

Daniel Jeremy Silver Collection Digitization Project

Featuring collections from the Western Reserve Historical Society and The Jacob Rader Marcus Center of the American Jewish Archives

MS-4850: Daniel Jeremy Silver Papers, 1972-1993.

Series III: The Temple Tifereth-Israel, 1946-1993, undated. Sub-series B: Sermons, 1950-1989, undated.

Reel	Box	Folder
59	19	1152

After Camp David, 1978.

Western Reserve Historical Society 10825 East Boulevard, Cleveland, Ohio 44106 (216) 721-5722 wrhs.org American Jewish Archives 3101 Clifton Avenue, Cincinnati, Ohio 45220 (513) 487-3000 AmericanJewishArchives.org After Camp David Daniel Jeremy Silver October 29, 1978

Just five weeks ago the President of Egypt, the Prime Minister of Israel and the President of the United States came down from thirteen days of intense negotiations at Camp David and sat behind a table in the East Room of the White House before an assemblage of dignitaries and the television cameras. They spoke of two protocols which they had agreed upon during those negotiations, protocols which were signed by the three statesmen. One of these protocols dealt with a proposed peace treaty between Israel and Egypt essentially governing relationships in the area of the Sinai. The other framework was designed to permit the negotiations to begin towards a larger peace treaty involving Israel's relationships with her neighbors to the east and north and governing the people who lived in the West Bank and Gaza. The next day the President of the United States spoke to a joint session of the Congress. Among the things he said was it is my hope that the promise of these days will be fulfilled. The Congress in its own way said Amen. In a sense the world echoed that Amen for how else shall we explain the designation two days ago of Manechem Begin and Amwar Sadat as recipients of the 1978 Nobel Prize for Peace. Two more unlikely candidates the world is unlikely to see again in the near future.

Amwar Sadat is a military man. His skill is that of killing people, and though a deeply religious person he was not averse to launching a surprise attack on Israel just five years ago on the holiest day of our year, on Yom Kippur, when he knew that those

Israelis would be in their synagogues.

And Menechem Begin, though he is not a military man, by training a lawyer, was the leader of the Irgun, one of the more active of the underground groups in mandatory Palestine and it's also not long ago. if only 32 years, that the Mapai, Israel's labor party, tabled a resolution at the 1946 World Zionist Organization congress in Basel, asking, in effect, that Menechem Begin and the Irgun be read out of the Zionist group because they were launching a series of uncoordinated attacks against the mandatory power against England; and so crucial did Chaim Weitzmann, who was then president of the World Zionist Organization, believe this action to be that he announced to the delegates that unless they agreed to read Begin out of the Zionist movement he would resign his presidency. My father led the opposition to that resolution, arguing that at a time when two million Jews still suffered in Displaced Persons Camps in Europe, at a time when the British were refusing to remove their naval blockade against the so-called illegal immigrants into Palestine, this was no time for the Zionist movement to tear itself apart, that whatever one felt about the tactics of Mr. Begin in this or that campaign, he was a patriot, his cause was their cause and that what was needed was a new series of arrangements between the Irgun and the Haganah and not a resolution which would drive the Irgun away from the rest of the Zionist movement. That position prevailed. Chaim Weitzmann resigned his presidency and Menachem Begin in a sense began his movement up in the ranks of the World Zionist Organization, the Israeli government and to the place where he is today.

I suppose that the granting to Menachem Begin and Amwar Sadat of the Nobel Peace Prize says something about our world. It says that we have become utterly pragmatic. We've recognized that there are no saints, or at least if there are any

2

saints, not close to the sources of power. And whether it's the designation of Henry

Kissinger and Li Ducto in 1973 for the Nobel Prize or of Begin and Sadat this year it

is clear that those who manipulate power are also those who can create the processes

which make arrangements, negotiations, peace, ultimately possible.

I suppose that the Nobel Prize Committee also had it in mind by committing these two men to the receipt of its prize they were in a sense committing them to continue the process now really hardly begun towards really establishing some kind of a more or less permanent peace in that part of the world. In any case, it's not at all an inappropriate designation for a prize which is given with monies earned by and in the name of a man who was, after all, one of the leading munitions merchants of Europe before the first World War.

My mountaineering friends tell me that the descent from the peak is often more time consuming, and sometimes more . dangerous, than the ascent. When Menachem Begin left Washington after Camp David he had to go back to Jerusalem and convince his Cabinet, and then the Parliament, the Kennessett, that the agreements he had undertaken were in the best interests of the nation. Menachem Begin has in his cabinet men and women who are far more belligerent, far more unwilling to give up any iota of land or territory than he. When Amwar Sadat went back to Egypt he had no such democratic struggle to face. The policies at Camp David to which he had agreed to were claimed by the Egyptian Parliament, but he had to face the anger of his Arab brothers. The rejectionist front, Syria, Iraq, South Yemen, Libya, Algeria immediately convened in Damascus and announced a one billion dollar campaign treasury to undo the Camp David accords. The Palestine Liberation Organization stepped up its attacks on Israel. There was an abortive torpedo attack on Elat. The number of bombings within Israel, or the attempted bombings, increased several fold; and they announced belligerently that Egypt and the United States were now targets for their anger and for their frustration.

3

And the Syrians who could not attack Israel openly at this moment vented their anger on

the Christians of the Lebanon, stepped up the military campaign to destroy the power

of the Christian group whom they accused of being the bedfellows with the hated Zionist intruders. Descent was not easy and the process of negotiations, as you have been reading in newspapers, has been an uncertain one. And yet Mr. Begin succeeded in

getting a two-thirds vote in the Kennesset and the assent of his Cabinet; and Mr. Sadat made it quite clear that he was not willing to be brow-beaten by his Arab brothers. He felt he had gone as far as he could go in negotiating their demands and now it was up to them. And so two weeks ago the foreign ministers of Egypt and Israel and representatives of our own State Department met at the Blair House and began to work through the actual documents which would bring into being the Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty.

But in the descent from the mountain it became clear that both countries of all parties had been subjected to new pressures, particularly the Saudis had begun to pressure Sadat to see to it that what is called linkage, the relationship of these two protocols, was made a fact for the diplomatic negotiations. This agreement between Israel and Egypt began, as you remember, not at Camp David but last November in Jerusalem. And it became very clear in the months preceding Jerusalem that both Israel and Egypt conceived of the truth that their national interests were now, to a very large degree, congruent, that is to say, that Egypt faced new enemies to the west and to the south. Egypt faced Libya maddened by the influx of oil money managed by a young idealogue who believes in permanent Muslim revolution, who had already made several attempts on Sadat's life, who just a few months before Jerusalem began to be what was an aborted tank attack on the Egyptian territory. And south of Egypt there was revolution in the Sudan. There were the movements of Cuban and Russian armies throughout Somalia and Ethiopia and sub-Sahara Africa, and Egypt felt threatened by Libya to the west

4

and by the Russian-Cuban presence to the south and, of course, Sadat was also threatened

by the sapping of whatever economic potential Egypt had as it prepared for continuing

war with Israel. The war budget, the defense budget, in Egypt is something on the order

of 65% of the national budget. The standard of living of the average Egyptian was falling. There had been bread riots in Alexandria and Cairo and many of the villages. Sadat

had come to feel that it was necessary to remove the danger from at least one of his borders so that he could begin to think of his other problems and begin to handle them.

Israel, of course, has always looked upon peace as an ultimate goal of its policy, whatever the fore war is about, simply the right to exist in some kind of peace. So the national interests of Egypt and of Israel were congruent and when, in the early fall of 1977, the Israeli shinvet, the Israeli CIA, received information of a plot by the Libyans against the Egyptians they made known the principals of this plot directly to the Egyptian government and the information, as it turned out, proved to be correct and Sadat felt that his government had been spared an embarrassment if he had not been perhaps spared his life, and began to believe that the moment might in fact be an appropriate one for a grand gesture which might make it possible for these two countries to arrive at some arrangements. And so the very dramatic visit to Jerusalem which I suspect was hastened by the fumbling policies of our own government, which were at that point determined to create a comprehensive peace settlement by bringing back that power in the Middle East which Sadat fears the most, the Soviet Union.

In any case, Sadat came to Jerusalem. The two countries found that they had muchin common and there was the great heady moment of welcome. Sadat spoke to the Kennesset, to the television cameras, and age-old policies of silence towards Israel, denial of Israel's very being was broken, and the world was filled with a new sense of possibility and hope. And then, somehow, after the visit the hope began to unravel.

5

It unravelled because though the Israeli and Egyptian national interests were now one and the same up to a point, there were another set of concerns, the Palestinian concerns about the West Bank and Gaza, of East Jerusalem, about the Golan, the concerns of the other Arab governments and of the Falestinian leaders which were not congruent with those of Israel and which Sadat, under pressure to a certain degree and also because, obviously, he agreed with them, attempted to negotiate. But Asad and Hussein refused to come into the negotiations. Israel refused to negotiate with Sadat for issues which he would not be the ultimate arbitrer. Whatever they gave to Sadat would be the top of what they could get in their future negotiations with the other parties and so at Aswan and in Scotland and elsewhere attempts were made to keep the pace of negotiations, the process of negotiations, going. Little was accomplished and things seemed to be grinding to an unwanted halt.

What made Camp David successful was the recognition by the United States, by Egypt and by Israel that as long as these two sense of concerns were interwoven there would be no progress, but that if somehow they could be separated out there could be swift progress on the Israel-Egyptian front and there could ultimately be, as greater confidence was gained by the various parties in each other, some progress on the other, far more complex issues. Camp David came very close to being an utter disaster; first, because Sadat was, to a degree, intransigent about his responsibilities to his Arab brothers; and secondly, because of the American tradition of believing that if there only could be an overall comprehensive and complete settlement can there be any kind of stability in the Middle East. But, finally, Sadat and Jimmy Carter came to the recognition that these issues had to be pulled apart, therefore, the two frameworks, each with its own time schedule, each with its own independent sets of targets, goals and obligations.

And the Egyptian-Israeli treaty groups that had been meeting in the Blair

6

House were called to deal only with the Israel Egyptian framework for a peace treaty. Unfortunately, under pressure from the Saudis, Sadat's ambassadors were told to restructure the agreements in the final treaty so that they increased the understanding that implicit and explicit within the treaty was the requirement of linkage. And so the Foreign Minister of Egypt brought back a series of demands which included l) the requirement that the preamble to the Israeli-Egyptian treaty would state that compliance with the treaty required both compliance with all the terms of military withdrawal from the Sinai which were explicit and demanded at Camp David and also that there be progress towards autonomy and sovereignty for a West Bank Gaza Arab state, that progress be made toward solving all the other complex Palestinian West Bank issues that are involved in this conflict. They further required that once this linkage had been established and because it was established instead of going by the terms which had been established at Camp David which said that once a peace treaty between Israel and Egypt had been signed there would be an immediate exchange of ambassadors. Egypt would immediately pull out of the Arab economic boycott of Israel and there would be free exchange of goods across the Egyptian Israeli borders. Egypt now demanded that instead of this clear statement of the original framework that the exchange be not of ambassadors but of very low level personnel and that the movement towards a full diplomatic relationship, a full economic relationship, be coordinated with success in the linked treaties, in both treaties, that is to say that there must be progress on the West Bank, Jerusalem and the Golan to justify Egypt's exchanging ambassadors, opening its borders and so on,

And finally, Egypt insisted that there be a period five years out when the entire treaty be reviewed, that Egyptian-Israeli treaty be reviewed, against the standard of success in working out both arrangements, both the West Bank arrangements and the Sinai arrangements; and that if both treaties had not been successful Egypt reserved

7

the right to renounce the treaty with Israel. The Israelis, of course, were unwilling to accept these terms and for most of the last two weeks Mr. Dayan has been saying to the press that Egypt is making demands upon us which cannot be resolved at this level. It will either have to be resolved by the President of the United States or by another summit. And the President of the United States was saying, really, there is nothing that cannot be solved. All things will work themselves out, and they, finally, apparently came to some kind of agreement which pulled the teeth of the Egyptian demands and created a language which solved nothing but which by solving nothing solved everything, allowed the two delegations to send back to Jerusalem and to Cairo a proposed peace treaty to be signed within a week or two.

All things seem then in motion. There was process. Dayan and General Weitzmann submitted the peace treaty to the Cabinet. Sadat submitted the peace treaty to his Cabinet and it was confidently expected that everybody would be back in Washington or at some other designated point within a week or two to sign the treaty.

The problem then was that suddenly the Israeli government announced that there would be a thickening of existing settlements in the Sinai. A few hundred more families would be moved in, and that the Prime Minister's office in Jerusalem would be moved from West Jerusalem to East Jerusalem; and over the last few days we've seen an angry response by the American government; and over the last few days we have seen an attempt by the American government to force Israel to rescind these two decisions.

Now why did the Israeli government suddenly announce the thickening of settlers in existing settlements in the West Bank? And why did the Israeli government suddenly announce that the Prime Minister's office, or part of the office, be moved from West Jerusalem to East Jerusalem? The answer here, I would suggest, has to do with the American descent from the mountain. Immediately upon the conclusion of Camp David,

8

you will recall, that Secretary Vance was sent to the Middle East. He met with Hussein and Aman; he met with the ruling prince in Riyad, with the Saudis; he wanted to meet with Asad and was turned down for awhile, and finally had a very quick meeting with the Syrian president. And he began to explain to these dignitaries and rulers what it was that the American government felt could be accomplished if they would only now

come into the negotiating process. King Hussein then submitted fifteen questions to the American government to which he said he wanted answers. And the questions really had to do with what the American final position was since they are now a full partner in the negotiating process. They had to do with the West Bank, with Gaza, and with sovereignty, with the removal of Jewish settlements with East Jerusalem, with sovereignty over the holy places, with the Golan and a number of other issues. Now these questions and their answers have not yet been made public, but it's very clear that the American government was most eager to move ahead speedily; it's very clear that the American government in a sense reiterated the positions that Mr. Carter had before Camp David, positions which argue that the West Bank and Gaza ought to be an independent community, self-governing, perhaps linked to the Jordan; that Israeli settlements in the West Bank are negotiable which implies that they can and perhaps should be removed; that no country has the right to acquisition of territory by force, that this applies to East Jerusalem, that the city of Jerusalem should not be physically divided again; there was no reason to believe that some kind of sovereignty could not be and should not be arranged for Jordan or for the West Bank government over the East Jerusalem community; that Israeli's legitimate needs are strategic, military and that alone. There can be some forward warning points for Israel along the Jordan River but essentially this must be the limit of Israel's intrusion into the sovereignty of an Arab community.

After Mr. Vance's visit the State Department decided to answer explicitly these

9

fifteen questions. They did not demand a quick pro quo, that is that once the answers having been given KingHussein enter into the negotiating process. Mr. Athetan, the Under Secretary of State, was sent throughout the Middle East. Shortly after Mr. Afetan, Mr. Saunders, Assistant Secretary of State for Middle Eastern affairs was sent to the Middle East, and as every delegate went to the Middle East they began to essentially promise the Arab states more and more in order to have them come into the negotiating process. Mr. Saunders' visit seems to have been the most disastrous for he seems to have begun to speak of East Jerusalem as occupied Jerusalem, and he seems to have begun to have said explicitly that the Israeli settlements in the West Bank are removable. Now, for Mr. Begin, these are totally unacceptable positions and they are clearly not positions which the Israelis agreed to at Camp David. Mr. Begin has said explicitly again and again that he is very proud as a Jew that a Jewish State proposed autonomy for the West Bank, that by autonomy he means self-government in a domestic sense, a police force, control of the social institutions of the community, but no parliament no power to deal in international affairs and no army because he says that if the West Bank and Gaza people have control of their foreign policy and an army of their own they not only control their destiny but they then are in a position to control our destiny.

And Mr. Sadat, and many in Israel, would argue that the Israeli settlements in the West Bank quite apart from the question of autonomy or sovereignty are not removable, that the Israelis, Jews, livel in the West Bank long before 1947 and 1948, that just as any number of Arabs live in Israel as Israeli citizens there is no reason that Jews cannot live on the West Bank and Gaza as citizens of whatever that community will be called; and that no part of the world, specifically no part of the Holy Land, can in the years after Hitler be Judenrein, utterly without Jews by fiat. And furthermore, it is a statement of all the major parties in Israel that Jerusalem will remain the capital of Israel, Jerusalem will not be divided again, there will be no grant of sovereignty

10

back to anyone else who might claim it. And in point of fact here the Israelis have a strong case in law because Jerusalem was never intended to be part of a partitioned Palestine. It was to be Vaticinized, that is, it was to be created as a separate community under United Nations control and government, and when the United Nations proved it could not enforce its authority in 1947 - 1948 upon Jerusalem, then the divided city emerged. And the Arab States themselves had no claim under law for sovereignty or control over East Jerusalem.

And so these issues, as they began to be sold to the Arab States, particularly to Jordan and to the Saudis in an attempt to bring them into the negotiating process, began to worry the Israelis because they saw again the danger that the United States was undermining their ability to negotiate what must be ultimately negotiated before negotiations begin. It's one thing to say, as the Israelis have said from the very beginning, we will sit down, but whoever will sit down with us and negotiate everything that needs to be negotiated, but it's another thing to sit down with people who have already been promised by a third party that it will get their ultimate demand and then be told go and negotiate. That's not negotiating, that's simply signing your name to something over which you have had very little control.

Now when the West Bank and Gaza protocol was agreed upon at Camp David the assumption was there would be a five-year period once a local council of Palestinians had come into being during which it was hoped that Egypt and Israel and Jordan and anybody else who was a confrontation power who was willing to come into the negotiations would come in to work out what would be the end result after this five-year transition period. And all parties would have a say in terms of what would emerge after this five-year period. The time table for the Israeli Egyptian Peace Treaty was quite different: a peace treaty within three months; the major removal of Israeli forces from the Sinai within nine months; and upon that removal the immediate exchange of diplomatic

11

relations and ambassadors and the opening of the borders.

The attempted linkage, then, the pressure for linkage is a pressure that Israel

fears on many counts, but, most importantly, on the count that it can undermine and undo and provide an excuse for undermining and undoing on the part of the Egyptians the treaty which is most important to Israel, that treaty which removes Egypt as a confrontation state. Israel recognizes and must recognize that there is little margin

for error. Israel recognizes and she must recognize that Sadat has a record for renouncing treaties. He had a treaty of eternal friendship with the Soviet Union which he renounced just four years ago. He had a treaty of partnership in international government with Syria in the creation of United Arab Republic which he renounced unilaterally six years ago. Those of us who lived through the 1930's know that it is very easy for non-aggression pacts and peace treaties when it is in their selfnations to renounce interest to do so. And though it's easy to renounce a treaty once Israel has given over the Sinai, the air fields, the oil fields, once Israel has pulled back the settlements that are in the Rafia sector outside of Gaza, once she has pulled her troops off the islands of Sharmasheh which control the access into the Gulf of Akiba, once all these physical changes have taken place there is no way short of war for Israel to pull her troops back in to control the air fields again, to have early warning radar stations where they are now positioned and so on. If Egypt, a few years out, having gained all of the military and economic advantage, the strategic advantage and the natural resource which she will gain in the next year or two as Israel pulls back according to the Israel Egyptian agreement. If she has an excuse to renounce that treaty, and does so, there is very little Israel can do about it short of war. She will have gained nothing but her gamble on peace.

And so Israel wants, as best she can, to keep these two treaties unlinked because whereas she can live up to the treaty she has with Egypt, she's bargained with Egypt,

12

she knows what Egypt's interests are and what her interests are, they've sat down, they've talked them through, there's been communication, there've been visits to Egypt, to Jerusalem. There's been only silence from Jordan's part. There's been only silence and anger on Syria's part. There's only a reiteration of the we will ultimately overcome argument from the rejectionist camp. And so she cannot give as easily or be as pliant or certainly negotiate ahead of time what she will give with these others more obdurate enemies, these enemies for whom the same set of circumstances does not operate as operate in the case of Egypt. It is not necessarily in Syria's interest to make peace with Israel. In fact, it may be in Syria's disinterest to make peace. because only anger at Israel justifies the continuation of a central government in Damascus which otherwise might be very easily split into competing lands and tribes.

So Israel has every reason to go slowly. And Israel has every reason to be angry or to take symbolic actions as they did this last week when the United States moved so fast that it seems to be undercutting Israel's position. You don't run down a mountain. You walk slowly. You take care. Unfortunately, the United States has tried to run down the mountain. Mr. Carter is not a patient man. Mr. Carter became President of these United States because he ran a campaign which admitted no obstacles where no demand on his energy or his time went unanswered, where you simply pushed ahead regardless of the obstacles, regardless of the possible fallout or the consequences. And that's his way of operatin. It works some time and other times it doesn't work as in his attempt to bulldoze certain of his bills through the Congress. The problem is that in dealing with a delicate situation in the Middle East this administration both recognizes the importance of process and of patience, and fails to live up to its own understanding of the importance of process and of patience.

If you read the speeches which have been made by Secretary Vance and Mr.

13

Afetan you will quickly come to understand they are speaking in terms of process. We need time for Israel and for Egypt and the other countries of the Middle East to learn that they can trust one another, you can't overcome thirty years of distance, four bloody wars, all of the memories of devastation, of sudden attack, which are behind these wars overnight. It's going to take a long time for people psychologically to reposition themselves so that the possibilities of peace, the flexibility which peace demands, emerge. The American government is saying this, but it is not acting upon its own understanding because I firmly believe that both Sadat and Begin signalled again and again that they are eager if they would only be left alone to work out the Israel Egyptian Peace Treaty. And if the Israel Egyptian Peace Treaty works itself out then in time Hussein, Asad, have really no other alternative but to make some kind of grudging arrangement with the Israelis, but if the United States tries to force the issue now, at a time when every promise that America has made becomes a new baseline of demands for the Arab negotiator, she is putting pressure on Egypt to insist on strong wordage in terms of linkage because this will increase the Arab pressures on Egypt and she is increasing the pressures on Israel to dig in her heels, to say no, no, again and to take these kinds of actions which only disturb the peace process.

Mr. Begin does not want sovereignty for a West Bank Arab state. Mr. Begin and those he represents in Israel are not prepared to concede of the removal of Israeli settlements, farming settlements and other in the West Bank. Very few, if any, Israelis are ready to concede that East Jerusalem is occupied territory which needs to be given back to the Arabs. If the United States tries to force this down the throat of the Israelis now it will force the Israelis into a position where they will kick over the milk can, where they will destroy what is really possible now, an Israel Egyptian peace and the beginning of a new process which will take time in the Middle East.

14

I began by talking of the Nobel Peace Prize and of the kinds of people who win the Nobel Peace Prize. I guess the ultimate truth is that there is no such thing as peace in our world. What there are are temporary arrangements where it is to the self-interest of competing nations to live together in some degree of amiability or commercial cooperation. We have come in the Middle East, I think, to a time when it is to the interests of two major powers of the Middle East, Israel and Egypt, to live together and cooperate together economically and to have a measure of peace. I would hope and pray that the United States, in its impatience, the rest of the world for its other very special ideological reasons will not make it impossible for this process to begin to unfold. I hope we will not try and do too much, that we will recognize the significance of time. You can't run down the mountain. You take the same kinds of precaution coming down as you did going up. I hope that our own government which, through President Carter, did so much to understand that the need to separate the two issues at Camp David will not forget the lesson of Camp David and return to the policies of last summer and last spring and last fall, dangerous self-defeating policies, which aimed at what cannot be achieved now, a comprehensive settlement rather than at what can be achieved now, an Israel Egyptian treaty, the beginning of a new day, a new balance of power, balance of forces for the Middle East.

No one can guarantee that if there is an Israeli-Egyptian treaty the other things will resolve themselves. We can guarantee that if the whole issue is forced now nothing will be resolved because Egypt will be forced to a more and more adamant position; Begin will be forced to be more and more adamant; there will be confrontation instead of cooperation.

So the end of the matter all having been said, where are we? I don't know. I don't think Mr. Begin knows and I don't think Mr. Sadat knows, and I am confident Mr.

15

Carter doesn't know. We're on our way to receive the Nobel Peace Prize. I think there

are enough reasons and reasonable people in Cairo and Jerusalem who will see to it

that whatever happens somehow they will keep their eye on the main chance, because,

to a very large degree, the survival of these two governments depends upon an Israeli

Egyptian Peace Treaty and that's the best reason to have hope in the weeks that lie ahead.

When you read of Israel being intransigent try and read behind the lines, behind the headlines. Try to understand the pressures that exist in Israel, some domestic. Menachem Begin may be a difficult character but he has to his right some people who - some of those on the American right - who wanted to bomb Hanoi off the map. Israel is a democracy and Begin must deal with these, but the mood in Israel is a mood that wants to have peace with Egypt, and wants to see the process of peace begin. And clearly the mood in Cairo is of the same nature. Understand that if Israel is pressured too far she has very little she can do but to act symbolically in such a way as to indicate to the Arab world what she will do and what she will not do.

And remember this, too; that five years of a transition government for the West Bank, once the time clock begins to tick, once some kind of West Bank Council, is a long time. And if Mr. Begin will not accept the idea of anything but the most limited autonomy, five years may see one, two, three new governments in Jerusalem, one, two, three new governments in Cairo. Time is of the essence, and those who are trying to abbreviate time are really doing the cause of peace in the Middle East a disservice.

Kaddish	Friday	OCTOBER 29,1978
SAMUEL ANGART HAROLD M.CHATTMAN	ada we ingarten	veek

16

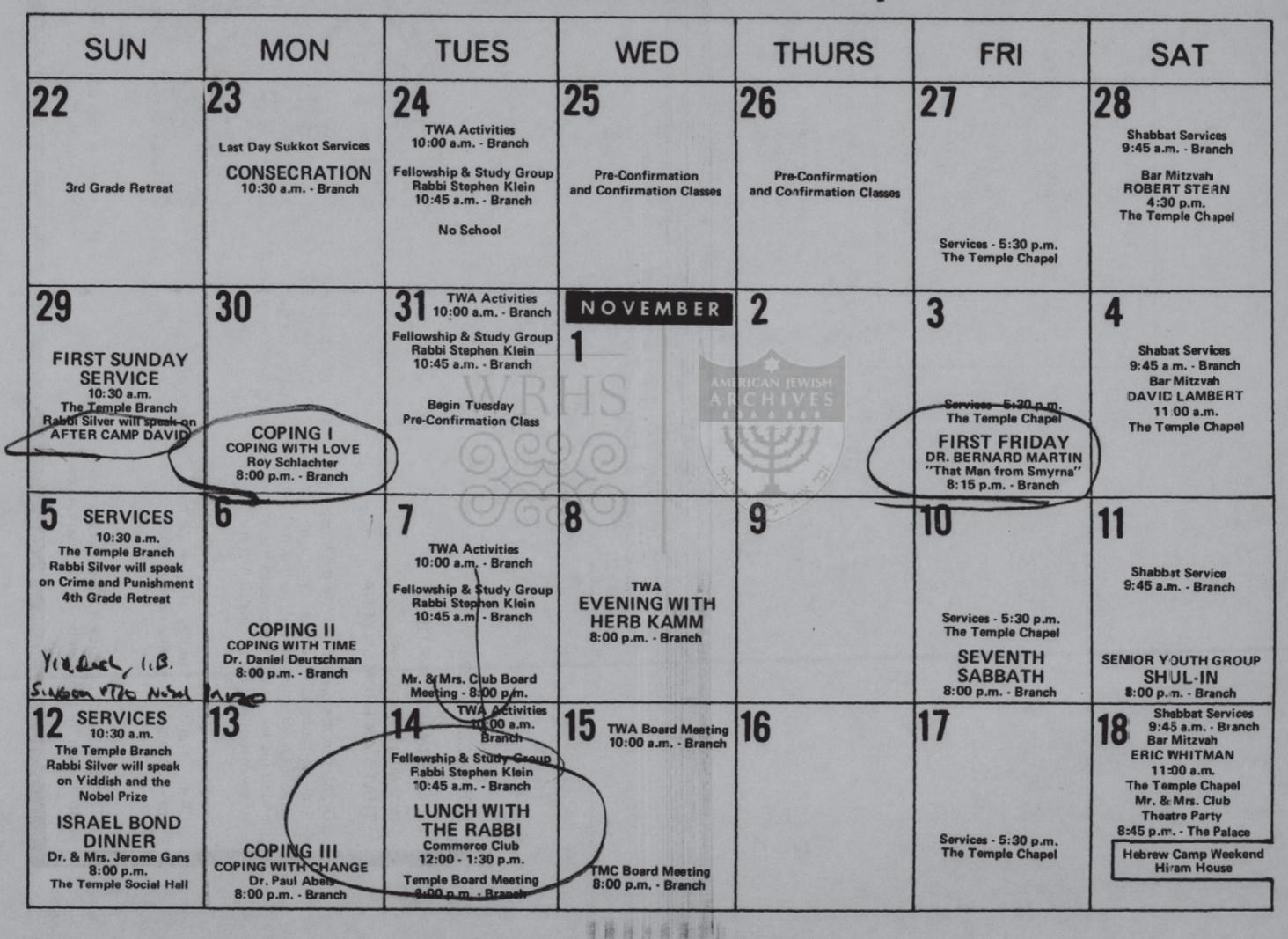
HANNAH C.KOBLITZ BELLE GURSS BENJAMIN A.KAATZ Katz SOL H. SCHACHTEL SK24 K BENJAMIN F.KLEIN HELEN K.WULIGER SAMUEL C.WERTHE IM NAN SCHWARTZ SELTZER SAM H. GRIFF ISAAC E.SPERLING JENNIE REITER KLEIN MAX FRANKEL LILLIAN R.CHERTOFF CLARA SCHWARTZ PAULA GREENBAUM WALTER PAUL DEUTSCH MAX M.ROTHSCHILD MORRIS VERNON BROWN HELEN M.SILBERBACH CHARLES KRAMER EUGENE ROSENBAUM ROSE RICHMAN UNGER ESTHER LEBBY LEONORE SPERO BASSICHIS

Hahrzeits

RACHEL COPELAND HELENE R. HIMMEL SAMUEL STERN SOL DORSEY HILDA W. KROHNGOLD DR. JACOB SIEBERT SADELLE KLE IN SAM HARRIS HENRY G.SEED RACHEL MILLER ELLBOGEN JACOB H.ALTMAN FLORA J.BRATBURD COLEMAN SPITZ HEDWIG HENRY BECKY ROSENTHAL EDWARD W.BEECHLER ALTA LIEDER

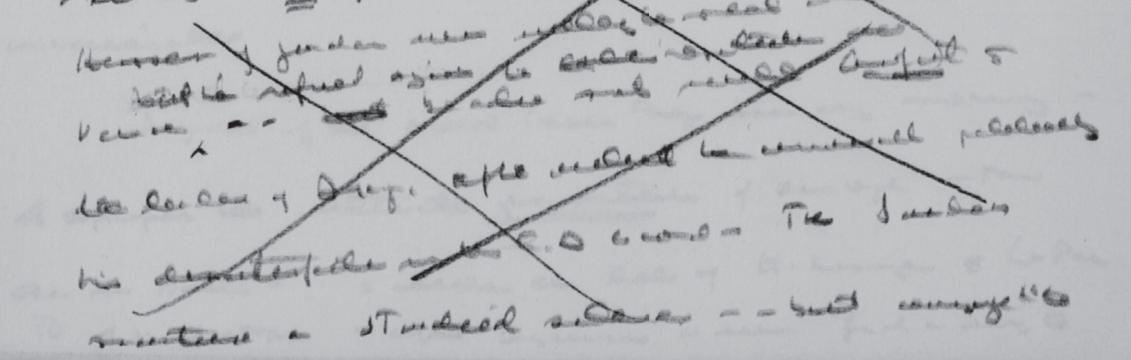
UNIVERSITY CIRCLE at SILVER PARK 791-7755

Your TEMPLE Calendar - Clip and Save



26000 SHAKER BOULEVARD 831-3233

5 weaks ago to - mote - AS MA I Je com deen for C.P. b. co East haven que with adres lafou tolarie unance a værees dyrelane (any agrid to 2 C.P lecterch. The manual week a high and - the last Boycan les see y man - redered and tolyt led been anore and ment les reall's ment white is intertained manual the part one paling Lequère 7 resultion - Te met ay con lagrer 4 Lee. U.S. march my fact farmer and a reaction Arrow when J.C. Bud to my Hore & nit he montrie et ne montre fille montrete Corrine pour 660 2 mainter con some Legalen of screens conforder. No mere mere accord agreed for a Represente Front good to PLO, Syre, may Halfe . Coper mat in Durine Prelos - 13 felle const Constant, Ko



The mark alune there - there also equilan les anonenent Trile toad MR 7 13 seeld stere con year weed rease drags - - Nalle me is a sout, fut spence tusered and and an a speed an es day -Knew must doncelie waard de - war sy given - -Begen ha mar male of the second and a second a s a co dayou a peril los British and a site and a miles at a 1946 Band 2 mit Conference - contan edera neeted rea egested & some control of the fam -C. W. Stand to receive for the los of the kil mel 1000 - neces 200 per a processo o co Butil Gle Deely Tal agreent wo related alleged mints - a the wheel cost underte doub be unifed - but that alles the meneral week

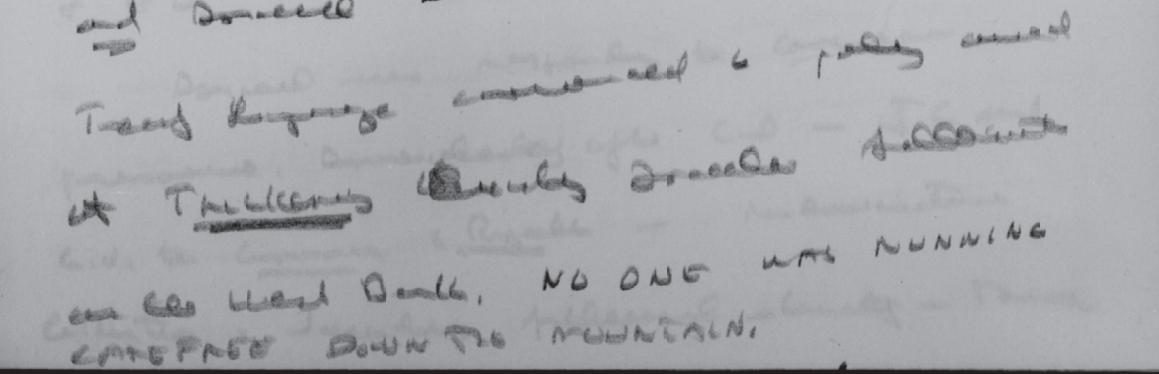
enteres.cer

I year of the a second law tag have any many A spifer les utters proprier 1 ange -re-5 Leece ce ese 7 H. Komp & L. Par an muts -- alto assumes a men find a my to To you . Unette

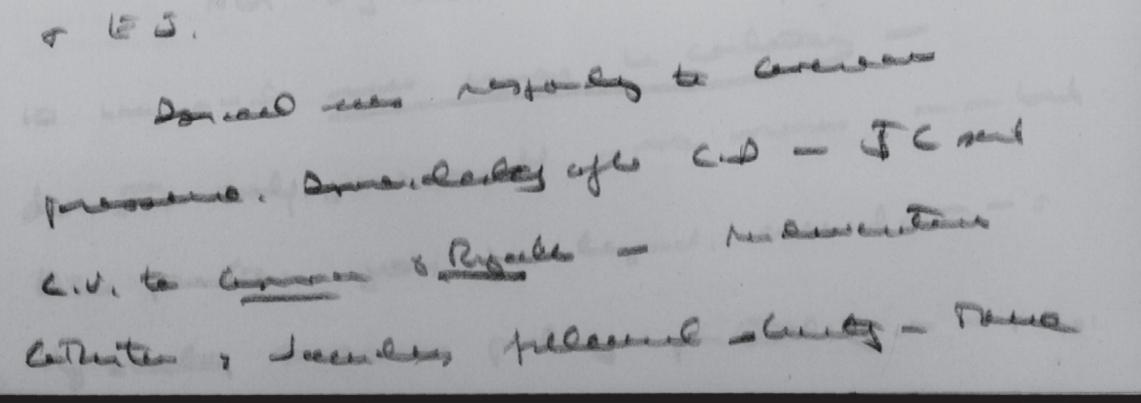
we a why the party. Bugen had to ge have i get longithe 1 he cutered , to thread to the burn wildchies -Cons luce pu la rectar a la a by des La Agricente Course D' hay, alpere, S. Yum, "Siger in seal and the care such a first in mul 9 leans and all the grant card out leer future a le x and planen - cel manue in the one of when and when the a the y a number of the the loveler les rece mart. The former lovel te cenero co contert Tames Jean went have to a have deeden -Entry and le a curle will be the the

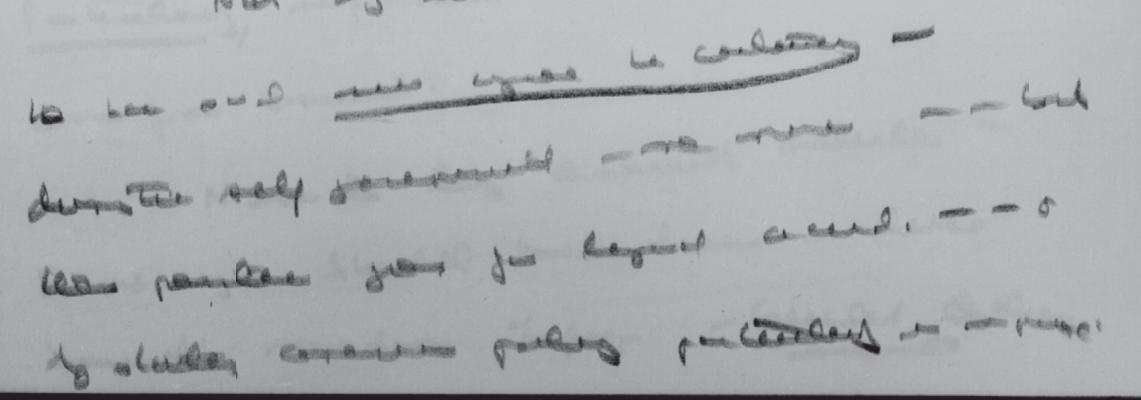
its lind a fur year of a men have been a le us ? Per believe aller à les annora Agnest lease. Freeder a moder one bun her rende Freed a moder one her rende

I mad see all all the star and the the "read" need? Boy reased to thereaf Vieles, A-last hanned berlad seen for his controls, rependerer yes 3 kerb, males mat for more and a cheered of Barrow Weard te Fundence JAlenes Tracky Black Sydites po-cuelles Sweit Cound. The lence markers - Sleep in metters but an entrace the state of the second De llere - dends and at LINKIND as for fear thing and some to Myers on the Undberth Junchan Amerof Doncell marks area to been a

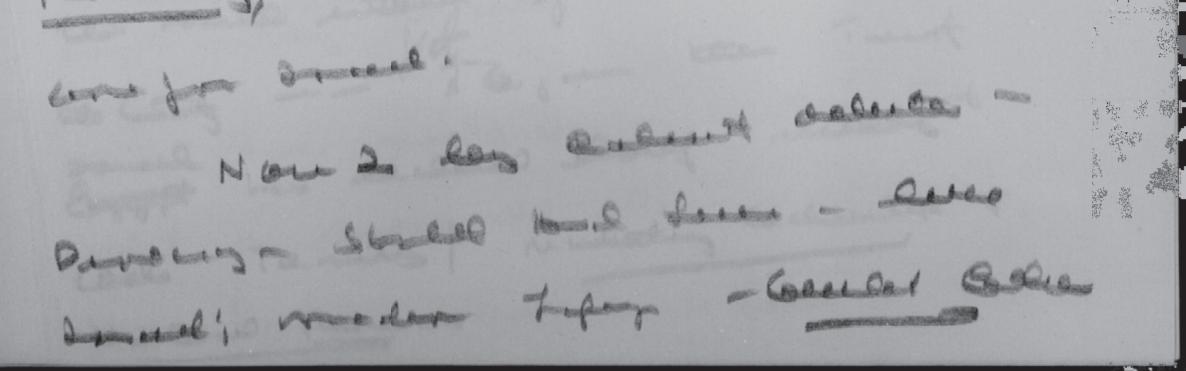


A Eggt and mondagle lande promen-Interpress to Suche parace - to Suchi subout the Egypter searces to can your 18 ayer - They was acced and and with where is minut I an Egilar - Ireale Thing Lange into how - meteret to reacher y to orea more - and Enter furned to UNIC Co 2 C.C. covered -, to being too ton of decays g descente la properte des des presto - 0 6 sucres and there there a spece a Revenue andres worder to Revenue des of East we and suttifue uncer man towerse and the used Andle I cauge, 600 and

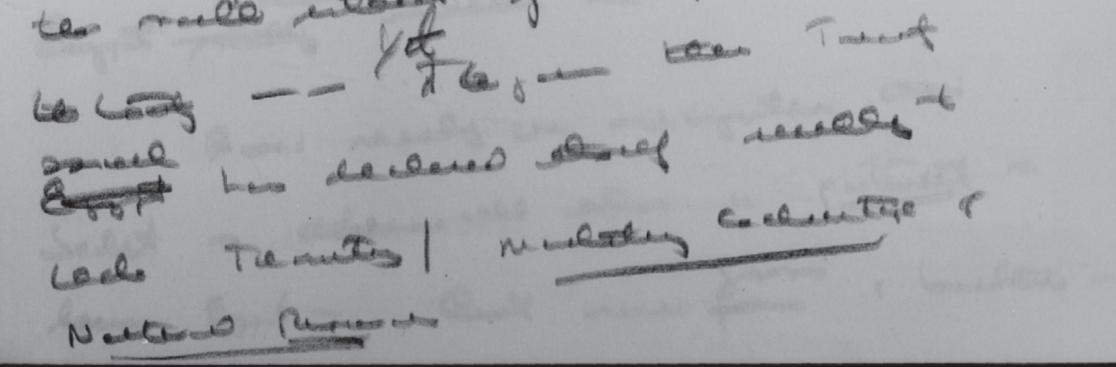


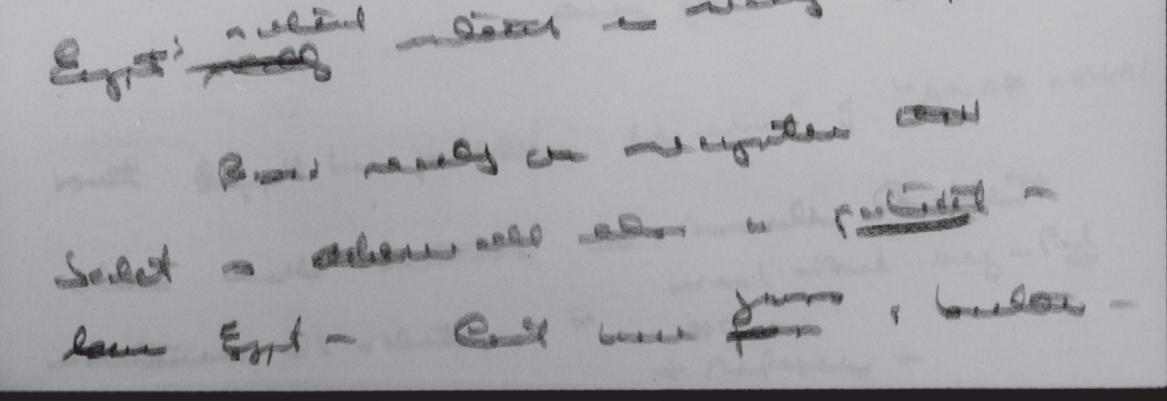


4 to ite a freedoud relay Henceic's covered to and magulation Super american 6) U.S. in trans des deterded Do and 's boostern frender is and, Berli Joceli manden la bear uneder a production appelo 60 caped o stens multi description meace and specter) stens to The Silve 2) commence / comp 6 more P. de. CHERTS AREAN 0630 Reislished and an in con prove and - und read in most importer is that desployed all see The second to motion Patendary inpresent last an rate to

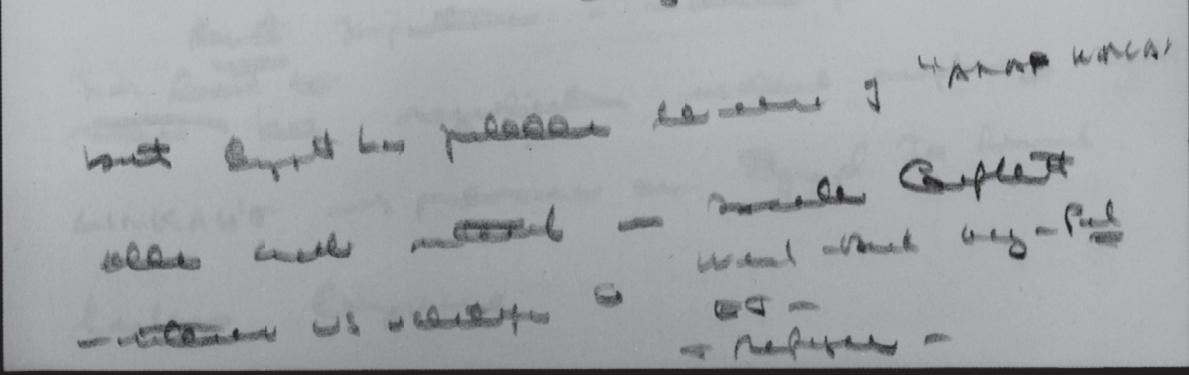


57 People the manifest Themeseum of and gover is a dealery - - de une dearlie and to she and of dela mente cant - whit dear and Jeen - a freque Trend - Co prese j Proper and an use leaves course is 30; more in cand leave Tealle a war byenne tall was Tom Up - may select here a new of Tenny any Treater HS with first Syam min la lun and an often Josef Tudoles i mullo como la Tat. These side of all and and and race etterne y were presenter to adard





69 but must (Thus y East' pages pre) and a persent and the second be Same Estance) and Und Etalja) The Barker - 1000 - She Red may had to selest fly plant on the lop Second Recent V.S. Logen La was all a come and and my M. E. Cale When we les pleasen : Ent Bread and the constant aread a reserve and proofer como con bank Ezza - neure and perfor and we and for the



y my bull sube days as doned they to smill 1 gun low god uncedas on " the Preser Fic frence and at C.D. to parcel the a march to come to company and any below with to de la contraction present - à contra the Energetette - Jungerrage Unique and the success each - year period I free it U.J., u.Q. WRHS CONTRACTIVES and medical have believed weeker for the born bornes ave dreed accorded been my show al Shelp - Moferl reason Real Instance - Saula present

