

Nixon's Arab Crowd Scenes Alter Middle East Equation

By Jim Hoagland

Washington Post Foreign Service

BEIRUT, June 18—President Nixon's Middle East tour, which ended today, has shattered many of the images of Arab-American hostility created during a generation of conflict and Cold War over American policy in this region.

The Arab welcomes for the American president, ranging from wildly enthusiastic in Egypt to low-key but correct in Syria, plus Mr. Nixon's care to provide each of his hosts with small political boosts, stand in startling contrast to the mutual bitterness of the past.

But the President achieved little visible progress toward resolving the explosive Palestinian question, which his Arab hosts repeatedly told him was the crux of the Middle East conflict. In interviews here today, top aides to guerrilla leader Yasser Arafat said that the President's remarks in Israel yesterday had undercut the position of Palestinian moderates and may have made it impossible for them to go to the Geneva peace conference.

Underscoring the continuing tension in the region despite Mr. Nixon's visit, Israeli warplanes bombed villages in southern Lebanon today shortly before the President left Amman, Jordan, for the Azores.

Pro-Palestinian newspapers here accused Mr. Nixon of giving Israel "the green light" to attack Lebanon by issuing a joint statement yesterday with Israeli

Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin calling on all states "to refrain from organizing or encouraging the organization of irregular forces or armed bands including mercenaries for incursion into the territory of another state"

Political and military aides to Arafat, the chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization, also centered their criticism of Mr. Nixon's trip on what they see as his unresponsiveness to Palestinian moderation in that section of the communique.

"Moderates in the movement succeeded in getting a reasonable, realistic 10-point program through the Palestine National Council last week, and the response we get from the American President is to be called mercenaries," said one of Arafat's political advisers. "Nixon is pouring oil on the fire."

The 10-point program adopted by the council, a Palestinian parliament-in-exile, left the way open for Arafat to go to the Geneva peace conference if the conference agrees to discuss the Palestinians' political demands.

"Mr. Nixon talks about peace in the Arab countries and then goes to Israel and says he will support the Israelis with more and more arms over many years," said a guerrilla leader known as Abu Saleh, one of the most important figures in the Palestinian military command and a close comrade of Arafat.

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Peacemaker Role Pledged By President

By Carroll Kilpatrick

Washington Post Staff Writer

AMMAN, June 18 — President Nixon wound up his five-nation Middle East journey here today with an expression of hope for the future but with an acknowledgment that the problems ahead "are enormously difficult."

The President promised that the United States will play an active role in the area as peacemaker, and he left the area with the message he came here with — war is no solution to Middle East problems.

Whether he was buoyed by the acclaim he has received or overwhelmed by the almost intractable difficulties ahead, he maintained a note of cautious optimism in his public statements.

The President said at the Amman airport before boarding his plane that all the leaders he met "are dedicated to finding a way to peace." He did not say that leaders on both sides presented arguments hinting at no compromise.

The President flew to the Azores tonight (arriving at 5 p.m. EDT), where he is to confer Wednesday morning with Portugal's president, Gen. Antonio de Spínola, before flying on to Washington, where he is scheduled to arrive about 4 p.m.

After a brief respite from round-the-clock diplomacy, Mr. Nixon will embark again next Tuesday on a flight to Brussels, where he will meet the following day with NATO government chiefs. He will fly to Moscow on June 27 for his third summit meeting with Soviet leader Leonid I. Brezhnev.

In a joint communique at the end of his Jordan visit, the President promised King Hussein expanded U.S. aid to

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Nixon Vows U.S. Aid In Mideast Peace Effort

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maintain Jordan's military and economic strength. American aid is now about \$60 million annually, and the President has requested authority to increase it to \$207 million next year.

The President and the king said they would establish a joint Jordanian-American commission, similar to those agreed to with Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Israel, to promote increased cooperation in economic development, trade and investment, military aid and scientific, social and cultural affairs. A somewhat less for-

Jordan Band Drops 'The Post March'

Reuter

AMMAN, Jordan, June 18—The Jordanian army's pipe and brass band today dropped from its repertory for President Nixon's visit John Philip Sousa's "The Washington Post March."

The band, dressed in gleaming white uniforms and red Arab headdresses, had played the classical piece of military marching music for the President's arrival in Jordan yesterday, apparently oblivious to The Washington Post's role as the first newspaper to reveal the extent of the Watergate coverup.

The printed program for Mr. Nixon's departure still listed the march, commissioned in 1889 by The Post. But the music the band actually played was Sousa's "The Stars and Stripes Forever."

mal agreement was reached for cooperative endeavors with Syria.

Mr. Nixon invited Hussein, as he has the other leaders, to visit Washington for talks "on the strategy of future efforts to achieve peace" in accord with the U.N. Security Council Resolution 338. Arab countries interpret the resolution, which refers to earlier U.N. texts, to include a call for the withdrawal of Israel from all Arab lands taken in the 1967 war.

The President spent a busy day with King Hussein. Before departing, they drove to Jordanian 4th Division headquarters outside the city to view a "retreat" ceremony by some of the sharpest troops Mr. Nixon has seen on the trip.

The king and the President arrived for the ceremony an hour late, causing cancellation of part of the program, but the remainder was performed with brilliance and precision by troops that had been waiting at least two hours in the hot sun.

The President and Mrs. Nixon left Washington Monday last week and have visited Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Israel and Jordan in a whirlwind tour.

At times, Mr. Nixon has seemed to be very tired. At other times, he has appeared to be relaxed and well. He has maintained an exhausting schedule, with long official dinners almost every night.

Whether the President's trip has contributed to a peace settlement may not be known for many months. No one in the American party believes that the negotiations scheduled to begin later in the year in Geneva will be easy or that decisions can be reached quickly.

The President repeatedly emphasized that he had no easy solutions to offer. Last night, in Amman, after King Hussein in his speech at a ban-

quet expressed a hard line on Arab demands on Palestine, Jerusalem and the borders—repeating what other Arab leaders had said—the President seemed at the end of his patience.

"I wish this evening that I could have brought with me a briefcase full of solutions and I could have laid them out on this table," the President said. But, emphasizing that America now is playing a vastly new role, he insisted that there was no cause for despair. "What would cause despair," he said, "would be a return in this area to the old way and the old way was to dig in, freeze into place and wait for another conflict to break loose."

The President used almost the same words the night before in urging Israeli officials to take risks for peace and to show the same kind of courage they demonstrated in war in the cause of peace.

"War is not a solution and cannot be a solution to problems as intricate as this, not at this period in the history of this area," Mr. Nixon told King Hussein.

The Arab leaders have emphasized a hard line toward Israel on the issue of borders, the Palestinian people and control of the Arab section of Palestine. But all the leaders the President visited expressed directly or indirectly their confidence in him. After the rigors of Watergate, the vast crowd must have given him a lift. In both Israel and the Arab world, he heard himself referred to as a "great" American president.

Even the leaders here appear to have only a dim understanding of Watergate in Israel, newsmen found themselves stopped on the streets and asked whether the trip would not strengthen Mr. Nixon at home.

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"This would prove to some people who thought that American policy could change, that the United States is not interested in peace at all."

Seated in the military command's headquarters in the Sabra section of Beirut, near the city's most squalid refugee camps, Abu Saleh called the 10-point program "very reasonable and appreciated by all parties in the world, except, it appears, President Nixon and the Israelis. We have legitimate rights, but the Nixon statement wants to deny our existence."

"Well, there will be no peaceful settlement without the realization of our 10 points. We have big friends in the world. Our armed struggle will continue, and will escalate. Nixon's statement leaves us no choice."

Other Palestinian military sources predicted that the President's failure to offer the Palestinians any concrete hope that their national aspirations would be dealt with would lead to a sharp escalation of guerrilla attacks on Israel and Israeli retaliation raids that would polarize the Arab world.

"The Arab leaders who are cooperating with the Americans will have to produce some results or stand discredited. The extremists will produce their own results, since the moderates are getting nothing," said a self-described powerful men who hunger moderate.

High-level Palestinian sources disclosed that the backlash to Mr. Nixon's visit will complicate Egyptian President Anwar Sadat's bid to have a meeting of Egypt, Syria, Jordan and the Palestinians to map strategy for the Geneva talks, which Sadat has said should not be resumed until after the small summit.

"How can we talk about Geneva when we don't know the terms? We reject any discussions outside the 10 points, and I can't see how Hussein can accept them," said one guerrilla leader, referring to the king of Jordan.

Despite the new Palestinian bitterness, the Arab leaders involved in the Nixon visit can claim to have scored some gains from it, and Mr. Nixon

has given each of them reason to continue his opening toward the United States.

Sadat, who provided Mr. Nixon with the largest and most dramatic welcome when the President sofly needed a foreign policy boost, has received the most in the way of political and economic trade-offs. Promises of new aid and investment, nuclear technology for industry and the

clear impresson left by Mr. Nixon that he regards the Egyptian president as the key statesman in the Arab world domestic position.

Although the Palestinians are not satisfied with the results, Sadat can truthfully argue to other Arabs that he pressed the Palestinian case with Mr. Nixon in each of their public appearances and got a reference to the Palestinian people included in the joint communique.

Mr. Nixon's demonstrated personal interest in Saudi Arabia should strengthen King Faisal's drive for greater American military support, business links and transfer of technology to industrialize his desert kingdom.

The key point for Syria's President Hafez Assad appeared to be Mr. Nixon's statement that the disengagement of forces agreement was only "a first step" toward a settlement. While this is far short of the commitment to seek total Israeli withdrawal from the Golan Heights that Assad wanted, it will provide him political breathing space at home.

Reaffirmation of American military and economic support to Jordan is likely to allay much of the suspicion that high-level Jordanians have voiced in recent months about American intentions toward King Hussein. Also important to the monarch is an explicit reference in the joint communique issued today to "American support for agreement between Israel and Jordan on concrete steps towards a just and durable peace on the basis of United Nations Security Council Resolution 338."

Hussein said yesterday that a Jordanian-Israeli disengagement of forces, similar to the Egyptian and Syrian front arrangements made under the U.N. resolution, had to be the next step in the Geneva conference if Jordan was to continue to participate.