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A Zionist initiative

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The three are Pierre Mendès France, a former prime minister of France; Nahum Goldmann, a former president of the World Zionist Organization and founder-president of the World Jewish Congress; and Philip M. Klutznick, president emeritus of the the World Jewish Congress and honorary president of B'Nai B'rith International.

The statement brought a positive response from Yasser Arafat, PLO chairman, and from Isam A. Sartawi, a member of the Palestine National Council, the PLO's "parliament," a PLO representative in Paris, and a close confidant of Mr. Arafat.

The statement, now called by some observers the "Paris declaration," was challenged by organized Jewish groups in the United States, "s being unrepresentative and unhelpful.

Paris July 2, 1982
Peace need not be made between friends, but between enemies who have struggled and suffered. Our sense of Jewish history and the moral imperatives of this moment require us to insist that the time is urgent for mutual recognition between Israel and the Palestinian people. There must be a stop to the sterile debate, whereby the Arab world challenges the existence of Israel and Jews challenge the political legitimacy of the Palestinian fight for independence.

The real issue is not whether the Palestinians are entitled to their rights, but how to bring this about while ensuring Israel's security and regional stability. Ambiguous concepts such as "autonomy" are no longer sufficient, for they too often are used to confuse rather than to clarify. Needed now is the determination to reach a political accommodation between Israel and Palestinian nationalism.

The war in Lebanon must stop. Israel must lift its siege of Beirut in order to facilitate negotiations with the PLO, leading to a political settlement. Mutual recognition must be vigorously pursued. And there should be negotiations with the aim of achieving co-existence between the Israeli and Palestinian peoples based on self-determination.

Pierre Mendes France
Nahum Goldmann
Philip M. Klutznick

Paris July 2, 1982
The unprecedented statement issued today by three of the most important leaders of world Jewry has far-reaching significance. This statement contains an outline which could extricate us from the very grave crisis taking place today in Lebanon and must be viewed as a major contribution to a just and honorable peace in the Middle East.

Peace can only be concluded by the Palestinian people acting through their legitimate representative body, the PLO. But only a proud, strong and independent Palestinian leadership is capable of concluding such a peace.

The unique importance of the statement by these three courageous Jewish leaders is their recognition of this reality and their emphasis on the necessity for the peace process to be reciprocal.

I suggest that their wise insistence upon an honorable conclusion of the current conflict be urgently acted upon throughout the world.

Isam A. Sartawi

Beirut July 4, 1982
Coming at this precise moment from three Jewish personalities of great worth, worldwide reputation, and definite influence at all levels, both on the international scene and within their own community, that statement takes on a significant importance. I wish that they use their influence to put an end to the war of extermination to which the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples are subjected, and I invite them in these crucial and difficult days to visit the Palestinian camps in Lebanon so they can check by themselves the massacres and crimes committed by the Israeli forces.

Yasser Arafat

OPINION AND COMMENTARY

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The price of going it alone in the World Bank

By Catherine Gwin

Current United States policy toward the World Bank lacks the support of America's economic allies and diminishes its influence over the course of international financial cooperation.

The immediate cause of this isolation is Washington's failure to meet its part of an internationally negotiated refunding of the International Development Association (IDA) for the period 1981-83. IDA is the "soft loan window" of the World Bank which makes interest-free, 50-year loans to the world's poorest countries. Although Congress authorized the full three-year, \$3.24 billion contribution, it appropriated significantly less in 1981 and 1982 than the US pledged and now plans to stretch out payment of the remainder due past 1983.

Other donors disapprove. Therefore, despite a burden-sharing provision in the IDA replenishment — whereby a cutback by one major donor would be matched by cutbacks by others — several countries have recently broken with US policy and have committed to their full 1982 IDA installments.

Opposition of others to recommendations in a recent US government report on the World Bank and other multilateral development banks is a second reason for America's growing isolation and declining influence. Despite a generally favorable assessment of the performance of these institutions, the report proposes that the US reduce in real terms future contributions to the "soft loan windows" of the banks; and phase out paid-in capital, which would limit future expansion of the bank's lending capacities. To offset these measures, the report recommends ways that the bank might strengthen its role as a catalyst for greater private flows to developing countries. Desirable as that catalytic function might be, it cannot yield substantially increased resources for development in the near term.

In both making the IDA cutbacks and drafting the recent report, the US seems to have been too quick to assume that other major donor countries — faced, like the US, with budgetary constraints — would welcome significant reductions in resource transfers and in the World Bank's role. Although it is now too late to affect the 1983 foreign assistance budget, it is worth considering the costs of the current course of action to US national interests. It is also worth considering how to limit the damage.

At a minimum, the US's actions reduce the economic benefits it derives from the processes of economic growth and development helped by World Bank loans. Consider two points. Every dollar from the US leverages some \$15-\$20 in

development finance from the World Bank, which borrows, against contributions, from the private markets in order to lend to developing countries. These countries are today the fastest growing markets for US goods and services. Moreover, US firms secure a large share of the contracts offered under bank loans — \$6.4 billion in contracts to US businesses for \$935 million in total US contributions to the bank.

Washington's present course may also diminish the likelihood that bank financing will continue to suit US foreign policy interests. Over the years, the World Bank has promoted economic development policies supportive of a free, open, and stable world economy. It is in the US interest that these policies be continued, and a dynamic World Bank, able to help countries finance and manage economic adjustment, growth, and the elimination of abject poverty, is one of the best means for encouraging that. Moreover, today's largest World Bank borrowers are countries of importance to the America.

Finally, current policy undercuts American ability to influence World Bank operations at a time when reforms are needed to respond to changing international economic relations. The administration wants World Bank resources to be redirected and reserved for countries that have not benefited from the direct expansion of private bank lending. The administration also wants the bank to do more to encourage countries to adopt sounder macroeconomic policies. These are important issues. But the US no longer carries sufficient weight in the bank to enforce its views.

After three decades of playing a dominant role in the bank, the US has let the gap narrow between its share of contributions and votes and the shares of others. This is an appropriate response to the increased economic importance of others.

However, if the US is not to forgo as well its ability to exert constructive influence, it must neither unilaterally back out of internationally negotiated agreements nor try to dictate reforms.

Instead of either paying the piper and calling the tune or going it alone, the US should learn to exercise leadership in the pursuit of common goals. And, as a modest indication of the ability to do that, Washington should commit itself to make good on its IDA pledge by no later than 1984.

Catherine Gwin is a senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and co-author of "Collective Management: The Reform Of Global Economic Organizations."

Don't dismiss Brezhnev's nuclear pledge

By Roscoe Drummond

Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev has put President Ronald Reagan on a difficult spot, and the sooner Mr. Reagan gets off it — with credibility — the better.

These are Mr. Brezhnev's simple and carefully chosen words in the statement which Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko read in his behalf before the United Nations Conference on Disarmament. It is well to keep his exact words in mind:

"The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics assumes an obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons.

"This obligation will become effective immediately at the moment it is made public from the United Nations General Assembly."

It is my conviction, as one who has never been "soft" on communism nor on Soviet foreign policy, we cannot pass this proposal over lightly or dismiss it unless we want to throw away an opportunity to test Russian good faith.

When the words were pronounced at the UN the press reported that they elicited "a great roar of sustained applause" among the delegates of every nation.

As the matter now stands the Soviet offer is overwhelmingly supported by world opinion. If Mr. Reagan stands pat, his position will be overwhelmingly disapproved by world opinion and by much American opinion.

It is understandable that Mr. Reagan should be suspicious that the Soviet leader is making a meaningless promise which will not likely be carried out. There is a basis for such skepticism. In his book detailing his part in representing the

White House in many of the Cuban missile crisis negotiations, Robert Kennedy disclosed that the Soviets "lied to the President 17 times," affirming that no missiles had been or were being placed in Cuba and keeping this up until photographs disproved these assurances.

It is altogether likely that the Soviets would not believe the US if we matched the Soviet pledge against first use. We wouldn't believe them and they wouldn't believe us.

Is there no way around this mutual disbelief?

I think there is. It is this:

If both sides are committed against the first use of nuclear weapons, there will be no nuclear war. The test as to whether both sides mean what they say is their willingness to act accordingly; namely, to agree to destroy under supervision all nuclear weapons each possesses and build no more.

There is precedent in the past policies of both superpowers.

In 1978 Foreign Minister Gromyko announced that Russia would "never fire nuclear weapons against countries which renounce their production or acquisition and do not keep them within their territory."

Why shouldn't Mr. Reagan test the validity of the pledge on no first use by proposing that both sides destroy — under on-site supervision — all nuclear weapons and guarantee they will produce no new nuclear weapons under similar supervision?

Roscoe Drummond is a longtime political commentator.

3 Jews and a Palestinian Urge Mutual Israeli-P.L.O. Recognition

The New York Times

July 3, 1982

Special to The New York Times

PARIS, July 2 — Two separate but related appeals for mutual recognition by Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization were made today by three prominent Jews and the most conspicuous moderate in the P.L.O. leadership.

In a statement issued here, Nahum Goldmann, president of the World Jewish Congress; Philip M. Klutznick, former United States Commerce Secretary, and Pierre Mendès-France, former Prime Minister of France, said that "Israel must lift its siege of Beirut in order to facilitate negotiations with the P.L.O., leading to a political settlement.

"Mutual recognition must be vigorously pursued," the statement continued, "and there should be negotiations with the aim of achieving coexistence between the Israeli and Palestinian peoples based on self-determination."

At the same time, Dr. Isam Sartawi, who is considered the leading moderate in the P.L.O.'s ruling council, published a declaration hailing the statement and calling it "a program to get us out of the crisis that is afflicting Lebanon."

Weeks of Consultations

The two declarations were the product of several weeks of consultations, culminating with a sudden trip here by Mr. Klutznick to meet with Mr. Goldmann and Mr. Mendès-France. The three men also met with Dr. Sartawi to coordinate the two statements.

The effort, conceived and executed with urgency in view of a feeling by the four that developments in Beirut allow them very little time, is aimed at showing that there is a moderate current on both sides that seeks mutual recognition instead of mutual denial.

"There must be a stop to the sterile debate whereby the Arab world challenges the existence of Israel and Jews challenge the political legitimacy of the Palestinian fight for independence," the statement by the three Jews said.

The statement went on to say, in effect, that the kind of autonomy called for by the Camp David agreements was insufficient and that there must be full national recognition by each side.

Mr. Klutznick, president-emeritus of the World Jewish Congress, said today that he and Mr. Goldmann were speaking personally and not for the organization, whose executive committee meets here next week. "I expect I will be hearing quite a bit about this then," he said.

Dr. Sartawi's public support for mutual public recognition by Israel and the P.L.O. has only quasi-official status, despite his position in the organization's council. In the past, the P.L.O. leadership has let him state his moderate views — possibly as a trial balloon — only to have them hang there, without further official endorsement or follow-up.

Underlying both statements is a theme being developed intensively in Europe by France and in the Middle East by Egypt and some of the other moderate Arab countries. Their position is that the military destruction of the P.L.O., which they regard as nearly accomplished, must not be followed by its political destruction.

To avoid this, the argument goes, something must be done to shore up the P.L.O.'s political leadership. Deprived of its military ability, it is argued, the P.L.O. will inevitably become a force for moderation and negotiation. If it is eliminated, the movement will be replaced by extremism and terrorism. This argument is being pressed on the United States by both the Egyptians and the French.

Dr. Sartawi touched on this idea in his statement, saying that "only a proud, strong and independent Palestinian leadership is capable of concluding such a peace." It was not explicitly mentioned in the other statement, but it was part of the rationale behind the drafting of it.

Foreign Minister Boutros Ghali of Egypt has been in Paris most of the week, working to develop a common position with the French. One result was a remark Thursday by Foreign Minister Claude Cheysson of France that "it is indispensable that the political side of the P.L.O. be accentuated since its military side has diminished."

The French are proposing official recognition of the P.L.O. as representatives of the Palestinians. Although they have not formally granted such recognition, there are indications that they are considering some imminent gesture in that direction.

In an interview today, Mr. Ghali spelled out the argument for making sure that the P.L.O. is not politically crushed.

"If we want a future for a continuing dialogue between the Israelis and the Palestinians, we must see that the Palestinians are not weakened to the point that all that remains is a monologue," he said.

He said the P.L.O. had been "defeated militarily," but must now be reinforced. "We in Egypt have not gotten along well with the P.L.O. in the past," he said. "But what we must have is a valid interlocutor, and if they are eliminated there will be no peace here."

It is urgent, he said, that gestures be made in the next few days to save the face of the Palestinian leadership. One of the possibilities he suggested was that Mr. Arafat be invited to put his case to one or more European parliaments.

President Hosni Mubarak has already made a move in this direction by inviting the P.L.O. to set up a government in exile in Cairo, on the condition

that it abandon military means in favor of political and diplomatic ones. The Palestinian leadership has not responded.

"A crisis such as we have now can be the beginning of a new approach, a new solution," Mr. Ghali said. "It would be a pity not to use this crisis to find resolutions. In a crisis you can obtain concessions from the parties concerned that ordinarily you would not find."

The New York Times

July 4, 1982

Arafat Is Backing Plan On Mutual Recognition

PARIS, July 3 (Reuters) — Yasir Arafat, the head of the Palestine Liberation Organization, was quoted today as having supported a call by three leading Jews for Israel and the Palestinians to recognize each other's right to exist.

He was quoted by the Paris newspaper *Le Monde* as having said in Beirut that such a development could lead to lasting peace in the Middle East.

"The call constitutes a positive initiative toward a just and lasting peace in the Middle East," Mr. Arafat was quoted as having said. He was replying to a statement in *Le Monde* on Friday, urging Israel to end hostilities and open talks with the P.L.O.

The statement was made by Pierre Mendès-France, a former French Prime Minister, Philip M. Klutznick, a former United States Secretary of Commerce, and Nahum Goldmann, former head of the World Jewish Congress.

Foreign Minister Boutros Ghali of Egypt, who flew home on Friday after discussing the Lebanese situation, was also quoted today in *Le Monde* as having supported the declaration.

*Capital Fare**A salute to four who spoke out for peace*

By Andrew Tully

The following article represents the opinion of the author. WASHINGTON — At this writing, only God knows what will happen in the tragedy-plagued Middle East, but it will never be too early to pay tribute to three Jews and a Palestinian who talked good, humanitarian sense.

Their names should be inscribed in the history books: Nahum Goldman, president of the World Jewish Congress; Philip Klutznick, former U.S. Secretary of Commerce; Pierre Mendes-France, former French Prime Minister; and Dr. Isam Sartawi, a moderate member of the Palestine Liberation Organization's ruling council.

Goldman, Klutznick and Mendes-France issued a statement declaring that "Israel must...facilitate negotiations with the PLO, leading to a political settlement. Mutual recognition must be vigorously pursued, and there should be negotiations with the aim of achieving co-existence between the Israeli and Palestinian peoples based on self-determination."

Dr. Sartawi, hailed the statement of the three Jews, calling it "A program to get us out of the crisis that is afflicting Lebanon."

Statesmanship

That, my friends, is what is called statesmanship. Those four men have met the enemy and discovered that it is both sides. Their proposal is the only possible approach to a situation in which the PLO denies Israel's right to exist, and the Israelis thumb their noses at the Palestinians' fight for an independent homeland.

Klutznick, president-emeritus of the WJC, and Goldman said they were speaking personally and not for the organization in which they have been so active. They were wrong. They were speaking for humanity everywhere. They were speaking for compassion. They spoke for the art of intelligent politics. They spoke for the practical, not the hysterical.

It would be presumptuous for me to say that Klutznick counts me as a friend, but he is my friend. He is my friend because I know him and I know he is an honest and compassionate man. He is my friend just as any man or woman who does good is my friend. And Philip Klutznick has always been a friend of the good and decent.

United for Peace

Such friends of the human race, too, are Goldman, Mendes-France and Sartawi. They can subordinate feelings of race, religion and nationalism in order to make sense. In the past, they may have put their own narrow causes first. Now they have united in the cause of peace.

Those four men have simply decided it is time to abandon the sterile debate that brought misery to the Middle East. They have come forward with a solution which

(Continued on Page 14)

Capital Fare

(Continued from Page 1)
the Israelis and the Palestinians will reject at their considerable peril. War has solved nothing. The four say now is the time to give peace its innings.

Israel can't survive under the guns of radical guerrillas. The Palestinians can't win a homeland for themselves with bombs. As Sartawi put it, "Only a proud, strong and independent Palestine is capable of concluding such a peace." The other three peacemakers join him in arguing that negotiations will produce a force for moderation in the PLO.

Goodman, Klutznick, Mendes-France and Sartawi. Stick those names in your hat. They come to save, not murder.

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Jérusalem poursuit une intense campagne pour convaincre l'opinion de l'action humanitaire de l'armée

Jérusalem. — Pour faire face aux protestations qui soulevaient l'étranger et même en Israël, l'invasion du Liban, le gouvernement de M. Begin a vu dans ces semaines...

De notre correspondant

Jérusalem Post, n'ont pas manqué de relever que ces exactions, par exemple, le 10 juin, d'un long convoi d'ambulances vers le Liban, qui a dû être interrompu à peine commença l'attaque...

Mais généralement, le public israélien est aveugle qu'on ne renonce à l'invasion de la magnanimité d'Israël, alors qu'un voleur pudique est jeté sur l'effet destructeur des opérations militaires...

Des chiffres très partiels

Les services officiels, les correspondants de guerre israéliens, ne cessent d'insister sur un « retour progressif à la normale » au Sud-Liban. Un « responsable » militaire (1) de la région de Tyr et de Saïda a même cru bon de déclarer, dans une interview à la radio, que « la situation est désormais plus normale qu'avant l'intervention israélienne »...

révèle, le 30 juin, que 50 % des habitations dans six camps de la région ont été détruites et que quarante mille civils palestiniens ont été jetés sur les routes durant les combats. Pour sa part, le gouvernement continue de prétendre qu'il n'y a eu que vingt mille personnes « blessées » ou « sans abri »...

Mais n'a-t-il pas omis de rappeler que les autorités israéliennes au Sud-Liban ont imposé à la population locale l'usage de la passer-passe très limitée et un contrôle très strict des allées et venues ? N'a-t-il pas oublié, notamment, les fumées qui l'environnent et les camps de réfugiés dévastés ? Un porte-parole de l'UNWRA (2) a

révélé, le 27 juin, que l'armée israélienne détenait cent mille prisonniers palestiniens. Or, cinquante semaines plus tôt, le 14 juin, lors d'une conférence de presse du chef d'état-major, le général Rappaport Eytan, le nombre de six mille avait été publié. Cette différence est pour le moins inacceptable, d'autant qu'on n'a pas fait état de libération massive, et que, ces deux derniers jours, selon le ministre de la défense, des dizaines de soldats parmi lesquels se trouvaient encore au Sud-Liban, ont été capturés. L'apparent « disparition » d'un millier de prisonniers semblerait aussi, exagérée.

FRANÇOIS CORNU.

(1) On ne dit plus gouverneur depuis le 27 juin que l'armée israélienne, mais « responsable des services d'assistance à la population civile ». (2) UNWRA : Office de secours et de travaux des Nations unies pour les réfugiés palestiniens dans le Proche-Orient.

Israël a violé les accords de Camp David et l'esprit du traité de paix entre Le Caire et Tel-Aviv

nous déclare M. Boutros-Ghali, ministre d'État égyptien aux affaires étrangères

A l'issue d'un séjour de trois jours à Paris, au cours desquels il a été reçu par M. Mitterrand et M. Cadoche Geyssant, M. Boutros-Ghali est rentré au Caire le vendredi soir, 2 juillet.

Le ministre d'État égyptien chargé des affaires étrangères juge « extrêmement encourageante » la déclaration de M. Pierre Goldmann et Philip Klutznick en faveur de la reconnaissance « précoce » d'Israël et de l'O.L.P. par le monde du 3 juillet. « Cette déclaration, dit-il, a ajouté, est conforme à l'action diplomatique égyptienne et peut constituer le point de départ d'un dialogue et d'une action commune pour transformer l'effroyable tragédie qui se joue au Liban en un nouveau processus de paix dans l'intérêt de tous les peuples de la région ».

Évoquant les efforts conjoints déployés par la France et l'Égypte dans ce sens, il a indiqué que l'un des objectifs poursuivis est de « transformer la défaite militaire de l'O.L.P. en une victoire politique ». « Nous considérons l'O.L.P. comme l'un des éléments majeurs de la réalité palestinienne et, dans une phase ultérieure, il faudra insister dans le processus de faire reconnaître les institutions de l'O.L.P. », dit-il.

M. Boutros-Ghali est satisfait de l'action commune engagée par le Caire et Paris au regard de la sécurité. Le projet de résolution qui sera présenté, nous dit-il, « est d'une importance capitale » car il vise tout à la fois à arrêter le carnage au Liban, et à résoudre sur le fond, les problèmes libanais et palestiniens. « Il y a une autre raison pour nous, liés aux problèmes de sécurité, de déployer une intense activité diplomatique : sauver les accords de Camp David, qui n'étaient pas à nos yeux une fin en soi, mais un point de départ vers une paix globale dans la région ».

M. Boutros-Ghali enchaîne en pesant ses mots « Parce que la situation catastrophique dans les camps libanais et palestiniens, Israël a violé les accords de

Camp David ainsi que l'esprit du traité de paix signé entre Le Caire et Tel-Aviv. Israël a donc violé l'esprit de ces accords. Vos recommandations que nous n'avons cessé de produire. Que pourrions-nous faire de ces « résolutions » ? Le ministre égyptien répond : « Votre Parlement a longuement discuté de diverses sanctions. Des débats ont demandé la rupture des relations diplomatiques entre Le Caire et Tel-Aviv, d'autres ont proposé que vos ambassadeurs soient pour le moins rappelés. Le gouvernement a répondu qu'il n'abandonnerait pas pour le moment la voie de telles mesures. Mais il va de soi que personne ne peut exclure de pareilles options ».

M. Boutros-Ghali se dit « extrêmement préoccupé » par la suite des

événements. Israël, dit-il, paraît vouloir ignorer la volonté de la Communauté internationale quasi-unanime. Il ne veut pas dire sur le comportement américain pour ne pas compromettre les échanges en cours. « Le fait est, dit-il, de remarquer, qu'avec les administrations américaines récemment jusqu'à mardi matin en raison de la très déférence. Le nouveau secrétaire d'État américain, M. Schultz, a dit qu'il ne veut pas dans une certaine mesure, tandis que M. Haig empêche les affaires courantes. N'est-ce pas là un moment crucial pour Israël ? L'Égypte a-t-elle un rôle à jouer en attendant un nouveau fait accompli ? »

Propos recueillis par ERIC ROULEAU.

Le plan de règlement franco-égyptien prévoit la reconnaissance mutuelle et simultanée de toutes les parties intéressées

Nations unies (A.F.P.). — Le document de travail franco-égyptien sur le Proche-Orient, remis au président du Conseil de sécurité, comporte les dispositions suivantes :

1) Il demande à toutes les parties belligères d'observer immédiatement et d'une manière totale de ces forces du Liban, permanente un cessez-le-feu dans tout le Liban, et demande le retrait immédiat des forces israéliennes de la périphérie de Beyrouth à une distance agréée, comme premier pas d'un retrait total de ces forces au Liban. Quant à la zone de sécurité de la périphérie de Beyrouth-Ouest des forces palestiniennes, avec leurs armes légitimes, à destination d'un camp dont le lieu reste à déterminer, sur la base de conditions acceptées par les parties.

2) Le plan demande le retrait de toutes les forces étrangères du Liban, à l'exception de celles qui seraient autorisées par le gouvernement légitime du Liban. Il exprime le soutien du Conseil de sécurité au gouvernement libanais dans ses efforts pour renforcer sa souveraineté sur l'ensemble de son territoire.

3) Le projet demande au secrétaire général de l'ONU de déployer d'urgence des observateurs de l'ONU, avec l'accord du gouvernement libanais, pour observer le cessez-le-feu et le désarmement des forces de la périphérie. Il demande également au secrétaire général de préparer un rapport sur les possibilités de déploiement de forces de maintien de l'ONU qui pren-

draient position aux côtés des forces libanaises (1).

4) Le document de travail demande au Conseil de sécurité de proclamer que le règlement du problème libanais doit aider à promouvoir l'amorce d'un processus de rétablissement d'une paix stable et de la sécurité dans la région, sur la base des principes de la sécurité pour tous ses États et de la justice pour tous ses peuples.

5) Cette fois, le Conseil confirmerait à nouveau le droit de tous les États de la région d'exister en sécurité conformément à la résolution 242 du Conseil de sécurité. Il confirmerait les droits nationaux légitimes du peuple palestinien, y compris son droit à l'autodétermination avec ses conséquences politiques, et garantirait que le peuple palestinien dans ce but, doit être représenté dans les négociations, et que l'O.L.P. doit donc y participer.

6) Enfin, le secrétaire général de l'ONU devrait être invité à présenter ses propositions en consultant avec toutes les parties intéressées, y compris les représentants du peuple palestinien, de tenir le plus tôt possible un séminaire, avant une date qui reste à fixer, et les États membres seraient invités à coopérer avec l'ONU dans l'application de cette résolution.

(1) Les trois premiers points du document de travail franco-égyptien, représentent les grandes lignes de la solution française, revêtue par le Conseil de sécurité, le 26 juin dernier, à la suite d'un veto américain. Ce texte ne prévoit cependant que les forces de maintien de la paix évacueront Beyrouth-Ouest avec des armes lourdes, ce qui leur a offert depuis M. Begin

Amnesty International demande à Israël de traiter les détenus palestiniens selon les normes internationales

Amnesty International a appelé, vendredi 2 juillet, Israël à traiter les prisonniers capturés au Liban selon des normes conformes aux conventions internationales.

Dans une lettre envoyée jeudi au premier ministre israélien, M. Menahem Begin, et rendue publique vendredi à Londres, Amnesty International a demandé des informations de presse sur les conditions de détention des prisonniers — des civils et des combattants — non maintenus aux secrets traitements, l'absence de soins médicaux.

L'organisation humanitaire demande au gouvernement israélien de prendre des mesures pour protéger ces prisonniers et permettre que le Comité international de la Croix-rouge les visite, ainsi que leurs familles et leurs avocats.

Amnesty International demande également qu'il soit établie la liste des personnes détenues et la raison de leur détention. Tous les prisonniers détenus doivent être libérés, sur la base de leurs opinions politiques, de ses opinions ou de ses attaches.

immédiatement, écrit Amnesty International.

À Paris, une commission de sauvegarde des prisonniers palestiniens et libanais a été constituée le 30 juin sur l'initiative d'un groupe de juristes et de médecins français. L'organisation se fixe pour but de enquêter sur l'emplacement des centres d'internement et d'interrogatoire, sur les conditions d'internement et les procédures de détention, ainsi que sur les effectifs et identité des prisonniers « capturés par les Israéliens depuis leur intervention au Liban, le 6 juin dernier. Parmi les spécialistes de ce domaine figurent les oncologues Léon Schwartzenberg et Georges Mathé, M. Joe Nordmann, président de l'Association internationale des juristes démocrates, huit professeurs d'université dont Mme Monique Chemillier-Gendreau et MM. Pierre Weiss et Olivier Weiss, ainsi que des « avocats » dont M^{rs} France Weyl et Christian Bourquiel, et une dizaine de médecins, dont MM. David Mochover et Raymond Galinski.

« Les soldats les ont rotés de coups pour leur faire admettre qu'ils étaient terroristes. Ce matin, ils ont été libérés avec leurs effets personnels, mais ils ne pouvaient pas marcher pendant quelques jours ».

« Au sortir de chez le métropolitain Haddad, les officiers israéliens accompagnant les journalistes a estimé que les personnes mitraillées — des cas isolés, selon lui — étaient sans doute victimes des druzes servant dans l'armée israélienne : « Ils sont brutaux, nous n'y pouvons rien, a-t-il dit, mais ils sont très forts pour trouver rapidement des caches d'armes ».

Le problème des prisonniers n'est pas le seul point de désaccord entre l'administrateur israélien de Saïda — qui, officiellement, n'est que le dirigeant de l'« unité d'élite civile » — et le maire de la ville, l'administrateur israélien, M. Amniblan de quatre cents personnes dans la population civile. Pour le maire, le camp se situe entre six cents et mille.

La mission de M. Gutmann à Jérusalem s'est soldée par un échec

De notre correspondant

Jérusalem. — « Les entretiens n'ont pas toujours été fructueux, mais ils ont eu au moins le mérite de la franchise ». C'est ainsi que M. Francis Gutmann, secrétaire général du ministère des relations extérieures, a décrit l'atmosphère de la conférence qu'il a eue vendredi 2 juillet à Jérusalem avec M. Shamir, ministre israélien des affaires étrangères. « La mission dont il est chargé par le gouvernement français est pour le moins délicate dans la mesure où Israël la rejette ».

En effet, dans l'entourage de M. Shamir, on n'a pas pris de garde pour faire savoir que la démarche française n'est pas venue, « Nous ne comprenons pas les efforts déployés par la France pour sauver l'O.L.P. », a-t-on indiqué, car si les israéliens ont pour objectif de prolonger la crise libanaise et le problème palestinien, l'O.L.P. étant à l'origine de ces deux tragédies. Et, de la manière la plus nette, on a déclaré que M. Shamir venait de demander « avec insistance » au gouvernement français, par l'intermédiaire de M. Gutmann, de ne pas s'engager dans les affaires actuelles entre les États-Unis et le gouvernement libanais, qui ont pour but d'obtenir le départ de l'O.L.P. de Beyrouth.

En France est prise de ne « s'engager » qu'à une « rencontre » l'O.L.P. à discuter son départ. Au cas où un doute aurait été permis, un diplomate israélien a même affirmé : « Le Liban n'est pas de mettre un terme à ses démarches ».

Le ministère israélien des affaires étrangères a d'autre part indiqué que l'ambassadeur français, en cours de « contentieux », n'avait pas apporté de « propositions concrètes ».

M. Gutmann, de son côté, a déclaré que l'initiative française avait pour but de « rechercher, auprès de l'ambassadeur français, les différents éléments d'un accord possible pour tenter d'éviter un nouveau drame ». Il a reconnu que cela était difficile, car il y a une grande entente entre cette initiative avait trait non seulement à la situation actuelle à Beyrouth, mais au fond du Liban, et à l'ensemble de la région du Proche-Orient. M. Gut-

mann devait se rendre ensuite à Beyrouth puis en Syrie et en Jordanie, de même qu'en Arabie Saoudite. — P.C.

M. Arafat semble favorable à une reconnaissance réciproque de l'O.L.P. et d'Israël

(Suite de la première page.)

Le chef de l'O.L.P. semble donc admettre le principe de la reconnaissance mutuelle et simultanée entre son organisation et Israël, ce qui n'avait jamais été le cas jusqu'à présent, et se félicite que trois personnalités juives d'envergure internationale militent à cette fin, souhaitant manifestement qu'elles arrachent une concession parallèle à Israël.

L'initiative de MM. Mandos France, Goldmann et Klutznick et la réponse de M. Arafat prendraient plus d'importance si des rumeurs circulant à Beyrouth-Ouest se révélèrent fondés, selon lesquelles la France et la Grande-Bretagne seraient sur le point d'accorder une pleine reconnaissance à l'O.L.P., impliquant l'acceptation du principe selon lequel cette organisation représente le peuple palestinien (1).

« Une telle reconnaissance pourrait être une des contreparties politiques de base demandées par l'O.L.P. en échange de son désarmement et du départ complet de ses combattants qu'au sein militairement, l'O.L.P. se trouverait consolidée politiquement. Du même coup, l'obstacle majeur constitué par le maintien d'une présence armée symbolique palestinienne au Liban serait susceptible d'être surmonté, dans la mesure où cette présence devrait disparaître pour une O.L.P. munie d'un tel statut occidental ».

« C'est sur ce point, en particulier, qu'on a été les entretiens de M. Begin, Gemayel, chef des Forces libanaises (chrétiennes), invité à Taïf (Arabie Saoudite) par la commission interarabie formée pour sortir les Palestiniens de l'impasse, sauver

Beyrouth-Ouest de l'assaut israélien et rechercher un règlement à la crise libanaise.

Après avoir rencontré, dès son arrivée dans la capitale, le président de la République M. Elias Sarkis, ainsi que M. Philip Habib, ambassadeur américain au Proche-Orient, le dirigeant phalangiste a, quant à lui, seulement constaté qu'il « existe un changement qualitatif dans l'appui à la position libanaise ».

« J'estime, a-t-il ajouté, qu'il est possible de constituer une base populaire suffisante pour commencer à arrêter des positions libanaises saines et à les déterminer entre nous. Le moment est venu pour l'armée libanaise d'être seule responsable de tout ce qui se passe sur le sol du Liban et de la sécurité de toute personne vivant sur ce territoire ».

M. Bechré Gemayel s'est cependant refusé à tout pronostic quant au résultat de la capitale saoudite, se disant seulement « plutôt pessimiste » et réajustant par avance toute la responsabilité d'un éventuel assaut sur les dirigeants de l'O.L.P.

M. SHARON et l'objectif est de détruire l'O.L.P.

Les maigres résultats — au moins apparents — de la rencontre de Taïf ont soulagé les leaders progressistes de l'Ouest qui redoutaient par-dessus tout un abandon du leader phalangiste par le monde arabe en attendant qu'une bonne occasion se présente à faire sortir honorablement les Palestiniens de la nasse. « Il avait une carte en or, il l'a gâchée. Tant mieux pour nous ».

« On ne peut pas se fier à un homme qui a été le représentant national. Aucune vraie lumière n'étant venue

de Taïf, l'interminable ballet des tractations beyrouthines a repris ses droits. Propositions et contrepropositions continuent de s'échanger par des navettes en rondes. Vendredi, le premier ministre libanais, le député américain, M. Chawk Wazzan, affirmait que des progrès étaient enregistrés chaque jour et s'accordait avec M. Hani El Hassan, secrétaire politique de l'O.L.P., pour estimer que l'on en était à mi-chemin ».

À la même heure, comme en écho M. Amniblan, ministre israélien de la défense, disait également en déjouant dans un hôtel de Beyrouth. Est. Venu en civil, accompagné de son épouse, il s'est entretenu avec le homme et a répondu, très détaché, aux questions qui fusaient autour de lui. « Nous croyons, a-t-il dit, que les Palestiniens doivent être libérés par des moyens pacifiques des efforts diplomatiques et de la patience. Mais si l'est entreprise de détruire l'organisation terroriste au Liban ».

« Nous croyons à la coexistence pacifique avec le peuple palestinien », a encore affirmé M. Sharon, l'ayant d'ajouter : « rabi n'a pas l'intention de garder un seul pouce du territoire libanais et espère bien que le Liban sera deuxième pays arabe à signer la paix ».

LUCIEN GEORGE et DOMINIQUE POUCHIN.

(1) Interlocuteur de l'ambassadeur de l'O.L.P. à Taïf, M. Arafat, a déclaré tout ignorer de l'évolution de la position française. Il considère que l'O.L.P. a toute relation avec le peuple palestinien, et qu'il ne peut pas se fier à un homme qui a été le représentant national. Aucune vraie lumière n'étant venue

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2 ÉDITION

Libération

Israéliens-Palestiniens

MENDES FRANCE PROPOSE LA PAIX DES BRAVES

• En compagnie de deux autres personnalités du judaïsme mondial, Nahum Goldman, ancien président du congrès juif mondial, et Philip Klutznick, ancien ministre du commerce de Jimmy Carter, l'ancien président du conseil français a lancé hier un appel à la négociation entre Israël et l'OLP. « Il faut mettre fin, déclarent-ils, au débat stérile dans lequel le monde arabe conteste l'existence d'Israël et les juifs contestent le droit des Palestiniens à l'indépendance ». Leur initiative s'est doublée d'une déclaration d'Issam Sartaoui, conseiller politique de Yasser Arafat.

• Vendredi soir, le conseil de sécurité a été averti d'une prochaine initiative franco-égyptienne, concernant non seulement la guerre du Liban mais toute la situation au Proche Orient. Lire pages 2 à 4 et 36.



Le quotidien du MUNDIAL

L'entraîneur irlandais nous déclare : « La France est le dernier obstacle sur notre route ».

**DIMANCHE A MADRID:
LES FRANÇAIS
DANS
L'ANTICHAMBRE
DU PARADIS**

Platini jouera ...
« évidemment » nous
explique Michel Hidalgo.



L'ESPAGNE AUX ENFERS

La chronique de Jean-Marc
Guillou. Lire pages 17 à 20.

BATAILLE DE PARIS PAUL QUILES S'EXPLIQUE SUR LE PROJET SOCIALISTE

Le secrétaire national du PS et l'un des candidats socialistes possibles à la mairie développe le projet de réforme de Paris et menace Chirac de faire le bilan de ses gaspillages. Lire pages 6, 7 et 8.

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EDITORIALS.

Start Talking

Menachem Begin has chosen to wage what he hopes will be the final battle against the Palestine Liberation Organization in Lebanon; thus the rejectionists of both sides are locked in the ultimate face-off. But are they all rejectionists? On July 13, *The New York Times* published an interview with Yasir Arafat by Uri Avnery, the Israeli journalist and former Begin gadfly in the Knesset. Arafat spoke of peace between "two separate states," expressed his "approval for the American-Soviet communiqué in October 1977" and declared that "the Fahd proposals are a very good platform

for a solution in the Middle East." Avnery asked Arafat to elucidate his commitment to the 1977 communiqué, which says, he pointed out, "that the security of all states in the area, including Israel, which it explicitly mentions, will be safeguarded." Arafat replied, "You see, when we have said O.K. to this initiative, this means that we accepted all its items. We said that it is a good platform for a peaceful settlement." And he added: "We are ready to live in any part of Palestine from which the Israelis withdraw or which will be liberated. Any part."

Is Arafat a rejectionist or not? His words surely satisfied in spirit, if not in the letter of a formal diplomatic instrument, Washington's sole condition for face-to-face negotiations between the United States and the P.L.O.: recognition

of Israel's right to exist. On July 13, another P.L.O. official, Issam Sartawi, seemed to give official confirmation to Arafat's point. In a speech in Paris, Sartawi said, "The P.L.O. has formally conceded to Israel in the most unequivocal manner the right to exist on a reciprocal basis." Sartawi asserted that his statement could not be repudiated and that he was speaking "on the firmest official ground—on behalf of the governing body of the P.L.O.—the Palestinian National Council."

For some time now we have suspected that the issue of who should recognize whom first—the P.L.O., Israel or Israel, the P.L.O.—is a pseudo-issue, a semantic smokescreen. Arafat is a skillful player of this word game. So is Begin. And the State Department has joined them with its July 14 statement that Sartawi's words do "not appear to meet the position we have laid out" on U.S. recognition of the P.L.O. The Reagan Administration apparently wants something more "formal" than Sartawi's "formal" concession "to Israel in the most unequivocal manner the right to exist on a reciprocal basis." The word game continues.

But the death toll in Lebanon is real, regardless of the controversy over numbers. The war must stop. The killing of civilians must stop. And the flattening of part of a modern city with a population of half a million people must be averted. Negotiations must begin, and that means each side must start to talk seriously to the other. The State Department's special mediator, Philip Habib, clearly cannot effectively negotiate through middlemen—as he is now trying to do. Despite the middlemen, he is negotiating with the P.L.O. The pretense that he is not should be dropped. For the United States to talk directly with the P.L.O. would not constitute an endorsement of the call in the latter's charter for the destruction of the Jewish state. In fact, such talks might well be the catalyst for the dropping of this clause. And in the context of the present crisis, they could give Arafat the face-saving concession he needs to go back to his followers and persuade them to lay down their arms and leave Beirut.

We believe that a negotiated settlement, one that would bring about genuine Palestinian self-determination while insuring Israel's security, is possible. The mutual-recognition formula is a good one, but it cannot be implemented until a determined and influential mediator steps in to bring the parties together. Both Israelis and Palestinians distrust the United States—and with good reason. America has played both sides of the street in the Middle East and has never hesitated to intervene in the internal affairs of the countries concerned. Unfortunately, however, Israel's military and economic dependence on the United States (which began after its "victory" in the 1967 war), and the Arab world's client relationship with Washington because of the strategic importance of its oil, have put George Shultz and the boys from Bechtel in the mediator's seat. Only the United States can compel serious negotiations, and to do so it must break through the semantic barrier—its unwillingness to negotiate "directly" with a P.L.O. it does not "recognize." If direct talks with the P.L.O. could lead to mutual recognition between Israel and the Palestinians, can

we any longer afford to let the semantics of nonrecognition stand in their way?

The Washington Post recently published a short statement signed by Pierre Mendes France, former prime minister of France; Nahum Goldmann, president of the World Jewish Congress; and Philip M. Klutznick, former U.S. Secretary of Commerce and now honorary international president of B'nai B'rith. Their statement is reprinted in the box below, and included in it are two sentences that *The Post*, curiously, omitted. They are: "The war in Lebanon must stop. Israel must lift its siege of Beirut in order to facilitate negotiations with the P.L.O., leading to a political settlement." (Emphasis added.) If mutual recognition is the first step to a peaceful settlement, then the Israelis need someone in West Beirut with whom to negotiate. Peace now is an aspiration, but direct negotiations are an obvious precondition.

Peace need not be made between friends, but between enemies who have struggled and suffered. Our sense of Jewish history and the moral imperative of this moment require us to insist that the time is urgent for mutual recognition between Israel and the Palestinian people. There must be a stop to the sterile debate whereby the Arab world challenges the existence of Israel and Jews challenge the political legitimacy of the Palestinian fight for independence.

The real issue is not whether the Palestinians are entitled to their rights, but how to bring this about while ensuring Israel's security and regional stability. Ambiguous concepts such as "autonomy" are no longer sufficient, for they too often are used to confuse rather than to clarify. Needed now is the determination to reach a political accommodation between Israeli and Palestinian nationalism.

The war in Lebanon must stop. Israel must lift its siege of Beirut in order to facilitate negotiations with the P.L.O., leading to a political settlement. Mutual recognition must be vigorously pursued, and there should be negotiations with the aim of achieving co-existence between the Israeli and the Palestinian peoples based on self-determination.

Pierre Mendes France
Nahum Goldmann
Philip M. Klutznick

Jewish and Palestinian appeals for mutual recognition made

A 2

New York Times News Service

Paris—Two separate but related appeals for mutual recognition between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization were made yesterday, one by three prominent Jewish figures, the other by the most conspicuous moderate in the PLO leadership.

In a statement issued in Paris, Nahum Goldmann and Philip Klutznick, of the World Jewish Congress, and former French Prime Minister Pierre Mendes-France said that "Israel must lift its siege of Beirut in order to facilitate negotiations with the PLO, leading to a political settlement."

"Mutual recognition must be vigorously

pursued," the statement said, "and there should be negotiations with the aim of achieving coexistence between the Israeli and Palestinian peoples based on self-determination."

At the same time, Issa Sartawi, who is considered the leading dove among the PLO's ruling council, published a declaration hailing the statement and calling it "a program to get us out of the crisis that is afflicting Lebanon."

"There must be a stop to the sterile debate whereby the Arab world challenges the existence of Israel, and Jews challenge the political legitimacy of the Palestinian fight for independence," the Goldmann-Klutznick-Mendes-France statement said.

If recognizing the PLO goes beyond the

public position of even moderate Jewish groups, the statement goes even farther by saying, in effect, that the kind of autonomy called for by the Camp David agreements is insufficient, and that there must be full national recognition by each side.

Mr. Klutznick said yesterday that he and Mr. Goldmann were speaking personally and not for the World Jewish Congress, whose executive committee meets next week. "I expect I will be hearing quite a bit about this then," he said.

As for Mr. Sartawi, his public support of mutual public recognition between Israel and the PLO has only quasi-official status, despite his position on the organization's council.

In the past he has been allowed to state his moderate views by the Palestinian leadership—possibly as a trial balloon—only to have them hang there, without further official endorsement or follow-up.

Underlying both statements is a central theme being developed intensively by some of the moderate Arab governments, in particular, Egypt, and in Europe by France. That is that the military destruction of the PLO, which these countries regard as pretty much accomplished, must not be followed by its political destruction.

Egypt's foreign minister, Boutros Ghali, has been in Paris most of the week, working to develop a common position with the

French. In an interview yesterday, he outlined the argument for making sure that the PLO is not politically crushed.

"If we want a future for a continuing dialogue between the Israelis and the Palestinians, we must see that the Palestinians are not weakened to the point that all that remains is a monologue," he said.

"They are detested militarily. Now we must find means to reinforce them. We in Egypt have not gotten along well with the PLO in the past. But what we must have is a valid interlocutor, and if they are eliminated there will be no peace here."

It is urgent, he said, that gestures be made in the next few days to save the face of the Palestinian leadership.

An Unprecedented Call For CO-EXISTENCE BETWEEN THE ISRAELI AND PALESTINIAN PEOPLES



We are American Jews, committed to the survival of the State of Israel, who endorse the following statement issued on July 2, 1982 by three internationally prominent Jewish leaders.

Below is a statement, in the original English, issued by Dr. Nahum Goldmann, Philip M. Klutznick and Pierre Mendes France. Dr. Nahum Goldmann is Former President of the World Zionist Organization and Founder-President of the World Jewish Congress. Philip M. Klutznick is Former U.S. Secretary of Congress, President Emeritus of the World Jewish Congress, and Honorary President of Bnai Brith International. Pierre Mendes France is Former Prime Minister of France.

Peace need not be made between friends, but between enemies who have struggled and suffered. Our sense of Jewish history and the moral imperatives of this moment require us to insist that the time is urgent for mutual recognition between Israel and the Palestinian people. There must be a stop to the sterile debate, whereby the Arab world challenges the existence of Israel and Jews challenge the political legitimacy of the Palestinian fight for independence.

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The war in Lebanon must stop. Israel must lift its seige of Beirut in order to facilitate negotiations with the PLO, leading to a political settlement. Mutual recognition must be vigorously pursued. And there should be negotiations with the aim of achieving co-existence between the Israeli and Palestinian peoples based on self-determination.

New Jewish Agenda believes that this statement remains significant despite the changing situation in Lebanon since July 2, 1982.

This advertisement is part of a national petition campaign sponsored by New Jewish Agenda.

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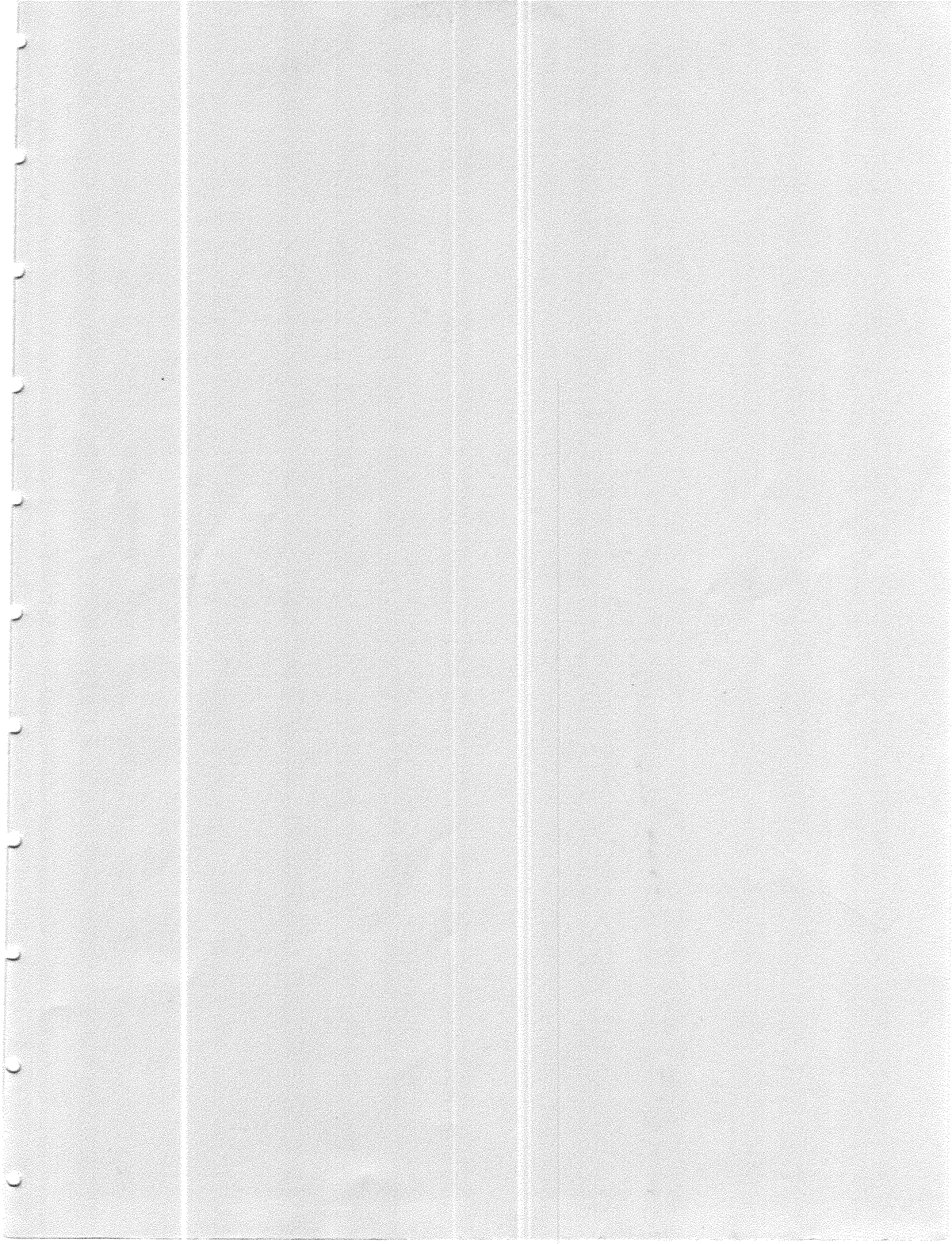
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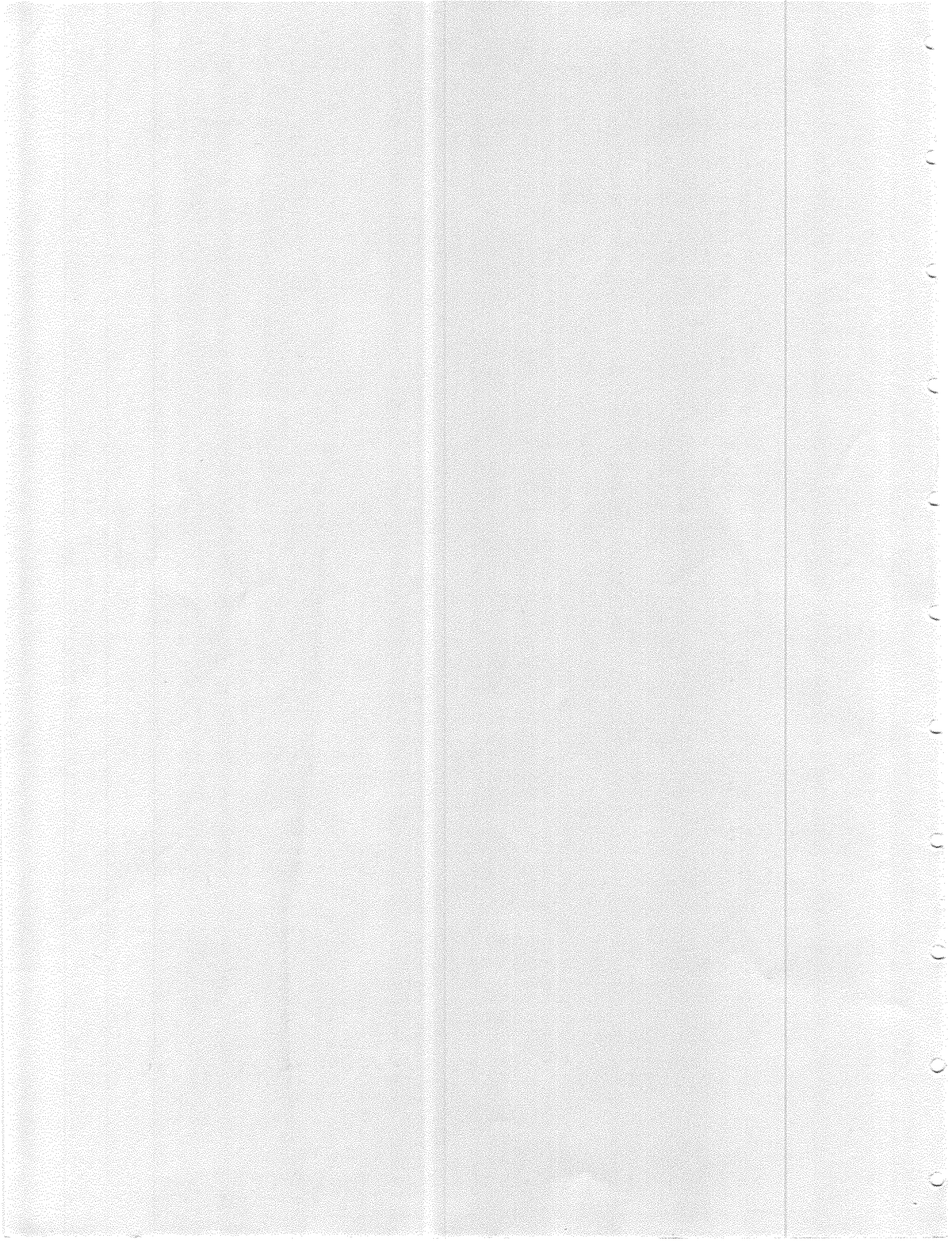
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OPINION AND COMMENTARY

Israel's moment for compromise

By Philip M. Klutznick

In the immediate aftermath of the 1967 Middle East war, Israel had a unique opportunity to reach an historic accommodation with the Palestinian people. Security Council Resolution 242 pointed the way for a reasonable compromise; but the political creativity and courage was lacking in both Israel and the Arab world. And the Great Powers lacked the presence and determination to pursue the comprehensive settlement they had helped to perfect.

Ever since 1967 Palestinian nationalism has increased its influence, partly feeding on Israel's occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Today, even with the Palestine Liberation Organization's military defeat in Lebanon, the struggle for Palestinian self-determination will continue and may even be heightened. If the political leadership of the Palestinian movement is destroyed in Beirut, this could have dangerous and unforeseen consequences throughout the Middle East.

It was the Arab scholar Najib Azuri who in 1965 first foresaw that Jewish and Arab nationalist revivals were destined to collide in Palestine. This continuing collision cannot be terminated until both nationalisms accept the legitimacy of the other and the need to reasonably accommodate each other.

With Israel's military action against the Palestinians and others in Lebanon and with its firm grasp on the West Bank, it may seem to some that Israel need no longer contemplate compromise, that Israel's power and American support entitle her to vanquish the Palestinians and defy the Arab world.

But if such a view were to prevail, my people may be sacrificing Israel's vital long-term interests to the sins of exhilaration in military victory — the kind of victory which often proves transient.

The price Israel and others have had to pay during the past weeks to create Israel's dominant geostrategic situation is truly tragic. For Prime Minister Begin to pronounce these as great days for Israel and for the Jewish people is at best premature and in bad taste considering the great loss of human life.

The only possible justification that can be offered for the misery and death that we have witnessed is that there be a fair offer from today's victor of a just peace between the two peoples who have struggled for so long but must somehow reach reconciliation and coexistence. If there ever was any doubt with whom Israel's is at war, it is now clear it is the Palestinians. If there is to be a peace they will have to make it together.

At this moment of Palestinian weakness, a moment psychologically comparable for them to 1948 and 1967, it is imperative that Jews face the simple truth that it can no longer be reasonably denied that the Palestinian people are entitled to self-determination. When asked in a September, 1980, Louis Harris poll if they felt that "there must be a way to guarantee Israel's security and also give the Palestinians an independent state on the West Bank," 72 percent of the American people responded "Yes" and 59 percent of American Jews concurred. And when asked if they felt that "the Palestinian people are now homeless and deserve their own independent state, just as much as the Jews deserved a homeland after World War II," 71 percent of the general public concurred and a near-majority of American Jews (49 percent) also approved (with 36 percent saying "No" and 15 percent undecided).

The basic issue today is not whether the Palestinians are entitled to their rights, but how to bring this about while ensuring Israel's security and maximizing regional stability. It is as urgent that a process of mutual recognition between Israel

and the Palestinian people begin so that serious negotiations can follow and the cycle of violence that has erupted again in Lebanon can be contained.

We must stop the futile, sterile debate whereby the Arab nations challenge the historical validity of Zionism and Jews challenge the political legitimacy of the Palestinian fight for independence. In both camps there are the kernels of mutual recognition between Jewish and Palestinian nationalisms.

Now is the crucial moment for that historic offer of peace coming from the Jewish people to the Palestinian people. Coexistence between Israel, the Palestinians, and Jordan based on mutual recognition of the right to self-determination remains the best possible way of steering Israel toward a secure future in the Arab Middle East. As reported nearly seven years ago in a Brookings Institution study, the urgently required comprehensive peace should have "provision for Palestinian self-determination, subject to Palestinian acceptance of the sovereignty and integrity of Israel within agreed boundaries. This might take the form either of an independent Palestine state accepting the obligations and commitments of the peace agreements or of a Palestine entity voluntarily federated with Jordan but exercising extensive political autonomy."

A peace imposed by the stronger party of the moment will be transient and breed its own undoing. A peace based on self-determination offers hope that Israel will finally be accepted by her Arab neighbors and hope that the human and national resources of the region can be rechanneled to bring prosperity and well-being to all the peoples of the area.

Philip M. Klutznick, honorary president of B'nai B'rith International and president emeritus of the World Jewish Congress, was US secretary of commerce during the Carter administration.

America Must Act in the Mideast

We Should Get Israel to Withdraw and Talk—With PLO, Too

By PHILIP M. KLUTZNICK

In Lebanon, as in the Falkland Islands, we are witnessing the triumph of devastation over diplomacy, violence over compassion, emotional despair over political creativity. In neither situation will the military results of the next days determine the core issues that have occasioned these eruptions of humanity's most miserable and persistent disease—warfare.

There can be little debate that Israel's escalation into Lebanon of the decades-old Arab-Israeli conflict threatens much that has been achieved since the Camp David conference in 1978. If today's cycle of hostilities cannot be quickly ended as the U.N. Security Council has unanimously mandated, and the peace process somehow rejuvenated, mankind may again come to experience, this time in the Middle East, the kind of passionate hatreds that eventually lead to total devastation for all parties concerned.

That's why we must now seek with resolute determination a peace process that can reverse today's course and lead to reconciliation and coexistence between Palestinians and Israelis.

America took the initiative at Camp David not solely because we were a trusted interlocutor but because our own vital national interests require political accommodations in that region. That need is all the greater today. If the United States abrogates its responsibility to end the fighting in Lebanon and bring all the adversaries to the negotiating table (as was done in 1973), the Soviet Union will have an opportunity to increase its influence in the region, with incalculable ramifications.

Nearly alone we have become Israel's umbilical cord, and in our unshakable commitment to the welfare of Israel we have sought to promote the kind of just political

settlement that is the prerequisite for stable regional relations. What Egypt's visionary President Anwar Sadat began, we wisely nurtured. And Israel, too, came to deeply appreciate the obligations, and willingly paid the price that true peace entails. But all of our previous efforts are now at risk.

At Camp David, the United States accepted the responsibilities of "full partner" in pursuit of a comprehensive peace. We committed ourselves to help bring about "full autonomy" for the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, creating a five-year transition phase that could lead to the fulfillment of "the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people."

It simply can no longer be reasonably denied that the Palestinian people are entitled to self-determination. When asked in a September, 1980, Louis Harris poll if they felt that "there must be a way to guarantee Israel's security and also give the Palestinians an independent state on the West Bank," 72% of the American people responded "Yes" and 59% of American Jews concurred. And when asked if they felt that "the Palestinian people are now homeless and deserve their own independent state, just as much as the Jews deserved a homeland after World War II," 71% of the general public concurred and a near-majority of American Jews (49%) also approved (with 36% saying "No" and 15% undecided).

The basic issue today is not whether the Palestinians are entitled to their rights, but how to bring this about while ensuring Israel's security and maximizing regional stability. It is urgent that a process of mutual recognition between Israel and the Palestinian people begin so that serious negotiations can follow and the cycle of violence that has erupted again in Lebanon can be

contained. We must stop the futile, sterile debate whereby Arabs challenge the historical validity of Zionism and Jews challenge the political legitimacy of the Palestine Liberation Organization. Both within Israel and within moderate elements of the PLO are the kernels of mutual recognition between Jewish and Palestinian nationalisms.

And if the stalemated autonomy talks fail to deal adequately with the Palestinian issue, there is no dishonor in supplementing them with the suggestions of others.

In short, the United States is committed to a peaceful resolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict through determined negotiations that will safeguard Israel's security within defined borders, protect important American interests throughout the region, and assure Palestinian rights. Yet time is itself an increasingly assertive enemy of this goal. Today's unfolding warfare in Lebanon is a warning of the fragility of what has so far been accomplished—a warning that should embolden us to act.

It is up to the Reagan Administration to face the realities of the Middle East as boldly as did the Carter Administration. The first step is to halt the conflict in Lebanon immediately and have Israel's forces withdrawn. This must be followed by an enlarged peace process that includes all parties to the conflict—including Palestinians. Only by doing so without apology and with firm determination can America pursue its own best interests, promote Israel's long-term well-being and protect world peace.

Philip M. Klutznick was secretary of Commerce during the Carter Administration, and for decades has been a leading figure in American Jewry.

Facing Mid-East Realities

PHILIP M. KLUTZNICK

Mr. Klutznick is President Emeritus of The World Jewish Congress and Honorary President of B'nai B'rith International. He served as Secretary of Commerce during the final two years of the Carter Administration. During August Mr. Klutznick visited Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Syria, Egypt, Israel and the West Bank.

Since the traumatic AWACs battle a flurry of statements involving the Camp David negotiations and the Saudi Arabian eight-point peace plan, plus King Hussein's visit here, have finally focused the Reagan administration on the intricacies and imperatives of peace in the Middle East. The stalemated Palestinian autonomy talks, the assassination of Anwar Sadat and our own concentration on domestic economic problems come close to sounding the death knell to the Camp David negotiations — beyond the separate Egyptian-Israeli arrangements. Yet there will not be a viable and lasting peace in the Middle East region without the active, constructive and courageous participation of the American government.

During August, in company with several others, I spent three weeks visiting five Middle Eastern countries plus the West Bank. Once again I visited Israel and Egypt. Then for the first time I ventured into new territory, visiting new faces in the West Bank and traveling to Jordan, Syria and Saudi Arabia. In times past I had hesitated to even request visas to these countries. But, after my latest service in the Cabinet of President Carter, I felt it worth the risk to see for myself the new realities I have

heard so much about. This laborious introduction is needed to justify the expression of some hopes I feel as well as some fears that disturb me.

The welcome reopening of the autonomy talks and the resurfacing of the Saudi plan are beginning to provide the press with an unfortunate substitute for the AWACs daily features. Yet nothing can be more dangerous to our hopes for peace than forcing the leaders of the governments involved to engage in open clashes about their differences. From my recent talks with senior government officials throughout the Middle East, including a number of heads of state, I know first-hand how many are the disputes and areas of distrust that need be adjusted before a peace can be achieved. These differences and mistrusts are not simply between Israel and her neighbors; but between Arab nations and within Arab nations. The one certainty that I feel is that open and contentious diplomacy in the daily headlines may destroy or long delay the present possibilities for peace between Israel and her Middle Eastern neighbors — a possibility which in my judgment is the greatest since the years preceding Israel's creation in 1948.

Finally the Reagan administration may be putting itself on a constructive course. The U.S. needs to encourage every effort to resolve the genuine and deepseated differences that exist.

A CRUCIAL TURNING-POINT

Looking back, anyone who expected the Camp David Accords to be accepted by all the states in the Middle East was unaware of the sensitivities that were either ignored or shelved for later consideration. Likewise, anyone who now expects the Saudi eight-points to be universally applauded is remiss in appreciating the real facts of life in the region — both in Israel and among parties less thoughtful than the Saudis.

However, the acceptance by Jordan, the PLO and others of the overall Saudi approach may be a crucial turning point in Middle East diplomacy. For the first time certain states have, even if indirectly, turned away from "outlawing" Israel as an illegitimate sovereign state and looked to "coexistence" as the eventual goal. There was a hint of this possibility at the Baghdad summit following the Camp David agreements. But now with the Saudi proposals there is the potential at least for multilateral and direct negotiations involving both Israel and the Palestinians.

Many remember Sadat's trip to Jerusalem and the ecstasy it aroused around the world. Forgotten are the speeches at the Knesset where Sadat and Begin stated positions which were hardly palatable to the other side. It is not easy for political leaders to do a 180-degree turn overnight after years of enmity and hostility. Yet, I recall one of the fine leaders of Israel listening to a critic of Sadat's speech complaining how Sadat was offering little in return for the concessions being demanded of Israel. Yigael Allon responded by reminding the critic that for 30 years Israel asked for recognition and the hand of peace from her Arab neighbors, and now the leader of the most populous Arab state was saying "We had been wrong not to accept you before." "And you get upset about details! Those we will work on and find answers to," Allon insisted.

I feel somewhat the same about the current situation. The eight-point plan was publicized in an interview in August this year while Sadat was visiting Washington. I felt that the timing was significant even though the Crown Prince took special care to emphasize that the Saudis had previously made these points in various ways. Then in the Kingdom, our group hazarded the view in our conferences with leading Saudi officials that perhaps the Saudis were not prepared to take a lead in the peace-making process. But we were assured that such a prospect was unlikely since the Saudis were very circumspect about getting "out front." We were reminded of the Saudi role in the Lebanese cease-fire — careful, behind-the-scene diplomacy. Yet, now the Saudis have taken a significant

lead, though essentially tabled at the short-lived Fez summit on November 25th, the Saudi principles remain essential to future Middle East diplomacy.

My visits in the various Arab countries convinced me that with the very few exceptions there was a general feeling at the highest levels that Israel was here to stay, that she had developed into a military superpower, that Jewish nationalism was accepted as fact if not understood, and that the time had finally come to find an answer to the basic problem that stood in the way of peace.

THE PALESTINIAN ISSUE

Over and over again the Palestinian issue dominated conversation and viewpoint. The Palestinians have become a special people in the Arab world, in some ways like the Jews did in the Western world following World War II.

In a sense, Zionism's success spawned another national movement in this century. In Jordan, for instance, no one spoke seriously of the "Jordanian Option" as either viable or desirable. As one leading personality in Jordan self-critically remarked: "The Israelis and Jewish community should have no guilty conscience about the Palestinians; they have been mistreated by the Arab community for many, many, years longer."

Aside from this coalescing of opinions about the centrality of the Palestinian issue to achieving peace, the next most significant conclusion was that the PLO was the only party qualified to speak for the Palestinians. There will be those who will say that such a conclusion is naive or ill-founded. Perhaps so; but it remains a fact that the PLO has sufficient strength in an increasing number of capitols to either accelerate or abort the peace process that was begun so auspiciously in Jerusalem with Sadat's visit 4 years ago this month.

The PLO seems to be increasingly taking a lesson out of Jewish experience. They are trying to create, and with some success, an organization that handles many social and economic problems even as they continue to build a more sophisticated military potential. They have banks and industries and they have friends in

the Middle East who help bank them in large sums. Today the Palestinians are spoken of as "the modern-day Jews of the Arab world."

Another widespread conclusion we found was private awareness that while the Camp David Accords might have been a beginning, they were rejected not so much out of unwillingness to contemplate peace but because the agreements failed to properly link the Egyptian-Israeli treaty with resolution of the Palestinian issue. Many condemn Camp David for this, forgetting that without this beginning there probably would not be today's Saudi initiative. Others feel that Camp David has served its function and should be supplemented or transcended.

AN OPENING GAMBIT

It would be tragic and unthinkable to lose the momentum begun at Camp David. The autonomy discussions should now be accelerated in an attempt to draw some Palestinian representation into the negotiations. But if the autonomy talks fail to adequately deal with the Palestinian dimensions of the problem there is no dishonor in supplementing them with the ideas and suggestions of others.

Here the Saudi approach may prove useful, at least as an opening gambit. The Saudi plan is not compatible with Camp David, as President Mubarak in Egypt has suggested, and as the Reagan administration has implied. Some of the ideas in the plan are in some ways an outgrowth of the events of the past few years. If endorsed at the Arab Summit at Fez later this month, American, Israeli and Egyptian negotiators should carefully consider the virtues of enlarging the participation in the peace process. Such a development was, in fact, envisioned at Camp David. In recent discussions with President Carter I found him very much inclined to this possibility.

For while it is indispensable to an earnest and honest solution in the Middle East that the U.S. continue to play a key role, it is also necessary that Saudi Arabia and other constructive Arab states enter the peace process and that the Europeans be encouraged to participate in

accordance with their legitimate interests. The U.S. should not want to have a monopoly on peace-making in the Middle East.

Since the position and status of Saudi Arabia may be crucial to the eventual success of Middle East diplomacy, let me make a few additional observations. I knew the representatives of Saudi Arabia when I served in the United Nations in the mid-1950's and again in the 1960's. They were represented in the main by mercenaries who were not really native Saudis nor polished diplomats. Energy economics and 20 years have transformed the Saudi situation. The accomplishments which oil billions have made possible are impressive. Yet the ruling family, it appears to me, senses that many more changes need to be made. Many of the younger people who are not a part of the family have a degree of competence that is unlike that which seemed to prevail but a few years ago.

No one can tell at this stage what will be the Saudi future, but to ignore the changes, the resources, and the leadership which circumstances have imposed on Saudi Arabia is to think of yesterday and not today and tomorrow. In my dealings outside the Kingdom with representatives of the Saudi monarchy and with Saudi private businessmen I have found a metamorphosis which is difficult to appreciate unless one experiences it. Comparing Saudi Arabia with Iran under the Shah is unrealistic. In fact there is little comparison to Saudi Arabia today or probably in history — the country is *sui generis*. Nor do I find the measure of alleged Saudi arrogance many others attach to the Kingdom. In its place there actually seems to be a kind of modesty accompanied by serious anxiety about the unknown future.

Any unprejudiced observer would have to conclude that Saudi influence has been used for some time in opposition to Israel's hopes. Yet, in the past few years the Saudis have begun to quickly mature. I am forced to conclude that no genuine and lasting peace will be achieved anytime soon without some real measure of participation by the Saudi Kingdom. I do not believe that it is simply the hope within me that causes me to conclude that the leaders of the

Continued on p. 65



At the ceremony of the Kreisky Prize awards in Vienna with Chancellor Kreisky. Among the recipients: Raymonda Tawil and Simha Flapan.

Speech by S. Flapan Continued from p. 9
Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza leads to an erosion of these values, to the deterioration of Jewish-Arab relations, to the growing isolation of Israel in world public opinion and to the spread of the propaganda equating Zionism with Racism.

Only under conditions of mutual recognition of national rights and peaceful co-existence in the country, which is for both peoples a homeland and a base, can the humanistic and socialistic values of Zionism survive. Such a solution is possible only through a dramatic change of attitudes, from non-recognition to mutual recognition, from terrorism and military reprisals to talks and negotiations that would lead to the end of occupation and to Palestinian self-determination in the framework of peace and co-existence.

This requires great and persistent efforts and the active involvement of international public opinion. I deeply appreciate Dr. Bruno Kreisky's Stiftung in their initiative to encourage these efforts. The prizes awarded in the past to Arye Eliav and Dr. Issam Sartawi and today to Mrs. Raymonda Tawil and myself are serving one of humanity's most urgent and important causes.

Facing Mid-East Realities
Continued from p. 28

Kingdom may be signaling their readiness to become involved in a peace process building upon Camp David but going beyond it.

If this conclusion is correct, or even if the conjecture has possibilities, then it should be explored by both the U.S. and Israel. Inflammatory rhetoric should be replaced by thoughtful contemplation. Such possibilities should not

be conceived as substitutes for Camp David, nor should we assume that the autonomy negotiations will lead nowhere. What is necessary is to transcend and build on the remarkable progress that Camp David has made possible. For we are at a moment in the modern history of the Middle East which may be mid-stream between the beginnings of a limited peace and the achievement of a comprehensive peace. If we fail to grasp that moment and encourage active and diligent negotiations quietly conducted toward that larger end, then all of us may reap the whirlwinds of the far bleaker alternatives.

Open Support — Continued from p. 50

for the Law, though did not deem it necessary to prepare the Jewish leadership, or make it aware of its intentions.

Jewish leadership is worried about the current low in the relations between Israel and the U.S. The Presidents' Conference, in spite of its criticism of Mr Begin and his policy, decided to open a wide propaganda campaign against Washington's position. Said Mr. Hellman, Managing Director of the Presidents' Conference, "We are not ready to agree with the punitive and hysterical policy of the administration towards Israel, as manifest over the last six months." Mr. Hellman added, "President Carter tried to split the Jewish leadership. He recruited Jews who stood up — and not only once — against the Jewish establishment and against Israel. In the Reagan administration the story is different. They are hysterical and we don't know what they want. But the important thing is that the Jewish leadership is now united, and ready for one of the most difficult and fateful struggles that it ever led against an American administration."

The best chance peace has ever had

by Philip M. Klutznick

Since the traumatic Awacs battle a flurry of statements involving the Camp David negotiations and the Saudi Arabian eight-point peace plan, plus King Hussein's visit to Washington, have finally focused the Reagan administration's attention on the intricacies and imperatives of peace in the Middle East. The stalemated Palestinian autonomy talks, the assassination of Anwar Sadat and our own concentration on domestic economic problems come close to sounding the death knell of the Camp David negotiations — beyond the separate Egyptian-Israeli arrangements. Yet there will not be a viable and lasting peace in the Middle East region without the active, constructive and courageous participation of the American government.

The welcome reopening of the autonomy talks and the resurfacing of the Saudi plan are beginning to provide the press with an unfortunate substitute for the Awacs daily features. Yet nothing can be more dangerous to our hopes for peace than forcing the leaders of the governments involved to engage in open clashes about their differences. From my recent talks with senior government officials throughout the Middle East, including a number of heads of state (I visited Israel and Egypt and, for the first time, the West Bank, Jordan, Syria and Saudi Arabia), I know first-hand how many are the disputes and areas of distrust that need be adjusted before a peace can be achieved. These differences and mistrusts are not simply between Israel and her neighbours; but between Arab nations and within Arab nations. The one certainty that I feel is that open and contentious diplomacy in the daily headlines may destroy or long delay the present possibilities for peace between Israel and her Middle Eastern neighbours — a possibility which in my judgement is the greatest since the years preceding Israel's creation in 1948. At last the Reagan administration may be putting itself on a constructive course. The US needs to encourage every effort to resolve the genuine and deep-seated differences that exist.

Looking back, anyone who expected the Camp David accords to be accepted by the states in the Middle East was unaware of the sensitivities that were either ignored or shelved for later consideration. Likewise, anyone who expected the Saudi eight points to be universally applauded did not appreciate the real facts of life in the region — both in Israel and among parties less thoughtful than the Saudis. However, the acceptance by Jordan and others, and indeed by some PLO leaders, of the overall Saudi approach may be a crucial turning point in Middle East diplomacy. For the first time certain states have, even if indirectly, turned away from "outlawing" Israel as an illegitimate sovereign state and looked to "coexistence" as the eventual goal. There was a hint of this possibility at the Baghdad summit following the Camp David agreements. But now with the Saudi proposals there is the potential at least for multilateral and direct negotiations involving both Israel and the Palestinians.

Many remember Sadat's trip to Jerusalem and the ecstasy it aroused around the world. Forgotten are the speeches in the Knesset where Sadat and Begin stated positions which were hardly palatable to the other side. It is not easy for

political leaders to do a 180-degree turn overnight after years of enmity and hostility. Yet, I recall one of the fine leaders of Israel listening to a critic of Sadat's speech complaining how Sadat was offering little in return for the concessions being demanded of Israel. Yigael Allon responded by reminding the critic that for 30 years Israel asked for recognition and the hand of peace from her Arab neighbours, and now the leader of the most populous Arab state was saying "We have been wrong not to accept you before." "And you get upset about details! Those we will work on and find answers," Allon insisted.

I feel somewhat the same about the current situation. The eight-point plan was publicised in an interview in August this year while Sadat was visiting Washington. I felt that the timing was significant even though the crown prince took special care to emphasise that the Saudis had previously made these points in various ways. While in the kingdom, our group hazarded the view in our conferences with leading Saudi officials that perhaps the Saudis were not prepared to take a lead in the peace-making process. But we were assured that such a prospect was unlikely since the Saudis were very circumspect about getting "out front". We were reminded of the Saudi role in the Lebanese cease-fire — careful, behind-the-scenes diplomacy. Yet now the Saudis have taken a significant lead. Their proposals were tabled at the short-lived summit at Fez on 25 November and although no agreement was reached the principles on which they were based are essential to the ensuing diplomatic process.

A special people

My visits to the various Arab countries convinced me that with very few exceptions there was a general feeling in the highest circles that Israel was here to stay, that it had developed into a military superpower, that Jewish nationalism was accepted as fact — if not understood — and that the time had finally come to find an answer to the basic problem that stood in the way of peace. Over and over again the Palestinian issue dominated conversation and viewpoint. The Palestinians have become a special people in the Arab world, in some ways like the Jews in the Western world following the second world war.

Apart from this coalescing of opinions about the centrality of the Palestinian issue to achieving peace, the next most significant conclusion was that the PLO was the only party qualified to speak for the Palestinians. There will be those who will say that such a conclusion is naive or ill-founded. Perhaps so; but it remains a fact that the PLO has sufficient clout in an increasing number of capitals to either accelerate or abort the peace process that was begun so auspiciously in Jerusalem with Sadat's visit four years ago. The PLO seems to be increasingly taking a lesson out of Jewish experience. The Palestinians are trying to create, and with some success, an organisation that handles many social and economic problems even as they continue to build a more sophisticated military potential. They have banks and industries and they have friends in the Middle East who back them with large

sums. Today the Palestinians are spoken of as "the modern-day Jews of the Arab world".

We also found an awareness that the Camp David accords might have been a beginning, but that they were rejected not so much out of unwillingness to contemplate peace but because the agreements failed to link the Egyptian-Israeli treaty with the resolution of the Palestinian issue. Many condemn Camp David for this, forgetting that without this beginning there probably would not have been any Saudi initiative. Others feel that Camp David has served its function and should now be supplemented or transcended. It would be tragic and unthinkable to lose the momentum begun at Camp David. The autonomy discussions should now be accelerated in an attempt to draw some Palestinian representation into the negotiations. But if the autonomy talks fail to deal adequately with the Palestinian dimensions of the problem there is no dishonour in supplementing them with the ideas and suggestions of others.

No monopoly on peace-making

Here the Saudi approach may prove useful, at least as an opening gambit. The Saudi plan is not incompatible with Camp David, as President Mubarak in Egypt has suggested and as the Reagan administration has implied. Some of the ideas in the plan are in some ways an outgrowth of the events of the past few years. Although the plan was not endorsed at Fez, American, Israeli and Egyptian negotiators should carefully consider the virtues of seeking wider participation in the peace process after April 1982. Such a development was, in fact, envisioned at Camp David. In recent discussions with Mr Jimmy Carter I found him very much inclined to this possibility. For while it is indispensable to an earnest and honest solution in the Middle East that the US continue to

play a key role, it is also necessary that Saudi Arabia and other constructive Arab states enter the peace process and that the Europeans be encouraged to participate in accordance with their legitimate interests. The US should not want to have a monopoly on peace-making in the Middle East.

Any unprejudiced observer would have to conclude that Saudi influence has been used for some time in opposition to Israel's hopes. Yet in the past few years the Saudis have begun to mature quickly. I am forced to conclude that no genuine and lasting peace will be achieved in the near future without some real measure of participation by the Saudi kingdom. I do not believe that it is simply the hope within me that causes me to conclude that the leaders of the kingdom may be signalling their readiness to become involved in a peace process, building upon Camp David but going beyond it.

If this conclusion is correct, or even if the conjecture has possibilities, then it should be explored by both the US and Israel. Inflammatory rhetoric should be replaced by thoughtful contemplation. Such possibilities should not be conceived as substitutes for Camp David, nor should we assume that the autonomy negotiations will lead nowhere. What is necessary is to transcend and build on a moment in the modern history of the Middle East which may be mid-stream between the beginnings of a limited peace and the achievement of a comprehensive peace. If we fail to grasp that moment and encourage active and diligent negotiations quietly conducted toward that larger end, then all of us may reap the whirlwinds of the far bleaker alternatives.

Mr Klutznick is president emeritus of The World Jewish Congress and honorary president of B'nai B'rith International. He served as secretary of commerce during the last two years of the Carter administration.



The Saudis, Camp David and Peace

By Philip M. Klutznik

The writer was secretary of commerce in the Carter administration and is president emeritus of the World Jewish Congress and honorary president of B'nai B'rith International. He wrote this article for The Washington Post.

WASHINGTON — Not since Israel's creation in 1948, in my judgment, has there been a greater possibility of achieving peace between Israel, the Palestinians and Israel's Arab neighbors.

Looking back, anyone who expected the Camp David accords to be accepted by all the states in the Middle East was unaware of the sensitivities that were either ignored or shelved for later consideration. Likewise, anyone who now expects the Saudis' eight points to be universally applauded is remiss in not appreciating the real facts of life in the region — both in Israel and among parties less thoughtful than the Saudis.

However, the acceptance by Jordan, the PLO and others of the overall approach embodied in the Saudi eight-point "peace plan" may be a crucial turning point. For the first time, even if indirectly, important Arab parties have turned away from "outlawing" Israel as an illegitimate entity and have looked to negotiations with recognition and "coexistence" as the eventual goal.

Many have forgotten the extreme differences between the speeches Anwar Sadat and Menachem Begin made to the Knesset — differences that thoughtful negotiations helped resolve.

I feel somewhat the same about the current situation. The Saudis have taken a significant lead and will be attempting at the Arab summit in Fez later this month to achieve an Arab consensus. The importance of these developments must not be missed.

My visit in August to a number of Arab countries, including Saudi Arabia, convinced me that with very few exceptions there was a general feeling at the highest levels that Israel was here to stay, that it had developed into a military superpower, that Jewish nationalism was accepted as fact, if not understood, and that the time had finally come to find an

answer to the basic problem that stood in the way of a comprehensive peace.

Over and over, the Palestinian issue dominated conversation and viewpoints. The Palestinians have become a special people in the Arab world, in some ways like the Jews were in the West after World War II.

The next most significant conclusion was that the PLO was the only party qualified to speak for the Palestinians. There will be those who will say that such a conclusion is naive or ill-founded. Perhaps so; but it remains a fact that the PLO has sufficient strength in an increasing number of capitals to either accelerate or abort the peace process that started with Sadat's Jerusalem visit.

The PLO members are trying to create, and with some success, an organization that handles many social and economic problems, even as they continue to build a more sophisticated military potential. They are spoken of as "the modern-day Jews of the Arab world."

I found that the Camp David accords were rejected not so much because of unwillingness to contemplate peace with Israel as because they failed to link properly the Egyptian-Israeli treaty with resolution of the Palestinian issue. Many condemn Camp David for this, forgetting that without this beginning there probably would not be today's Saudi initiative. Others feel that Camp David has served its function and should now be supplemented or transcended.

It would be tragic to lose the momentum begun at Camp David. The autonomy discussions should now be accelerated in an attempt to draw Palestinian representation into the negotiations. But if the autonomy talks fail to deal adequately with the Palestinian issue, there is no dishonor in supplementing them with the suggestions of others. Here the Saudi approach may prove useful. As President Hosni Mubarak in Egypt has suggested, and as the Reagan administration has implied, the Saudi ideas are not incompatible with the peace process. Enlarging participation in the process was, in fact, envisioned at Camp David.

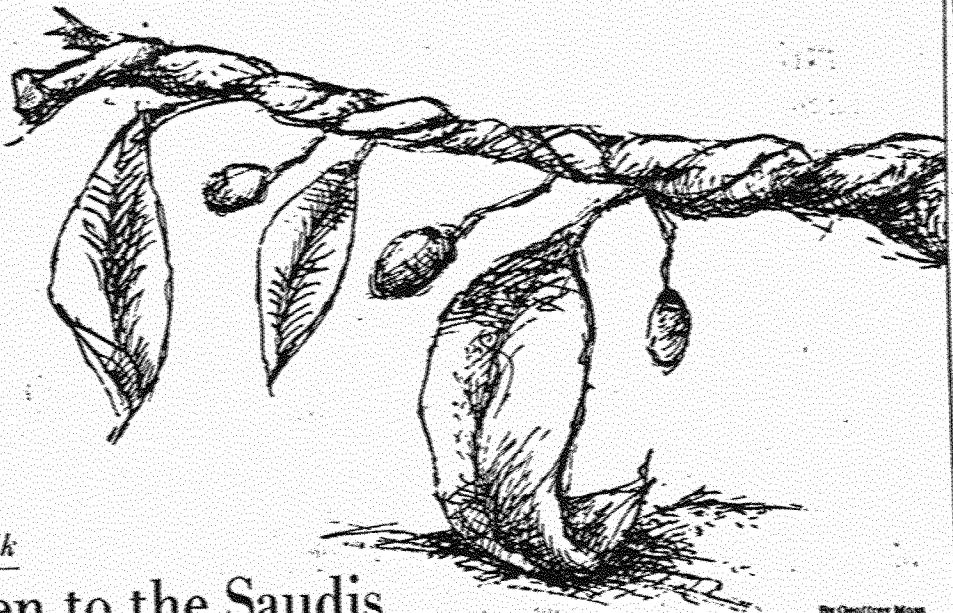


I knew the representatives of Saudi Arabia in the United Nations in the mid-1950s and 1960s. They were in the main mercenaries who were not always native Saudis or polished diplomats. Energy economics and 20 years have transformed the Saudi situation. Yet the ruling family, it appears, senses that many more changes need to be made.

In my contacts outside the kingdom with representatives of the Saudi monarchy and with Saudi private businessmen, I have not found the alleged arrogance of which some others complain. There actually seems to be a kind of modesty, accompanied by serious anxiety about the unknown future.

Comparing Saudi Arabia with Iran under the shah is unrealistic. In fact, there is little comparison to Saudi Arabia today or probably in history. The country is sui generis.

I conclude that no genuine peace will be achieved any time soon without some real measure of Saudi participation. If this conclusion is correct, or even if the conjecture has possibilities, then it should be explored by both the United States and Israel. We need to build on the progress Camp David made possible. We may be midstream between the beginning of a limited peace and the achievement of a comprehensive peace.



Philip M. Klutznik

Let's Listen to the Saudis

Not since Israel's creation in 1948, in my judgment, has there been a greater possibility of achieving peace between Israel, the Palestinians and its Arab neighbors.

Looking back, anyone who expected the Camp David accords to be accepted by all the states in the Middle East was unaware of the sensitivities that were either ignored or purposely shelved for later consideration. Likewise, anyone who now expects the Saudis' eight points to be universally applauded is remiss in not appreciating the real facts of life in the region—both in Israel and among parties less thoughtful than the Saudis.

However, the acceptance by Jordan, the PLO and others of the overall approach embodied in the Saudi eight-point "peace plan" may be a crucial turning point. For the first time, even if indirectly, important Arab parties have turned away from "outlawing" Israel as an illegitimate entity and have looked to negotiations with recognition and "coexistence" as the eventual goal.

Many have forgotten the extreme difference between the speeches Anwar Sadat and Menachem Begin made to the Knesset—differences that thoughtful negotiations helped resolve.

I feel somewhat the same about the current situation. The Saudis have taken a significant lead and will be attempting at the Arab summit in Fez later this month to achieve an Arab consensus. The importance of these developments must not be missed.

My visit in August to a number of Arab countries, including Saudi Arabia, convinced me that with very few exceptions there was a general feeling at the highest levels that Israel was here to stay, that it had developed into a military superpower, that Jewish nationalism was accepted as fact if not understood, and that the time had finally come to find an answer to the basic problem that stood in the way of a comprehensive peace.

Over and over, the Palestinian issue dominated conversation and viewpoints. The Palestinians

"No genuine peace will be achieved anytime soon without some real measure of Saudi participation."

have become a special people in the Arab world, in some ways like the Jews were in the West following World War II.

The next most significant conclusion was that the PLO was the only party qualified to speak for the Palestinians. There will be those who will say that such a conclusion is naive or ill-founded. Perhaps so; but it remains a fact that the PLO has sufficient strength in an increasing number of capitals to either accelerate or abort the peace process that was begun four years ago with Sadat's Jerusalem visit.

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The writer was secretary of commerce in the Carter administration and is president emeritus of the World Jewish Congress and honorary president of H'nai H'rih International.

By Geoffrey Moss



ISRAEL'S raid as a warning symptom

By Philip M. Klutznick

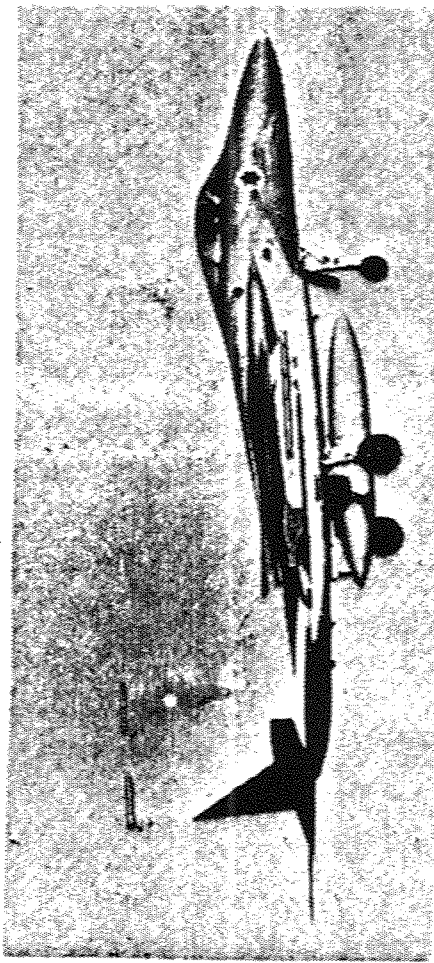
Any act using military power by one nation against another in these days of a perilously overarmed universe can hardly be cause for celebration. Generally the nation that undertakes such action, claiming it was done to avoid impending danger to its own security, is entitled to have its case fairly examined by public opinion. Yet one cannot escape admitting that the burden of proof is on the nation that acts.

Unfortunately, nearly all of us who react lack the intimate knowledge on which Israel acted in bombing Iraq's nuclear reactor; nor do we Americans possess the full information on which our government has decided to temporarily suspend additional F-16 deliveries to Israel. Furthermore, it would be unnatural for me as an American Jew not to hope that Israel was justified in its action and will satisfactorily meet its burden of proof. Still, I feel I must raise certain questions and thoughts which beg for answers especially as they come from agonizing friends, not enemies, of the Jewish state:

• In the short run, what damage has been done to presidential envoy Philip Habib's peace mission to the Middle East, and was the timing of Israel's strike unavoidable? In respect, American diplomacy had forestalled an impending military confrontation between Israel and Syria and further raised hopes for a possible resolution of the Lebanese situation. Why did Israel act at this time and without consultations with the United States, thus endangering present regional peace while claiming to safeguard Israeli security in years ahead?

• Was the timing of the Baghdad raid inspired by Israel's June 30 election as seems to be the case? Even if the Israeli position of acting in self-defense is accepted, could not the action have been delayed just a few weeks, long enough to avoid tarnishing it with the suspicion that it was — even partially — an election ploy?

• Most imperative in the short run is the effect this act might have on Egyptian-Israeli relations, especially in light of the Sadat-Begin meeting held but days before the strike into Iraq. Camp David and Egypt are the only peace games in the Middle East. Anything that diminishes the political strength of Egypt or the significance of Camp David makes more consequential peace initiatives in the



Israeli jet: casting a long shadow

area far more difficult. Instead of increasing the prospects for true Israeli security, do not such actions reduce security by threatening regional stability, inflaming passions, and by further isolating both Egypt and Israel?

• Finally, what of the problems created for Israel's most reliable national friend, the US? The Reagan administration's frequently avowed regard for Israel as a "strategic asset" is already disturbed by the AWACS issue and now will face internal decisions and United Nations problems not easily reconcilable to the satisfaction of either Israel or the US. Having accepted an arms dependency relationship with the US, can Israel reasonably insist on taking actions unacceptable and unexplainable to many and which threaten American regional interests?

Yet the short-run problems will fade, leaving scars that are currently unpredictable. The greater fears that deeply concern me are the long-term implications for world order of Israel's action. There will be a never-ending difference between Israel and her acknowledged national enemies as to whether or not the act was justified in international law and usage as self-defense. Yet, looked at beyond the politics of the moment, and even accepting the Israeli claim of Iraqi intentions, there remain certain fundamental and gnawing questions which go to the heart of the Camp David peace process and to the basis of today's international society.

A rather ominous precedent has now been set. What is "sausage for the goose is sauce for the gander." Tomorrow, Iraq or some other unfriendly nation can indulge in a "suicide

mission" on Israel's Dimona reactor, or India can turn on Pakistan, the Soviet Union on China. Israel has totally avoided this discussion as if only Israel's interests are vital, only Israel's existence threatened. Yet, in effect, Israel has breached the long and worrisome efforts to secure a measure of restraint in the nuclear age, with Israel's unilateral act creating a sense of anarchy and permissiveness hitherto beyond acceptability.

The Israeli government along with a number of friendly American commentators have compared Israel's action with the proposed action of the US during the Cuban missile crisis — even though the Americans followed a diplomatic course and avoided military action.

I was an ambassador on the American delegation at the UN in those days. And I remember vividly the painful week through which Ambassador Stevenson and other top government officials passed debating what steps the US should take. The tension of a possible nuclear war was not easy for anyone to contemplate. The President, who doubtless favored a "surgical strike" if necessary, rightly decided to give the Soviets and the Cubans a way to step back. I was in the Security Council when Stevenson, in uncharacteristically turgid language, used the now historic phrase that he "would wait for an answer (from the USSR) until hell freezes over!" I can never forget the horror of that week, nor the sense of relief when the crisis evaporated.

Anyone who lived through those days cannot be overjoyed by this latest development, no matter how necessary it may have ap-

peared to be to some. For now the devil's preemptive attack has been loosed — all the worse for Israel having acted without clearing exhausting all opportunities for reaching general peace in the region, which is surely the only way in the long term to safeguard Israel's security.

Without strenuous efforts in pursuit of a comprehensive Middle East peace structure on the foundation of the Camp David understandings, Israel's action may well stimulate rather than retard a highly destabilizing arms race. Just a decade ago Israel bombing near Cairo had that very result. Today, such a new regional arms race might well go beyond conventional weapons.

But the greatest lesson that can be drawn from these events is that the world rests on the edge of a nuclear precipice. Whether it is between the superpowers or in the regional context in Asia or the Middle East, one single bomb of today's sophistication could unleash a holocaust for mankind. The great powers and Europe have been living for some time under a powerful nuclear sword of Damocles. Now Israel has struck out against the potential of facing a similar reality.

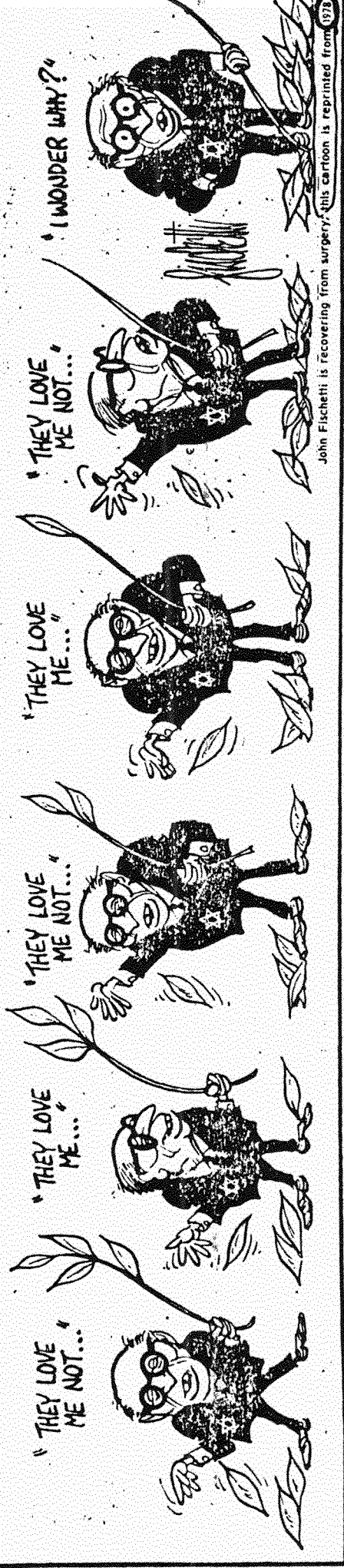
It behooves the superpowers to get on with serious arms limitations talks and, together with other nations on the verge of nuclear abilities, to develop a foolproof "fail safe" political and security program to protect us from our own rashness. Proclaiming "holiness" or threatening use of nuclear weapons — two events which clearly precipitated Israel's action — hardly encourage restraint. But without superpower leadership, regional actors are encouraged to act irresponsibly. Consequently George Kennan's recent call for "a bold and sweeping departure" from our present collision course through a quickly negotiated bilateral reduction in nuclear weapons deserves profound contemplation.

For Israel's action is but a symptom of the threat to which we are all ominously exposed. We are caught under a nuclear burden and have yet to discover a way to remove or even lighten it.

Philip M. Klutznick, secretary of commerce in the final years of the Carter presidency, has served under every Democratic president since Franklin Roosevelt. He has also served as president of B'nai B'rith International and the World Jewish Congress.



John Fischetti-



It's time for America's Jews to take stock

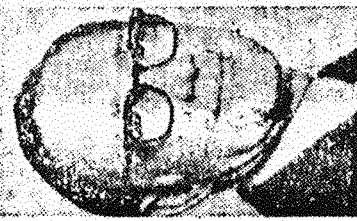
Personal view/Philip M. Klutznick

RECENT political events have created an uneasiness within the American Jewish community. There's no simple prescription to cure it.

The catalysts for today's tensions are well-known. And the Jewish response, on the whole, has been public confrontation and forceful advocacy with both the black community and the Carter administration. These developments, it seems to me, necessitate for the Jewish community in this country a time for self-evaluation, for taking stock, for rethinking.

Having been involved in many related controversies for some decades while holding numerous positions of leadership within American Jewry, I feel the responsibility to contribute to a constructive discussion of three central topics on today's national agenda: black-Jewish relations, the political involvement of organized American Jewry and the nagging but inescapable Palestinian problem.

THAT BLACKS AND JEWS have sustained a fundamental alliance based on shared commitments to human rights and political freedoms is a historical fact. Today, our problems seem more attitudinal than real. Some Jewish leaders may have overreacted to the Andrew Young situation just as some black leaders may have been too quick in allowing a transient



PHILIP M. KLUTZNIK

incident to upset ties built throughout this century.

The black community is undergoing its own internal struggle for leadership and direction. And I hope the outcome will be a renewed desire to re-establish the black-Jewish alliance in order to confront social and political problems still facing both groups. There will continue to be differences; our communities have suffered different historical wrongs and, in all candor, there are now some differing perspectives partly based on class and economic interests. Yet the underpinnings for our continued co-operation and partnership remain firm. And a greater measure of sensitivity by both groups will help overcome emotionalized political disputes that tend to create dangerous schisms rather than fruitful exchanges of views.

AS FOR THE JEWISH COMMUNITY, I fear that under the strains of contemporary developments we may have lost touch with some of our longer-term objectives.

Our umbrella political organizations, for instance, were originally built as mechanisms through which Jewish leadership could discuss important matters with top officials of our government in the most productive and efficient manner.

Unfortunately, there has been a tendency for some Jewish leaders to move away from careful discourse toward public posturing. Press releases have too often replaced quiet discussion of complex issues. As a community within the broader American polity, we have properly attempted to present our views forcefully on matters of special concern. Yet, at times, especially of late, our perspectives have been excessively narrow, our voices overly shrill, our tactics unnecessarily harsh.

The Palestinian question is a serious roadblock to fulfillment of the great promise inherent in the Egyptian-Israeli treaty. Thus the magnitude of the issues at stake warrants a

broad dialog on where we go from here.

Whether the organization known as the Palestine Liberation Organization has a central role to play at this time in Middle East negotiations is not, for me, the decisive question. Numerous ways can be found to include representative Palestinians at the appropriate time once the political stage is properly set.

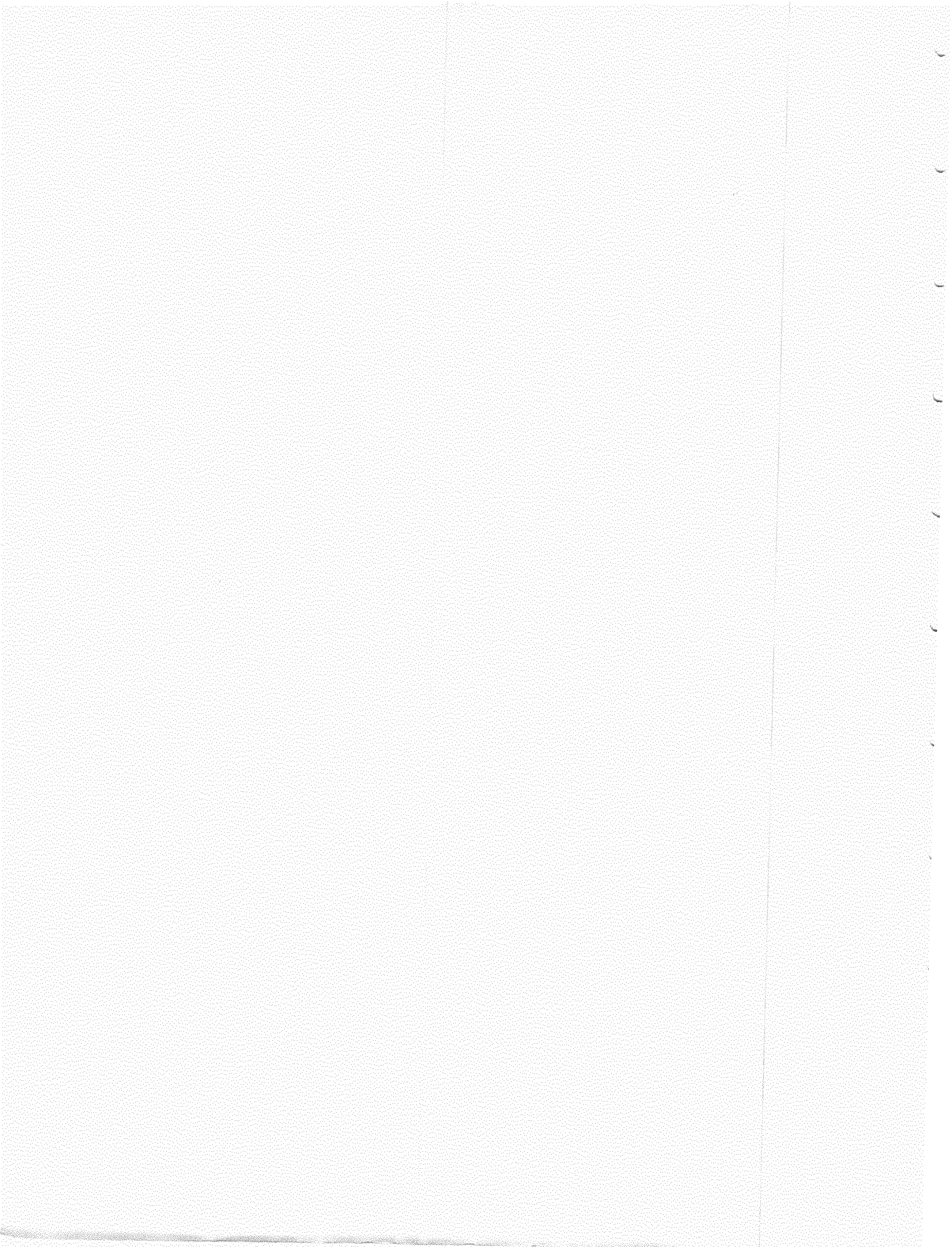
TOO MANY FALSE STARTS and too many unproductive international conferences have characterized efforts to bring Jews and Palestinian Arabs to an acceptable compromise. A too often the core problems have been neglected or set aside as a panoply of self-seeking groups and individuals have attempted to capture the spotlight by latching on to politically expedient side issues.

Rather, how to satisfy legitimate Palestinian claims to self-expression while ensuring the security of the state of Israel is the central dilemma. The chief goal must be to resolve the Israeli-Palestinian differences. Which framework can contribute to accomplishing that goal is the important issue current diplomacy should be grappling with.

During the last few years Arab attitudes toward Jewish nationalism have been in flux. Egypt has shown the way toward coexistence and friendship. And Israel's response in withdrawing from Sinai has been most reasonable.

But there has also been considerable political and ideological ferment throughout the Arab world and within the Palestinian community itself. It is time for self-evaluation and creative gestures by all parties.

Chicago business executive Philip M. Klutznick is president of the World Jewish Congress. He wrote this as a substitute for vacationing columnist Georgie Anne Geyer.



OPINION AND COMMENTARY

A Jewish leader's call for dialogue with Muslims

By Philip M. Klutznick

For too many people "peace" is thought of as a politicized term — something sought by politicians, something achieved by diplomacy.

Yet "peace" in its real sense is the achievement of a social and cultural state of successful human interaction. It is a concept rooted in the traditions and values of the world's great religions and philosophies.

Nations and religious groups within nations manifest hostility and engage in conflict when they feel threatened, abused, or deprived. Yet too often these time-bound perceptions have proved historically invalid — the tears and misery all in vain. Too often we look back with sorrow and regret.

Jews and Muslims have experienced a peculiar form of estrangement throughout most of this century. A similar religious heritage, the common forefather Abraham, and shared Semitic roots have not overcome political aspirations perceived to be antagonistic.

The conflict that developed between Zionism and Arab nationalism, and then between Israel and the Arab states, has permeated the entire framework of Islamic-Jewish relations worldwide. The schism has taken on such absurd dimensions that leaders of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt — partly reacting with emotional confusion to the recent Egyptian-Israeli treaty — have declared "Muslims and Jews can never coexist."

This is a doctrine of despair and defeat. That we, Muslims and Jews, together with Christians, are all "people of the book" has been lost from their consciousness.

The irony, of course, is that religious extremists on both sides are guided by such warped interpretations of their own holy books that they have turned the humanistic teachings of their spiritual heritage into license for chauvinistic zealotry and nihilism.

True Jewish tradition, however, is replete with expressions of human brotherhood and social tranquility. In the Gittin Tractate of the Talmud (61A) we are instructed that "the Gentile poor are to be supported together with the Jewish poor, and the Gentile sick visited together with the Jewish sick, and the Gentile



dead buried with the Jewish dead, in the interests of peace."

The era of intercultural cross-fertilization in medieval times produced like-minded and complementary religious and intellectual work. Cooperation between Islam and Judaism was assumed. Maimonides and Alfarabi are often seen by Westerners as part of the same tradition.

And the great teacher Rabbi Johon of Gerondi in the Iggeret Teshuvah provided a vision quite relevant to today's needs. "And Jews must pick out select men who will impose peace, who will be able to run and enforce peace among men," he taught. "And these select men should be capable of mollifying and conciliating men and imposing peace."

President Sadat has shown all of us, from whatever religious background, what courage and vision can mean when exerted on behalf of political reconciliation and human welfare. Prime Minister Menachem Begin's forthcoming response has demonstrated that previously intractable deadlocks can be overcome. And President Carter has exhibited the finest traditions of his faith in his determined pursuit to steps toward peace.

The political dialogue between Israel and the Arabs, now in embryo and whatever its adequacy in participation and outlook, desperately needs to be supplemented by building modern-day intercultural appreciation between Muslims and Jews.

By making such a plea I do not intend to

support this or that concept of what is required for "peace" in the Middle East or this or that strategy for achieving it. Nor will I attempt here the exceedingly important task of defining the institutional relationships that need to be created to pursue this goal of Muslim-Jewish dialogue.

Rather, I simply mean to suggest that Jews and Muslims must now use their best instincts to foster mutual respect. From such a beginning can flow understanding and acceptance.

Throughout the past decade, the World Jewish Congress has pursued a stimulating and productive dialogue with Christianity. Working with the World Council of Churches, Jewish and Christian leaders learned to understand each other's fears and aspirations, to respect each other's moral values, and to appreciate the profound linkages that exist between them.

Just last month I led a delegation of two dozen Jewish leaders in a historic meeting with Pope John Paul II — a meeting which symbolized the new relationship that has been achieved through the joint purposeful efforts of the Vatican and the Jewish community.

A dialogue between leaders of Islam and leaders of world Jewry should be an urgent priority. We need to re-create the bonds that have existed before. And the "comprehensive peace" which politicians speak of requires such a firm foundation for its realization.

Mr. Klutznick is president of the World Jewish Congress and a former US delegate to the United Nations.

