

NEAR EAST REPORT

Washington Biweekly On American Middle East Policy

Vol. XXXIX, No.8, April 10, 1995

Arafat Pressed To Act Against Hamas

In the wake of the April 2 explosion at a Hamas bomb factory in Gaza, Yasir Arafat's Palestinian Authority (PA) is coming under increasing pressure to take action against Hamas and other terrorist groups. At least six Palestinians were killed and more than 30 injured when a bomb blast ripped through an apartment building in Gaza City. The bomb, which was apparently being prepared by members of Hamas' Izzedin al-Qassam Brigades (its "military wing"), was part of a large weapons cache.

A top leader of the Brigades, Kamal Kahil, died in the explosion. An Israeli Army official said Kahil was one of Israel's most-wanted fugitives. He is said to have participated in the December 24, 1993, murder



AP/Adeef Hana
Palestinian police officers search the wreckage of an apartment in Gaza City after a bomb exploded April 2.

of IDF Lt. Col. Meir Mintz, who died in an ambush in Gaza. Kahil was also suspected in the murders of purported Arab "collaborators" with Israel. Just one week before his death, the Palestinian police tracked Kahil down, and attempted unsuccessfully to take him into custody (*Washington Post*, April 3).

The police displayed samples of what they had found in the rubble: they included 150 hand grenades; containers of chemicals and toxic gas; a briefcase-bomb packed with nails and rigged with a detonator; an AK-47 rifle; and a hand-held missile.

The apartment used by the terrorist cell was completely destroyed in (continued on page 47)

Adopt The D'Amato Bill On Iran

The growing Iranian threat is fueled by the billions of dollars the Islamic Republic is garnering from its oil exports to Western countries. Two companion bills introduced by Sen. ALFONSE D'AMATO (R-NY) would do away with this shameful situation.

Although limited sanctions are currently in effect, American companies (including their foreign subsidiaries) today account for a larger portion of Iran's total trade than they did in the 1970s during the reign of the Shah, a close American ally. In 1994, American companies purchased \$4.25 billion worth of Iranian oil. This provides a critical source of funding for Tehran's strategic weapons purchases and its infrastructure of terrorism, which enables Iran to support groups such as Hezbollah and Hamas.

Appearing on "Face the Nation" (Apr. 2), Secretary of State WARREN CHRISTOPHER noted that America's trade with Iran undermines our efforts to dissuade Russia, Germany and others from deals with that regime.

"My position is that [sanctions] should be toughened," he declared. "The fact that we're engaged in trading, the fact that the subsidiaries of our oil companies can purchase oil there and sell it in Europe is a handicap." Christopher added that, whenever he presses other countries to join a U.S. effort to tighten up on Iran, "they throw this back in my face."

Congress and the Administration must act immediately to repair this country's damaged credibility in dealing with the Iranian threat. As we have noted before in this space, we strongly support Sen. D'Amato's "Comprehensive Iran Sanctions Act," which would ban U.S. trade with Iran.

A companion measure also introduced by D'Amato is no less essential. This bill, the "Iran Foreign Sanctions Act of 1995," would institute sanctions on foreign (e.g., European and Japanese) companies trading with Iran, particularly in military goods and services, "dual-use" items, and oil.

These companies would, in effect, be forced to choose between trading with Iran and trading with the U.S.

This would not be the first time that the U.S. imposed sanctions on firms operating under the authority of foreign governments: There are at least seven precedents, including laws against foreign companies that observe the Arab boycott.

We urge the Clinton Administration to get behind this bill, and to continue to work closely with Congress on finding ways to toughen sanctions on Iran.

Christopher Recommends Further Toughening Of Iran Sanctions

Below is an excerpt from an address delivered April 4 by Secretary of State WARREN CHRISTOPHER at the Anti-Defamation League National Leadership Conference in Washington.

Turning to Iran, we must remain equally vigilant against the threat posed by Iran. Iran, in my judgment, is in a category all of its own. No other regime employs terror more systematically as an instrument of national policy than does Iran. They do it to destroy the peace process, to

intimidate their neighbors and to eliminate their political opponents. Iran's efforts to acquire nuclear weapons poses enormous dangers for the countries in the region and for all of us.

Every responsible member of the world com- (continued on page 47)

INSIDE
• Sher Testifies On Behalf
• Of Foreign Aid
• O'Neill Praises U.S.-Israel
Cooperation

440 First Street, N.W., Suite 607
Washington, D.C. 20001
SUBSCRIPTION: \$50.00 PER YEAR
Newspaper-Timely Value

HEARD ON THE HILL**Sher Testifies On Behalf Of Foreign Aid**

AIPAC Executive Director Neal Sher testified March 30 before the House Foreign Operations Appropriations Subcommittee on behalf of foreign aid to Israel. Although foreign aid will face budgetary pressures, Sher urged support of "\$3 billion in earmarked aid to Israel and the legislatively-mandated terms of that aid." He stated that aid to Israel advances U.S. interests and does so "effectively and efficiently." During the hearing, several members of Congress expressed strong support for aid to Israel. Rep. NITA LOWEY (D-NY) urged subcommittee members to approve not only Israel's \$3 billion in military and economic aid, but also \$80 million for refugee resettlement within Israel. Rep. FRANK PALLONE (D-NJ) offered his support for continued aid to Israel and urged the subcommittee to preserve early disbursement of Israel's aid, in order to "continue stretching the value of the aid." Rep. NANCY PELOSI (D-CA) warned against cutting aid to Israel, stating this is a "bad time to try to save a dollar....In the long run it wouldn't be saving anything."

Raising the issue of aid to Egypt, Rep. CHARLIE WILSON (D-TX) asked Sher whether AIPAC was concerned that a significant cut in aid to Egypt would negatively impact the peace process. Sher responded: "Significant cuts to Egypt can be problematic...down the road...in fulfilling the Camp David accords."

An FY96 foreign aid bill is expected in the House by early summer.

Hastings Convenes Coalition Meeting On Foreign Aid

With cuts to foreign aid expected, Rep. ALCEE HASTINGS (D-FL) convened a meeting of black and Jewish members of Congress, along with representatives from major Jewish organizations. The meeting focused on ways for Blacks and Jews to continue their coalition efforts on behalf of a foreign aid budget and the many demands that are placed on it. Co-hosted by the AFL-CIO, eleven members of Congress and representatives from seven Jewish organizations attended the meeting.

Participants included Reps. Caucus Chairman DONALD PAYNE (D-NJ), JAMES CLYBURN (D-SC), EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON (D-TX), EARL HILLIARD (D-AL), WILLIAM JEFFERSON (D-LA), ALBERT WYNN (D-MD), MAJOR OWENS (D-NY) from the Congressional Black Caucus, and Reps. GARY ACKERMAN (D-NY), HOWARD BERMAN (D-CA), and PETER DEUTSCH (D-FL).

Along with representatives from AIPAC, the Anti-Defamation League, Religious Action Center, American Jewish Committee, American Jewish Congress, Conference of

Presidents, and B'nai B'rith also attended.

Christopher Meets With House International Relations Committee

The House International Relations Committee met with Secretary of State WARREN CHRISTOPHER March 30 to discuss the Administration's international budget request, which includes foreign aid. Chairman BEN GILMAN (R-NY), reflecting the tone of a Congress bent on balancing the budget, stated: "We'll have to cut programs...and foreign assistance programs will have to contribute their fair share."

Rep. HOWARD BERMAN (D-CA), opposing extensive budget cuts in the international account, stressed that "no area of the federal government has had anywhere near the percentage cut as the international relations budget since 1985."

On Jordanian debt relief, Gilman said: "Many of us support debt relief for Jordan.... We want to do what we can to help King Hussein and his country's economy." However, he added, "Congress may have to make a 20 percent across-the-board cut in the foreign aid program on top of the cuts we plan to pay for [Jordanian debt relief]."

During the hearing, Rep. STEVE CHABOT (R-OH) voiced his support for Jerusalem as Israel's capital. Chabot stated: "Congress has expressed its bipartisan support for Jerusalem as the undivided capital of Israel. A recent letter sent to you by 93 senators called on the administration to move the U.S. embassy to Jerusalem no later than 1999. I strongly support that effort."

"Astounded by the courage of the Israeli government in sustaining the peace process," Rep. SAM GEJDENSON (D-CT) blamed Iran for financing terrorist organizations that threaten Israel's search for peace. He said: "We have to figure out a way...to get our foreign allies to gather together in some kind of action [against Iran]."

D'Amato Calls For International Embargo Of Iran

Sen. ALFONSE D'AMATO (R-NY), the author of a bill that would ban U.S. trade with Iran, has introduced a second bill to deter other countries from material trade with Iran.

The Iran Foreign Sanctions Act, which D'Amato introduced March 27, would prohibit U.S. government procurement from foreign companies if they do business with Iran, as well as deny export licenses to them. "Simply put, a foreign corporation or person will have to choose between trade with the United

States, or trade with Iran," D'Amato said.

House Members Request Hearing On The Golan

Four subcommittee chairs of the House International Relations Committee wrote to Gilman March 20 stating their "strong desire for full committee hearings to be held soon on the subject of the Golan Heights and the prospect of stationing U.S. troops there as part of a settlement between Israel and Syria." The members want to discuss stationing U.S. troops on the Golan to monitor an Israeli-Syrian peace agreement before "it will be too late to consider this issue in a thoughtful manner."

Both Syria and Israel have agreed to hold off any discussions of U.S. monitors on the Golan until a peace agreement is reached.

Kyl Requests Immediate Move Of Embassy

In a letter to Christopher, Sen. JON KYL (R-AZ) requested that the U.S. transfer its embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem "at the earliest date, but not later than the 3,000th anniversary of the City of Jerusalem, which is 1996." Last month, 93 senators sponsored a letter urging Christopher to move the embassy no later than May 1.

Kyl stated: "The status of Jerusalem is not, never was, and never will be negotiable." He added: "The United States is not neutral about Jewish rights in the ancient Jewish homeland or in Jerusalem. I believe the key to our diplomatic effectiveness is not our neutrality, but our power and loyalty to our friends and our principles."

King Hussein Lobbies For Debt Relief

King Hussein of Jordan spent the last week of March in Washington trying to garner Congressional support for the debt relief President Clinton promised last year. In a meeting with House Speaker NEWT GINGRICH (R-GA) and House Majority Leader DICK ARMEY (R-TX) Hussein said: "There are many hopes and expectations out there," many of which will be difficult to meet without debt forgiveness. In addressing Congress, Hussein stated: "With the help and cooperation of [Congress], the peace we all want can be achieved."

Providing debt forgiveness to Jordan has been included in different bills in the House and Senate. The legislative vehicle, as well as the timing of the specific levels of assistance, have not yet been worked out at press time. □

Near East Report (ISSN 0028-176X). Published biweekly by Near East Research, Inc. at 440 First Street, N.W., Suite 607, Washington, D.C. 20001.

Subscription \$50 per year. For advertising, circulation, subscription, and billing information call: 202-639-5254.

Board of Directors: Gary Wallin, President; Bernie White, Treasurer; Steve Grossman; Howard A. Kohr; Edward Levy, Jr.; Neal Sher

Dr. Raphael Danziger, Editor

Joel Himelfarb, Managing Editor

Diana Ball, Production Director

Mindy W. Sosland, Research Analyst

I.L. Kenen, Founder, 1905-1988

Second Class postage paid at Washington, D.C. and additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes to Near East Report, 440 1st Street, N.W., Suite 607, Washington, D.C. 20001.

O'Neill Praises U.S.-Israel Cooperation

U.S.-Israel ballistic missile defense cooperative programs received high praise from the Director of the Ballistic Missile Defense Organization, Lt. Gen. Malcolm O'Neill, during the week of April 3. O'Neill, who oversees all U.S. ballistic missile defense programs, lauded Israel as a country committed to ballistic missile defense burden sharing. "It has been a remarkable leveraging we have," he said.

"For about eight years, we have been [working] in close cooperation with Israel, a country that is very concerned about its survival and which has a significant threat capability very close at hand. The Israelis have contributed significantly to the development of the Arrow system and other missile defense technology that we see is primarily applicable to our theater missile defense program," O'Neill said during an April 4 congressional hearing.

Calling cooperation on the Arrow "a very significant success story," O'Neill highlighted its benefits to the U.S. "They are excellent scientists and engineers and because of the cooperative nature of our program, we can have any and all of their elements in any way we want. We are putting in about half the money for Arrow, but we are getting the full technological output of Arrow which we can use any way we want for [Patriot] PAC-3, for THAAD, or for other [ballistic missile defense] systems," he said.

Rep. CURT WELDON (R-PA), who chairs the House subcommittee that authorizes funding for the Arrow program, also stated his support for the program: "I'm a strong supporter of that program and I have been for about the last six years."

O'Neill also commented on another cooperative effort, the U.S.-Israel Boost Phase Intercept (BPI) program. In a *Defense News* (April 3-9, 1995) interview, O'Neill said: "We are certainly interested in continued cooperation on boost phase."

A BPI system will intercept Scud-type tactical ballistic missiles shortly after launch when they are most vulnerable. This technology will help counter the growing missile threat from Iran, Iraq and other rogue regimes. The U.S. and Israel have been conducting an ongoing study of BPI technology and are currently in the process of negotiating an agreement to begin the next step of this program.

O'Neill stated that after completing a one-year study of BPI, Israel is developing a program "that would eventually lead to a system that would probably be comprised of a high-altitude [unmanned aerial vehicle] and an antiballistic missile."

Advocating future cooperation between the two countries, O'Neill said: "We...believe there may be some applicability for U.S. systems, so we will continue to assess the Israeli program, and will participate in simulation studies and joint analysis during the coming year." □

Christopher...continued

munity has an interest in seeing that these efforts fail. There's absolutely no room for complacency about Iran's efforts. Just remember Iraq. Five years ago, too many were willing to give Saddam Hussein the benefit of the doubt. We must not make the same mistake with Iran. The right solution is to bring increased pressure to bear to change Iranian policies. The United States has led the effort to deny Iran the military and economic resources that are necessary to fuel its extremism and project its terror. This week I'm recommending we toughen our present sanctions against Iran even further.

To succeed fully, of course, we'll need the support of our allies and friends. We've made some progress in gaining the cooperation of our European and Japanese partners, but much more must be done. A higher price must be exacted for Iran's terrorist behavior. No industrial democracy should be supplying Iran

with concessionary credits that allows it to divert its funds to the sponsorship of terrorism and the purchase of weapons. Above all, no country working with Iran should work with them on nuclear matters.

On this score, we've made our opposition to Russia's cooperation with Iran abundantly clear. I'm convinced that Russia will rue the day that it provides Iran with nuclear expertise and technology. No amount of money will be worth the price that Russia and the world will pay if a terrorist regime like Iran develops a nuclear weapon. Russia knows that no industrialized democracy deals with Iran on nuclear issues simply because it's too dangerous to do so.

Let me say on this subject finally that the way Russia conducts itself on this and other matters will certainly affect the evolution of its participation in Western institutions." □

PLO Renounces Arab Boycott

The PLO has declared publicly that it supports a renunciation of the Arab boycott of Israel. At an unprecedented meeting February 7-8 in Taba, Egypt, American, Israeli, Egyptian, Jordanian and Palestinian trade leaders signed onto a joint document—the Taba Declaration—which supports "all efforts to end the boycott of Israel." PLO negotiator Nabil Shaath included his name on the document. The trade leaders also agreed "to take

all possible steps to remove barriers to free and open markets for trade and investments in the region."

Commerce Secretary RON BROWN, who was visiting the region and participated in the talks, hailed the meeting as "historic."

"The content of the Taba Declaration agreed to at the meeting, breaks new ground in our effort for lasting peace," Brown said. □

Hamas...continued

the blast. Nearby apartments and neighboring buildings were also damaged, with furniture smashed and windows blown out. The explosion was so powerful that authorities had difficulty collecting all of the body parts strewn throughout the area. The death toll may rise as police continue to comb through the wreckage.

Ghazi Jabali, the head of Gaza's civil police, criticized Hamas, and called on them "to stop all these acts." Palestinians living near the bomb factory were also sharply critical of Hamas for locating it in their neighborhood.

"They can carry out their activities outside—in the orange groves—but not here," said a Palestinian whose apartment was damaged in the explosion. "People are angry at them."

Hamas tried to deflect criticism by blaming Israel and the PA for the explosion. In Damascus, Hamas representative Abu Mohammed Mustafa accused the Palestinian police and Israel of complicity. Mustafa said Hamas "will respond quickly and painfully to the criminal bombing" (Reuter, April 2).

In Gaza City, Hamas operatives led 5,000 people in a march and prayer service honoring Kahil and the others who died in the explosion.

The general-secretary of the PA, Tayeb Abdel-Rahim, criticized Hamas' confrontational stance, and said that the group does not "respect people's...security by having a bomb factory in a residential area."

It remains to be seen, however, whether Arafat and the PLO are prepared to move decisively against Hamas. Some within the PLO are reportedly arguing that Kahil's death might strengthen Hamas "moderates." Other members of Arafat's entourage are said to be urging him to crush Hamas' military wing. "But, despite finding documents showing that Kahil was prepared to attack the [PA], Arafat ruled out a crackdown on Hamas," a senior Palestinian official told Reuter (Apr. 4). J.H. □

CORRECTION

In "Auschwitz Remembered" (*NER*, Feb. 27), we quoted an incorrect statement from the *Washington Times* (Jan. 27): "Able-bodied men and women were used as slave laborers or as sexual slaves for the camp's German and Polish guards." There were no Polish guards in Auschwitz, and Germans were prohibited from sexual contacts with Jews to avoid "racial contamination." We regret the error.

Missile Defense Debate Has Important Mideast Implications

As preparations begin for the Clinton-Yeltsin May summit in Moscow, Washington is gripped in an important debate between the new Republican-led Congress and the Clinton Administration over the U.S. approach to the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) treaty. This debate, conducted in the rarefied vocabulary of arms control experts, has concrete ramifications not only for U.S.-Russian relations, but for America's ability to counter threats posed by rogue states like Iraq, Iran, Libya, and North Korea. The security of the United States and allies like Israel depends on the President and Congress cooperating to promote effective missile defense while preserving U.S. relations with Moscow.

The basic approach of the 1972 U.S.-Soviet ABM treaty was to severely limit U.S. and Soviet defenses against ballistic missiles so that neither superpower would be tempted to launch a nuclear strike against the other on the assumption that no retaliation was possible. The treaty rested on the theory that defenses against intercontinental strategic missiles are destabilizing, because they lead each side to build more offensive systems or to consider using its nuclear weapons early in a crisis. Under the umbrella of the ABM treaty, the U.S. and U.S.S.R. negotiated reductions in their strategic offensive forces through the START and SALT processes.

Washington and Moscow agreed, however, that the ABM treaty should not limit the capacity of either side to develop defenses against shorter-range (theater) ballistic missiles. Arms control experts believed that such local defenses would help each side protect its forces and allies without stimulating a strategic arms race. In recent years, the proliferation and use of theater ballistic missiles like Iraq's Scuds during the 1991 Gulf war reinforced the requirement for effective defenses.

With the demise of the Soviet Union, the ABM treaty has become increasingly controversial. Some view it as an outdated Cold War relic, restricting the U.S. and Russia while permitting other states to freely develop missile capabilities. Others challenge the continuing legal validity of the treaty, since one of its parties has disappeared. ABM treaty defenders see it as necessary to ensure Moscow's ratification of the START II arms reduction treaty.

But the most important issue dividing Washington is the Administration's effort with Moscow to define the differences between the more capable and faster strategic defensive missiles limited by the treaty and the shorter-range, slower theater systems that each side may freely develop. Some Administration officials believe the ABM treaty must be reaffirmed and updated by such a definition to avoid treaty compliance disputes, while critics believe this process would inevitably erode the capability of U.S. defenses against theater missiles.

President Clinton asserts that the U.S. will

only accept a demarcation definition that will permit America to deploy a "highly effective" theater missile defense. And current demarcation discussions would probably not affect some systems under development (like the Patriot PAC III and Israel's Arrow missile). But many experts are deeply concerned that a new U.S.-Russian agreement would limit the effectiveness of a system like the Navy's Upper Tier missile. Proponents of this system have argued that if, for example, Navy Upper Tier missiles were deployed on an Aegis cruiser off the port of Haifa, they could protect large parts of Europe and the Middle East from an Iraqi or Iranian missile attack.

Accordingly, key military leaders have objected to the Administration's proposals. Navy Vice Admiral Thomas Lopez declared March 28 that the Administration's position on Navy Upper Tier would "significantly narrow" its defensive coverage. And Joint Chiefs of Staff Chairman John Shalikashvili has implied his preference to revise the U.S. position on the demarcation question.

Similar sentiments have been expressed in Congress. On February 15, the House voted 320-110 to adopt an amendment offered by National Security Committee Chairman FLOYD SPENCE (R-SC) and Rep. JOHN SPRATT (D-SC) urging suspension of demarcation discussions pending Congressional review. The Senate Republican leadership has demanded that any changes to the ABM treaty be submitted for the Senate's advice and consent.

Clearly, President Clinton cannot avoid discussion of key arms control questions during his May trip to Moscow. But the Administration cannot successfully pursue an arms control policy unless it has the understanding and support of Congress. The President and Congress ought to utilize the period prior to the president's trip to develop a cooperative approach that will facilitate both proper relations with Moscow and effective theater missile defenses—essential goals to which both the president and Congress are committed.

—Marvin Feuer

Feuer is AIPAC's Director of Defense and Strategic Issues.

*Quaint-Arty
-Historical-*

**PONCE DELEON
MALL**

St. Augustine

**Potter's Wax Museum
Woolworth's
Sumptin' Else
and many more**

**17-31 King Street
St. Augustine, FL**

**Save These
Dates!**

*Your presence is needed
in Washington to help
us meet the challenge
of educating America's
new legislators.*

**AIPAC's 36th Annual
Policy Conference**

Washington, D.C.

May 7-9, 1995

For more information,
call (202)639-5200.

Did you know?...

☞ During the last five years Israel has absorbed 58,000 immigrant engineers—mostly from the former Soviet Union—tripling the number of engineers in the country. More than 12,000 physicians arrived in Israel during that period, doubling the number of doctors. Over 10,000 scientists came as well; about 70 percent of them are working in their profession.

☞ Just three years ago, 38 percent of the immigrants were unemployed; today the rate is only 12 percent. Sixty percent of the immigrants have already purchased apartments.

Source: *Hado'ar*, Feb. 17, 1995