

# Banging against brick

David Krivine

ISRAEL IS starting the new year with a new Knesset and a new government. Foreign policy will be controlled by the Likud - a post-Begin Likud flanked by growing numbers of ultra-nationalists.

It does not matter whether the coalition is a narrow or broad one. The best that Labour can do, now that it has entered the cabinet, is block the "Who is a Jew" amendment (admittedly an important contribution), and try to save the Histadrut economy.

It cannot initiate peace initiatives. It can slow down but cannot halt the expansion of settlements in the occupied territories (any more than it did in the last four years). Shimon Peres was rendered impotent as foreign minister, and will be more so - as regards the Middle East conflict - after his relegation to the Treasury.

Begin's first government was a coalition with Moshe Dayan and Ezer Weizman. Result: peace with Egypt. His second government was a coalition with Arik Sharon. Result: the war in Lebanon.

The Likud torch then passed to Yitzhak Shamir. His first government was a coalition with Peres. Result: neither war (thanks to Peres), nor peace (thanks to Shamir). What will happen in his second administration, scheduled to serve for the next four years?

WHAT WILL happen is a series of shocks that will shake the complacency of the new leadership as never before. They will discover, as Begin did during his term of office, that Israel's nationalistic aspirations cannot exist in a vacuum, that account has to be taken of realities on the ground. This point was made re-

peatedly during Labour's election campaign; but logic did not avail at the November polls. The nation has chosen instead to bang its head against brick walls.

The first shock came with Yasser Arafat's *tour de force* in Geneva and Stockholm. Shamir had frustrated the move to negotiate with King Hussein in January, 1987. Peres warned that if we did not talk to the Jordanians, we should have to talk to the PLO. That is precisely what has happened.

Shamir declares that Arafat has said nothing new. Such a declaration is absurd - so absurd that Shamir probably intends to convey something else (that although the PLO have indeed taken a new stand, they do not mean what they say). Unfortunately, it does not matter what Arafat said.

What matters - and what is certainly new - is that as a result of the Palestinian leader's speeches, the U.S. has recognized the PLO. The rest of the world has shifted from a *de facto* to a *de jure* recognition of the PLO, now granted honorary statehood by practically every member-state of the UN.

The Jordanian option has been well and truly buried - by Shamir. He keeps stating that he will make peace with the Arabs. He was foreign minister for two years, and prime minister for another two years, at which time he had a peace-loving foreign minister by his side. Yet he did nothing, took no initiative and made no proposal, confining himself to blocking Peres's ventures.

What he did, as it turned out, was as Peres warned would happen to replace the Jordanian option with the PLO option.

WHAT WILL HE do now? stuck with the theory of the party that he heads. This theory requires that he annex Judea, Samaria and Gaza, as ex-Herut minister Geula Cohen keeps urging. Does he not do it? This brings the second brick wall against Likud heads are being banged first being the existence of the PLO which Likudniks insisted was a fact as the PLO was a organization.

The second wall is the indestructibility of the Palestinians. Ag Likud thought they were a people. They could be ignored, subdued, neutralized (Gandhi "transferred"). But they cannot be overruled in any of those ways and the proof is - if the indestructibility is not proof enough - the fact of the annexation.

Levi Eshkol of Labour East Jerusalem; Begin annexed the Golan. Shamir has annexed the Golan. The Likud ought to be in-house seminars for its members about the reasons for this. Their fiery theoreticians must say something about the harsh life and politics.

Stymied over annexation will try to get rid of the problem by offering the Palestinians a autonomy plan, based on the David agreement that he signed. If they accept it, express it

all over. "Who can the government won't do. It will be exactly the same. The whole thing is absurd," explained the man Roni Shisel.

"It's taken a long time, secretary Ruti Kaprielian. The important thing is that the government and the Likud religious blackmailers looked as though they were a fundamentalist religious religious agreement is more needed a national unity one that has the support of the people. It will take years to rule."

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**BASIC (POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT) PROGRAMME, DEC.**  
(Translated by the Press Office)

**AT THE CENTRE** of the National Unity Programme presented to the Knesset are the following tasks:  
a. Recognition of the PLO and common struggle for peace and common struggle for people in the home and abroad.  
b. A sustained effort to attain the central aim: The return of Jews to their home.

c. Boosting immigration from Western countries, encouraging Jews by bringing them realizing their right to Israel.

23.12.1988

**מעדיב**

## ביוגרפיה של אלוף (מיל.) לימון מגלה: ישראל דחתה הצעת פורטוגל לעקוף האמברגו הצרפתי

את המטוסים לחיל האוויר. פרטים אלה מופיעים בביוגרפיה על האלוף (מיל) מרדכי "מוקה" לימון, שכ"ב מירון צור (איש קול ישראל). הספר יצא לאור היום בספרות מעריב.

לאשכול היה בנימוק מוסרי, לפיו ישראל לא תקנה נשק באמצעות מדינה שנחשבה דיקטטורית ואימפריאליסטית. בכך נכשלה אפשרות סבורה לעקוף את האמברגו של דה גול ולהשיג

שליט פורטוגל המנות, ד"ר אנטוניו סלאזאר, היה מוכן ב-1968 לקנות מצרפת את 50 מטוסי מיראז' 5, שהיו באמצע בנייה ולהעבירם לישראל, אולם רה"מ לוי אשכול ו"ל שם וטו על העיסקה.