

ISRAEL CRACKS DOWN IN TERRITORIES, OUTLAWS POPULAR COMMITTEES

By Gil Sedan (Jerusalem)
and Hugh Orgel (Tel Aviv)

Aug. 18 (JTA) -- Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin, initiating a pre-emptive approach against the Palestinian uprising, announced on Thursday the outlawing of the popular committees functioning in the Israeli-administered territories.

Membership in these committees was deemed illegal, enabling the army to make arrest without having to prove hostile acts.

Authorities also announced their intention not to open schools in the territories on Sept. 1, as scheduled. Universities there would be shut until further notice.

The committees, which became the backbone of the Palestinians soon after the uprising began, have operated till now as grass-roots, quasi-governmental authorities involved in almost every level of daily life in the Palestinian community.

Their purpose is to allow the Palestinians to function independent from any outside body.

Rabin's move came a day after authorities deported four Palestinians to Lebanon and issued another 25 deportation orders, comprising the largest group to be ordered deported from Israel since 1967.

All 25 who are under deportation orders are associated with the popular committees.

Also declared illegal were the "shock groups," which allegedly have exerted pressure on the local population to carry out the committees' instructions.

Under order of the defense minister, any member of the committees is liable to 10 years in prison.

The same punishment can be faced by any person who takes part in any gathering organized by a committee, any person in possession of documents prepared by the committees -- including the popular leaflets that disseminate the communiqués of the uprising's command -- and by anyone who supports those bodies financially.

A report in Maariv Thursday said that the Finance Ministry is prepared to allocate \$112 million to the Defense Ministry in order to cover the cost of maintaining order in the territories in view of the uprising. The Defense Ministry has requested \$170 million for that purpose.

Institutionalizing The Uprising

Rabin told reporters Thursday that the repressive measures being instituted were due to the actions of the local committees, which he said were functioning to maintain the level of the uprising and to institutionalize it.

He described the committees as branches of the terrorist organizations, designed to lead the uprising.

According to Rabin, there are between 200-300 active committee members already in administrative detention, and he estimated that several hundred more activists still operate.

The idea of making the popular committees illegal was first discussed by security forces six weeks ago. The decision to "take the initiative" in the struggle against the "intifada," or uprising, was made last Thursday.

Legal experts explained Thursday that declaring the committees illegal did not imply they were legal beforehand.

The Israeli daily Haaretz wrote in a front-page commentary Thursday that the change in the approach of Israeli authorities was marked by the fact that the harsh action would now be taken not just against any committees involved in violent action, but also in those working in community-voluntary activities, mutual assistance and social welfare.

The authorities had refrained from such punitive measures till now because of legal restrictions and fear of harsh international criticism, according to the paper.

But according to security sources, the defense establishment has in the past few weeks become convinced that sufficient security justification and a solid legal basis exist for employing such measures against committees that focus on community activity.

The newspaper reported that the Israel Defense Force has lost control of what transpires in the village because of a reluctance to patrol villages and incur chance friction with the local population.

On Thursday, the Jerusalem District Court again did not complete hearing arguments over the administrative detention of Faisal al-Husseini, the Palestinian activist who was arrested July 31 for a six-month detention period.

Israeli authorities described Hussein as a senior activist in Al Fatah and one of the leaders of the PLO in the Jerusalem area, a charge Hussein has constantly denied.

At the same time, authorities closed the Arab Studies Institute in East Jerusalem, which Hussein headed.

Meanwhile, the IDF spokesman's office reported that 1,024 molotov cocktails were thrown between Dec. 9, 1987 and Aug. 9, 1988. Of these, 766 were thrown on the West Bank and 258 in the Gaza Strip.

During July and August there has been a 50 percent decrease in the number of Molotov cocktails thrown, in comparison with June: 21 were thrown in Judea and Samaria and Gaza during July and the beginning of August, compared with 65 thrown in the territories in June.

STRATEGIC STUDIES FINDS IDF SHOWS SYMPTOMS OF OCCUPYING ARMY

NEW YORK, Aug. 18 (JTA) -- The Israel Defense Force is beginning to exhibit psychological symptoms of being occupiers, a study in Israel on the behavior of occupying armies in modern history indicates.

The study was conducted over a four-year period by Dr. Yoram Peri of the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies at Tel Aviv University. Its purpose was to evaluate what psychological effects Israel's occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip has had on members of the IDF.

During the course of the four years, Peri researched events in Israel and elsewhere, including Britain's military involvement in Northern Ireland. His study will soon be published by Westview Press of Boulder, Colo.

Peri, who is also deputy editor of the Israeli

daily Davar, determined a three-fold process that occurs in the occupier's psyche, beginning with development of a "political-military doctrine" within the army's ranks.

He found that this was followed by development of a "self-image crisis" among the soldiers, which finally leads to a "crisis in civil-military relations."

Peri found this last problem most pronounced in a "citizen's army" where a majority of citizens do military service.

The problem is exacerbated, he said, when there is a division of opinion regarding the occupation, and the subsequent resentment of the army's actions by a segment of society.

Without general societal support for the military, the army is compelled to take a more extreme stand, which aggravates the situation.

Peri described the potential for "severe clashes with the government" when an army begins to veer from the government position following a long period of occupation, especially when confronted by rebellion within the populace.

In its extreme, he said, such tension between army and government could lead to a "full-fledged military coup."

Peri analyzed the behavior of individual soldiers in occupying armies and found that lengthy occupation, in situations of local opposition, could produce demoralization and what he calls the "pin-head syndrome," a tendency to keep a low profile and avoid responsibility.

Settlers In The Territories

One factor which was present prior to the uprising, and which makes this occupation similar to other occupations in the world, is the presence of Israeli settlers within the territories, forcing the military to become politicized, Peri reports.

But "twenty years of relative calm came to an end with the outburst of the intifada, a development which has influenced the whole military structure in the territories.

"The Palestinian rebellion resulted in an explosion of controversy, which caused some of the characteristics of other occupying armies to surface in the IDF."

Peri's writes that the present situation of rebellion in the territories demands anti-subversive warfare measures, but that the implementation of such measures is difficult.

"Some of these measures, e.g. 'the beating policy,' have been greatly opposed by many citizens, and this has led to a weakening of the consensus," he said.

"Soldiers are experiencing conflicts of conscience while serving in the territories, and the number of conscientious objectors is on the rise."

He ends on a pessimistic note. "It is certain that the situation will never return to what it was before December 1987 . . . for the most part, damaging effects will or will not develop in the IDF depending on the level of subversive warfare, whether the consensus remains strong within Israeli society, and most important, what will be the political solution to the crisis, advocated by the government."

FIRES DESTROYED 37,500 ACRES

By Hugh Orgel

TEL AVIV, Aug. 18 (JTA) -- Since the beginning of April, there have been 1,400 fires in Israel that have destroyed 2,500 acres of planted

forests, more than 10,000 acres of natural forest and 25,000 acres of grazing land and uncultivated fields.

According to the Jewish National Fund, there has been a decline in such incidents in recent weeks. However, last week there were 23 fires that destroyed 250 acres of natural forest land across Israel.

F-15 BLACK BOXES LOCATED

By Hugh Orgel

TEL AVIV, Aug. 18 (JTA) -- Israel's air force crews have located the black boxes of the two F-15 jet fighters which collided and crashed Monday over the Judean desert area.

The crews continued searching Thursday for additional parts.

An interim report on the accident will be submitted Friday to the commander of the air force, Brig. Gen. Avihu Bin-Nun.

SHULTZ EXPRESSES HOPE FOR ARAB-ISRAELI PEACE SETTLEMENT

By David Friedman

NEW ORLEANS, Aug. 18 (JTA) -- Secretary of State George Shultz told a Jewish audience here Wednesday that he is certain a Middle East peace can be achieved if only Israel and the Arab countries were to begin direct negotiations.

"I feel it in my bones from talking with people of all shades of opinions in Israel and in Arab countries, that if we can ever get there, to honest-to-goodness, good-faith negotiations, there is an answer there to be found," he said.

Shultz spoke at a reception for present and former members of President Reagan's cabinet, sponsored by the National Jewish Coalition.

The secretary said "peace will only come through direct negotiations," although he conceded he has still not found a way to bring it about.

"But we have to be willing to try all kinds of ways to get to direct negotiations," Shultz said.

"It may be that we have to pass through an international conference, as long as it's the right kind of international conference," he said. "It may be that we don't have to do that."

There are many different ideas for bringing about negotiations," Shultz said. "But the ideas that will work are the ideas that the parties directly involved find for themselves," he stressed.

Shultz offered his own proposals, which he first enunciated last spring and for which he has made four unsuccessful trips to the Middle East this year.

First, he said, was to begin a period of transition for the West Bank and Gaza Strip immediately, and then to start soon afterwards with the final status negotiations.

"It is important to keep working, to keep thinking and to stay involved and engaged in the process, as we have been in the United States and I am sure we will continue to be," Shultz said.

Shultz expressed appreciation "for all of the help, advice, arguments and good discussions we have had back and forth."

He said the "friendship and the warmth I feel for you is very deep and is one of the things I will carry away from this role as secretary of state and will cherish all my life."

AN AMERICAN'S PLAN FOR STATEHOOD GAINS PALESTINIAN CONSIDERATION

By Andrew Silow Carroll

NEW YORK, Aug. 18 (JTA) -- The unlikely inspiration for a Palestinian declaration of independence that has been circulating in Arab and Israeli hands for the past few weeks is a Jewish American professor of philosophy at the University of Maryland.

Jerome Segal, of the university's Institute for Philosophy and Public Policy, does not claim authorship of the plan uncovered during a search of Faisal al-Husseini's Arab Studies Institute in East Jerusalem last month.

But in a telephone interview Thursday he acknowledged that "broad strokes" of a plan he outlined in an article in the East Jerusalem daily Al-Kuds are contained in the draft proposal.

The draft proposal, like Segal's article, calls for a unilateral declaration of independence as the first step toward negotiations with the Israelis, and a provisional government made up of local Palestinians and exiled Palestine Liberation Organization leaders, including chairman Yasir Arafat. Segal's plan was published in Arabic in April and reprinted in the English edition of the East Jerusalem daily Al-Fajr in June.

Segal said it presented Palestinians with an alternative to the strategy they had adopted since the onset of the uprising. Their original idea, he said, was to use the ongoing uprising to earn international sympathy for an international peace conference, at which the superpowers would pressure Israel into allowing a Palestinian state.

"I said, 'look, as an alternative, look how Israel came into existence: they didn't ask the Arab world for recognition,'" said Segal, speaking from a relative's home in New York's Westchester County.

"They declared statehood unilaterally, gained international recognition, and after the Arab armies attacked, they gained control of territory."

In his articles and a book-length manuscript that he hopes to sell to an Israeli publisher, Segal argues that the Palestinians could mirror the Israeli tactic -- with one key distinction.

Launching Peace Initiative

"They cannot force the Israelis out through arms," he explained. "But, if they launch a major peace initiative at the same time as they declare a state, maybe the Israelis will negotiate."

A "rich" peace initiative, as Segal termed it, must include recognition of Israel's right to exist and the abandonment of the PLO covenant.

Segal said there are major differences between his propositions and the draft proposal, parts of which are presently at the center of intense debate within the PLO.

His plan, for instance, mentions only the West Bank and Gaza Strip; the proposal calls for a division of territory along the lines of the 1947 U.N. partition plan, which included placing much of the Galilee in the Arab state.

With all the dissonant voices being heard in the Middle East, why have Segal's ideas gained cachet in Palestinian circles?

Even Segal said he can't be sure. But his position as an outsider with an equal interest in Israel's security and the Palestinian's right to an independent state, he thinks, may infuse his ideas with a reality missing from an often one-sided debate.

Segal is a founder of the Jewish Committee for Israeli-Palestinian Peace, which in addition to supporting Israel's security needs and Palestinian self-determination, calls on the United States and Israel to negotiate with the PLO.

Segal, who has a doctorate in philosophy and a masters in public policy, worked as a legislative aide specializing in foreign affairs for Minnesota's Donald Fraser, a former congressman who now serves as mayor of Minneapolis.

Segal said American and Arab newspapers publish his articles frequently, and he has contacts with PLO leaders abroad and with Palestinians in the occupied territories.

Segal met with Arafat a little over a year ago as part of a small delegation of Jews from American peace groups. He believes Arafat and the PLO leadership are receptive to what he calls "the most important thing: they are prepared to recognize Israel and make permanent peace."

Segal will make a return trip to Israel next week, where he will try to meet with Israeli leaders to discuss his ideas.

"Israel is at a crossroads," he said. "They can go one way, and have 50 more years of conflict. Or they can go another way, and have a real chance to get a permanent peace."

FINLAND TO SELL SOVIET OIL TO ISRAEL

By Hugh Orgel

TEL AVIV, Aug. 18 (JTA) -- Finland may soon begin selling excess Soviet oil to Israel, according to a report Tuesday in the Israeli daily Haaretz.

According to the paper, an agreement to this effect has already been signed between the two countries, though the subject is being blacked out by both sides due to the sensitivities involved.

Israel's Energy Minister Moshe Shahal visited Finland last year and met with his Finnish counterpart in order to discuss the issue.

The paper wrote that a commercial agreement has now been signed between Finland and the Soviet Union, by which Finland will obtain 4.5 million tons of Soviet oil in excess of its own needs. The USSR will in turn permit the Finns to sell the excess oil on the free market.

SWISS UPHOLD EXPULSION OF NEO-NAZIS

By Tamar Levy

GENEVA, Aug. 18 (JTA) -- Swiss authorities have ruled that neo-Nazis are unwanted on Swiss territory, and are prohibited from entering the country, despite the fact that Switzerland has no written law prohibiting racist and anti-Semitic propaganda.

The decision ends the appeal of Henri Roques and Pierre Guillaume, French revisionist historians who were expelled from Switzerland last year after they held a meeting in Geneva to support the activities of Lausanne schoolteacher Mariette Paschoud.

Like Roques and Guillaume, Paschoud has denied the existence of the gas chambers used by the Nazis to exterminate Jews during World War II. Paschoud lost her teaching job as a result of her views.

A movement has begun in Swiss political circles to introduce legislation that would prohibit neo-Nazi and racist activity, as already exists in Germany and France. On Sunday, vandals in Lausanne defaced a Holocaust memorial in front of a synagogue.

VOTING ON JEWISH ISSUES:

BENTSEN vs. QUAYLE

By Howard Rosenberg

WASHINGTON, Aug. 18 (JTA) -- While both vice presidential candidates are considered strong on Israel, neither of them was at the forefront in fighting for pro-Israel measures on and off the floor of the Senate, an analysis of their voting records shows.

Pro-Israel activists credit Sen. Dan Quayle (R-Ind.) with playing a key role on the Senate Armed Services Committee in helping gain funding for joint U.S.-Israeli research on strategic defense, commonly known as "Star Wars."

They said Quayle helped set the cost-sharing formula for research on the Arrow anti-tactical ballistic missile, whereby the United States pays 80 percent and Israel 20 percent of the cost.

Sen. Lloyd Bentsen (D-Texas) gets the credit, the Israeli activists said, for his role in implementing the 1985 U.S.-Israel Free Trade Area agreement.

Also, as Senate Finance Committee Chairman, Bentsen co-sponsored an amendment to the Trade Bill this year with Sen. Robert Packwood (R-Ore.) that protects the agreement against protectionist measures in the Trade Bill itself.

On domestic issues, Bentsen gets more favorable marks from the largely Democratic Jewish activists, who were here holding their monthly meeting Wednesday while the Republican National Convention was taking place in New Orleans.

The consensus from the group was that both Vice President George Bush and Gov. Michael Dukakis picked two of the more conservative members of their respective parties.

On the issue of abortion, Bentsen defends women's rights, unlike Quayle, who opposes it and even voted Sept. 30, 1987 to oppose the use of federal funds for abortions in cases of rape and incest.

Prayer in Schools

Both have supported a constitutional amendment favoring prayer in public schools.

On Soviet Jewry, Bentsen opposes, while Quayle supports, the amendment by conservative colleague Sen. James McClure (R-Idaho) that some Jewish activists feel might gut the 1974 Jackson-Vanik Amendment.

McClure's measure would tie conferral of most-favored-nation status on the Soviet Union to overall Kremlin compliance with the 1975 Helsinki Accords, and not just to the treaty's emigration standards.

On arms sales to Arab countries, they were not as consistently opposed to them as colleagues like Packwood and Sen. Daniel Inouye (D-Hawaii).

But Bentsen has opposed most of the key arms sales to Arab countries, while Quayle has not.

* In 1981, Quayle helped President Reagan gain approval for the sale of AWACS surveillance planes to Saudi Arabia, while Bentsen opposed it.

* In 1985, both sponsored a "sense of the Senate" resolution opposing a sale of advanced weapons to Jordan until it began peace negotiations with Israel.

Bentsen, and not Quayle, later joined 74 colleagues in formally opposing it.

* In 1986, Quayle backed an arms sale to Saudi Arabia before and after Reagan vetoed a congressional effort to block it. Bentsen originally

opposed it and was the first Democrat on the override vote to switch to the President's side.

Pro-Israel analysts said they did not consider the vote on the override a "key vote," since the most objectionable component of the sale, Stinger missiles, had been removed.

* Neither signed a joint resolution in June 1987 opposing the sale of 1,600 Maverick "D" missiles to Saudi Arabia, and in September, neither was among the 68 senators who signed a letter opposing the sale that prodded Reagan to remove the Mavericks from the arms package.

Foreign Aid Package

On foreign aid, both have less than perfect records, although Bentsen has been more likely to vote for a foreign aid package.

But pro-Israel activists said Quayle, who opposes allocations to multilateral organizations and to some countries in the bills, has told them he would vote for foreign aid to Israel if it were to receive its money on a separate vote.

On July 7, Quayle opposed the most recent foreign aid appropriations bill, along with about 14 colleagues. An analyst added that Quayle opposed two of the six most important foreign aid bills since he was elected to the Senate in 1980, and that he "almost always" opposed foreign aid bills while in the House.

Bentsen, by comparison, supported 20 of the 32 major foreign aid votes while in the Senate. He voted against six of them and did not vote on six others.

On the potpourri of related Jewish issues:

* Both co-sponsored New York Sen. Daniel Moynihan's 1984 Senate bill to move the U.S. Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem.

* In 1985, Bentsen and Quayle both urged Reagan not to visit the military cemetery in Bitburg, West Germany, where members of the Waffen SS are buried.

Split on Yarmulkes

* Bentsen supported a 1987 bill to allow Jews in the military to wear yarmulkes; Quayle opposed it.

* Both co-sponsored the 1987 bill to close the Palestine Liberation Organization's U.S. offices.

* Neither were among the 30 senators signing the March letter to Secretary of State George Shultz supporting his then-promising peace initiative that in part criticized Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir as an obstacle to peace.

In April, to celebrate Israel's 40th anniversary, Bentsen gave his final speech on Israel before his selection for the Democratic ticket.

"We do not approve of every Israeli action and they do not like all of our policies. But on the most basic issues -- resistance to Communism, support for human rights, willingness to take risks for genuine peace, close cooperation on the most sensitive security matters -- Israel and the United States have worked side by side," Bentsen said.

Quayle's most recent Senate action relating to Israel came July 27, when he released a study compiled by his staff on the dangers of nuclear proliferation, based on recent news reports.

He spoke along with Sen. Robert Dole (R-Kan.) before passage -- by a 97-0 vote -- of a resolution calling on the People's Republic of China to halt the sale of ballistic missiles and other offensive weapons to the Middle East and Persian Gulf.