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## BEGIN WILL PROVIDE REAGAN WITH DOCUMENTS SHOWING THAT LEBANON IS CENTER OF TERRORISM: By Yitzhak Rabi

NEW YORK, June 17 (JTA) -- Premier Menachem Begin will bring to his meeting with President Reagan next Monday a file of documents that Israel captured in terrorist bases in Lebanon. Among the documents is a transcript of a conversation between Palestine Liberation Organization leader Yasser Arafat and Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko held in 1979. These details were disclosed yesterday at a briefing for Israeli reporters by the Premier's spokesman Uri Porat.

Porat said that the documents that Israel seized in Palestinian bases in Lebanon show that Lebanon was the center of international terrorism. He said that among the prisoners taken by Israeli forces in South Lebanon, were included terrorists from notorious international terror organizations such as the Japanese Red Army, the Italian Red Brigade, and the German Bader-Meinhoff Gang.

### Begin's Points Listed

Porat said that the major issues to be brought up by Begin in his meeting with Reagan will be the following:

- \*The "Peace for Galilee" operation contributed to peace because it abolished the political standing of the PLO. Until the Israeli invasion, the PLO had been a major factor disturbing the peace in the area. But now, this obstacle has been removed.

- \*There is hope now that a new stability would be established in Lebanon which has been so far divided by many hostile elements.

- \*Israel would oppose any United Nations peacekeeping force in Lebanon. Israel is interested in a multinational peacekeeping force in Lebanon -- not an American force -- like the multinational force in the Sinai.

- \*The "Peace for Galilee" operation was a blow to the Soviet Union and its supporters in the Middle East and eventually would strengthen the pro-Western forces in the region.

Porat said that Begin is definitely going to meet with Reagan on Monday and all reports to the contrary which circulated in Washington upon his arrival in New York Tuesday are "unfounded." He said that Begin would meet with Reagan and Secretary of State Alexander Haig in the White House at 11 a.m. and later the Premier and the President would have lunch together.

### CASUALTY FIGURES LISTED

By Hugh Orgel

TEL AVIV, June 17 (JTA) -- The army announced officially today that 214 Israeli soldiers had been killed during the fighting between June 5 and June 15, when the cease-fire came into effect officially.

In addition, 23 soldiers have been listed as missing, in addition to a pilot shown on television but whom the International Red Cross has not yet been allowed to visit. There were 1,114 wounded, of whom 76 were seriously hurt.

Major General Moshe Natan, head of the army's manpower branch, told a press conference here today

that the dead and missing included 68 officers and 170 other ranks. The dead included two generals, a colonel, two lieutenant colonels, six majors, 16 captains, 28 first lieutenants and 14 second lieutenants.

Natan said that Israel had taken over 5,000 Palestinian terrorist prisoners, and 149 Syrians, including 16 Syrian officers, most of them pilots.

The terrorists included nationals of Syria, Jordan, Egypt, Austria, Pakistan, Niger, Algeria, Libya, Iran, Kuwait, Bangladesh, Iraq, Yemen, Saudi Arabia, Ceylon, Somalia and Mali. The prisoners of war are now being interrogated.

### ARGOV REMAINS UNCONSCIOUS

By Maurice Samuelson

LONDON, June 17 (JTA) -- Ambassador Shlomo Argov remained unconscious and listed in critical condition two weeks after he was shot through the head by a young Arab as he left a London hotel following a diplomatic dinner. A bulletin issued by the Hospital for Nervous Disease yesterday said only that the 52 year-old envoy's condition was unchanged.

His breathing is being assisted by a respirator and he underwent a tracheostomy to further alleviate his breathing problem. The Ambassador underwent extensive brain surgery hours after he was shot on June 3. Further surgery was performed June 14 to correct a condition caused by the wound where the bullet exited from his head.

Dr. Norman Grant, the neurosurgeon who performed the first operation on Argov was unable to say when the Ambassador would regain consciousness. He had said earlier that the wound might cause permanent paralysis of his left side and that his vision might be impaired.

### CABINET DECIDES ARMY WILL NOT ENTER BEIRUT; SHARON WAS OPPOSED

By David Landau and Hugh Orgel

JERUSALEM, June 17 (JTA) -- A Cabinet majority decided last night that Israeli troops will not enter Beirut where a Palestine Liberation Organization force estimated at 6000 is holding out without means of escape. Defense Minister Ariel Sharon said the decision was taken because of possible wider ramifications should Israeli soldiers "enter an Arab capital."

He said in a television interview that he was among the minority of ministers who did not support the decision but he would abide fully by it. He said Israel now hoped and assumed "that the Lebanese will find a way to have PLO lay down their arms."

An army spokesman said today that PLO forces in west Beirut fired large numbers of Katyusha rockets at Israeli forces dug in south of the international airport and at Khalde village, east of Beirut. He said Israeli forces returned the fire but gave no details. The spokesman denied foreign media reports that machinegun and artillery fire in Beirut last night and this morning involved Israeli soldiers.

Israeli forces are not in Beirut itself and any shooting was between the PLO and the Christian Phalangists, the spokesman said. The Phalangists are armed and supported by Israel. According to the spokesman, PLO fire from Beirut damaged several civilian aircraft parked at Beirut airport, one of them bearing the markings of an American air line.

#### No Interference In Lebanese Politics

Sharon said Israel "would not interfere" in whatever political solution emerged now in Lebanon but was obviously "interested" in the nature of the solution. "A lot will depend on the U.S.," he said. He said Israel's military operation in Lebanon had provided "a golden opportunity" for the Lebanese to restore their sovereignty and full independence. All Israel wants is the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Lebanon, including the Syrians, Sharon said.

Sharon confirmed that the Soviets were flying considerable equipment into Syria to replace the severe losses sustained by Syrian forces in clashes with Israeli forces during the fighting in Lebanon last week. He said he preferred not to speak of a Russian "air lift" and counselled "cool-headedness" on Israel's part. "Of course, we do not treat the Soviet angle lightly," he said.

Asked about reported Soviet naval movements in the Mediterranean, Sharon said there were also American naval movements. He maintained that the U.S. was not "surprised" by Israel's invasion of Lebanon June 5, although the Americans did not know the exact timing. He claimed that Washington has "begun to understand" the dangers posed to Israel by the PLO in Lebanon and that accounted for their "mild reaction" to the Israeli operation.

Sharon justified Israel's push far beyond the 40 kilometer (25 mile) zone said to have been its original objective in Lebanon on grounds that it was a "tactical ploy to attack from behind and thereby save lives that would have been lost in a frontal assault." He also claimed it was vital for Israel to control the Beirut-Damascus highway as a "bargaining counter" in the "tough diplomatic moves" that are to come.

#### CORRESPONDENT FINDS BEIRUT PEACEFUL By Hugh Orgel

DOHA, Beirut Suburbs, June 17 (JTA) — From the house in this well-to-do residential area overlooking Beirut, in which former Deputy Chief of Staff Maj. Gen. Yekutiel Adam was killed by a guerrilla ambush last week, Beirut today looked quiet and peaceful.

A black pall of smoke which hung over the city was said by troops stationed just south of the Beirut International Airport runways to have been from a fire at a tire factory which has been blazing for three days.

The sound of high-flying planes and a distant thud were said by army spokesman not to be aircraft on raids, as none were reported today. And the distant dull thumps might have been an exchange of fire between terrorists and Christian Phalangists just to the north of the Beirut to Damascus highway which Israeli forces have cut.

Further back from the front, soldiers were repairing and maintaining their tanks, armored personnel carriers and other pieces of equipment and washing their underwear in the sea or rivers.

#### ISRAELIS HELP HOMELESS LEBANESE By David Landau

JERUSALEM, June 17 (JTA) — There has been an enthusiastic response from around the country to a project for home hospitality for South Lebanese mothers and children rendered homeless by the war.

According to Na'amat (Pioneer Women), thousands of Israeli families from all sections of the population have responded to the organization's call — jointly with Israel Radio and the Yediot Acharonot newspaper — to host a Lebanese mother and infant child in their homes for up to one month. Na'amat, the largest women's voluntary organization in the country, is handling the logistics in coordination with the police and the army.

(In New York, Phyllis Sutker, president of the 50,000 member Pioneer Women/Na'amat organization in the United States, called on the groups 500 clubs and councils throughout the country to transmit to the national office all available funds in club treasuries to be forwarded to Israel for the hospitality program. She also reported that special gifts were being received from individual members of Pioneer Women/Na'amat in support of the program.)

Observers see the warm response as in some measure an expression of the discomfort felt in many quarters here at the scenes of wreckage and desolation in South Lebanese towns, especially Tyre, as they are beamed into Israeli homes by television each evening.

This is not to say that those responding to the Na'amat project are opposed to the war. Many people who justify the army's actions, including the massive bombings, are nevertheless seeking ways of making a humanitarian contribution to the relief projects being mounted in Israel and around the world to help destitute and homeless Lebanese.

#### Medical Aid

On Wednesday a convoy of 20 Mogen David Adom ambulances, carrying doctors, paramedics and other volunteers, crossed into South Lebanon to extend medical aid. Auxiliary vehicles carried blankets, clothing and ice cream for the children. The convoy was led by MDA President Dr. Arye Harel and was warmly greeted as it made its way northwards from Tel Aviv.

The convoy is due to stay in South Lebanon for two weeks to provide medical services and to transfer patients to hospitals in Israel, if needed. The medical staff will be rotated in two weeks if needed, the MDA spokesman said.

In addition, the Israel Health Ministry has earmarked \$30 thousand in immediate aid for the 15-odd private hospitals in Sidon and Tyre.

Minister Eliezer Shostak has set up a committee under Prof. Shmuel Pinhas, the Hadassah Hospital director, to study medical-related problems in South Lebanon. Some of the problems already discussed by the committee were the need to inoculate children, deal with water pollution, prevent epidemics and hospitalize patients.

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JERUSALEM (JTA) — The Likud coalition seemed to be on the verge of regaining its 61 man majority in the Knesset, with both Telem Knesseters ready to join the Likud, or the coalition. The party itself, founded by Moshe Dayan prior to the last elections, ceased to exist Wednesday. This decision freed Knesseters Yigael Hurwitz and Mordechai Ben Porat to act as they wished. Hurwitz was likely to rejoin the Likud. Ben Porat was likely to join the coalition as a representative of his previous social Zionist revival movement, which narrowly missed winning a seat in the 1977 elections.

## BEHIND THE HEADLINES ZAIRE, A COUNTRY THAT'S SICK, HOPES ISRAEL WILL HELP WITH CURE By Edwin Eytan

KINSHASA, June 17 (JTA) — Zaire President Sese Seko Mobutu is a born gambler. Since he took power in 1965 he has played a number of international cards and, like the good poker player which he is, he has known how to stack the deck, change partners and raise or lower the odds. The French, the Belgians, the Americans, the Chinese and even the North Koreans have been used and often played one against the other.

Zaire's foreign debts now total some \$3 billion mostly borrowed from foreign banks. The United States has invested over half a billion dollars over the last 20 years and U.S. companies still have \$200 million in the country. The French have poured in \$200 million as well and Japanese interests were worth \$185 million in 1978.

United Nations organizations, international and private banks, investors and larger corporations have all tried their hand at one time or another in a country which is known to contain large deposits of silver and gold, cobalt and cadmium, copper and titanium. They had all failed. Zaire's problems have not only remained unchanged, they seem to have grown with every passing year.

### Israel Finds Situation Bad

When the director general of the Israel Foreign Ministry, David Kimche, paid his first secret visit to Kinshasa on May 20, 1981, Mobutu was at a loss. His country's foreign debts had reached new peaks, foreign investors, private and public alike, were reluctant to pour into it even one additional dollar. Inflation was running wild and public unrest increasing. There was no real organized opposition inside the country.

But the masses were obviously unhappy and the armed forces had shown themselves during the 1977 and 1978 Shaba invasions as practically useless as a fighting force on which Mobutu could not count even for law enforcement purposes. The slightest spark could set off a violent explosion of popular wrath.

To make matters worse, the President's only friend abroad, France's Valéry Giscard d'Estaing had just lost the presidential elections and could help him no longer. It was Giscard who had flown French paratroopers to Kolwezi during the second Shaba invasion, rescuing the trapped white community but also saving Mobutu's tottering regime.

### Zaire, Israel Needed Each Other

Mobutu needed a friend abroad. Israel needed to break out of its diplomatic isolation. Neither the Zaire president nor the Israelis looked too closely at the horse's mouth. Each believed that the other side could provide far more than what now looks feasible. The Israelis hoped that once Zaire renewed its diplomatic relations with Israel the rest of Black Africa would follow suit. Mobutu, who thought he knew Israel and the Jews well from his previous visits to Israel and his contacts with Kinshasa's prosperous Jewish community, still believes that Israel can mobilize world Jewry on his behalf and influence the Western world, especially the U.S.

Throughout the year-long secret Zaire-Israeli negotiations, which culminated with Israel Defense Minister Ariel Sharon's visit to Kinshasa last November, no precise demands were formulated. Both sides preferred to leave things vague, Israel because it did not want to be tied down to any definite commitments, Mobutu because he believed that whatever he asked would still be too little as Israel could provide far more.

### First Plan Fails

The danger of this situation became evident to the Israelis at least, rapidly. Mobutu's first concrete request, formulated last year already, was for Israel's help in setting up a medical unit in his home province of Bolite. He requested that two Israeli doctors be sent and said he was prepared to pay for their salaries, their trip to Zaire and part of their equipment. Israel, according to his request, had only to "supplement" some of the costs.

Israeli Foreign Ministry officials found two young doctors speaking fluent French—Zaire's national language—but were unable to raise the \$100,000 needed to materialize the plan. There simply was no available budget for this operation. In spite of Israeli pledges of good will, the medical unit at G Ba Bolite does still not exist and the two doctors have long ago moved to other jobs.

### 'Matabush' Prevails

In spite of Israel's own lack of financial means, it can help. It can provide agricultural experts, like the 10 now working at the N'sele Agro-Industrial domain near Kinshasa, who have managed in less than four years to locally grow a large part of the capital's food needs. It can also train Zairi technicians, reorganize Zairi administration and help Mobutu's struggling infant industry. Israel can do little, however, as long as Zaire fails to solve its main internal problem.

Mobutu called it in a speech in 1977 "Le Mal Zairois" (the Zaire illness). Europeans and Africans call it "Matabush," the local word for graft, bribery or corruption.

Everybody "is on the take," everybody, or so it seems, asks for "Matabush" from the humblest market porter to the country's top officials. At the Kinshasa Central Post Office I had to pay it, and as I was desperate to file a story, I had to pay a lot. At luxury hotels, sheets and towels are changed in the rooms when a proper amount of "Matabush" has changed hands.

### Embassy Finds Calling Israel Difficult

At the newly opened Israeli Embassy in Kinshasa, contact with Israel was, and probably still is non-existent. The telephone lines are invariably dead and the telex never works. Both are chronic Kinshasa facts of life. The Israeli charge d'affaires personally drives to the Central Post Office every day and after paying "Matabush" drives back with a technician to repair the lines. The trouble is that when leaving the building, the repairman cuts the wires so as to be called once again and be paid a second time. Paying him a monthly sum, sort of a fixed retainer to keep the telex working is no good either. His colleagues will cut them so as to be paid as well.

In his speech of November, 1977, before the congress of his national Revolutionary Movement, Zaire's only political formation, Mobutu denounced the "Zaire Illness" saying: "Everything is for sale, even the use by an individual of his most legitimate right is subjected to an invisible tax, openly pocketed by anyone in authority. Thus, a meeting with an official, enrolling children at school, obtaining

school certificates, access to medical care, a seat on a plane or an import license -- all these things are subject to this tax which is invisible yet known to everybody."

### Symptoms Go To Top

This tax system is such that the "gendarmierie," the military police--the civilian police was disbanded for its alleged corruption--will stop a car driver at random to ask for "Matabush" and tourist guide books including the American Embassy's official handbook to new officials and employees, advise all foreigners to pay over but not get out of their car and only open the windows a crack.

The trouble, the serious part of this disease, is that the symptoms go all the way up. A serious study reprinted a couple of years ago by the prestigious "Foreign Affairs Review," claims that in a year under study, 1971, in occurrence 60 percent of the state operating budget was either lost or diverted to purposes other than those intended.

"Matabush" is blamed for Zaire's poor foreign exchange income from its main exports such as diamonds, coffee or copper. It is also one of the reasons for the country's shrinking road system. Only a few major new roads have been built such as the one linking Kinshasa with the presidential agricultural domain of N'sele and which also services the capital's international airport. The overall estimate of usable roads has passed from 140,000 kms. (some 90,000 miles) at independence to 20,000 kms. (12,000 miles) today.

### Few Telephones Work

Government issued statistics say that some 30,000 telephones exist, a small figure at its best in a country of such huge size. Few of them actually work. To obtain an international call one needs a good "pull," protection, and sizeable Matabush. The lack of telecommunications and roads paralyzes the country's economic development. Agricultural products, even where and if they exist, can not be brought to towns and mineral riches remain unexplored. Their development is stopped by the widespread corruption which in its turn is due to the prevailing inflation.

Nobody, neither the modest market woman nor the top government official, can live on their salary which in the best of cases represents a fraction of what is needed to remain alive.

Foreign investments have practically stopped. The Europeans who still do business in the country concentrate on export-import activities and not on long-term investments. Huge sums are made practically overnight but Zaire itself draws little benefit.

The Europeans have their private clubs, from which the Zairians are barred by economic considerations. There are two yacht clubs for sailing or motoring on the Zaire River, several riding and golf clubs and the ultra chic "Le Prive" where white diplomats and businessmen can dance in air conditioned luxury in white dinner jackets and black tie.

The upper class Zairians, the top officials and businessmen, after 20 years of independence, also want chic, well cut clothes, air conditioned cars, trips abroad and a luxury villa with swimming pool. They want to become rich as fast as the Europeans do.

The morale of the country is at its lowest and

many observers wonder whether Israel can help where so many others, larger and richer, have failed. The task is huge and the risks, should Israel fail to live up to Zaire's expectations, in proportion.

### ADDRESSING ROOT QUESTIONS URGED

By Judith Kohn

NEW YORK, June 17 (JTA) -- An Israeli reserve officer visiting this country warned yesterday that unless Israel addresses "basic root questions" concerning Israel's relations with the Palestinians, the war in Lebanon "may go down in history as a vain, meaningless and cruel event."

The officer -- Reserve Col. Mordechai Bar-On -- was speaking to an audience of about 250 people, on behalf of the Peace Now movement in Israel. Planned before the Israeli invasion of Lebanon by supporters of the Peace Now movement in New York, the forum was initially designed as a discussion on the future of the West Bank.

Asking whether "a war -- any war -- can eradicate indeed a national organization, a national movement," Bar-On -- who has served as chief education officer of the Israel Defense Forces and chairman of the youth department of the World Zionist Organization -- contended that no military defeat of the PLO in Lebanon would bring an end to the organization; "let alone the end of Palestinianism as a national sentiment."

### Autonomy Plan Criticized

But he suggested that recognizing what he called "the basic human rights" of the Palestinians to make "the basic decisions of human life" in the West Bank, might open the door to a long term solution that will "give some sort of meaning to the deaths" of the Jews and Arabs who have fallen in Lebanon. In this context, he criticized the autonomy plan as interpreted by Israel's Prime Minister Menachem Begin who, he said, would either ultimately annex the territories or, more probably, attempt to impose a military regime indefinitely "under the guise of one form of autonomy or another."

Bar-On acknowledged the absence of a Peace Now equivalent in Palestinian ranks. But he asserted that since "we are the occupiers and they are the occupied," no such movement can be expected to arise. "Unless we are clear in our readiness to compromise, they have no reason to be moderate," Bar-On said.

Addressing the question of whether it is prudent to air views abroad in time of war that are inconsistent with the policy of the Israeli Government, Bar-On said that he and other opponents of the government's policies hesitated at the beginning of the war to speak publicly because of the need for unity during national crises. But he said that since the war has been so protracted, "the time has come now to again say to the Jewish people and the people of Israel: 'What is the direction we're going to take?'"

Also speaking at the forum was Prof. Nadav Saffran, of the Department of Government at Harvard University, who called for a distinction between the "Palestinian cause" and the "Palestinian leadership" as seen in the PLO. He suggested that some lasting peace could come out of the war in Lebanon if Israel takes the initiative on the Palestinian question, perhaps with the prodding of the U.S.

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GENEVA (JTA) -- The representative of the PLO, in Geneva, Daud Barakat, was introduced Tuesday to Pope John Paul II when the Pope visited the international Labor Organization.