the problem of the status of Jerusalem. The negotiations with Hussein will not be less complex than the bargaining with Sadat. One can say that the subject will be much more difficult if Hussein agrees to go to a new Camp David. There is serious concern that the demands on Israel will be no less tough. We are in for pressure on the part of the United States, similarly to the pressure that brought about the framework agreements with Egypt. All this calls for maximum restraint if only in order to strengthen the ability of the government to hold its ground in the expected negotiations.

Instead of this an attempt is made to foster a sense of satisfaction. Instead of accepting the agreements as though under diabolic compulsion, we are enthusiastic and overexcited as though we have won the most glorious victory. These expressions can gnaw at the government's ability to hold its ground in the future. Serious differences of opinion on the interpretation of the agreements reached have been disclosed right now and voices concerning the freeze on settlements and its timing have already been heard. All this appears as a manifestation of weakness. In no other case, even in business

negotiations, is it wise to reveal vulnerable points. The yearning of all of us without exception, including those who try to incite a revolt against government decisions, does not need any proof. But peace also has a price. Israel has agreed to pay a heavy price, a painful price--why the need to get overexcited?

We do not advise that Mr. Begin's arrival be hidden, but all the fanfare that is being created around the reception seems unnecessary and perhaps even damaging. Prime Minister Menahem Begin deserves wide public support. The decision that he undertook is a decision by a person of ability and great responsibility. But the manifestation of public rejoicing as fostered by the government communication media on the eve of the Sabbath is perforce repulsive and, we would say, even damaging. It is damaging to the cause itself for which the big merry-making is being organized.

One cannot escape the feeling that the members of "Peace Now," who only yesterday cursed and abused Mr. Begin and gnawed at his ability to stand against the Americans to no small extent, are now doing a disservice not only to Mr. Begin, but also to the cause itself. This tumult simply increases the bargaining ability of the Arabs, of Egypt and, even more, of Jordan. A little bit of bitter taste in the imaginary "cup of salvation" would harm no one.

This nation knows how to jump from one extreme to another without being aware that it often leads to complications totally unnecessary in all respects. It is a pity that we do not know how to hide feelings that would be better hidden. Even if we had won a victory, we should not have shouted cries of victory, according to the ancient rule set by one of the fathers of the nation: "Why do ye look one upon another?" This is all the more so, since a big gap still exists, the victory is far away and we have been forced to pay a heavy price. Indeed, peace is yearned for and seen on the horizon now more than ever before, but the way to peace itself is still long.

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CSO: 4805

CABINET MEMBER WEIZMAN NO LONGER 'OUTSIDER'

Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 24 Sep 78 p 8

[Article by Hirsh Goodman]

[Text]

ONLY A few months ago Ezer Weizman was the 'outsider' in the Cabinet. Newsmen were reporting insistently that a frustrated and angry Weizman was "about to draw personal conclusions." His voice was not being heard. His pleas that Israel be more forthcoming in negotiations with Egypt fell on deaf ears. He was accused of having sold out to the Egyptians. Of having lost his objectivity. Of allowing himself to be used by a smart and somewhat devious Sadat. Of being naive.

Among his chief critics, it was said, was Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan. Some of what passed between them behind closed doors filtered into the press, and none of it was complimentary. Watching the two ministers' aides running around leaking "the true version" to reporters was strongly reminiscent of the worst days of the Rabin Government and the Rabin-Peres competition.

The low point was the sorry incident when Weizman reportedly walked into the Cabinet meeting room and tore a peace poster off the wall, saying the Government did not understand the meaning of the word.

Those were hard days for Weizman, days in which he had to ask himself: have I indeed not become overinfluenced by Sadat? Am I not a tool in the Egyptian's hands? Am I being used against my own colleagues?

Perplexing questions for which there were no clear-cut answers, only an inner feeling that he was right: peace with Egypt was possible, and that not to recognize the fact would be an act of national folly.

The time has now come to pay tribute to Weizman, and his courage in holding out despite the doubts that surrounded him.

He could have resigned. He toyed with the idea several times, but he never did. He told his associates that to resign would be the easy way out. He had to stay on and fight for his view, to try to persuade his colleagues around the Cabinet table that he was right.

I remember well an early morning meeting with the Minister after one of his trips to Egypt: he came back convinced more than ever that an agreement with Egypt was possible despite the difficulties about the West Bank. He tallied those around the Cabinet table who were with him. Dayan was not one of them. Though nothing was said, it was obvious that the Foreign Minister was at the time perceived by Weizman as a stumbling block to any kind of settlement.

What brought about Dayan's conversion is not known. Was it at Leeds when he met with his counterpart Kamel? Was it only at Camp David? While we do not know what led Dayan to change his view we know what fortified it: personal contact. An invaluable tool of diplomacy; something Israeli leaders have been demanding for 30 years, and something which almost slipped through this Government's fingers. Direct negotiations with the most powerful Arab leader.

Weizman once said half in jest and half seriously that in the interest of peace the next trip to Cairo should not be undertaken by him but by those ministers who were persistent in their belief that Israel was being

led astray by Sadat: Dayan, Ariel Sharon and Yigal Horowitz.

The word "chemistry" was bandied about a lot in those days, and Weizman realized that perhaps the only way to salvage what Sadat had started on his trip here last year, was to try and get some of that "chemistry" to work on his colleagues as well. With Dayan, at least, the formula seems to have worked.

At Camp David, Dayan and Weizman are said to have come close in their overall conception of how peace can be brought about. Premier Begin remained aloof and served as the Israeli "devil's advocate." According to those who were close to the peace process, it was Dayan, not Weizman, who 'worked on' Begin. It was the Foreign Minister, previously, the most obdurate of skeptics regarding Sadat's sincerity, who was now voicing opinions enunciated by an isolated Weizman just a few months earlier.

The peace process will now proceed with Weizman most probably watching from the sidelines.

Premier Begin has returned to Israel to an unprecedented welcome. He has been hailed for his courage in attaching his signature to a document which demanded of him, for the sake of peace, to stray from some of his most profound beliefs.

Moshe Dayan has already appeared on Israeli television, and will no doubt continue to be the major figure, after Begin, as the negotiations continue under his stewardship.

Ezer Weizman, on the other hand, we have been told, has decided to keep a low profile.

This should not prevent recognition of Weizman's contribution to Begin's achievement, and the political courage and staying power which he exhibited throughout. For his persistence to fight for what he believed was right, often against uneven odds, and often at great personal cost, and no small amount of anguish.

CSO: 4820

ARAB OPPOSITION FACING SADAT

Tel Aviv HAMODI'A in Hebrew 25 Sep 78 p 2

[Editorial: "Rejection Front in War Against Sadat"]

[Text] The Arab opposition to the accords has received new impetus in recent days. The meeting between Husayn and Qadhdhafi that took place in Jordan was an almost unexpected development following the Camp David summit. The chance that Husayn might join the negotiations according to the principles that Sadat set on the Palestinian issue and the future of Judea and Samaria, has diminished considerably.

The first visit of the terrorist leader in Jordan in more than 8 years, following the slaughter that King Husayn wrought among the terrorists, shows to what extent the Jordanian King was insulted by the fact that the Egyptian president is about to sign an agreement with Israel without first ensuring his cooperation. He feels, justifiably so, that the Egyptian president has taken upon himself authority over Jordan. As part of the accords, regarding the Palestinians, there are some details, albeit general, concerning the Jordanian role in Judea and Samaria. This sensitivity to one's honor is one of the most touchy in the Arab world. The meeting with 'Arafat and Qadhdhafi is more of an emotional reaction.

The possibility that Sadat might sign a separate peace treaty with Israel could have angered the king. He canceled the prearranged meeting with Sadat and instead invited Sadat's arch enemy. Husayn was not prepared to minimize the surprise he was handed and was willing to express himself rather sharply. He can be believed when he says: "I am at a most serious and sensitive junction." One has to remember that it was Husayn who first had contacts with senior Israeli officials. These contacts came to nothing since he was not willing to make any concessions to his demand of total withdrawal, including Jerusalem. Husayn preceded Sadat with personal contacts with Israeli ministers, although he did it clandestinely. He is angry with Sadat for giving away something which is not his in the

first place. He is angry because Sadat agreed to sign agreements from which Jerusalem was left out and that he did not hesitate to voice opinions on the matter which are not necessarily popular in the Arab world.

The shaping of Arab opposition, as it took place in recent days, may encumber Sadat's moves in the future. He did show considerable resistance to his opponents and voiced his preparedness to even approach peace all alone, in the path that was outlined in Camp David. It should be clear, however, that any future move, especially when it comes to the sensitive point of addressing Palestinian identity and the setting up of the autonomous government, he will look over to see Arab reaction.

There is no similarity whatsoever between the opposition to Sadat and the resistance that Begin has encountered. Opposition in Israel has no other expression except this noisy protest. The shaping up of Arab opposition, such as we have seen in recent days, may foil the best trends and intentions. Sadat will find it difficult to overcome restiveness in Judea and Samaria if it has the tacit support of Jordan and Syria. The cooperation with 'Arafat points to new directions, since Israel will not be able to face idly any provocation from the direction of Jordan, which may, out of sheer frustration and desperation, give a free hand to the terrorists. It is possible that the shock and sensitivity that Husayn showed may make him lose his senses to the point that he may endanger the Hashemite kingdom in Jordan, and even his own life.

8646

CSO: 4805

KNESSET FACING MOST DIFFICULT DECISION ON ACCORDS

Tel Aviv HAMODI'A in Hebrew 25 Sep 78 p 2

[Editorial: "A Difficult Decision"]

[Text] On 1 September Mr Begin passed the first hurdle toward approval of the Camp David accords. True, the government was not united, but this in no way poses a question mark on the approval of the accords by the Knesset, where it is expected that they will be supported even from outside the coalition, since the Alinment decided to support them. This happened when Mr Begin removed one stumbling block, by agreeing to not separate the vote on the accords and the dismantling of the settlement in Yamit.

The fact that two coalition members voted against the accords does not necessarily signal a crisis. It is doubtful that the LA'AM faction will go as far as resigning from the government. Coalition members Hurwitz and Shostaq did not reject the accords. All they wanted was to stay personally "clean" on the issue of dismantling settlements. On the other hand, the coalition members from the NRP showed differences of opinion amongst themselves, among the party's Knesset members and also among large segments within the party. The fact that coalition members Burg and Abu-Hatzeira announced that they will recommend that their party vote for the accords in the Knesset does not minimize the fact that the main opposition to them comes from Gush Emunim, the leading faction in the resistance movement.

Everything indicates that Mr Begin is determined to receive unqualified parliamentary approval to the line that he adopted at Camp David. But studying the government's resolution of 1 September reveals a great amount of qualified caution, bordering on skepticism and suspicion. The resolution ties together, and very tightly so, the signing of a peace treaty with Egypt as a pre-condition to the dismantling of the settlements. It clearly reflects the inner conflict and the pain accompanying this decision--"if all differences are resolved." Can this be considered a pre-condition? Does this hint that there are more questions than answers? Or is the wording intended to appease those opposed and leave the government with an escape clause?

As soon as it became clear beyond any doubt that no peace agreement with Egypt is possible without dismantling the Sinai settlements, the government was faced with a difficult and painful dilemma. One resolution that was proposed on 1 September that "we have to start from scratch" seems unrealistic. Mr Begin faced the alternative of leaving Camp David without an agreement but with a few settlements in the Sinai. With all the doubts about the survival of the agreement for a long time, and these are doubts that we cannot ignore, even if they are part of a calculated risk, it is doubtful whether any other leader would have dared decide otherwise. Actually this is the only consideration according to which each party should base its decision.

From the minute that the Israeli delegation decided to gamble, and in this case the gamble was inevitable, it is doubtful whether the question of the future of the settlements should have played any role at all. The concession that was made on the issue of Judea and Samaria is, unquestionably, more serious, as the Arabs may foil the proposed agreement, just as they foiled any agreement throughout the years.

The Knesset has never faced as difficult and responsible a decision. It is therefore desirable that the debate and the vote not be hurried, so as to enable careful consideration.

8646

CSO: 4805

BEGIN'S DOVISH MANEUVERS CRITICIZED AS FRAUDULENT

Tel Aviv AL HAMISHMAR in Hebrew 25 Sep 78 p 3

[Article by Dov Bar-Nir: "Begin the Dove"]

[Text] "The day we longed for will come" says the song of the partisans. Indeed, from the very first days of our existence we have yearned to make peace with Arab states. Need it be added that under these conditions the sacrifice will be acceptable and we must be ready to evacuate the Rafah settlements as a painful price for this peace? However, one shouldn't burn incense to Prime Minister Menahem Begin as the magician who performs wonders and miracles and executes an "impossible task" in front of our eyes.

Only yesterday the prime minister tore a piece of paper in a melodramatic gesture before the assembled Knesset, indicating that he would not agree to a territorial compromise. He also stated under oath that we would never go back to the borders of 4 July [sic] 1967. And lo and behold, the same prime minister with a wave of his hand gave up the last square millimeter of the Sinai Peninsula and without a flicker of his eyelash went back to the borders of 4 June cursed by him. Therefore, in a paradoxical and even humoristic way I declare that the noise of the hawks in Israel is, to all intents and purposes, that of a dove.

Here is the list of his concessions (which he opposed during his entire past): giving up Sharm ash-Shaykh and the territorial access to it: giving up the buffer zone between Sinai and Gaza embodied by the Rafiah Junction; giving up strategically and logistically vital airfields; agreeing to thin out the Israeli military forces even on the Israeli side of the border.

The prime minister may claim that these concessions or sacrifices, will be acceptable as the price for peace. However, this is a "dovish" stand, a complete denial of the bombastic hawkish statements and the "small no" on which Menahem Begin nurtured his excited audience not only recently, but since he slammed the door of the "National Unity Government" because of the terrible flaw of its agreement to resolution 242 of the Security Council (incidentally, this resolution is mentioned about three times in the Camp David framework agreements).

Moshe Dayan, the prime minister's new armor bearer, will also enter history as a chameleon changing his color often. On the eve of the Yom Kippur War he forecast 10 years of peace and quiet on the war fronts. A few years before he gave up Sharm ash-Shaykh, he had declared emotionally that, if he had to choose between Sharm ash-Shaykh and peace, he would choose Sharm ash-Sheikh. He who initiated Yamit now comes to dismantle it. This I call consistency and statemanship...

But all this is not enough. Many now claim that during his one and only year of rule Begin did more towards peace than the Alignment did during the 10 years of rule following the Six-Day War. I will now not engage in moral stocktaking with the Alignment, which was frightened by the Likud during all that period, parallel to the ideological and political "supermarket" that paralyzed the Labor Party and prevented it from conducting a bold policy. The method, not the man, determines.

One must ask: That heroic and courageous hawk named Menahem Begin, did he remain a hawk, or did he become a dove even on the front of Judaea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip? For years we have declared that only political flexibility will bring us closer to peace. Therefore, what path did the fierce and heroic hawk Menahem Begin choose when he signed the framework agreement on the bank and in the strip?

This is his harvest: In contrast to his former forceful opinion, the following elements were included in the framework agreement: definition of the "Israeli Arabs" as the Palestinian nation; recognition of the legitimate rights of this nation in all their aspects; inclusion of other Palestinians, not only the residents of the bank and the strip, in the round of talks that will begin; withdrawal of the IDF from the areas held and stationing of the remaining IDF forces in security points to be determined; evacuation of the Israeli military government and the Israeli civilian administration; their replacement with a self-governing authority to be freely elected by the residents of these regions; Menahem Begin's famous autonomy will no longer be a permanent solution (which after 5 years could be "reexamined"), but will clearly constitute an arrangement for an interim period, for a transitional period of 5 years, after which the final status of the bank and the strip will be determined; instead of the withdrawn IDF force a strong local police force, which may include Jordanian citizens, will be established; finally, Jordan is invited to be a permanent partner in the implementation of this framework agreement.

People say: Begin's genial maneuver lies in giving up Sinai for the sake of preserving the undivided Land of Israel in the entire western Land of Israel. But what are the actual facts? How do they fit in with the ideology of the undivided Land of Israel? My answer is: Objectively, the framework agreement contradicts the undivided Land of Israel, because what kind of undivided Land of Israel is it if it favors the withdrawal of the IDF from direct control of all Judaea, Samaria and Gaza, evacuation of the Israeli military and civilian governments and their replacement with a self-governing authority

elected with the aid of a strong police force and includes the Jordanian Kingdom as a direct factor in the determination of policy and in the consolidation of the future of the bank and the strip? After the 5-year transitional period will the Israeli civilian and military administration be reintroduced in these areas? Will the self-governing authority elected independently by the residents of the region again become a provincial arm of the Israeli Government and will Jordan (if it becomes involved in this matter) be asked to again leave without a word? Incidentally, all this arrangement is based on the borders of 4 June 1967 as the "autonomy" borders--this is also one of the accepted facts.

Indeed, on this front as well I would declare Menahem Begin a "dove" to all intents and purposes and completely deny his hawkish ideology. All this, if not for the very grave fear arising in our hearts: Perhaps this policy prepares with its own hands the dispute and even its aggravation with the local Palestinian residents. The "autonomy" rests on a volcano and Begin's "dovishness" is fraudulent, because under the solution in its "fashioned" form it tries to maintain a point and counterpoint. In doing so, it will concentrate countless explosives, which are liable to shake and endanger the peace agreement with Egypt in a repeated action. No! Begin's maneuvers do not at all resemble true dovishness!...

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CSO: 4805

NATIONAL RELIGIOUS WORKERS PARTY POSITION ON ACCORDS

Tel Aviv HAZOFEH in Hebrew 26 Sep 78 p 2

/Editorial: "The National Religious Workers Party in the Phase of Decision Making"/

/Text/ The prime minister opened the political debate in the Knesset with a survey of the framework of the Camp David agreements, which have been approved by a majority in the government, their main objective being to achieve a peace treaty with Egypt patterned in accordance with international rules. The state of war between both countries has come to an end. This event, a priority of the country since its existence, was devoted to the special points decided upon in Camp David. The prime minister spoke about the various paragraphs in detail, summarizing the achievement and its implication. According to his words the agreement with Egypt does not contain secret paragraphs concerning the return of the whole Sinai including the airports and the Rafiah expanse. Here is the version of the prime minister's proposal: the Knesset authorize the government to move the settlers from Sinai and resettle them elsewhere.

The prime minister says, as Egypt absolutely refuses to leave any of the Sinai territory in Israeli hands there is no other choice but to accept all the conditions of the peace agreement as a basis for peace treaty negotiations or otherwise to negate completely what has been achieved. There is no third possibility. The prime minister mentioned the special points concerning Judaea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip contained in the framework of the agreement. There will be no withdrawal from the territories, the PLO will not participate in the negotiations and the IDF will remain in the territories. The freeze on settlements will only be limited to the number of months taken up by the negotiations.

A considerable number of paragraphs can be interpreted in different ways, which can be harmful to Israel's position during the period of transition and afterward. When the agreement will come up for approval in the Knesset the focus during the discussions will be on how to determine the desired interpretation and its realization.

The speaker for the Alignment, the main opposition party, expressed a positive opinion about the agreements and has accepted them basically because a peace agreement will allow the government to overcome past mistakes and will dispel the fears concerning some of the paragraphs. A peace treaty with Egypt, which possibly can be extended to also include additional Arab countries, is supported by a majority of Likud and of the Alignment. The main opposition is to be found in the settlement movements and among the settlers of the territories. They fear that withdrawal of settlers from the Rafiah expanse in accordance with the conditions of the agreement upon approval by the Knesset can set an example for the eviction of settlers from other places in the territories.

The pioneer movement in all its forms--from the conquest of labor, production and security to the setting of an example of inner values for the younger generation--is very sensitive to concessions concerning the liquidation of settlements in the Sinai area. Even if the place is not part of the forefathers' heritage it causes the settlers to fear that possibly similar attempts at liquidation can be made in Ramat Hagolan, the Jordan Valley and the Gaza Strip.

The National Religious Workers Party, being a coalition partner in the government as well as an extensive settlement movement, views the Camp David agreements as a turning point with far reaching political implications; however, they are concerned about the anxiety of the settlers of the territories in the future.

At an executive meeting of the National Religious Workers Party members of settlements in the Gaza Strip, in Ramat Hagolan and in the Gush Etzion block expressed their fears of a moral crisis among the youth who has been educated and raised on the values of religion and labor and its ideological realization in religious Moshavim and Kibbutzim. This is a struggle about the physical existence itself because too much pressure can lead to demoralization. This is an outcry to preserve the essence of the settlement movement in whose framework the values of Zionism, the bible and its commandments, pioneerdom and aspirations to a just society are being realized. The settler's talks and forecasts were often expressed in a radical fashion, however. They voiced the opinions of those to be first exposed to battle, the opinions of the settlers and fighters, the builders of settlements of social and spiritual quality. They appealed to the National Religious Workers Party to prevent mistakes and to especially support the pioneering settlement of the territories. They spoke in the name of a hundred settlements based on the bible and on labor and in the name of religious Nahal settlement groups. They spoke from the educational point of view as well as from the point of view of economy and security. They represented the settlement movement of Erez Israel.

Almost every party and political faction is discussing the Camp David agreements with hope and also with fear--the national religious party even more so. Her educational institutes and settlements bear witness to the party's deep

feeling for all the areas of Erez Israel, at the same time the party is a supporter of peace out of ideological and political reasons. The national religious party is aware of the chances and the danger inherent in the Camp David agreements.

Today the executive committee of the National Religious Workers Party and its management will get together for a final discussion of their delegates' position in the government and in the Knesset.

At a time of practical evaluation and consideration of the chances for a peace treaty which will liberate Israel from the terror of war and from its isolation as well as improve our relationship with the United States we have to beware of taking steps which can endanger the settlement movement. The existing settlements in the territories should be condensed and the map of settlements in other areas should be expanded while preventing any inclination for making concessions. This will represent the settlers' faith in their delegates in the government and the Knesset. The national religious delegation is capable of influencing the procedures according to its ideological and practical policy.

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CSO: 4805

DISTINCTION BETWEEN IDEALISTS, FANATICS URGED

Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 26 Sep 78 pp 9, 15

/Article by Asher Maniv: "Ends and Means; No Settlement Interest Can Be Separate and Opposed to the Major Zionist Interest"/

/Text/ If ever there was any truth to the cliché about the golem who rebelled against his creators then that is exactly what happened in the relationship between "Gush Emunim" and the national religious founders. The seed which was planted during the rule of the Alignment in order to assist in the struggle against making any kind of concessions is now bearing rotten fruit, and its wild growth is threatening to strangle lovingly those who developed, watered and fertilized it with diligence. However, it is doubtful if the members of the labor movement can rub their hands with pleasure and watch with satisfaction the distress of the present government, because we all will have to eat the fruit of this poisonous plant. Furthermore, the labor movement cannot be exempted from responsibility for this growth, not only because of the Alignment governments' failure during fateful hours of decision but also because of the lenient attitude on the part of the silent and moderate majority and the lack of clarity in the ideological confrontation. Despite their dissociation from illegal projects we have heard members of the labor movement say that "they are nevertheless idealists" and that basically "this is a wonderful youth" that "they possibly are making a mistake but that they are really the last true pioneers left". The more vociferous the fanatics became the more forgotten were the young boys and girls who did their pioneer work quietly and modestly.

The confusion about the gap between stated ideals and reality, the nostalgia for those good days of "beautiful Eretz Israel", the dazzle of the so-called idealism of Gush Emunim, all these prevented the labor movement from a confrontation with fanaticism. Warped historical comparisons with completely different times and conditions in the history of the settlement of the land prevented a realistic attitude to the only important lesson to be learned from history, namely that there is no greater danger to mankind than fanaticism even if it is disguised as idealism. A lack of distinction between pure idealism and fanaticism is perhaps the greatest obstacle for the innocent pursuers of ideals. Surely, idealism and fanaticism share many characteristics, such as faith in a sacred goal, the personal identification of the

man with his ideal, the devotion to the goal and even the readiness to make personal sacrifices in order to reach it. It is a bitter truth that some of the lowest crimes in the history of mankind (especially in this century) were committed in the name of devotion to sacred ideals and out of the belief that people were acting according to religious commandments or ideology and for a better future for the nation, the class or all mankind.

Fanaticism is Opposed to Democracy

Nevertheless there is a clear dividing line between true idealism and fanaticism. It can be detected here and there in the definition of the character of the goals. There are goals which are unworthy in themselves, as for instance racism, however, there are many other goals whose legitimacy cannot be denied even if they do not meet with approval. Everybody has his own beliefs. In the cases of fanaticism it is not the goal which determines the limit but the means. The clearest sign of fanaticism is revealed in the terrible belief that the end justifies the means.

Such teachings or the political movement which considers itself as being beyond the law assuming that it represents a superior law--god's law or historical law--and therefore feels justified to attack in the name of their own ideals, ideals and beliefs of others, that is the movement of fanaticism. Its followers are ready to attack standards of present human behavior in order to achieve a better future. Their ideals permit them to despise the sacredness of life and individual freedom. They pretend to represent the only absolute truth. Whether they are concerned with national religious ideals or class ideals these theories and political movements belong in the realm of fanaticism. Whenever idealism crosses this above-mentioned dividing line it ceases to be idealism and becomes fanaticism. The trouble is that the non-fanatic, tolerant and moderate person because of his very nature recoils from fighting fanaticism and is inclined toward compromise. However fanaticism is not accessible to persuasion, logic or rational discussion. This is not at all a matter of "rationality" of the brain but a matter of a sacred belief which does not permit one to be satisfied with partial achievement and which sanctifies all means. In other words fanaticism and democracy cannot dwell together. Fanatics cannot play the game according to "the rules" of democracy or follow any rules other than his own. The goal is too sacred to be limited by worldly rules. Therefore, a confrontation between the democratic society and fanaticism is inevitable. As every political party in a democracy needs moral and social legitimacy in order to function successfully it is possible to stop fanaticism by the denial of its legitimacy. That is exactly what we have not done in the past and even at present we do not do it sufficiently. On the contrary, we often witness that fanaticism raises its ugly head even in the labor movement itself. Therefore the golem does not only rebel against its creator but also against whoever reconciles himself to his existence.

Having talked about ends and means we have to add something which is not easy to say to a member of the settlement movement. Fanaticism's work of

distortion was made easier because of a gradual process of corruption of accepted and sacred concepts inside the labor movement, speeches instead of concepts of work, realization of ideals and creation of facts. Even the settlement movement itself has been affected by corruption. The traditional Zionist synthesis--action and the creation of practical facts have to serve the Zionist goal--has been pulled apart and one part is pitched against the other.

The Significance of Creating of Facts

In the days of painful debate about the Camp David agreements (and the liquidation of settlements in the Rafiah expanse which is tied up with it) the opponents of the peace arrangement are trying to appear as the keepers of the labor movement's tradition. They argue that this is only a continuation of the "Jabotinsky way" of diplomacy and agreements with the nations of the world and that it is in opposition to the practical Zionism of the labor movement, as if this movement had never tried diplomacy and had not strongly aspired to reach agreements with the nations of the world as well as with the Arabs. It is true, Jabotinsky did not believe in settlement of the land as a factor and concentrated on diplomacy. However, Arlosoroff, Ben Gurion, Sharet (to name only a few) were in fact even more than Jabotinsky involved with diplomacy and the reaching of political agreements in order to solve the conflict of Erez Israel. Did Ben Gurion and Shertok not participate with Weizman in the diplomatic effort on behalf of the 1937 partition plan? Did the labor movement not breathlessly follow the United Nation's vote on November 29, 1948, though being well aware that the desired approval of the partition plan would mean the liquidation of settlements?

Jabotinsky despised work and the revisionists ridiculed the creation of facts. However, these were vital means to strengthen our force in the political struggle and sometimes they were even part of a wider plan. But the labor movement never renounced its goal to gain recognition by the world's nations for the movement of rebirth of the Jewish people in their own country. The labor movement never gave up its aspiration to gain recognition by the Arabs as well as their acceptance of the Jewish state. The leaders of the labor movement repeated time and again: The creation of facts in the field, the massing of strength, they will finally convince the Arabs to accept our existence and to make peace. The question is not if this is an illusion. It does not make any difference in the matter which we have discussed here. The labor movement's desired goal was peace with the Arabs. The creation of facts in the field was also meant to assist in reaching this goal. The settlement issue had a special significance in this framework because of the particular social nature of the settlements as well as because nobody can be expected to build his home in a settlement which will only be a tool in the hands of political forces in the years to come. There were for instance difficult debates with Ben Gurion who often was inclined to view the settlements solely as political means. Nevertheless, the settlement movement in its totality felt that first of all it had a national mission to fulfill. No separate settlement interest can exist in opposition to what is viewed as the foremost Zionist interest. And if such an unfortunate contrast of interests exists then the larger Zionist interest has to be considered first.

Throughout tens of years the realistic emphasis in the labor movement had been on work, creation of facts and massing of strength. The bitter debate with the revisionists concerning these matters has not failed to leave its psychological mark on the labor movement. Instead of seeing the settlement issue as part of the Zionist synthesis it has been elevated to the level of an all powerful, all embracing myth which is above everything. And as it happens in general with a myth it has a life of its own, has developed dynamics and even surpassed the narrow domain of politics. The following question should be thoroughly investigated. How much did these basic attitudes influence the development of the type of the materialistic activist in our public life? How much of the disdain prevailing for many years of ideology and idealists in the labor movement can be attributed to these attitudes? How much are these attitudes responsible for the labor movement's alienation from men with spiritual vision? (We are not talking here about the adornment of lists of candidates and institutes with the names of a few professors.) To what degree did these attitudes lead to a complete victory of blind pragmatism on the level of economic and social policy? When the "deed" instead of belonging into the realm of vital means is raised to the level of being a goal in itself all the correct norms are distorted in politics as well as in the life of the individual and society.

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CSO: 4805

CAMP DAVID AGREEMENT AND 'PEACE PLAN' DIFFERENCES DETAILED

Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 29 Sep 78 p 6

[Article by Shmuel Katz: "Now--The Day of Deception"]

[Text]

AN UNKNOWING stranger, studying the Camp David agreements and their history, would conclude that the Israeli signers were the leaders of a defeated people, helpless in the face of the enemy's might to ensure even the bare territorial bones of their people's security. He would, however, be struck by the subsequent efforts of those leaders not only to minimize the scope of their surrender, but to disguise the details of the agreement and the significance of the elements which, far from ensuring peace, spell out the enemy's insistence on those conditions which will make it easier for him to make war on Israel again.

On Sinai, practically the whole of which had been promised away, there is not much left to dissemble about. Nevertheless, the Prime Minister has assured us that there are experts (presumably recently discovered) who maintain that there is no substantial strategic difference for Israel between having Sinai and not being allowed to set foot in Sinai, that two airfields in the Negev will have the same value as the three given up in Sinai.

As for the loss of the naval base at Sharm-e-Sheikh, the Prime Minister did not even mention it in Monday's Knesset speech. Nor did he indicate how, or where, it is to be replaced. He also did not explain how the Yamit zone, with a strong Israeli presence designed to serve as the outer defence against renewed attack, is no different strategically from a Yamit zone cleared of all Israelis.

All he said on that subject was couched in the classic terminology of the vanquished. In effect, he said: Sadat has said that unless we divest ourselves of what we regard as our vital basic defences, he will not "give" us the peace that we crave.

JUDEA AND SAMARIA and Gaza now become the main focus of dissimulation in the statements of the nation's leaders. The Prime Minister is boldly trying to induce the public to accept the fantastic notion that the Camp David agreement is little different from his original "peace plan." In the Knesset on Monday last he said:

"The basis for the framework agreement concerning Judea, Samaria and Gaza is our autonomy plan, as we proposed it last December, and these are our proposals: The Israeli military government and its civilian administration will be withdrawn." The implication in this statement is untrue. It was one of the crucial elements of the original plan that the Israeli military government would *not* be withdrawn; only civilian administration was to be done away with. Indeed the Arab autonomy administration was to derive its authority from the military government (that is, from Israel).

The Prime Minister was at the time emphatic about this safeguard. It left Israel, at least constitutionally, as the overall authority in the area.

This authority is abolished by the Camp David agreement. When the Prime Minister added "We shall not intervene in the running of their day-to-day affairs," trying to convey the

impression that we could intervene if we wished, he can surely not have forgotten so soon that he had signed an agreement which denies Israel's right to intervene.

It was not by chance that President Carter, in his speech explaining the Camp David agreements to the joint session of Congress on September 18, said bluntly that during the five-year transitional period the Palestinian Arabs "will have their own government," and that Israel was committed to this government's having "not partial autonomy, but full autonomy."

IF THE SUPREME authority in the area is the elected Arab Autonomy Administration, what is left of Israel's security? Here the "key point," according to Mr. Begin, is that "the Israeli Army (reduced in numbers) is to remain in Judea, Samaria and Gaza" after being redeployed into "specified security locations." "The soldiers of Israel," said Mr. Begin, "— and only they — will safeguard our national security."

Strangely, this is not borne out by the Camp David agreement — which provides for *"Israeli and Jordanian forces participating in joint patrols and in the manning of control posts to assure the security of the borders."* What can this mean except that the signatories at Camp David agreed that Jordanian soldiers, and not only Israeli soldiers, will be engaged in safeguarding our national security. At this early stage, therefore, the historic protestations that no alien soldier would set foot in Western Eretz Yisrael, has been demolished by Camp David — together with the provisions of the original "peace plan."

The hollowness of the Prime Minister's pretence would have been further exposed if he had mentioned that internal security, which in the "peace plan" was to be "the responsibility of the Israeli authorities" (Clause 11), is taken out of the hands of the Israeli authorities by the Camp David agreement. It is handed over to the Arab Autonomy Administration, which "will establish a strong local police force" composed of inhabitants of Judea, Samaria and Gaza.

Israel's security against the PLO, for example, will be safeguarded by Arabs from Ramallah and Jenin and Hebron. Israel will however be able to appoint liaison officers — as will Jordan and Egypt. This complete reversal of the internal security provisions even of the original "peace plan" — and its grave implications for Israel — were not dealt with by the Prime Minister in his speech in the Knesset.

THE EFFORTS at obfuscation extend beyond the five-year transition period. After surrendering all authority in Judea, Samaria and Gaza, after proclaiming and providing for years of unfettered Arab rule without any Israeli participation — and with Israel demonstrably present in a few areas only as an alien armed force — the Prime Minister continues to pretend that Israeli sovereignty is still a viable proposition.

He cannot be unaware that this is absurd. In the Knesset, he himself referred to the Camp David text provision indicating that not only will the final status of Judea, Samaria and Gaza be negotiated with Egypt, Jordan and the Palestinian Arabs, but that whatever agreement is reached will be submitted "to a vote by the elected representatives of the inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza." Oddly enough, he even claimed it as an achievement that the deciding voice in determining the future of Judea and Samaria is to be that of the elected representatives of the inhabitants, and not that of a plebiscite.

The implication of his statement can only be that he believes that the Arabs may agree to establish Israeli sovereignty; or that, as he said in his speech, "if no agreement is reached, the autonomy arrangements and those of Israel's security will continue to remain in force."

The 1978 Prime Minister of Israel has succumbed, stage after stage and point by point, to the American plan preparing the ground for Arab sovereignty (and who accepts Arab ultimata demanding the surrender of vital security safeguards).

That same Prime Minister now invites the people of Israel to believe that in 1983 or 1981 or earlier, the Prime Minister of an Israel long shorn, by its own free will, of its powers in the area, will resist the pressures of all the Arabs, and of Washington, and prevent the final formal enactment of Arab sovereignty.

This is an astonishing pipe-dream. His bland assurance that "our army will remain in Judea and Samaria beyond the transition period" — presumably even against the wishes of the Arab sovereign authority — is a no less dangerous delusion. The pressures exerted on Israel hitherto would be child's play compared to the avalanche that would descend on her head if, after having granted and recognized Arab self-government, she tries to maintain an armed force on "Arab sovereign territory."

IF THE Prime Minister and his colleagues are so certain of the rightness of their policy, if the agreements they have signed are so good for Israel's security and will so certainly bring her peace — why do they not tell the people the whole truth without equivocation? Why do they blur some facts, ignore others, misinform their people about the significance of yet others? Why do they try to paint the future in such blatantly false colours?

With the ratification of the agreements by the Knesset, the next phase of attack on our rights and the extent of our hold on our country, will begin. Sadat will surely see to that long before he signs any peace treaties.

The settlements beyond the "Green Line" are already in danger. Nor should there be any illusion about the threat to Jerusalem. It is coming nearer day by day, not only because of Arab purpose and the American plan, but because this government has patently lost its backbone.

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END