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Security Council Commission Established
Under Resolution 446 (1979)

B. Statement received from the Permanent Observer of the
Holy See to the United Nations on 3 December 1979

1. It is commonly felt that the failure to find a solution to the question of Jerusalem, or an inadequate solution, or even a resigned postponement of the problem could bring into question the settlement of the whole Middle East crisis. The Holy See also considers it important that in this matter there should not be created irreversible situations which would prejudice the desired solution.

2. In his speech of 21 December 1973, His Holiness Pope Paul VI expressed the confident hope that the Holy See would fittingly be able to make its voice heard when the problem of Jerusalem became the subject of concrete discussions in the context of the peace negotiations for the Middle East.

On his part, His Holiness Pope John Paul II, in his address to the General Assembly of the United Nations on 2 October 1979, stated: "I also hope for a special statute that, under international guarantees - as my predecessor Paul VI indicated - would respect the particular nature of Jerusalem, a heritage sacred to the veneration of millions of believers of the three great monotheistic religions, Judaism, Christianity and Islam."

It hardly seems necessary to emphasize that the Holy See's interest in this question has a spiritual, historical and juridical basis, that its nature is not political but religious and that its aims are conciliation and peace. The intention of the Holy See is to preserve and guarantee to the Holy City its identity as a religious centre, unique and outstanding in the history of the world, in such a way that it may become a stable place of encounter and concord for the three great monotheistic religions (Judaism, Christianity and Islam).

Needless to say, on this subject, the Holy See endeavours to keep in contact not only with the religious authorities of the various Christian Churches but also with the principal leaders of Islam and Judaism.

3. The ideal and historical reality of the Holy City is manifested in the fact that Jerusalem has been and continues to be the most important centre of all three great monotheistic religions, inasmuch as the City is the seat of three religious communities that live together there and is the site of shrines and memorials venerated by the followers of these religions, who, numbering almost a billion and a half throughout the world, regard Jerusalem as a common sacred patrimony.

This composite presence in Jerusalem of various groups means that an equitable, stable and peaceful solution of the problem of Jerusalem implies, above all, the recognition of an historical and religious pluralism, to be put into practice by according all of the three religions, in their particular expression as communities, full enjoyment of their respective rights, excluding positions of predominance and, indeed, favouring the prospect of a useful human and religious dialogue.

4. The Holy See's view is that such considerations are of primary and determining importance with regard to the problem of political sovereignty itself.

That is to say: whatever solution be found to the question of sovereignty over Jerusalem (not excluding the hypothesis of the "internationalization" of the City), the satisfying and safeguarding of the above-mentioned requirements must be ensured, and, at the same time, the international community ought to be the guarantor of interests that involve numerous and diverse peoples.

This does not mean, however, that any solution of the political problem of the sovereignty of Jerusalem can be considered irrelevant to the global settlement of the question. Rather, the Holy See, the more because of the particular character of Jerusalem, acknowledges the need for a solution that will be based on the principles of justice and attained by peaceful means.

5. This perspective gives rise to the need for a "special statute, internationally guaranteed" for Jerusalem, which the Holy See is earnestly hoping for.

The content of this "statute" would include, among other things, two orders of guarantees:

(a) Parity, for three religious communities, of freedom of worship and of access to the Holy Places; of protection of rights of ownership and of other rights acquired by the individual communities; of the preservation and safeguarding of the historical and urban aspects proper to the City.

(b) Equal enjoyment of the rights of the three religious communities, with guarantees for the promotion of their spiritual, cultural, civil and social life, including adequate opportunities for economic progress, education, employment etc.

It will be necessary, furthermore, to define the territory and list the Holy Places, as well as provide for the guarantees and for the supervision which the international community will have to give to the "statute" and for the juridical form of this commitment and of the accord of the interested parties.

6. In many localities of the Holy Land apart from Jerusalem there are important Shrines and Holy Places of one or other religious confession. Suitable guarantees, analogous to those for the City of Jerusalem and in some way linked to an international juridical protection, should be provided for these places also.

Amb. Mathras

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NEAR EAST REPORT



Washington Letter on
American Policy in
the Middle East

January 23, 1980

Volume XXIV, No. 4

Editorial

Renewed Pressure?

The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan has prompted some of the presidential candidates to take note of Israel's heightened strategic importance to the United States, but it may prompt an altogether different response from the White House—renewed pressure on Israel to make unwarranted concessions on the West Bank. The view that seems to prevail in the Carter administration is that the absence of greater concessions by Israel on Palestinian autonomy is the biggest obstacle to the formation of an informal, pro-American bloc of Islamic states to counter Soviet moves.

There have been strong hints from high administration officials that, in the wake of the crises in Iran and Afghanistan, the national interest requires a speedy conclusion of the negotiations on Palestinian autonomy. And it is increasingly clear that U.S. negotiators are closer to the Egyptian position in the impasse over the powers of a West Bank-Gaza "self-governing authority."

The irony of the situation is that the crisis in Afghanistan has pushed Israel and Egypt closer together in their strategic assessment of the region they share. Prime Minister Begin and President Sadat were in harmony at their recent summit meeting on the need to protect the Mideast from Soviet expansionism.

But shortly after the summit Israeli and Egyptian negotiators were attacking each others' positions in the strongest terms heard since they signed a peace treaty 10 months ago. The basic disagreement remains the amount of authority Palestinians will have in their five-year transition period. Egypt insists on legislative as well as administrative powers for the self-governing authority; Sadat fears that anything less would subject him to further accusations that he has sold out the Palestinian cause. Israel fears that an authority with legislative powers would inevitably lead to an independent state dominated by the PLO.

Long-Term Risks

There might be short-term gains for the United States if the administration could pressure Israel into some kind of West Bank-Gaza settlement. But a settlement made under pressure would also contain long-term risks not only for Israel but for the United States as well. Israel is the only reliable U.S. ally in the region; a vulnerable Israel would undermine U.S. interests. Nevertheless, as in the past, the administration may decide that pressuring a friendly nation like Israel is easier than influencing nations of shifting allegiances.

Anti-Soviet regimes from Pakistan to Saudi Arabia to Morocco want to increase cooperation with the United States because it is profoundly—and more clearly than ever—in their interest to do so. A demonstration of American willingness to use its power against an adversary would do more to reassure them than would leaning on Israel. Besides, as long as these regimes refuse to recognize Israel's right to exist, any demands from them for pressure on Israel over the Palestinian question should be regarded as totally unacceptable. If the administration wants to make the Israelis feel more secure about the future of the West Bank, it could go a long way by eliciting concessions from the Arab side.

It may be argued that Egypt will feel even more isolated by an autonomy plan that is acceptable to Israel, or that the absence of a West Bank solution hampers the United States in its ability to capitalize on the shift of Islamic sentiment. But that doesn't mean that the answer to these problems is the responsibility of the small state that has already made greater voluntary territorial concessions for peace than any other nation in the region. □

Viewing the News

Arms for Egypt

The Carter administration plans to ask Congress to approve an additional \$1.1 billion in military credits to Egypt over the next two years to allow that country to purchase F-16 fighter planes, M-60 tanks and other sophisticated American military equipment. The offer was conveyed to Egyptian Vice President Hosni Mubarak, who was in Washington last week, by President Carter and made public on Monday.

The new offer is in addition to the \$800 million a year in credits the administration plans to seek for Egypt over the next three fiscal years. Added to the aid Egypt is receiving in connection with its peace treaty with Israel, the total U.S. assistance it would receive over the next five years amounts to over \$4 billion. There have been reports that Egyptian President Sadat actually sought between \$10 billion and \$15 billion in U.S. aid over that period but that U.S. officials believe \$4 billion is the maximum Egypt can assimilate.

Israel, which has accepted the principle of U.S. military assistance to Egypt, has expressed strong opposition to the amount of aid contemplated and the level of sophistication of the weapons involved.

The F-16 is a highly maneuverable, relatively short-range interceptor, produced by General Dynamics. Israel received its first batch of F-16s this month and will have 35 by the end of the year. Some reports have indicated that Egypt actually preferred more F-4s but was persuaded otherwise by the United States because the F-4 is out of production and there is a surplus of F-16s because of cancellations by Iran.

The plan to increase military credits to Egypt is part of the Carter administration's commitment to modernize the Egyptian armed forces. Although the Egyptian air force and army are large, they still depend heavily on aging Soviet equipment. The United States began selling arms to Egypt in 1978.

Israel's objections to the shipment of the most sophisticated weapons to Cairo are based not on concern over the policies of Sadat but on fear that he might be overthrown by a ruler hostile to the Jewish state.

(continued on page 14)

Israel's Strategic Role Stressed

Sen. Edward M. Kennedy and Sen. Howard Baker both said during the past week that the crises in Iran and Afghanistan have underscored Israel's strategic importance to the United States. In addition, although President Carter has not addressed the subject in recent weeks, several officials of the administration have also spoken in the last week of Israel's strategic value.

"It should be evident to our adversaries that any policy toward the Middle East is going to be built upon [a] continued strong relationship between the United States and Israel," said Kennedy, a Democratic presidential candidate, on Sunday's broadcast of ABC-TV's *Issues and Answers*. "Israel is our strongest ally in the area. It's

importance and significance as far as American foreign policy is concerned has never been greater than it is today. We have to build an

American foreign policy in the Eastern Mediterranean on Israel as well as on Egypt."

Kennedy said he favored securing access by American forces to facilities that have been offered by Egypt and Israel. Without advocating the establishment of permanent U.S. bases, he said the United States should beef up its conventional forces in the Middle East-Indian Ocean area and strengthen its ability to preposition military materials in the area, as well as its airlift capacity.

Baker, a Republican presidential candidate, told a group of Jewish leaders in New York that the events in Iran and Afghanistan underline "the importance of Israel to vital American national interests." Referring to Israel as the "linchpin" of U.S. strategy in the Middle East, he added, "The relationship of necessity between Israel and America is now greater than ever."

On another matter, Baker said that although he personally recognizes Jerusalem as Israel's capital, he does not favor moving the U.S. embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem because such a move would "create complications for both the United States and Israel."



Connally on Bases

Another Republican presidential candidate, John Connally, called for American use of Egyptian air bases last week. Connally endorsed a recent speech by Israeli Defense Minister Ezer Weizman welcoming American use of Egyptian bases. Though Connally was apparently referring to air bases in southern Egypt, in the past he has also advocated a U.S. lease on the Sinai air bases that Israel will give back to Egypt as part of their peace treaty.

"Options of a credible military response located at leased bases in the Sinai might have immeasurably altered the current sad and frustrating situation," Connally said, referring to the seizure of American hostages at the U.S. embassy in Teheran.

Administration Officials

In the last week, three figures in the Carter administration have stressed Israel's strategic value to the United States.

David Aaron, deputy director of the National Security Council, said last week, "Israel is now—and long will be—a close friend and partner in the Middle East. It is politically, strategically and morally important to us and that will continue to be true."

Ambassador Sol M. Linowitz, the special U.S. mediator for the Middle East, said in an interview that "everything I know" confirms the "strategic value of Israel to the United States." Linowitz's remarks appeared in *The Jerusalem Post* and in *The Jewish Week* of Washington.

Ambassador Samuel Lewis, the U.S. envoy to Israel, also made the point during a briefing for Israeli editors last week, "Israel has strategic value to the West and the United States in a region in which there is a great deal of hostility toward the West," he was quoted as saying.

In contrast to these statements by administration officials, Defense Secretary Harold Brown was reported to have refused to call Israel a strategic asset to the United States at a recent meeting with Jewish leaders. Brown reportedly evaded several pointed questions on whether he regarded Israel as an asset or a burden to America's strategic goals. □

Heard in Washington

Warner on Platform

Sen. JOHN WARNER (R-Va.) said last week, "I strongly believe the cornerstone of our Middle East policy is U.S. recognition of Israel's role as a strategic asset" and that the 1980 Republican platform should include a commitment to U.S. economic and military assistance to Israel. Warner's remarks, made at the opening round of the platform hearings for the 1980 Republican convention, were in response to testimony from Curt Winsor Jr., a member of the Republican National Committee's Advisory Council on National Security and International Affairs. Warner was concerned that Winsor's testimony on the platform's Middle East plank made no mention of Israel or of the Israeli-Egyptian peace treaty.

In response to Warner, Winsor said that U.S. aid to Israel "should be tempered by an awareness of the growing importance of U.S. relations with the Arab states."

Winsor is only one of several dozen people who will testify on the Middle East before the platform committee. Platform hearings are to be held in nine cities—in addition to those last week in Washington—between now and June 6. □

viewing the news . . .

. . . continued

The administration's request for additional credits for Egypt, which will be included in the regular foreign-aid bills over the next three years, must be approved by Congress. Congress would also have veto power over any specific weapons sale.

Soviet Advisers Killed

Two Soviet military advisers were shot to death in Syria last week and the government reportedly has uncovered a plot by the Moslem Brotherhood to conduct massive assassinations of Soviet personnel and bombings of Soviet targets.

In a shootout with Syrian police, two members of the Moslem Brotherhood wanted in connection with the assassinations were killed. Sixteen others were arrested. The Brotherhood is the main anti-government force in sectarian violence that has claimed more than 100 lives in Syria in the last year. (continued on page 15)

viewing the news . . .

. . . continued

It is a Sunni Moslem group which represents the domination of Syria's government by Alawites, a minority sect the Sunnis regard as heretics.

The two Russian military advisers were killed in the town of Hama. On the same day, a Soviet railway engineer was seriously injured in a shooting in Aleppo. The Damascus office of the Soviet Union's airline, Aeroflot, was also bombed recently.

Syrian Blasts U.S.

The Soviet Union, not the United States, is the true friend of Arabs and Moslems, according to Syrian Foreign Minister Abdel Halim Khaddam. Khaddam, in his opening remarks at an emergency meeting of foreign ministers of countries opposed to the Camp David accords, called the United States the worst enemy of Islam.

"The United States aims at consecrating its military presence in the region after the Camp David alliance consecrated its economic and political presence," Khaddam said. "The Arabs and Moslems know very well who their friends are and who their enemies are. The Arab nation cannot ignore those who try to crush it and compare these with the friendly Soviet Union, which gives us support in our struggle."

The meeting was attended by the foreign ministers of Syria, Algeria, South Yemen and Libya and a representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Change in the Yemens

Saudi Arabia reportedly has told the United States and Britain that the Soviet Union and Cuba have reinforced their military presence in South Yemen since the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. The Associated Press quoted Arab diplomatic sources as saying the Saudis had conveyed the message to Washington and London but that there was skepticism in both capitals about the Saudi claims.

The sources said the Saudis reported hundreds of Cuban troops and dozens of Soviet generals had been airlifted to South Yemen in recent weeks. About 500 Cuban and 2,000 Soviet military personnel were already known to be in South Yemen.

Meanwhile, an impending government change in North Yemen confirms a growing leftist trend in that country.

Kirkland Scores PLO State Idea

Lane Kirkland, president of the AFL-CIO, attacked the idea of a Palestinian state last week and charged that it would be a "PLO state . . . that would be a direct threat to the economic, political, and strategic interests of the United States and of the entire western alliance." In his first public address since succeeding George Meany as president of the country's largest labor federation, Kirkland promised that his organization would do "all in its power to prevent any erosion of support for the only democratic state in the Middle East—Israel—not only for Israel's sake, but for our own." He made his remarks before the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council in Philadelphia.

"We have seen what a Palestinian state would look like," Kirkland said. "It would look like the Iran of Ayatollah

A new Cabinet is expected to be formed soon that will include the leftist National Democratic Front, which until two months ago was engaged in armed opposition to the regime of President Ali Abdullah Saleh.

North Yemen recently began unity talks with Marxist South Yemen. North Yemen has also switched from Washington to Moscow for military supplies. Last year the United States decided to send \$400 million worth of weapons to North Yemen to be shipped through, and paid for by, Saudi Arabia. The Saudis, however, held up much of the equipment.

Libya Accuses PLO

Libya has accused the PLO of murdering a Lebanese religious leader that Libyan authorities themselves have long been suspected of killing. A recent broadcast on Tripoli's Voice of the Arab Homeland blamed Yasir Arafat's Al Fatah, the dominant terrorist faction in the PLO, for the murder of Lebanese Shi'ite Imam Musa Sadr who mysteriously disappeared in Libya over a year ago.

"We declare that it was Fatah, which is headed by [Yasir Arafat], which killed the Shi'ite Imam Musa as-Sadr," the broadcast said. "We avoided mentioning this in the past so as not to embarrass those criminals to whom we offered funds and arms thinking that they were resolved to struggle. Who then betrayed the cause?"

Khomeini. It is no accident that the ayatollah's gunmen received their training from the PLO, and that Yasir Arafat has offered material and political support to Khomeini's campaign to humiliate the United States."

"A Palestinian state would be, like Iran, a terrorist state—a state that employs assassins, kidnappers, bomb-throwers, as a matter of official policy."

Kirkland stated that in light of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the continued threat to Iran, the formation of a Palestinian state would be a "geopolitical disaster for the United States." "Unless suicide has become our foreign policy," he said, "the [U.S.] must not let this happen."

Kirkland also called for stronger foreign policy and defense efforts to protect American and Israeli interests in the Middle East. □

European intelligence sources believe that the imam was mistakenly put to death in Libya when orders from Muammar Qaddafi were confused. There has been no confirmation of Sadr's death from Libya, and Lebanese Shi'ites are urging Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini—with whom Sadr had strong ties before the overthrow of the shah—to intervene with the Libyans to discover the fate of the missing religious leader.

Last week, a young Lebanese Shi'ite attempted to hijack a plane to Iran where he hoped to meet personally with Khomeini to urge his intervention. After threatening to blow up the Middle East Airlines jet en route from Beirut to Cyprus, the hijacker was persuaded to let the plane refuel in Beirut. After an hour of negotiations there with the Lebanese communications minister, he surrendered to police.

The Libyan broadcast also accused the PLO chief of trying to arrange meetings with various Israeli officials—including Labor Party leader Shimon Peres—and of the 1973 killing of two Fatah terrorists involved in terrorist operations in Europe.

The Libyan broadcast is the latest chapter in the two-month war of words between Qaddafi and the PLO. Last month Libya broke relations with the Palestinian organization. Libya is also suspected in the recent murder of two PLO agents in Cyprus. □

A Familiar Canard

With U.S. hostages still held in Iran, Soviet troops firmly entrenched in Afghanistan and U.S. interests challenged around the globe, Americans have good reason to feel besieged. But another aspect of American life is also under attack in the Islamic world—the free press. The attack goes beyond the expulsion of American journalists from Iran and Afghanistan.

Saudi Crown Prince Fahd was asked by *al Hawadiss* about the recent assault on the Grand Mosque of Mecca. He responded, "We have examples and information of world Zionism standing behind all these press campaigns and the unfounded concoctions which are basically aimed at harming the kingdom and distorting its Arab and Islamic role, particularly that which is connected with the Palestinian cause."

"Zionism marshals all its potentials to prejudice Saudi-American relations and indeed American-Arab relations," Fahd charged. This way, he continued, Zionism "can exert individual control over the American people and get its hand on all its resources."

The theme has also been picked up in Iran. Following a recent press conference by Foreign Minister Sadegh Ghotbzadeh, the Teheran news service gave the following account:

"The Iranian foreign minister denied reports . . . that Iran is ready to enter into negotiations on the release of the hostages. He said international news agencies under the control of dirty Zionism are distorting facts and that certain domestic news media are falsifying reports."

Earlier this month, the Iranian foreign ministry attacked an American network correspondent, calling his "false reports . . . another evidence of Zionist elements' influence in American mass media."

Responding to the expulsion of newsmen from Iran, *The New York Times* wrote that "Iran is expelling the wrong Americans. Tossing out 100 reporters will not suppress the news about the plight of the Teheran hostages or cause the American people to forget their bound countrymen."

But, *The Times* suggested, Iran's "silly effort to blame the messengers for Iran's bad press is actually a clumsy disguise for retreat." And by

decreasing the press coverage given to the terrorists of Teheran, the fuel that keeps the terrorist machine oiled may soon be depleted.

U.S. Bases

Responding to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the new threats to oil supplies from the Middle East, *The Wall Street Journal* last week urged the establishment of U.S. bases in the area. "Bases in Oman and Somalia should be established as they have been offered, but we should recognize that these vulnerable outposts may not be available in a real crunch."

Instead, *The Journal* suggested, "We should be talking with Egypt about a substantial American presence on the Sinai air bases [built and currently held by Israel]. President Sadat is in our opinion the world's wisest and most courageous leader; he will help us if we let him."

Following the Afghanistan invasion, *The Times of London* noted, "Among the chorus of Moslem protests against the Soviet [Union] one voice has been conspicuous by its silence: that of the Syrian Arab Republic." The British paper went on to suggest that President Assad refuses to bite the Soviet hand that feeds his armies and that Syria's serious "internal problems have so far prevented her leaders from focusing clearly on the latest international developments."

There may be another reason. Israeli commentators have recently been reporting a Syrian troop buildup coinciding with increased Soviet arms shipments and adviser activity.

—LEONARD J. DAVIS



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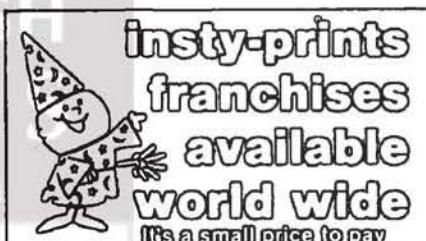


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To Marc Tanenbaum
for G. Gruen FYI

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date January 16, 1980
to Foreign Affairs Department
from George E. Gruen
subject Israel, U. S. and Egyptian Positions on Jerusalem

Since the parties failed to reach agreement at the Camp David Summit Conference on the Jerusalem question, they decided to restate their official positions in letters to each other. An examination of the points contained in these letters is useful because it reveals both the areas in which there is major disagreement and the significant areas of agreement or at least of potential compromise.

The Israeli Position

In his letter on Jerusalem, Prime Minister Begin informed President Carter of the June 28, 1967 law by which the Knesset had empowered the Government by decree to apply "the law, the jurisdiction and the administration of the State of Israel to any part of Eretz Israel (Land of Israel -- Palestine)" and that on the basis of this law Israel's Government decreed in July 1967 that "Jerusalem is one city indivisible, the Capital of the State of Israel." Without formally calling it annexation, the Government in effect annexed the Jordanian-held part of the city by simply submitting a map to the Knesset indicating the enlarged boundaries of the Jerusalem municipal area to which Israeli jurisdiction was to extend.

The American Position

President Carter responded that the United States position on Jerusalem "remains as stated by Ambassador Goldberg in the United Nations Security Council on July 14, 1967, and subsequently by Ambassador Yost in the United Nations Security Council on July 1, 1969." This blandly phrased sentence masked a fundamental disagreement between the American and Israeli positions that preceded the Begin and Carter Administrations. Arthur Goldberg had emphasized that the United States did not consider the Israeli measures other than "interim and provisional, which cannot affect the present international status nor prejudge the final and permanent status of Jerusalem." Ambassador Charles Yost told the Security Council in 1969 that the international law governing occupied territories also applied to East Jerusalem. In the American view, he said:

The expropriation or confiscation of land, the construction

of housing on such land, the demolition or confiscation of buildings, including those having historic or religious significance, and the application of Israeli law to occupied portions of the city are detrimental to our common interests in the city. (Emphasis added.)

The Egyptian Position

The most detailed letter on Jerusalem was the one sent by Sadat to Carter "to reaffirm" the position of the Arab Republic of Egypt. The statement is interesting both for what it says and what it leaves unsaid:

1. Arab Jerusalem is an integral part of the West Bank. Legal and historical Arab rights in the city must be respected and restored.
2. Arab Jerusalem should be under Arab sovereignty.
3. The Palestinian inhabitants of Arab Jerusalem are entitled to exercise their legitimate national rights, being part of the Palestinian People in the West Bank.

Sadat did not define the term "Arab Jerusalem", but presumably he meant the section known as East Jerusalem, in effect acknowledging Israeli rule and sovereignty over West Jerusalem, the part of the city that had remained in Israeli hands after the 1948 war and had served as Israel's capital. The fourth paragraph called for the application of relevant Security Council resolutions, declared Israeli measures to alter the city's status null and void and called for them to be rescinded. In this Sadat's position was close to that of the American Government.

5. All peoples must have free access to the City and enjoy the free exercise of worship and the right to visit and transit to the holy places without distinction or discrimination.
6. The holy places of each faith may be placed under the administration and control of their representatives.

The Egyptian position in the above two paragraphs was consistent with Israeli principles and Israeli practice of letting the various religious bodies administer their respective holy places. In terms of free access, Israel already was scrupulously carrying out these provisions and it was Israeli citizens who had been denied free access to the Western Wall during the time of Jordanian occupation of the Old City. Implicit in the Sadat position was a modification in

paragraph 2 to permit Israeli Jewish control of the Western Wall and access thereto through the Jewish Quarter of the Old City from which the Jews had been expelled by Jordan during the 1948 war.

7. Essential functions in the City should be undivided and a joint municipal council composed of an equal number of Arab and Israeli members can supervise the carrying out of these functions. In this way, the City shall be undivided.

This offer of a jointly run and physically undivided municipality also seemed to mitigate in practice the demand for Arab sovereignty contained in paragraph 2. Various unofficial Israeli proposals had also recommended a unified administration, but the Arabs had thus far refused to serve in the Israeli municipality. Sadat's suggestion of a 1:1 ratio of Arab to Israeli members was obviously not acceptable to Israel since the Jewish population exceeded the Arab by a 3:1 ratio. Nevertheless, if seen as an opening bargaining position, this part of Sadat's statement was more reasonable than the popular Israeli understanding of the Arab position. It was conceivable, as had been suggested by Mayor Kollek and his former assistant, Meron Benvenisti, to create a single greater municipal council composed of a considerable number of relatively autonomous boroughs. As in the American federal Congressional compromise an arrangement might presumably be worked out whereby on some matters there would be parity between Arabs and Israelis, while on others representation would be according to population.

Subsequent Developments

The question of Jerusalem's relationship to the West Bank was immediately brought to the fore by the Camp David Framework dealing with Palestinian autonomy. Begin had sent President Carter a letter saying that wherever the agreements spoke of "West Bank" the Government of Israel understood this to mean "Judea and Samaria." Begin was thus putting Carter and Sadat on notice both that the territory in question was not regarded as occupied and that in any case East Jerusalem was not part of the West Bank. Not surprisingly, among the main questions that King Hussein submitted to President Carter were whether the United States included East Jerusalem in its definition of the West Bank, would the proposed self-governing authority extend to East Jerusalem, would East Jerusalem Arabs participate in the elections, and what would be the final status of East Jerusalem as envisaged by the United States?

While the President's answers transmitted to King Hussein by Assistant Secretary of State Harold Saunders have not been made public, Mr. Saunders reportedly reaffirmed that the United States had traditionally regarded East Jerusalem as being occupied territory and that while East Jerusalem would not be included within the boundaries of the proposed autonomy during the transitional period, the United

States was prepared "to support proposals that would permit Arab inhabitants of East Jerusalem who are not Israeli citizens" (virtually all had thus far opted to retain their Jordanian citizenship -- GEG) to vote in the elections leading to self-rule and such Jerusalem Arabs might share in the work of the self-governing authority. As for the final status of Jerusalem, that, as many other outstanding questions, would have to be settled in the negotiations to which Hussein had an explicit invitation to join in the Camp David accords. The American response did not satisfy King Hussein, but it reportedly infuriated Prime Minister Begin.

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ISRAELI PRESS HIGHLIGHTS

A REVIEW OF WEEKEND NEWSPAPERS
by the Israel Office of The American Jewish Committee

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Press Summary, January 11th, 1980

Should Autonomy be Implemented in Gaza First?

Uzi Benziman (*Ha'aretz*) points out that implementing autonomy in the first stage in the Gaza Strip only, which was discussed by Begin and Sadat at the Aswan summit, means making a distinction between the status of Gaza and that of Judea and Samaria. It also means creating a basis for direct Egyptian involvement in Gaza. This suggestion might rescue Begin and Sadat from the difficulties caused by the linkage between the peace treaty and the future status of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

For Sadat, implementing autonomy in Gaza means not only getting a foothold in this area, but creating a precedent for renewed Egyptian involvement in Gaza, which was under its control prior to 1967, which could be applied in the future to the West Bank as well. For Begin, implementing autonomy in Gaza first would strengthen his hope for a continuing Israeli hold on Judea and Samaria. However, the suggestion to distinguish between Judea and Samaria and the Gaza Strip will cause both men many problems. The Arab world will accuse Sadat of abandoning the West Bank and its Palestinian inhabitants and of having an interest only in regaining the areas which were under Egyptian control before 1967. Begin will have to face internal criticism with regard to the danger involved in separating the West Bank and Gaza. The Israeli Government had previously discussed the possibility of such a separation. The idea came up in the first half of 1978, was discussed at Camp David and became a controversial topic during the Washington talks prior to the completion of the peace agreement. At that time, some ministers categorically opposed the idea (among them Sharon and Landau). Now, the many question marks will appear once again: What will happen to the Israeli settlements in the Gaza Strip? What is the significance of implementing autonomy in Gaza first with large Egyptian involvement? Is this idea not an actual implementation of the Egyptian peace plan proposed in Leeds (July 1978), according to which the Gaza Strip would return to Egyptian rule and the West Bank to Jordanian rule until these two countries would hand over self-determination to the Palestinians?

It is true that last week in Aswan Sadat and Begin played down the suggested separation. They did not mention bringing Egypt back to Gaza nor did they suggest an actual separation between Gaza and the West Bank. All that was said was that once the autonomy negotiations come to an end, the new arrangement would be implemented in Gaza alone. In other words--not an Egyptian rule in Gaza but autonomy; not a separation between the West Bank and Gaza, but a gradual implementation of the autonomy plan. However, it might be advisable to carefully watch the suggestion, since behind what was said in Aswan a directive may be hidden which will eventually bring greater Israeli responsiveness to the Egyptian expectations with regard to the character of autonomy in Gaza only.

If the self-rule is to apply to Gaza alone, then Israeli leaders may be much more willing to compromise in the negotiations with regard to the character of the "administrative council" and the meaning of "full autonomy," especially if they believe that there is a practical possibility of self-rule implementation only in Gaza (in the so-called "first stage").

The agreement in Aswan will enable Sadat to expect a meaningful Egyptian presence in Gaza while keeping the option open with regard to the West Bank. This is inherent in the precedent of returning Egyptian rule and presence to every inch of Egyptian soil. Begin will continue to hope that the price paid to Sadat in Sinai (and perhaps now in Gaza as well) was worthwhile in exchange for realizing the option of ensuring Israeli control in Judea and Samaria (and East Jerusalem).

American Bases in Egypt

Yoseph Chariff (Ma'ariv) reports that even before Christmas the U.S. Ambassador in Israel, Samuel Lewis, told Defense Minister Weizman about the U.S. intention to send planes to Egypt for joint exercises and intelligence gathering. As Weizman said in a closed forum: "There are no American bases in Egypt, but there is some American activity in one of the Egyptian air bases." Israel was asked to keep this information secret since, according to Lewis, the Americans were concerned that Iran might interpret such activity as being directed against it in retaliation for its holding of the American hostages.

However, in spite of the explanations from both Weizman and Lewis, the "American bases affair" was given many interpretations, and there are many who believe that the Americans intentionally hid information from Israel. This opinion is based on two facts. Firstly, the "preliminary activity" in Egypt, so termed by the Americans, that is, preparing special hangars in Egypt for the planes, the sophisticated equipment and the American teams, was not reported to Israel. The message given by Ambassador Lewis was only with regard to the last stage, that is, the sending of American planes to Egypt, which in any event would have been discovered by the Israeli radar systems. Secondly, at the meeting between Weizman and U.S. Secretary of Defense Harold Brown a few weeks ago, Brown was very vague in answering Weizman's questions with regard to American activity in Egypt.

However, all these suspicions will not alter the new reality in the area, namely the fact that Egypt is the central pillar in the strategic plans being created by the U.S. for the Middle East. Israel will have to face up to its weakness following this new development. If Israel expects Egypt to compromise on controversial issues (such as autonomy, Jerusalem, etc.), since confronting the "mutual enemy," the U.S.S.R., might call for strategic co-operation between the two countries--it will face disappointment.

Egypt now enjoys strategic co-operation with the U.S., hence it does not need Israel.

Does the strategic romance Washington is now having with Egypt mean that the ties with Israel will weaken? Weizman, recently returned from talks in Washington, claims that the answer is no. He believes that American activity in Egypt should not perturb Israel. On the contrary, Weizman believes that it is necessary to recognize the new reality in the area which makes Egypt the focus of the strategic plans. In his opinion, Israel should incorporate itself into this focus and avoid a situation in which it might become isolated and have no influence in forming the map of the area.

Does Israel have anything to sell in this new reality? Weizman has no doubt about this. For the first time he heard President Carter say "you are a strategic asset" instead of the usual things said about America's commitment to the survival of Israel. Weizman also believes that Israel should strive to establish an alliance with Egypt which eventually will include Morocco, Sudan and the Horn of Africa within the defense coalition. Weizman suggests an end to dealing with details and an emphasis on the 'big picture'. Hence, his position with regard to the American 'bases' in Egypt and to the U.S. arms deal with Egypt is that there is not much use in opposing it: "Do you want the Egyptians, once they have cut themselves off from Russia, to fly Pipers?" Secondly, he actually sees the American involvement in Egypt as a good thing.

Chariff, however, claims that the problem is completely different. While the U.S. recognizes the strength of Israel and its being a "strategic asset," it cannot take advantage of this since the main aim of the U.S. is to regain the sympathy of the Moslem world by taking advantage of its anxieties following the U.S.S.R.'s actions. Thus, for the U.S., Israel is a burden and not an asset. The U.S. would even be ready to "pay in Israeli currency," if necessary, to buy the Moslems. There are those who hold a simplistic view that now, in the light of the events of Afghanistan and Iran and what may happen in Saudi Arabia, the Americans will recognize the asset they have in Israel. However, the contrary is true. As a result of all these dangers, the U.S. has to avoid being helped by Israel while striving desperately to save its undermined positions in the area.

Ze'ev Schiff (Ha'aretz) purports that even in December, before the Russians invaded Afghanistan, Egypt had begun providing services for the American air force. American aircraft began, then, regularly using the air bases in Upper Egypt, predominantly for intelligence purposes.

The events in Iran and Afghanistan, which put a black mark on the efficiency of the U.S. Intelligence Services, are causing the U.S. great concern and are forcing it to act quickly. In this process, Egypt plays a much more important role than does Israel. Schiff believes that Egypt and the U.S. are becoming very close as far as strategic interests are concerned and that Israel knows only part of the picture. One of the expressions of this development is the arms deal and the grants for security needs given to Egypt. The big arms sale of \$1.5 billion (for the years 1979-1981) is on, and it was revealed that Carter gave Egypt a sum of \$350 million in another deal over

and above the aforementioned amount. In addition, intensive negotiations have begun with regard to a further large arms deal, the sum of which is estimated at \$3 billion for five years beginning in 1981. The Egyptians have already submitted a shopping list of modern arms they wish to buy which includes, among others, no less than 900 tanks U-60 A-3, fifty-eighty F-16 aircraft, modern missiles, patrol boats and other systems.

Apart from Egypt, Washington sells large quantities of advanced arms to two countries on Israel's eastern front. Washington has provided the Jordanian army with a very dangerous capacity for offensive action--something which greatly bothers the Israeli security authorities. At the same time, Washington is aiding Saudi Arabia in building a strong armoured power which might make the Saudis an operative enemy with regard to Israel. This, in time of war, will make Israel unable to avoid striking at military targets in Saudi Arabia.

It is quite clear that in Israel there are mixed feelings with regard to the whole issue of U.S. bases in Arab countries. On the one hand, there is satisfaction that the Americans have begun increasing their influence in the Middle East. Israel prefers an American presence in Egypt to a Russian one, since this will help fortify the Israeli-Egyptian peace. On the other hand, it is clear that in this process Israel's position of priority is being eroded in favor of Egypt. Weizman himself, who is pleased by the rapprochement between the U.S. and Egypt, set three conditions under which he would accept the American arms sale to Egypt--the quantity, the quality (non-offensive arms), and slow gradual delivery. To date, from what is known, and one should assume that not everything is being reported to Israel, none of the three conditions have been fulfilled. In other words, Washington is supplying too large quantities of weapons of an offensive nature too quickly to Egypt.

From Washington's point of view, it is quite understandable why Egypt is being given high priority in the new strategic set-up. Apart from the convenient geographic location of Egypt (on the Red Sea, between Asia and Africa, opposite Saudi Arabia and Sudan and near the Soviet positions in Ethiopia and South Yemen), it is the largest Moslem country belonging to the neutral bloc. During times of instability in the Moslem world, it is inconceivable that the U.S. would organize part of its military power in Israel, whether for aiding other Arab countries or for introducing sanctions against Iran.

An American presence in the area, particularly in Egypt, is in the security interests of Israel, but only on the condition that it will be neither at the expense of Israel nor will it endanger Israel in any way. This might be achieved if Israel would join the new strategic lay-out in the second stage. However, this cannot be done formally before progress is achieved in the peace negotiations through the involvement of additional Arab countries, such as Jordan. Meanwhile, however, the U.S. should push hard behind the scenes for strategic co-operation between Israel and Egypt, while promoting an honest exchange of information among the three parties.

Ha'aretz is an independent liberal newspaper.

Ma'ariv is independent but traditionally Likud-oriented.

Lea Spector.



ISRAELI PRESS HIGHLIGHTS

A REVIEW OF WEEKEND NEWSPAPERS
by the Israel Office of The American Jewish Committee

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York, N.Y. 10022 • 212/751-4000 • Cable Wishcom, N.Y.

January 26th, 1980 -- The planned normalization date

(press summary, January 25th, 1980)

The IDF interim withdrawal in Sinai to the El-Arish-Ras Muhammad line has been completed. According to Clause 1 of the Israeli-Egyptian peace treaty, friendly and normal relations should now be established between the two countries. How is normalization going to be implemented?

El-Al has already made plans for two weekly flights from Israel to Egypt on Tuesdays and Fridays. The length of the flight should be 50 minutes and the aircraft will holdover at Cairo airport for 1½ hours. The price of a ticket to Cairo will be approximately \$200.

Bank Leumi L'Israel has already opened a branch for currency exchange on the new border with Egypt near El-Arish. Airletters to Egypt will cost the same as those to Europe and a telephone call from Egypt to Israel, which is not direct, will cost the same as a call from Israel to Rome.

The Israeli beer, "O. K.", is already being sold in Egypt and it appears that it is more popular there than it is here in Israel...

Normalization has been flourishing on the smuggling scene. Due to the price differences between the two countries, millions of Israeli pounds' worth of merchandise has been confiscated on its way to the Israeli market. Included among this are vehicle spare parts, cigarettes, televisions, tape recorders, watches, jewelry, cosmetics, olive oil, underwear as well as...goats.

What is the other side of the prospect of normalization?

Dov Goldstein (Ma'ariv) interviewed leading Arabists from the Shiloah Institute of Middle Eastern Studies, Tel Aviv University, on their return from a visit to Egypt. Professor Itamar Rabinovich (Chairman, Department of History of the Middle East and Africa, Tel Aviv University) points out that there is a substantial difference in the way the normalization process is perceived by Israel and Egypt. Israel perceives this process as the main goal, and thus great importance is attached to every stage. For the Egyptians, on the other hand, peace with Israel is but one component in a whole framework of a new political strategy, and it is not necessarily the most important component in this strategy. Sadat's commitment and that of the Egyptian political administration to the peace process with Israel is, at present, strong. However, this is not a commitment to the process of normalization, but predominantly to the principle of "no more war". This difference between the two perceptions and Egypt's objective difficulties in implementing the normalization process creates the gap between the two countries.

Professor Rabinovich would not call the present controversy on the autonomy structure a real crisis, but it may be a small crisis which does not endanger the peace process at this stage. However, Professor Rabinovich points out that the autonomy plan is going to become the "litmus paper" of the peace process and normalization. Ac-

cording to the Egyptians, the peace agreement cannot be between Egypt and Israel alone. The autonomy negotiations are the test whereby Egypt will repeatedly examine Israel's intentions.

The Egyptians face real difficulties in the normalization process. A real nervousness exists with regard to the reactions in the Arab world to the opening of an Israeli embassy in Cairo and an Egyptian embassy in Tel Aviv, and the landing of El-Al airplanes in Cairo. The Egyptians are very anxious lest the Arab world retaliate by halting air transportation with Egypt. There are many Egyptians who earn their livelihoods in Arab countries -- writers and film producers whose works are sold in the Arab world, academicians who earn money for a car, an apartment etc. by teaching in Libya for 2-3 years and in other countries in the Persian Gulf -- all of whom are very anxious about what might happen once the normalization process has been implemented.

Professor Rabinovich divides the Egyptian public into two sections -- a small group whose members are politically active, and the silent and passive majority which does not participate in the political process, but which, from time to time, flares up in mass demonstrations, such as occurred after Nasser's resignation in 1967 and after the removal of food subsidies in January 1977. Among this majority are Egyptians whose attitudes toward peace are favorable, others who are indifferent and orthodox Muslims who are not in favor of peace and are easily provoked.

In the politically active stratum there are three groups: First, the hard core of the regime which identifies with Sadat's policy; second, the sectors which oppose the regime -- the leftists, radical Muslims and Nasserists; and third, the middle groups which criticize the regime and its policies on the extent of compromise with Israel and the close relationship with the United States. These groups are not too happy with normalization, but do not take any real action to oppose it. As long as the elite of the Egyptian army belongs to the first group and identifies with the regime, Sadat's policy has a very strong base of support to rely on. Regarding the attitude toward a Palestinian state, Professor Rabinovich states that Egypt, like Israel, does not want a radical Arab state in the center of the Middle East. However, while Israel opposes a Palestinian state categorically, the Egyptians claim that it is possible to find a Palestinian partner for the negotiations that will prevent the creation of a radical Palestinian state open to Soviet influence.

As far as normalization is concerned, Rabinovich believes that the Egyptian regime will accept the Israeli Ambassador courteously but without warmth or enthusiasm. Rabinovich quotes an Egyptian academician who told him, "I would not want to receive letters from the Israeli Embassy in Cairo at my university office..."

Professor Haim Shaked (Director, Shiloah Institute and Dean, Faculty of Humanities, Tel Aviv University) explains that many Egyptians are perturbed and in his opinion, on good grounds, because of certain trends now apparent among the younger generation. This generation is more open and can be much more extreme than the older generation in criticizing the regime. Worrying signs are present of Islamic agitation among students, which cause the regime great concern. Shaked senses that Sadat's policy of liberalism is reaching a danger point. At the moment, however, the opposition to normalization is greater than the opposition to peace itself.

Professor Shaked believes there is a deep and fundamental Israeli interest in dealing with the subject of peace in the Middle East in a bilateral way (with Egypt as much as

possible) and not through trilateral action (Israel-Egypt - United States.). Shaked is of the opinion that Israel should treat the United States as a medicine to be avoided as much as possible. According to Shaked there exists the danger that Israel itself will bring about a situation in which Egypt will become a more important ally to the United States than Israel. Shaked also expressed the idea that, at the moment, the Egyptian order of priorities to prevent a separate peace with Israel is, first, to work out an arrangement with Syria, then with Jordan, and only at the end, with the Palestinians.

On President Carter's speech to the nation

Yitzhak Rabin (Yediot Acharonot) raises the question following President Carter's speech of January 24th of whether the United States intends to activate military forces only when the Soviet Union acts directly with military force, or whether the American President also intends to activate American forces in response to attempts of local forces aided by the Soviet Union to control the countries of the Persian Gulf.

Rabin states that the U. S. President did not give a clear answer to the above question. Thus, in spite of President Carter's seemingly tough words, there is still great doubt as to whether they are an answer to the Soviet threat. Rabin points out that, as was predictable, the Israeli-Arab conflict occupied only a secondary place in President Carter's speech. Rabin also points out that while the American President did not state that Israel is a strategic asset for the United States in the area, he did say that the peace with Egypt and its broadening to include the Palestinian issue is a strategic asset. The meaning of that, according to Rabin, is that Israel can now expect increased American demands to achieve progress on the autonomy issue. At the same time, it is reasonable to assume that real pressure on Israel will be postponed until after the Presidential elections.

Public Opinion Poll (Yediot Acharonot, January 25, 1980).

Question: Who would you like to establish the next government?

	Likud	Labor	No preference
August 1979	20%	38%	42%
October 1979	23%	36%	41%
December 1979	24%	34%	42%
January 1980	23%	31%	46%

Lea Spector

Ma'ariv and Yediot Acharonot are independent but traditionally Likud-oriented.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CATHOLIC BISHOPS
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SECRETARIAT FOR CATHOLIC-JEWISH RELATIONS

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February 1, 1980

Mr. Teddy Kollek
Mayor of Jerusalem
Municipality of Jerusalem
Jaffa Road
Jerusalem, Israel

Dear Mayor Kollek:

Enclosed is a copy, for your interest, of the NC News story covering the recent cases of vandalism of Christian Churches in Jerusalem. Your own reaction, I must say, has been most forthright and courageous, and gives us all added assurance, if any was necessary, of the commitment of the people of Israel to religious freedom for all its citizens.

It seems to me both ironic and sad that one of the buildings vandalized was the Dormition Basilica on Mt. Zion, especially since the Dormition Abbey has been in the forefront of furthering true Catholic-Jewish dialogue for many years. Indeed, its former Abbot, Leo A. Rudloff, O.S.B., has been a major figure among Catholics in promoting better understandings of the State Israel and in supporting it. The Abbey has maintained this stance of openness since that time.

Jerusalem has been, and should be, a place of deep interreligious encounter between the three great monotheistic traditions which hold it sacred. Your defense of this sacred reality is to be highly commended by all Christians.

Yours in Shalom,

Eugene Fisher
Eugene J. Fisher

EJF:lm
Enci. (1)

cc: Abbot Leo Rudloff, OSB
Bishop Francis J. Mugavero

CHURCHES IN JERUSALEM VANDALIZED (370)

By Ulrich Sahm

JERUSALEM (NC) — After stained glass windows were broken for several nights in a row at the Benedictine Dormition Basilica on Mount Zion, a policeman was finally stationed at the church to prevent further vandalism.

A bookshop selling mainly New Testaments and Christian writings was smeared in red and black paint. Painted on the walls were messages in Hebrew saying: "Missionaries Get Out" and "Bloodsuckers."

The Russian Orthodox Church in the immediate vicinity of Jerusalem's main police station has been smeared with anti-Soviet slogans at least 10 times recently.

These are some examples of the growing anti-Christian vandalism which is worrying Jerusalem's Mayor Teddy Kollek. He blames budget cuts by Israel's central government as the reason why police are taking little action.

The municipality, however, has paid for repairs.

Jerusalem officials say members of the New York-based Jewish Defense League may be responsible for the vandalism. One official described them as "baby Khomeinis, fighting a holy war without reason."

Kollek told NC News Service that he is "very concerned about recent developments" and has sent a strong letter to Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin.

"This vandalism of Jewish extremists against Christian institutions might be interpreted as a limitation of their religious freedom," said the letter.

Kollek asked for an "adequate government reaction at a very high level and a more aggressive stand of police forces against Jewish fanatics."

The mayor said he hoped Begin would publicly denounce the anti-Christian vandalism. But all Begin has done so far, said Kollek, is to send him a letter expressing hope that police will prevent further vandalism.

"I proudly use every opportunity to mention our guarantees of free access to holy places," said the Begin letter.

"I express our respectful attitude to these sites, irrespective of their denomination. This should be the attitude of every Israeli citizen and I hope the shame of attacks on them will be taken from us," added the Begin letter.

(MORE)

But Kollek is dissatisfied with Begin because he has not published the letter and has not publicly criticized the vandalism.

"I feel very disappointed. I would have expected more from Begin taking into account Christian sensitiveness about Jerusalem and its holy places," said Kollek.

7-1-31-80

ADD (160)

To 8-1-30-80, JERUSALEM — Churches in Jerusalem...ADD the following:

Three Christian leaders in Jerusalem issued a joint statement criticizing the recent incidents.

The vandalism is a "gave outrage to religious feelings" and "is causing considerable anxiety to the Christian community of the holy city," said the statement.

It was signed by the Rev. R. Kreinder, convenor of the Liaison Committee of the United Christian Council in Israel; Benedictine Father Ignazio Mancini, director of the Christian Information Center; and Benedictine Father Bargil Pixner on behalf of the Benedictine community of Dormition Abbey.

"It is impossible in the present context not to mention the brutal murder late last year of the monk of the venerable Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem at the shrine known as 'Jacob's Well' in Nablus," they said.

The Christian leaders complained of "the lack of substantive official information concerning the results of the police investigation into this almost unprecedented crime."

P R E S S R E L E A S E

MONUMENT OF THE HOLOCAUST

-by-

ARBIT BLATAS

On April 25, 1980 the bronze monument of the "Holocaust" by the renowned sculptor and painter, Arbit Blatas, will be dedicated in the Campo del Nuovo Ghetto in Venice, Italy. It is particularly significant that this monument; a gift of the artist to the first Ghetto and only historically preserved Ghetto of world history; will be consecrated on Italy's national holiday, the day of the liberation of Italy from the Nazis and a day commemorating all those who resisted and died fighting for freedom. Officials of the nation and of the City of Venice, officials of international diplomacy and world religious leaders are being invited to attend the Ghetto, on the afternoon of that day. The monument is the first artistic rendering in homage to the "Holocaust" outside Yad Vashem in Israel.

The circumstances and events relating to the monument of Arbit Blatas are equally dramatic and extraordinary. Arbit Blatas was born in Kaunas, Lithuania, of Russian Jewish parents. His mother died in the concentration camp called Studhof and his father

was a miraculous survivor of Dachau. The artist, now an American citizen, and his wife, the opera star Regina Resnik, have given the monument to the artistic City of their adoption, Venice; to honor the six million Jews, and the people of all times, who have been oppressed and persecuted. The sculptures are the first in centuries to be accepted by the Venetian Commission of Monuments in this historic City. On one of the oldest walls still surmounted by barbed wire left by the Nazis in the last deportation of World War 2, the monument will stand amid the ancient Synagogues in the square of the Campo del Nuovo Ghetto, the scene of the first Ghetto, uniquely filled with the echoes of magnificent Jewish history, accomplishment and endurance. For it was here that the Jews survived and flourished for centuries, despite the restrictions and the deprivations.

Arbit Blatas, recently decorated with the Legion of Honor by the President of France, for his outstanding contribution as a member of the School of Paris, conceived this monument after being commissioned by the National Broadcasting Company and Titus Productions of New York to do the drawings for their now world-famous film of "The Holocaust" by Gerald Green. The seven bronze tablets in bar-relief, each 110 cm. wide by 90 cm. high, depict the scenes from "The Deportation" to the "Final Solution." The epitaph to the dead has been written by the French Consul General of France and the Mayor of Venice who honored the last Venetian Jews deported from that Ghetto in 1943 and 1944.

To further commemorate this artistic event, the book called "Monument to the Holocaust" by Arbit Blatas has been made possible

by four generous benefactors. In English, French and Italian, it contains articles by Jean Bouret, art critic; Federico Fontanella, President of the Tourist Agency of Venice - who writes on the Ghetto; a preface by Gerald Green, author of "Holocaust"; an appreciation of the artist by Ruth Gruber, author of "Raquela" - and a study of Blatas in Venice by André Tronc, Dean of the Diplomatic Corps of Venice. The Mayor of Venice, Dr. Rigo, has written the dedication to the book. The photographs of the tablets themselves, studies for the monument and the original drawings for the film (recently made available through the courtesy of the Imperial War Museum in London) are also part of the publication.

In Venice, the proceeds of the sale of the book will go to the Jewish Community, solely for the restoration of the magnificent and ancient synagogues still in use today.

Regina Resnik/Arbit Blatas
50 West 56th Street
New York, N.Y. 10019

memorandum

Elle -
5 copies, please

DEC 26 1980

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date December 22, 1980

to Abe Karlikow

from M. Bernard Resnikoff

subject

AMERICAN JEWISH

Zalman Abramov wrote an article entitled "Victory of the Anti-Zionists" that appeared in the December 7th issue of Ha'aretz.

He didn't ask me to have it translated, but it seemed to me something useful to do, and I pass a copy on to you for you to use as you see fit.

Regards.

MBR/sw
Encl.

M.B.R.
T. Anenberg

VICTORY OF THE ANTI-ZIONISTS

S. Z. Abramov

The Agudat Yisrael faction cracked its whip and the government, in a hastily-called night meeting, once again bowed to its demand, this time for passage of an amendment to the Anatomy and Pathology Law.

Leading medical experts, some of whom are themselves religious, have said that this legislation would obstruct the progress of medicine and would, in the end, be harmful. Such statements didn't change things. The Knesset made a decision on a scientific matter, and their decision went against the opinion of the scientists. This action follows similar acts of submission to this minor Knesset faction, the last of which was cancellation of the social factors clause of the Abortion Law.

It is not the first time a government has subordinated its wishes to those of a small faction. But what is this faction to whom the Likud has given in on a series of laws which go against the grain of the majority of coalition members and antagonize most of the public? The "Aguda" is one of the tiny but long-standing parties on the parliamentary scene. For some reason, the public has usually ignored its character and orientation, and tends to see it as a party which like any other small party operates in the political periphery and occasionally manages to win on matters of interest to its members.

Somehow it escapes the people's notice that Agudat Yisrael is the most ideological party in the country, and that it constitutes, here in the Zionist state, the largest center of anti-Zionism in the Jewish world. At a time when anti-Zionist organizations have disappeared throughout the Jewish world, and anti-Zionism is only espoused by a few individuals, how strange it is that here in our country a force exists which considers the Zionist idea invalid, denies the legitimacy of the Jewish state, and spreads this doctrine to the young people who are educated in its institutions. This center of anti-Zionism exists increasingly on government money; and ever since the Likud came to power, this support has increased.

One might have thought that the Aguda would be true to the precept that settling in the Land of Israel is equal to all the commandments of the Torah, and would call to all people of faith to come to Israel in their multitudes. The leaders of the Aguda didn't warn their flocks in the period before the Holocaust, nor did they learn a lesson from it. The "Great Assembly", held in Jerusalem in January of this year, decided not to call for aliyah; the name of the state of Israel was missing from its resolutions; and no statement of concern over Israel's security was made. On the contrary, the assembly granted legitimacy to the Diaspora and set it apart from Israel. One of the Aguda's leaders declared: "A Jew who dwells where there is Torah is in Eretz Yisrael wherever he may be. We have a corner of Eretz Yisrael in America as well." The concept "Eretz Yisrael", then, does not relate to a specific territory, and the law of Israel is the same as the law of any other place in the world where Torah is learned. And more: "The Aguda recognizes the crown of Torah and doesn't need the crown of national rule," which is to say: The Jewish state is not relevant to the existence of Judaism.

Diaspora in Israel

A Jewish state is not required by the people of Israel, said the spiritual leader of the Aguda, who is also the head of the Ponivits Yeshiva. He said, "The Torah was given to Israel in the desert. We did not yet have Eretz Yisrael, and we were an eternal nation with no homeland. We had one anchor only, the holy Torah, and only through its strength have we survived." In other words: The existence of Judaism is not tied to the Holy Land, and the Jewish people do not need a homeland. The existence of a Galut where Torah is learned is the norm, and any country that isn't built on the foundation of Orthodox halacha is actually an anti-religious entity which must be fought against.

On the stage of Binyanei Ha'uma, one of Agudat Yisrael's leaders proclaimed, "Zionism was dangerous when it was just a dream. How much more dangerous it is when it takes the form of an independent state. Therefore, it is necessary for us to continue our historic struggle against Zionism and Eretz Yisrael." Member of Knesset Menahem Porush declared simply: "We remain enemies of Zionism, as before." That the Jewish state is of minor importance to the existence of the Jewish people was emphasized by Rabbi Shach, head of the Ponivits Yeshiva, in the startling statement: "Everyone must operate as if all were destroyed and nothing remained." That is to say that even if everything is destroyed, the transcendent letters of the Torah would continue to ensure the existence of Judaism. The entire anti-Zionist doctrine of the Aguda is hidden in this shocking statement.

That the Aguda has persisted in this view is reflected in its attitude toward national symbols. In Aguda yeshivot, Israel Independence Day is not celebrated; Hatikva is not sung at its assemblies; and the national flag is not flown at its institutions. The Aguda did not invite the president of Israel to its international conference, because in the eyes of the Great Men of the Torah, our country is not a Jewish country, and its president is not someone they are obligated to honor. Rabbi Shach did not hesitate to say, "I have come to our conference only because President Navon and Begin did not come." The refusal of thousands of yeshiva students to serve in the army is a result not of halachic prohibition (such a prohibition does not exist) but rather of their reservations about the country. One of the Aguda leaders explained it this way: "If the Kadosh Baruch Hu wanted to give us a land, He would do so without bloodshed. Therefore, life should not be endangered for it." This short statement exposes the anti-national world inhabited by the yeshivot.

In short, the declared policy of the Aguda is that Zionism brings danger to the Jewish people and that the people of Israel do not need a country of their own. A religious Jew can dwell anywhere in the world; he does not need a country in order to observe the commandments. The state of Israel, then, is a country like any gentile country, in which those who observe the commandments of the Torah are a minority. In other words, the Aguda constitutes a Diaspora in Israel, just as if the country were under Ottoman or British rule. The many children in the Aguda's Independent Education institutions and thousands of yeshiva students are indoctrinated with these concepts, and they are proponents of a growing anti-Zionist camp.

It is not surprising, therefore, that they are alienated from the country, enclosed within their shell, and not concerned with Klal Yisrael. For them, the rest of the people living in Eretz Yisrael are nothing more than a special version of Shabbes Goyim who are there to see to the needs of the faithful of Israel. The commandment to establish a state is missing from their spiritual world, the world of 613 commandments. The difference between them and Neturei Karta followers is that the latter are more consistent and exhibit a greater degree of public decency. They are not willing to give a thing to the country, but they don't ask for any benefits either. Unlike Neturei Karta, Agudat Yisrael not only does not refrain from accepting benefits, but is diligent in its efforts to get them. That was their way in the Diaspora, and that is their way in the Diaspora they have created in the Jewish state.

Although the Likud government is not the first to contribute materially from public funds to the anti-Zionists, the current government has increased the aid, substantially fortifying this group. The Likud government will go down as the first in the country's history which accepted the idea that its existence is dependent upon the support of the anti-Zionist camp. A Zionist government dependent on ardent anti-Zionists is intolerable; a positive end must not be attained by negative means. It would have been better had such a government never come into existence. The amendment to the Anatomy and Pathology Law is one of the rotten fruits of its shidduch with the anti-Zionists.

Dishonor

The Knesset vote on the Anatomy and Pathology Law exposed the Liberal Party for what it is. The party's attempt to wrap itself in fig leaves by ostensibly compromising on this law only emphasizes its impoverishment and emptiness. The fig leaves are transparent. One looks in vain to find in their vote something that could be related to the liberal worldview. Without the Liberals' support, a whole string of anti-liberal legislation would not have been passed; examples are the amendment to the Women's Military Service Law, and striking the social factors clause from the Abortion Law. One of the outstanding identifying marks of the liberal view is the principle that science, which aims to benefit humanity, must be free of dogma, and that any attempt to subordinate science by law to religious or any other dogma must be denounced.

In the case under discussion, the Liberals have dishonored liberalism. Going against the opinions of the greatest medical experts, they voted for a law which the scientists say will obstruct the progress of medical research. One may assume that every MK of the Liberal bloc was aware that with his vote on each of these laws he was violating a liberal principle.

The motivations for their willingness to betray liberal principles are clear to all, and there is no need to expand discussion of them. They are entitled to violate their consciences and vote for anything they feel like voting for. But it is doubtful that from the point of view of public decency they are still entitled to call themselves Liberals. In light of their actions in the Ninth Knesset, they ought to adopt some other name, and leave the term "liberalism" to those who will not take it in vain.