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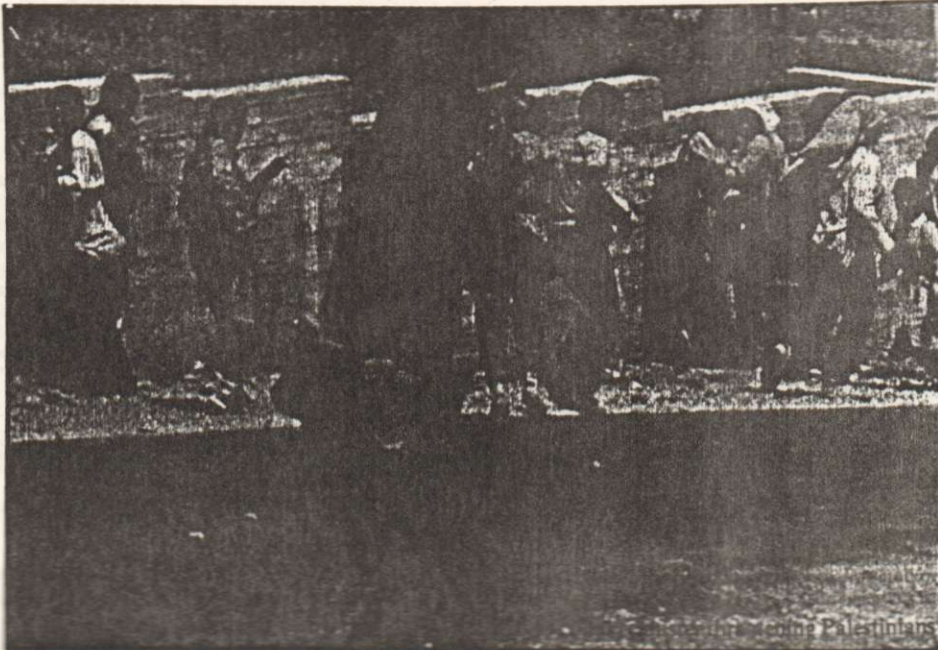
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Will Kissinger be named special Mideast envoy?

Appointment would add to Administration already top-heavy with pro-Israeli Kissinger associates

By Mark Brzezinski
Special to Sada Alwatan

WASHINGTON, D.C. — There is a growing sense here on the admittedly slim possibilities for a new and serious international political effort that could result in the kind of breakthrough that could then lead to real Israeli withdrawal from occupied Palestine.

ANALYSIS

There are legitimate differences in perspective, of course, as to whether the intifadeh, the PLO peace offensive, or both in coordination, can achieve this goal. For many, the possibilities have always been remote that primary reliance on political and diplomatic efforts on the world stage could in the end be successful. Others are waiting in the wings for their own chance to step in, if the efforts currently underway become discredited.



Is this the man to represent U.S. in Mideast?

But then the Palestinian issue has taken on many unique characteristics and is already an exception to many general historical realities. Furthermore, whatever the odds, political diplomacy is the course chosen at the historic Algiers PNC meeting, the course currently favored by most Palestinians in and out of the homeland, and the least bloody, most "rational" option available for everyone, including the Israelis if they would only think it through calmly. For all of these reasons, the current efforts centered around the personality of Yasser Arafat and the PLO deserve to be forcefully supported even by those, including this writer, who remain somewhat skeptical.

Thanks primarily to those who daily suffer and struggle in the Occupied Territories, we are all living through a truly historic time that requires serious leadership from persons of political courage and bold vision. What is most lacking in the U.S., and thus what is most needed, are honest, committed persons who understand the historic setting, who can be believed when they speak both in public and private, and who can and will follow through on their commitments.

The cancer on this historic moment — though no doubt he continues to view himself more as a potential savior — is a man who has become the antithesis of some of these basic requirements, whatever his brilliance at self-promotion. This is a man whose influence on American Middle East policies is dangerously on the rise in George Bush's Washington. That man is Henry A. Kissinger.

First reported in this newspaper and by this commentator some weeks ago was Kissinger's "incessant maneuvering to be appointed as special negotiator in the

Middle East." But few were then taking notice, until the past few days, that is, when more rumors have begun circulating in Washington, rumors of the trial-ballooning variety so well-known here.

Since Bush's inaugural, Kissinger's efforts have become even more intense and in recent days fear, or eagerness, depending on your political persuasion, has become much more widespread that the arch-nemesis of the Palestinians might be about to get handed the new Middle East shuttle assignment.

Of course, the Bush Administration is already top-heavy with Kissinger proteges. Lawrence Eagleburger — always known as an Israeli man when he served in the early years of the Reagan Presidency as #3 and helped design the disastrous Lebanon policy — is now Under Secretary, the key #2 player at Foggy Bottom, having left his position as President of Kissinger Associates. Brent Scowcroft, one of the other senior personalities at Kissinger Associates, is in charge of the National Security Council and was given additional authority by President Bush in a recent reorganization of the foreign policy formation process. Dennis Ross is head of the potentially very important Policy Planning Council at the State Department, and another key Kissinger operative, Peter Rodman, is a counselor at the NSC.

So the Kissinger spirit and influence are thus very widespread throughout George Bush's Administration making a serious switch in U.S. policy toward the Palestinians very difficult to anticipate. Worse yet, these are all very crafty, street-smart Washington players sure to work closely with the Israelis behind-the-scenes to cut the Palestinian issue, and the PLO, down to size whenever and however they can. Remember this rule about these kinds of people: Don't pay so much attention to what they say, watch very carefully what they actually do.

And now, the long shadow of Henry Kissinger himself is beginning to cloud the entire Middle East political horizon. One of Israel's leading daily newspapers, *Maariv*, reported on 6 February — appropriately quoting Jewish sources in the new Administration — that Kissinger is key to Bush Administration Middle East thinking and about to be appointed the Arab-Israeli portfolio for which he hungers.

And so this is no time to be diplomatic. For those who have struggled and suffered in the intifadeh, the appointment of Henry Kissinger to deal with the Arab-Israeli situation would be an insult, a slap in the face. For many in Washington, including this analyst, Henry Kissinger is a duplicitous, deceitful, unprincipled, brilliant and exceedingly dangerous personality.

There can be no doubt that Kissinger perceives a chance to further his reputation in the current situation, especially among the conservative right, the Jewish community, and the Israelis. Kissinger knows that the status quo in the territories has become untenable for everyone. Indeed, this is Kissinger's style — to step in when all the parties want and need some kind of movement and to haggle with everyone until he finds some formula that can, at least temporarily, be peddled as success. But he specializes in diplomatic sleights of hand, not real solutions.

It should not be forgotten that Kissinger was the man who in a personal lust for power undermined the Rogers Plan, along with Secretary of State Rogers himself, in December 1969, thus opening the way for the October War a few years later. As Leslie Gelb recently wrote in the *New York Times*, "Not many rivalries have been as destructive of U.S. interests abroad as those between Henry Kissinger and William Rogers in the Nixon Administration."

Kissinger is also the man who maneuvered for years at the Paris Peace Conference about the shape of the table,

Group calls for halt in aid to Israel for rights abuses

WASHINGTON, D.C. (KUNA)

The Bush Administration should penalize Israel with an aid cut-off until it halts violations of Palestinians' human rights, a group of lawyers proposed here this week. And they released a harsh report documenting the reasons why Israel's occupation practices justify such measures.

Addressing a conference at the National Press Club, officials of the New York-based National Lawyers Guild noted the "substantial" increase in the numbers of shootings, beatings, expulsions and other rights violations since the Palestinian uprising began in December 1987.

John Quigley, Professor of International Law at Ohio State University and a spokesman for the group, was asked following an address if he endorsed an aid freeze on Israel for its actions.

He said, "Yes, we think that that is a method that would be effective — that the U.S. should say to Israel that it will not continue aid at the levels that it has given in the past if this kind of things continues."

And Quigley said the Lawyers' Guild considered such punitive action "one principal means that the U.S. can use" to force Israel into conformance with international human-rights norms and agreements.

Another, he added, was political and diplomatic pressure, referring to Washington's need for "more active negotiations" with the PLO.

Quigley pointed out there were precedents under international law for U.S. sanctions against Israel as "belligerent occupant," recalling the financial leverage used on Israel in 1956. President Dwight Eisenhower successfully demanded that Israel withdraw from the Sinai, along with France and Britain.

Since then, though, most of the U.S. criticisms of Israel have been "soft-pedaled," he said.

The international law professor said the State Department's annual human rights report, while starting out highly critical of Israel, was usually watered-down by the time it is published. He did not comment further. But many analysts say the State Department report falls far short of the hard-hitting,

comprehensive Lawyers Guild document.

Further, Quigley charged the U.S. operates under a double standard, harshly criticizing its enemies' practices but remaining largely mute when friends like Israel are guilty of similar offenses.

In the group's 93-page report, Israel is accused of a wide variety and "pattern" of abuses, including torture, charge-less detentions, expulsions, disruptions of communications, arresting or beating hospital patients, home demolitions, coercing confessions from suspects and banning the Palestinian leadership committees that coordinate the intifadeh.

The lawyers' group had hoped the new Bush Administration would be tougher on Israel for its rights abuses, Quigley said.

The group first expressed interest in the human rights situation in the occupied lands in 1977, and since then has had about two dozen people on the ground on a rotation basis. These lawyers monitor compliance with or violations of international human rights conventions, Quigley stated.

The group's report concludes by asserting that the 14 "interim demands" presented by Palestinian revolt leaders in January 1988 were deserved rights of the Palestinians.

Those demands included one saying Israel must quit the Arab lands, and another insisting Israel abide by international law like the 4th Geneva Convention on the treatment of civilians under occupation.

"The Human Rights Commission of the United Nations recognized the right of the population of Palestine to rise up against Israel," the paper said, adding, "the cycle of resistance and suppression will likely continue until the Palestinian people are free to determine their own future."

For its part, the State Department lashed out at Israel's mistreatment of Palestinians in the Occupied Territories and charged the Israelis with "a substantial increase in human rights violations."

In a rare but bitter criticism of Israel, the State Department's charges came in the world-wide,

1950-page annual human rights report, which had been embargoed for release on Wednesday, but was leaked prematurely by some agencies in Washington.

The report claims that only 366 Palestinians were killed by the Israeli army while more than 20,000 were wounded. Human rights organizations and Palestinians have put the figures at much higher than that.

The report charges that Israeli soldiers, "in violation of their own military regulations, frequently used gunfire in situations that did not present mortal danger to troops, causing many avoidable deaths and injuries."

The State Department also criticized Israel for abusing Palestinian prisoners, for making arbitrary arrests — including arrests "of many individuals who have not engaged in or advocated violence."

Israel was also criticized for having destroyed more than 154 Arab homes for security reasons or because owners allegedly were accused of participating in the uprising.

The report by the State Department is the clearest American condemnation of Israeli actions and is expected to increase the tension in relations between the two.

Palestinian and Arab American leaders Tuesday expressed satisfaction at the tone and content of this year's human rights report. They had all submitted documentation of their own to the State Department a few months back confirming Israel's abuse of human rights and many of these were included in the report, one official told KUNA.

According to the report, the Palestinian uprising, which began in December, 1987, caught the Israeli army "by surprise."

It claimed that the Israeli soldiers were "untrained and inexperienced in riot control" and this led to the substantial violations of human rights.

The State Department's report is expected to be used by the Arab countries at the United Nations in the coming few weeks to bring about a further condemnation and isolation of Israel in the international organization.



Detroit protests recent Kissinger appearance in the Motor City, citing his advice to Israel

seemingly oblivious as the killing escalated, eventually leading the U.S. to the ultimate humiliation as helicopters had to scoop up remaining U.S. supporters from the roof of the Saigon Embassy.

And he is also the Henry Kissinger of the October 1973 "nuclear alert", the man who gave Israeli Ambassador Rabin a direct phone line to his office, the same Henry Kissinger who, working hand in glove with the Israelis, railroaded two of the PLO's best, Isam Sartawi and Jabri Jiryis, out of Washington when they came in 1975 on a previous PLO peace offensive; after that he protected the Israelis and blindfolded the U.S. with his stupid commitment that the U.S. would not even speak to anyone in the PLO.

The stories of Kissingerian back-channeling (he might even have invented the word), back-stabbing, playing

both sides of the fence, are legend here in Washington. But of course at the same time Kissinger has very skillfully built up the myth of his omnipotence, the sense of fearful anxiety that a man of such uncanny unprincipledness is sometimes needed to get things done, the image of a kind of successful Darth Vader who should be engaged rather than ignored for fear he will otherwise undermine the efforts of others.

To get the job he wants Kissinger has no doubt been telling everyone what they want to hear — that's what he's done for decades, most successfully when he first got started by convincing President-elect Nixon to appoint him to head his NSC in 1968. Earlier that year Kissinger was not only helping the Nixon team to position himself next to the likely President-elect; he was at the same time, in a separate deal, offering to help the Humphrey campaign gather information to discredit Nixon! Those who want to know more of the glitzy details should consult Seymour Hersh's *Kissinger: The Price of Power*, a truly devastating indictment.

In all likelihood, Henry is telling the Russians that only he can get the U.S. to act strongly; the Israelis that he can protect them from a possible U.S. backlash and get the intifadeh under control; the Saudis and Egyptians that only he can deliver the Israelis; and George Bush that only a shrewd old tough-guy like himself can get the job done and get the Israelis to go along.

What the long moribund Middle East "peace process" really needs, in addition to a thorough policy overhaul, is political conviction and honest, straight forward follow-through. The basic parameters of an honorable settlement are clear; but the configuration of political, military and economic forces needed to bring it about remain elusive. Most absent of all is the willingness of the U.S. to join the overwhelming majority of the world community and cease coddling Israel, cease making excuses for Israel, cease allowing the Israelis to continue on their potentially suicidal course.

The problems with Kissinger are not only what he has done in the past. His recent involvement should in itself

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Kissinger as Mideast point-man?

Continued from page 1

be more than enough to prevent him from being acceptable to any of the Arab parties. As one rather astute Palestinian American observer here put it to me, "In the past he (Kissinger) hid his bias behind a thick wall of professionalism. Now he's come out into the open as an unashamed advocate siding with the worst elements in Israel." This analyst went on to quite vocally express the hope that the Arab League, or at least some of the Arab governments, will this time put their foot down.

When the intifadeh was in its first weeks, it was none other than Kissinger who repeatedly strongly advised the Israelis to begin restricting the press, urged them to do whatever they had to do to get the intifadeh off American TV screens, encouraged them to brutally suppress the Palestinians in every way. The news eventually leaked; but Kissinger knew it would also pass.

More recently, in the final hours of that day in mid-December when Secretary of State Shultz was still arguing with President Reagan not to change policies toward the PLO, none other than Henry Kissinger was there doing Israel's dirty work once again. More details of that story have begun to surface and Kissinger's messy footprints have been found. As the story goes Reagan called Shultz late in the afternoon that day to tell him that a change there had to be and that if he, Shultz, wasn't going to do it, then National Security Adviser Collin Powell would have to.

No sooner was Reagan off the phone than Shultz was pleading with Kissinger to intervene, fast! Within minutes Kissinger was at the White House arguing with Reagan not to take this step, the very step that Kissinger

had successfully held back for over a decade. But this time he failed, for this time Yasser Arafat had finally, after considerable effort, outmaneuvered everyone in Washington. Nevertheless, even at this late moment, Henry Kissinger was trying to pull every string behind the scenes in his unrelentingly anti-Palestinian crusade.

The only good news this writer can find in all this is that we all now know that even Henry Kissinger senses that something **MUST** be done about the intifadeh and Israel's slipping image and status; that all the parties may be ready to be maneuvered and may secretly welcome someone finding a formula that they themselves cannot. But in the tradition of true opportunists and political hucksters, Kissinger is far more concerned with his own place in history than the kind of revolutionary political settlement that real peace and justice require.

Simply put, Henry Kissinger is not a man to be trusted. Letting Henry Kissinger be the point-man for U.S. Middle East diplomacy would be the classic case of asking the fox to guard the hen house. Those serious about seizing the moment for a dramatic political breakthrough that could result in fulfillment of the two-state solution and an honorable peace for both the Israelis and the Palestinians must now raise their voices loud in protest against Kissinger, before it is too late.

The way to deal with this cancer is to cut it out, once and for all. The Arab world has that capability, if it will only assert itself. The reasons for saying a flat "no" to Henry K are numerous, but if nothing else this is the time to stand up in support of the intifadeh. The youths of Palestine have not been struggling and suffering and dying so that Henry Kissinger could come to feed or their misery and courage!