

# For Israel, what's after Beirut?

by Noam Chomsky  
Pacific News Service

Noam Chomsky is professor of modern languages and linguistics at M.I.T., author of numerous books, (including *Peace in the Middle East and Towards a New Cold War*), and was active in the movement against the Vietnam War.

One question which preys on the minds of those who are deeply disturbed over Israel's invasion of Lebanon may be stated very simply: What lies beyond Beirut?

To seek an answer, we must place the Lebanese invasion in its broad, historical context. If the conclusion we arrive at seems darkly pessimistic, it is nonetheless one which many observers consider a plausible and logical extension of past and present Israeli actions.

Since 1973, Israel and the United States have been committed to removing Egypt from the Arab-Israeli conflict. Only after the October war were they willing to accept Sadat's offer, quite explicit in February 1971, of a full peace treaty that would turn Egypt into an American client state while leaving Israel in a position to control the bulk of the occupied territories.

At the same time, it was necessary to fend off annoying Arab efforts to settle the conflict peaceably on essentially the terms proposed by Sadat in 1971, but now with a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The U.S. was compelled to veto a UN Security Council resolution to this effect in January 1976 (the resolution, which was introduced and backed by the Arab "confrontation states" and supported by the PLO, called for a two-state settlement with recognized borders and guarantees for the security and territorial integrity of both states).

The Camp David agreements carried the arrangements further, leading finally to Israeli withdrawal from the Sinai.

The second significant event of this period was the annexation (in effect) of the Golan Heights. And a third was the implementation of the Sharon-Milson plan for suppressing

any form of independent political expression in the occupied territories. These policies led to the harsh and brutal repression that received some limited attention in the U.S. press.

The next step was the invasion of Lebanon, the primary aims of which were to destroy the social and political structures of the PLO while eliminating the possibility of any response as Israel proceeds towards more efficient control in the occupied territories, leading to ultimate annexation. A further aim was to establish, at least in the southern part of Lebanon, an Israeli client regime that will sooner or later provide Israel with access to the waters of the Litani River, a long-standing aim of Israeli government policy with roots in early Zionist thinking. As the father of modern Israel, David Ben-Gurion, remarked at the time of the British partition proposal in 1937: "We shall accept a state in the boundaries fixed today, but the boundaries of Zionist aspirations are the concern of the Jewish people and no external factor will be able to limit them."

Though the final outcome of the present offensive is not yet fully determined, it is likely that Israel will achieve its objectives. The next steps are easy to imagine. Israel will continue to move towards annexation of the occupied territories, employing whatever measures will be necessary. The logical extension of this process is that Jordan must be converted into the "Palestinian state" that it already is in Israeli propaganda. Then conditions can be created in which the Arabs of the occupied territories (and, who knows, perhaps those of Israel, too) will "voluntarily emigrate" to Jordan as proposed years ago by the Labor Party leadership. This "Palestinian state" will then be hostage to Israeli attack, perhaps after such flimsy "provocations" as those that sufficed to justify the Lebanon invasion to the American audience.

Wasting no time, Israel dissolved the elected city councils of Dura and Nablus on the West Bank, replacing the city councils of Dura by "five Arab moderates," a euphemism for Arab collaborators.

Longer term planning is also fair-

ly predictable. Syria is ruled, with quite extraordinary brutality, by a minority sect. Israel will work to destabilize it, so that Syria and Lebanon will be restored to a system rather like that of the Ottoman Empire, with local dependencies of an ethnic-religious character dominated by Israel, a powerful militarized state serving as an American "strategic asset."

Similar plans are being contemplated for Iraq, where Israel's interest lies in an eventual partition into Sunni, Shi'ite, and Kurdish states, as observed by military commentator Ze'ev Schiff in the daily Ha'aretz in June. This is one motive for Israel's support for Iran in the Iran-Iraq conflict. Another motive is that Israel perceives the possibility of a military coup (perhaps post-Khomeini) that will restore the kinds of Israeli-Iranian relations that existed under the Shah. To this end, it is important to maintain contacts with the Iranian military. Jacob Nimrodi, formerly head of the Israeli secret police in Iran under the Shah, expounded on these possibilities over BBC radio last February.

The long-term objective may be an alliance of Iran (now restored to the West), Turkey and Israel ruling the region in alliance with the United States, the ultimate source of their power. "The chance of strategic understanding among Iran, Turkey and Israel should not be ruled out as something that can surface again," according to an Israeli "expert" quoted in the *New York Times*.

Some Israeli commentators go further still. In the official theological journal of the World Zionist Organization, Oded Yinon suggests that "the political goal of Israel in the 1980s on its Western front" is to dismember Egypt after reconquest of the Sinai, overturning the "mistaken peace agreement" with Sadat. He outlines, with specific detail, a plan such as that just reviewed for the restoration of an Ottoman Empire-style arrangement for the region, including also the Arabian peninsula. A plausible (though unstated) further consequence is that Israel will control the region's energy reserves.

On a still broader scale, this alli-

ance may be extended to include South Africa, which has been the recipient of direct Israeli assistance in its own rather comparable efforts to maintain instability and disorder along its borders. According to numerous sources, it appears that Israel and South Africa are also advancing towards a large-scale nuclear weapons capacity in their joint endeavors, including development of neutron bombs, missile delivery systems (that can reach targets in the USSR), and a wide range of strategic and low-yield nuclear weapons. Israel and South Africa have also been reported to be engaged in joint development of cruise missiles with Taiwan.

Much of this is projection rather than accomplished fact, but it is within the bounds of plausibility in substantial measure. As long as the United States provides Israel with the requisite military force, there is every reason to believe that Israel will proceed along such a path, to the extent that it is within its power.

Clearly, the risks of expanded war, engaging the superpowers and possibly leading to nuclear war, are not inconsiderable—a fact which has not gone entirely unnoticed in Washington. Several years ago, certain elements in the Pentagon began to fear that the U.S. had created a Frankenstein monster by flooding Israel with advanced armaments. Anthony Cordesman, who had held a variety of high-level administrative and intelligence positions in the Pentagon, wrote in the *Armed Forces Journal* in 1977 that the United States "may now find itself aiding an Israel which may use its military strength to take permanent control of former Arab territory in direct opposition to U.S. policy, and be locked into an indefinite cold war with the Arabs," leading to "a major national security problem" for the United States.

Cordesman's interpretation of U.S. policy may be open to question, but his early warning was apt. United States-backed Israeli adventurism is creating a security problem of immense proportion. The U.S. disarmament movement dooms itself to near irrelevance if it disregards this.

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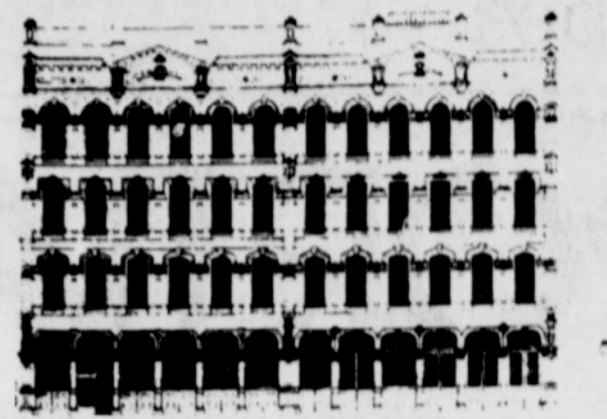
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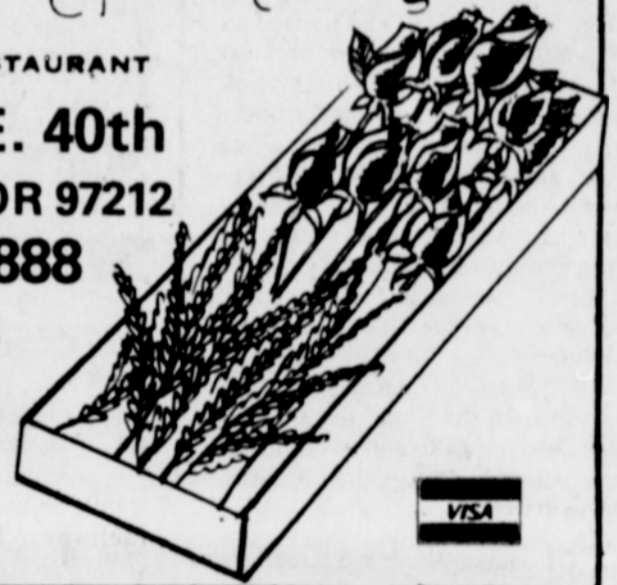
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## Chicago

(Continued from page 1 column 6)

Dr. Kenneth Goodman, the outgoing president of the International Reading Association (IRA) sharply criticized mastery learning at a national convention in Chicago this spring. Goodman, professor of elementary education at the University of Arizona, said mastery learning doesn't teach children to read.

"He's an idiot academician who doesn't spend his time in classrooms," Katims said of Goodman. "The IRA as an institution should hang its head in shame. They've presided over declining test scores for 20 years."

Controversy doesn't bother Equalizers president Tillman, who has challenged school policy for years. She's been jailed for disrupting meetings of the board of education, and was jailed again in July for demonstrating outside of the mayor's residence on another issue.

The parent group is in no mood to compromise, and appears ready to carry out its threat of a strike this fall if the reading program remains part of the curriculum.

## Strachan responds to questioning

(Continued from page 1, column 6)

were too few managers in HRB at the time.

The *Observer* questioned why Mayor Ivancie's chief assistant, Jim Kuffner, had been called with a trial balloon floated about replacing Hepburn. Strachan replied, "I did not call Ivancie's office." When reminded that her chief assistant, Richard Forrester had talked to Kuffner, according to the August 10 *Willamette Week*, Strachan answered, "That's what the paper said."

Following discussion with Forrester, Kuffner reportedly called Anna Street, an aide to Commissioner Jordan and a close friend of Hepburn's. Asked why she thought Street had been notified, Strachan said she "had not talked to Anna about it."

Strachan said she did not know that Charlie Graham, in the office of Fiscal Administration under Ivancie, had been mentioned by Forrester as a possible temporary replacement for Hepburn. "The most

accurate information in town is not presented in *Willamette Week*," she retorted.

Asked if the trial balloon to fire Hepburn had been floated because she feared Hepburn would emerge from the civil service process as a qualified candidate, Strachan stated emphatically, "My God, I hoped she'd emerge as a top-three contender."

Strachan, known for her outspoken advocacy on a wide variety of citizen and planning issues such as recent support of a Police Review Committee and efforts to keep open and rehabilitate the Evergreen Apartments in Northwest Portland, stated that she made decisions based on the good of the city and not popular choice. She does not, she said, "test the wind," but attempts to make sound management decisions and informed decisions on Council.

In a related matter, Strachan said she put no pressure to resign on Joe Gonzales, Director of the CETA program within the HRB. Gonzales,

she said, had recommended that his position be downgraded to save money. Gonzales and other staff have been laid off while some HRB staff resigned, cutting staff costs. Re-evaluation of Gonzales' and other positions will be accomplished by September 30. Gonzales will leave the bureau September 1.

Strachan preferred to call the dispute between her and Hepburn a "discussion" rather than an issue. She agreed that the city does not need another black-white issue. Voicing concern that "in hard times certain people are scapegoated," Strachan added, "anything that adds to that problem is bad."

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