Palestinian discord, in an attempt to give Israel more time to strengthen itself and to allow the Americans to continue to exploit the Arabs' "tremendous resources."

One of Vance's major aims, Kaddoumi said, was to return to former U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's "step-by-step" approach to the Middle East crisis— an approach which the Palestinians will fight "with everything at their disposal."

In view of these "American-Israeli maneuvers," Kaddoumi added, the Geneva conference will not be held this year. Instead, the Arabs must prepare themselves for an Israeli preemptive strike aimed at the occupation of more Arab land — South Lebanon included....

Kaddoumi called for an Arab summit conference to develop a unified Arab stand, urging concerted use of all the Arabs' potentials in a drive to regain Arab rights and establish a Palestinian state.

He added, however, that the Arabs' oil weapon should be used only for "positive pressure."

He ruled out the possibility of a future Arab oil boycott for reasons which he said he cannot discuss "due to Arab security considerations."

"All I can say is that an Arab oil boycott would be comparable to the use of the atomic bomb by the other side," Kaddoumi said....

Q: If that resolution is passed, will the PLO recognize Israel?

"We will not recognize Israel. Recognition is a sovereign act. The United States, for instance, has not recognized China, whose population is larger than the United States'.

"What we say is this:

"We are willing to establish our independent state on any part of our land which is liberated through any means. We will do so if that state is free of all external interference and is ruled solely by the Palestinians under the leadership of the PLO.

"We always consult our Arab brothers in Egypt, Syria, Saudi Arabia, Algeria, Iraq, Morocco, Tunis. We always coordinate our actions with them and try to maintain a unified Arab position. We want the Arabs to use all the weapons at their disposal. If the Arabs' oil resources can be used as a positive weapon, instead of a threatening one, to bring pressure to bear on the United States and Europe, we are all for its use in that manner. It is my view, in fact, that Arab oil should be used only as a tool of positive pressure. Positive pressure would be better than a boycott or other measures, because there are a number of issues linked with the question of oil. I cannot reveal these issues, due to Arab security considerations. All I can say is that an Arab oil boycott would be comparable to the use of the atomic bomb by the other side...."

# General Keegan: U.S. Should Support A Palestinian State

West Germany's Die Welt published an interview with former Chief of U.S. Air Force Intelligence, General George Keegan on Aug. 22, which is excerpted below:

The USA must take care of a future Palestinian state with financial aid and guarantees for its security—otherwise it will develop into a new crisis point. U.S. General George Keegan, who was head of U.S. Air Force Intelligence for years, came to this conclusion after a trip to the Mideast. In an exclusive interview with Die Welt, Keegan warned about Arab plans to cut Israeli territory in two in the event of a conflict with a spearhead of 14 to 15 tank divisions.

Welt: General Keegan, we are in a turbulent phase of American peace efforts in the Mideast. Secretary of State Vance's trip can be understood as being a strong U.S. inclination toward the Arab position, and as putting corresponding pressure on Israel. Carter is in a hurry and says that the reason for this is that for the first time in the history of the Mideast conflict both sides, including the Arabs, are ready for a negotiated solution. What is your analysis?

Keegan: It is difficult to contradict this viewpoint, especially when one looks at what has been said. There is ample evidence that the Arab leaders, as they have always said, are holding firm to their old goal of the destruction of Israel and the Jews. But their strategy has changed. They have recognized after four wars, that a direct policy of war does not pay....

Welt: As a result of your trip, do you see other possibilities that would go beyond those that we have just discussed?

Keegan: I believe that the Israelis — their leadership really desperately wants peace — would close ranks behind an agreement if it would absolutely rule out having the West Bank ever return to being a glacis (a slope that runs downward from a fortification — ed.) for Soviet tanks in Arab hands. I believe that in this context there are a whole series of alternatives that we have not even considered yet.

For example: If our government were to maintain — which I consider to be a horrible irrationality — that the creation of a Palestinian state is indispensible because it believes that it could calm the Arabs by doing so, then it should make the effort with its money and its resources to ensure that the creation of such a state does not create a new crisis point. This would occur if we were to sub-

sidize the Palestinian state, like Jordan was created and subsidized by Great Britian after World War I. The USA will subsidize and create a Palestinian state, in alliance with Jordan, if this is the only acceptable way. And if the U.S. really wants to set up something on its own two legs that is conscious of its responsibility then we will offer financial aid for an unlimited amount of time. We will also offer guarantees of security for such a Palestinian state on the one hand, and on the other hand, guarantee that such a state will not become a threat to its neighbors, nor become a nucleus for communist subverson and revolution.

As a result of the studies I made during my trip, I have the strong impression that the USA does not have the right insight for what would be logical and rational.

## **Arabs Willing To Sign** Treaty With Israel

A report of Arab willingness to sign peace treaties with Israel, as reported in the New York Times by Bernard Gwertzman Aug. 21, was most interestingly greeted by the Israelis in two divergent ways, as reflected in the following Radio Israel report and the contradictory statements made by Israeli U.N. Ambassador Chaim Herzog, who is known to have close ties to the U.S. National Security Council. Below is. Gwertzman's report:

Egypt, Syria, and Jordan have informed the United States that they would sign peace treaties with Israel as part of an overall Middle East settlement. In addition Egypt and Jordan said they would consider a further American proposal that they also take up diplomatic relations with Israel.

The intention of the three Arab countries was made known to Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance during his recent mission to the Middle East....

According to Administration and diplomatic sources, Mr. Vance, during his 11-day trip to the Middle East earlier this month, offered both sides several options and proposals for overcoming obstacles to a Middle East conference at Geneva and for the principles to govern such a conference....

The Arab leaders, in their talks with Mr. Vance, did not accept any option. They repeated with varying intensity that the Palestine Liberation Organization should be invited to Geneva.

### Radio Israel Welcomes Reports Of Arab Peace Overtures to Israel

Radio Israel ran the following commentary on Aug. 21:

Israel has reason to believe that the Arabs will present negotiating proposals on their readiness to sign peace agreements with Israel. This is what a foreign ministry source said, reacting to the New York Times report that Egypt, Syria, and Jordan told Vance that they were willing to sign peace treaties with Israel as part of an overall settlement. The Foreign Ministry source said that Israel had no idea what kind of proposals the Arabs would make, but he was hopeful that they would be genuine peace proposals.

#### Arab Signal to U.S. Belittled by Israel

Israeli Ambassador Chaim Herzog, a former head of Israeli intelligence, violently derided reported Arab peace overtures to Israel in a speech in New York Aug. 21. The New York Times ran the following account of Herzog's address:

Israel's chief delegate to the United Nations, Chaim Herzog, suggested yesterday that it was merely "for Western consumption" if Egypt, Syria, and Jordan signaled to Washington a willingness to sign peace treaties with Israel as part of an overall settlement....

"How on earth can one imagine that they are serious about this," Mr. Herzog said, "if they do not even want to sit down in one room and talk."

"Israel," he declared, continues to face "unbridled terror backed by unlimited wealth."

...Mr. Herzog strongly rejected what he described as a barrage of tendentious reports in Western news outlets suggesting that the Arab governments and the Palestine Liberation Organization were modifying their positions....

Mr. Herzog declared that Washington officials "delude themselves" if they believe a settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict would bring peace to the region. He cited past and present armed clashes involving Arab nations and said that the "really peaceful borders in the Middle East today are those between Israel and her neighbors."

## **USSR Steps Up Pace Of** Middle East Diplomacy

In the wake of Cyrus Vance's collapsed shuttle diplomacy efforts to blackmail both Arabs and Israelis into supporting U.S. Middle East policy - which managed to alienate both sides from the U.S. - the Soviet Union has intensified the pace of its diplomatic contact work in the Middle East. According to Radio Israel, the Soviet foreign ministry this week established a special bureau for Middle East peace to coordinate the USSR's overall approach toward the area including relations with Wesstern Europe and the United States vis-a-vis the Middle East.

The following is a partial listing of Soviet and allied contacts with the Middle East countries this week.

- Israel: Prime Minister Begin arrives in Rumania on Aug. 25
- Iran: The Shah of Iran visits Poland and Czechoslovakia to discuss oil shipments, credits and industrial cooperation, Aug. 22-28.
- Jordan: Soviet Chief of Staff Ogarkov invited a Jordanian military delegation to visit Moscow.
- Palestine: PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat is scheduled to visit Moscow on Aug. 29. Previously, Arafat received three messages from the Soviet