

**IN THE NEWS**
**Rice, Olmert  
scheduled to meet**

Condoleezza Rice is scheduled to meet Tuesday with Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Olmert in Jerusalem.

Before her arrival in Israel, the U.S. secretary of state made a surprise stopover in Lebanon, where she met with Prime Minister Fouad Siniora.

**Israeli pilots  
die in crash**

Two Israeli pilots were killed in a helicopter crash in northern Israel.

Earlier reports had said the pilots were only injured.

The causes of Monday's crash are still unknown, but Israeli officials don't believe it was caused by Hezbollah gunfire.

Also Monday, 11 Israeli soldiers were hurt in clashes with Hezbollah gunmen.

In addition, rockets fired into northern Israel caused several injuries.

**Initiative aims to  
boost Israeli tourism**

A major U.S. Jewish umbrella group launched an initiative to bolster tourism to Israel during the military conflict with Hezbollah.

The program was launched by the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations.

It allows tourists to place reservations, which will be valid for up to a year, in northern Israeli hotels and kibbutzim.

It is intended to provide a "continuing stream" of income to Israeli tourism and the people who work in that industry, the group's executive vice chairman, Malcolm Hoenlein, said Monday in a conference call with reporters.

Israel's Hotel Association and the Tourism Ministry are participating in the effort, in cooperation with the Prime Minister's Office and the Gaza Development Authority.

# WORLD REPORT

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## Crisis in Lebanon sends Israel back to the drawing board in West Bank

By LESLIE SUSSER

**J**ERUSALEM (JTA) — Just more than two weeks into the war in Lebanon, there is a growing consensus that one of the chief casualties will be Prime Minister Ehud Olmert's plan for a unilateral Israeli withdrawal from the West Bank.

Pundits on the right and left argue that the war in Lebanon and fighting with the Palestinians in Gaza prove that unilateralism doesn't work. They note that both previous unilateral pullbacks, from Lebanon in May 2000 and Gaza in August 2005, were followed by rocket attacks on Israeli civilians from the evacuated areas.

The same is bound to happen if Israel withdraws unilaterally from the West Bank without cast-iron security arrangements, pundits say.

But Olmert remains unmoved. Close aides say he remains determined to pull out of the West Bank and set Israel's permanent borders by the end of his current term in 2010. One of the main reasons is demographic — to ensure a democratic Israeli state with a clear Jewish majority.

The question is how to do it.

After the Lebanon and Gaza experiences — sustained rocket attacks on Israel in the wake of unilateral pullouts — will Olmert still want to adopt last summer's Gaza model of withdrawal without agreement, or will he seek a different formula, such as bilateral arrangements with moderate Palestinian leaders or the introduction of international forces to keep the peace after Israel pulls back?

One of the most influential backers of the unilateral idea was journalist Ari Shavit of Ha'aretz, whose 2005 book, "Dividing the Land," attempted to explain the rationale of the idea. But now Shavit has become one of unilateralism's most outspoken critics.

Shavit's change of heart reflects widespread disillusionment in Israel with the unilateral approach. In mid-July, a day after the outbreak of hostilities in the North, Shavit published an article entitled "The End of the Third Way," urging the government to come up with a new political strategy.

In the article, Shavit argues that Israel has gone through three predominant policy phases since the 1967 Six-Day War, each undermined by an eruption of Arab violence. Initially, Shavit says, Israelis believed the Palestinian conflict could be maintained by occupation, then through a peace deal, and after that through unilateral separation.

But the occupation thesis was discredited by the first intifada in the late 1980s and early 1990s; the peace process it generated exploded with the second intifada in 2000; and unilateralism has crashed against the violence in Gaza and Lebanon, which Shavit calls the "third intifada."

He concludes that "Israel is now desperately in need of a new diplomatic idea, a new strategic idea, a fourth way."

A number of ideas are coming to the fore:

- An international force to keep the peace and oversee the transition to Palestinian statehood after Israeli withdrawal.

The endgame in Lebanon envisages a

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NEWS  
ANALYSIS

## ■ One of the chief casualties of the Hezbollah conflict might be Olmert's withdrawal plan

*Continued from page 1*

multinational force to keep the peace and help the Lebanese government deploy forces in the South and disarm Hezbollah. If that happens and proves successful, analysts say the model could be extended to the West Bank and Gaza.

There it could take the form of an international mandate responsible for the transition to Palestinian statehood. Its main tasks would be to police the cease-fire, help create a single Palestinian armed force and build democratic institutions.

The main advantage is that it could provide the stability Israel and the Palestinians have been unable to achieve. The main disadvantage is that an international force could become a target of Palestinian terrorism.

The idea of an international transitional mandate has been proposed before by former Israeli Foreign Minister Shlomo Ben-Ami and former U.S. Ambassador to Israel Martin Indyk.

• The establishment of a Palestinian mini-state with temporary borders through direct negotiations under American aegis between Israel and Palestinian Authority President Mahmoud Abbas.

The Americans would need to give both sides strong guarantees: To Israel that the Palestinian refugee problem will be resolved in the emerging Palestinian state, and to the Palestinians that the final border will closely approximate the pre-1967 boundary.

The main advantage of this approach is that it would be easier to achieve than a full peace deal. The main disadvantages are that the Palestinians have opposed the idea because they fear temporary borders would become permanent; the Israelis suspect that Abbas, even if he signed an agreement, would not be able to deliver.

The Israeli Foreign Ministry has set up a team to refine this approach.

• Going back to the "Clinton parameters" of December 2000 for a final peace deal. Left-wingers argue that if the sides are able to begin negotiations on a mini-state they might as well aim for a full peace deal and a full-fledged Palestinian state. Terrorist organizations would be dismantled, the Palestinian state would be demilitarized and border arrangements would be made to prevent weapons smuggling.

The trouble is that this is precisely the formula that failed so dramatically at Camp David six years ago, and the situation has deteriorated markedly since then.

• Modified unilateralism. Israel's West Bank settlements would be dismantled but the army would remain to prevent Kassam rocket fire and other terror attacks.

The main advantage is that Palestinian terrorists wouldn't be able to arm and act as freely as they would if the

army pulls out. The main disadvantage is that Israeli occupation would continue, creating points of friction with Palestinians and costing Israel international goodwill.

Internal Security Minister Avi Dichter, a former head of the Shin Bet security service, is the main proponent of this approach.

• A Palestinian arrangement in the context of a major regional shake-up. This would entail sta-

bility in Lebanon under an international umbrella, good neighborly relations between Israel and Lebanon, and possibly even detachment of Syria from the Iranian axis.

This would depend on the degree to which Israel crushes Hezbollah's military power in the current conflict. Hezbollah's defeat would reverberate in the Palestinian territories and could lead to a strategic reassessment by Hamas leaders, especially if the Syria-Iran axis also collapses.

The main advantage is that conditions could be created for a final, comprehensive resolution of the Israeli-Arab conflict. The disadvantage is that so far, at least, there is little sign that this scenario is realistic.

It's clear that Olmert will have to adapt to the new post-war reality — but it's still too early to gauge which "fourth way," if any, he's likely to adopt.

**S**havit argues that Israel has gone through three predominant policy phases since the 1967 Six-Day War, each undermined by an eruption of Arab violence.

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## Anti-missile project moves ahead

WASHINGTON (JTA) — A U.S. Senate committee approved \$25 million for an American-Israeli project to develop a new missile system. Globes, an Israeli financial newspaper, reported this week that the Senate Appropriations Committee approved funding for the short-range ballistic missile defense system.

The program, to be carried out by Rafael Armament Development Authority and Raytheon, aims to develop a missile that would intercept short-range ballistic

missiles and long-range Katyusha rockets, the kind now striking Israel in its conflict with Hezbollah.

The program is nicknamed "mini-Arrow" after the successful Arrow system that intercepts larger and longer-range missiles. The Senate committee was told that Israel hoped to target missiles and launchers possessed by Hezbollah and Syria with ranges of 12 to 125 miles. The system will not be effective against short-range Katyushas of up to 10 miles.

# Hezbollah militia small but fierce

By DAN BARON

TEL AVIV (JTA) — Just a few hundred fighters make up the hard core of Hezbollah, but thanks to its powerful patrons and Shi'ite fanaticism, the Lebanese militia is a force to be reckoned with.

And reckoning is exactly what Israel, Western mediators and moderate Arab nations are doing as they try to come up with ways of taming Hezbollah and calming the Israeli-Lebanese crisis.

"One thing is clear to all, and that is that there cannot be a return to the status quo," said U.N. envoy Terje Roed-Larsen in what appeared to be a reference to Hezbollah's years of straddling Lebanon's southern border and menacing Israel.

For now, thanks to the offensive Israel launched after Hezbollah killed eight of its soldiers and abducted another two in a July 12 border ambush, the militia seems to be on the run.

Israel says its forces have at least halved Hezbollah's fighting strength. More than 100 gunmen are dead, Israel says, and dozens of its rocket launchers have been destroyed.

But then there are holdouts — chief among them Hezbollah leader Sheik Hassan Nasrallah, who appears to have survived two assassination attempts by the Israeli air force and vows that his group has "surprises" in store for the Jewish state should it maintain its assault on Lebanon.

Hezbollah has only around 600 full-time fighters, but it can quickly mobilize as many as 30,000 "reservists" from among Shi'ite loyalists. Funding is no problem: According to Israel's Military Intelligence, Iran is investing some \$100 million in this round of fighting, with Syria providing logistical support.

There is also evidence Hezbollah has held back on using its most dangerous weapons — Zelzal missiles supplied by Iran and capable of reaching Tel Aviv and beyond, perhaps with biological and chemical warheads — and maintains a network of tunnels and trenches in southern Lebanon where its toughest gunmen lie in wait.

"We are talking about utterly hardened and dedicated fighters, operating

largely independent of Hezbollah's high command," said Alon Ben-David, Israel analyst for Jane's Defence Weekly. "Israel should not make the mistake of assuming they are the same sort of ragtag adversaries as Palestinian terrorists."

Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Olmert has refused to give a timetable for Israel's military operations, saying only they would end when the two hostages held in Lebanon are retrieved and Hezbollah is "cleared out of the region" — ambiguous phrasing that could be interpreted as requiring either the militia's total elimination or merely its removal from the frontier.

Israel, like the rest of the West, has made much of the need to implement U.N. Security Council Resolution 1559, which requires that Hezbollah be disarmed by the Lebanese authorities.

But no one quite knows how this could be achieved.

Lebanon's army is small and weak, made up of many Shi'ite servicemen who would be unlikely to

take on their Hezbollah coreligionists. And messages from the government in Beirut have been mixed.

Government officials have both proposed deploying regular military forces in the South and threatened to fight Israel should it mount a full invasion — neither with much conviction.

An invasion may be Israel's only option if it wants to crush Hezbollah and shore up its military deterrence in the face of the militia's patrons, Iran and Syria, which Washington also would dearly love to see confronted and curbed.

"Everyone realizes that if Hezbollah must be hit, it must be hit hard. Otherwise it will come out stronger in Middle East terms, claiming to have survived an

'onslaught' by the superior Israel," said Jacky Hugi, Arab affairs correspondent for Ma'ariv.

Given Israel's systematic bombing of roads linking southern Lebanon to the rest of the country, some military experts have speculated that the area is being isolated so that ground forces can be brought to the Litani River, from there to sweep down in a pincer move that would net the bulk of Hezbollah's fighters.

But such a massive Israeli presence could mean hundreds if not thousands of troop casualties — a steep price that for many will recall the 1982 Lebanon invasion, the Jewish state's most unpopular and divisive war. On the diplomatic front, it would be perceived as a reoccupation of land Israel quit in 2000, undoing much foreign goodwill and

even paradoxically helping Hezbollah.

"When we left southern Lebanon, we robbed Hezbollah of its *raison d'être* and much of its domestic support," said Ami Ayalon, a retired Israeli admiral and senior Labor Party lawmaker. "A reoccupation

would allow the terrorists once more to present themselves as the shield for all Lebanese."

With a flurry of Western contacts under way, the hoped-for solution to the crisis would seem to be stationing an effective international peacekeeper force in southern Lebanon. This would probably be NATO, given Israel's distrust of the United Nations after years of ineffectiveness by U.N. observers posted in the region as putative buffers between Hezbollah and the border.

"Given the Lebanese army's weakness, we support an international force that would have powers of enforcement, deploy in the South, and impose its authority," Defense Minister Amir Peretz said Sunday.

## BEHIND THE HEADLINES

'If Hezbollah must be hit, it must be hit hard. Otherwise it will come out stronger in Middle East terms, claiming to have survived an "onslaught" by the superior Israel.'

Jacky Hugi

Arab affairs correspondent, Ma'ariv

## NEWS IN BRIEF

### MIDDLE EAST

#### Five Palestinians killed in Gaza

Israel killed five Palestinians in the Gaza Strip. The deaths occurred Monday in the town of Beit Lahiya after Israel fired on a house where suspected terrorists were hiding.

The deaths were the latest in fighting that began in late June after Palestinians attacked an Israeli army base, killing two soldiers and capturing another.

#### Israel: Hezbollah could attack Tel Aviv

Israel's military chief said a Hezbollah missile attack on Tel Aviv remained a threat. Lt. Gen. Dan Halutz said Monday that the destruction of an Iranian long-range missile last week was evidence that Hezbollah had the capability to hit Tel Aviv.

#### Olmert defends Israeli use of force

In a meeting with visiting Jewish leaders, Ehud Olmert defended Israel's use of force in Lebanon. "What is proportionate when people from the North are living underground?" the Israeli prime minister asked, according to one of those who attended Monday's meeting in Jerusalem.

He also told the leaders, who included representatives of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations and the European Jewish Congress, that Israel would defeat Hezbollah.

### WORLD

#### U.N. official calls for Lebanon aid

A U.N. official appealed for \$150 million in humanitarian aid for Lebanon. Jan Egeland said Monday that the money is needed for food, water, sanitation and health care.

#### Blair: Lebanon a 'catastrophe'

Tony Blair called the situation in Lebanon a "catastrophe." Speaking at a news conference in London on Monday with Iraqi Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki, Blair said the ongoing crisis is harming Lebanon's fledgling democracy. He said he hoped for a peace plan to emerge within days, but added that details for an international force would need to be worked out before a viable cease-fire could be declared. "I don't want the killing to go on," Blair said.

"I want the killing to stop. Now."

#### Pro-Israel rallies in Ukraine

Demonstrators in two Ukrainian cities rallied in a show of support for Israel. An estimated 2,000 people, some of them carrying Israeli flags and banners reading "Stop the Terror," "Yes, Israel" and "Ukraine and Israel Together" demonstrated Monday in Kiev.

Israeli Ambassador Naomi Ben-Ami, the chief rabbis of Ukraine, and Jewish and Christian leaders took part in the rally. Also Monday, some 1,500 people attended a rally in support of Israel in the city of Dnepropetrovsk. In a related development, Alexander Feldman, a Jewish member of Ukraine's Parliament, collected some 50 signatures from lawmakers on a petition urging the Ukrainian leadership to publicly support Israel in the current conflict.

Last week, hundred of demonstrators rallied in Kiev and some other Ukrainian cities to protest Israel's military operation against Hezbollah.

#### Germany to rate potential immigrants

Germany will initiate a point system to reduce the number of Jews it accepts from the former Soviet Union. The most important criteria are education and job experience, with the goal of reducing

pressure on existing Jewish communities to integrate the newcomers. In the 16 years since German unification, the Jewish population of Germany has more than quadrupled, reaching a current official total of 120,000.

According to the new system, which reportedly received the approval of the Central Council of Jews in Germany, any Jew applying for citizenship must have at least 50 of 105 possible points, according to the news magazine Der Spiegel. Exceptions will be made for survivors of Nazi persecution.

#### Israel rally in Moscow small

A pro-Israel rally in Moscow drew only about 50 people. Some Jewish participants in Sunday's rally near the Israeli Embassy in Moscow accused Russian Jewish groups of being unwilling to publicly show support for Israel.

#### British opposition leader wants shipments halted

The leader of Britain's opposition party called for arms shipments to Israel to be suspended.

Menzies Campbell wrote to British Prime Minister Tony Blair that the shipments must be suspended "in light of the disproportionate military action in Lebanon and Gaza." Blair's office did not respond publicly.

### NORTH AMERICA

#### Los Angeles rallies for Israel

Several thousand people demonstrated at a pro-Israel rally in Los Angeles. Speakers at Sunday's rally included Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger and Los Angeles Mayor Antonio Villaraigosa, both of whom affirmed support for Israel but lamented Lebanese casualties, the Los Angeles Times reported.

#### Arab-American group to sue government

An Arab-American group plans to sue the U.S. government for failing to protect American citizens from the fighting in Lebanon.

Lawyers told the Detroit Free Press that the lawsuit, which was to be filed Monday by the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee on behalf of about 30 people, alleges that Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice and Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld did not take appropriate steps to secure the safety of U.S. citizens when fighting erupted between Israel and Hezbollah.

The lawsuit, which will be filed with the U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Michigan, also wants the Bush administration to request a cease-fire and cancel shipments of weapons or other military support to Israel during the evacuation of Americans from Lebanon.

#### Teachers union backs Israel

A major U.S. teachers union passed a pro-Israel resolution. Passed July 21 at the biennial convention of the American Federation of Teachers in Boston, the resolution supports Israel's right to defend itself and condemns the "bombings, killings and kidnappings by Hezbollah and Hamas that precipitated the current crisis."

#### Republican chairman: 'We are all Israelis'

The Republican National Committee chairman said freedom lovers "are all Israelis" now. Ken Mehlman, who is Jewish, addressed a crowd of about 3,500 evangelical Christians on July 18 at the inaugural Christians United for Israel conference.

"The cause of Israel is the cause of anyone anywhere who believes in democracy, believes that God endows every man, woman and child in their world with the unalienable right to freedom," Mehlman said.