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Israel - Egypt, What Now?, 1979.

Israel, Egypt - What Now? Daniel Jeremy Silver March 25, 1979

Mr. Sadat should be in Washington by now. Mr. Begin is on his way there from New York. The President has returned to the White House from affairs of state in Elk City, Oklahoma. Tomorrow on the lawn outside the White House, barring last-minute problems of translation, an agreement will be signed between Israel and Egypt providing for a phasing-in of normal relations between these two countries.

I am afraid that the signing ceremony has been organized in such a way as to make it a Jerry Rafshoon media special, a campaign event organized by the advisers of this president to buoy up the low ratings he has been receiving in the public opinion polls. Perhaps it is also part of a bid directed to Oslo to the effect that Mr. Carter be the recipient of this year's Nobel Peace Prize. I can hear the President's campaign advisers gleefully discussing how the President would handle any foreign policy debate with Ed Kennedy or Jerry Brown once he wore the mantle of a Nobel laureate in peace.

We have seen in the Letters to the Editor columns of our daily press as spate of anguished notes that the public is being forced to make a contribution to the President's 1980 re-election campaign in the form of the approximately five billion dollars that our government has promised Israel and Egypt over the next three or four years in order to pay the costs of these arrangements.

It would be naive for those of us who believe that this is a potentially significant agreement to argue that the President has not acted out of some domestic political concerns. He wants to be re-elected. The opportunity to have this agreement signed in his presence, while he smiles avuncularly on Sadat and Begin, can only help his image as a statesman. He knows it. His advisers know it.

Given our national interests in the Middle East, the United States would have been involved, much as we have been, regardless of Carter's re-election bid, but that Secretary Vance or Under-secretary Atherton did-not carry the negotiations. The willingness of Mr. Carter to involve himself personally last September in Camp David and last month in Washington and in the Middle East testifies to his recognition of this treaty's domestic political value.

The fates have not smiled on this president. I often wonder whether he retains that taste for the office he so obviously had before his election victory. Mr. Carter came to the presidency at a time when energy issues were paramount and he has not been able to move effectively in that crucial area. He became president at a time when inflation was attacking everyone's pocketbook and he has not been able to diminish the rate of inflation. He came to the office pledged to improve welfare and humane services to the poor and he has not been able to do so. When he came to office American prestige was diminished in the eyes of the world, and he has been unable to make our power effective. He came full of hopes for a big power detente and he found himself facing & Russian move to extend her influence towards the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean, to neutralize NATO and to control sub-Sahara Africa with Cuban troops. His attempts at dramatic political coups tended to come undone. The great moment when bilateral relations with China were re-established and the Chinese Vice Premier came to Washington with much talk of forward movement towards world peace was shattered within the week as the Chinese moved troops into Vietnam. There have been no easy successes and the ratings have testified to a growing reputation for incapacity, inefficiency and indecision. These are not the traits which the American people look for in a president. Increasingly the White House has recognized a need for a diplomatic triumph - for such a moment as tomorrow, And the plans they have made testify that this administration will ballyhoo this treaty and

Mr. Carter's role in it for every drop of prestige that it can be made to yield.

The President worked hard for this day and risked much to achieve it; but let us remember, he was offered this opportunity not by his own capacity but, paradoxically, by an act of political misjudgment. In the fall of 1977 the Administration, was frustrated by its inability to arrange a Middle East peace and suggested the reconvening of the Geneva Convention, an act which would have reintroduced the Soviet Union into the complicated diplomatic maneuvering of the area. This idea frightened both Sadat and Begin. For years Russia's role has been to foment unrest rather than stability. The more confusion the greater her political opportunities. It so happened that a few days before the American move, and unknown to the United States, Israeli Intelligence had uncovered a plot by the Libyan government on the life of Mr. Sadat and had revealed the details of this plot to Egyptian Intelligence. A new sense of possibility began to develop between their two confrontation states and, since both were frightened by the actions of Mr. Carter, ear fully concealed their plans from Washington, Sadat and Begin and began the arrangements which led to Sadat's historic visit to Jerusalem.

By that act Egypt tacitly recognized the existence of the State of Israel. Mr. Begin, in return, publicly recognized Egypt's claim to sovereignty over the whole of Sinai which was tantamount to a pledge, ahead of negotiations, that Israel would withdraw its troops to the 1967 borders. Having made these bold moves Israel and Egypt found they lacked the capacity to break through decades of war and distance to effect an actual agreement. A third party was needed who could do things that neither longtime formy could achieve. So Mr. Carter was presented the opportunity to come in as mediator. It was an office which suited him well. He could use the power and the prestige of the American government to make the guarantees Begin and Sadat required to risk a treaty.

himself effectively in the negotiations. You remember the long nine days at Camp

David when the President virtually locked himself out of the White House and did nothing
else but move between the parties, arranging what became the two framework agreements; a framework agreement for peace between Israel and Egypt and a framework
for more comprehensive arrangements involving the outstanding issues the whole

Arab-Israel dispute. Mr. Carter deserves full marks for having brought off this
agreement. Again, this spring, when the Camp David agreement had run into Egyptian
revisions the President involved himself. Were it not for his personal intervention and
for the financial and oil pledges which the United States offered it is probable the spirit
of Jerusalem disappeared without issue.

Re-election is not the whole story - by half. It was Oscar Wilde who said that the cynic knows the price of everything and the value of nothing. Actually, the cynic is a rather naive and innocent fellow. He believes that we act for one reason and one reason only, when in point of fact we are motivated by a complex of reasons. The President acted for his personal political benefit and on the highest principle. He is a believing Christian - "blessed are the peacemakers". He truly believes that he has performed a religious duty. The President has acted out of political interest, high principle and to serve the national interest; and it is terribly important that he make this clear to the American people. He must make us see that the dollar cost of the AND COSTON PATIBLE TO THE PROPERTY OF TO PATIBLE TO THE PROPERTY OF TO PATIBLE TO THE PROPERTY OF TO PATIBLE TO THE PROPERTY OF THE PRO

What American interests does this agreement forward? After World War II the United States took over from Great Britain the task of guarding the West's interests in the Middle East. Increasingly, the world was becoming aware of the stra-

tegic importance of that part of the world as an oil field and as the key to control of the Indian Ocean and the Horn of Africa. To continue playing a dominant and effective role in the Middle East the United States found that we had to resolve a set of conflicting commitments.

The United States was the leader of the free world. There was only one democracy in the Middle East. The United States was the leader of the western world. The west had been the scene of the Holocaust. For ideological reasons the United States had to establish an intimate relationship with the Jewish State. Once having established that special relationship, as it is termed by the diplomats, the United States discovered that we had gained unexpected strategic advantages. In the course of fighting four wars of survival Israel developed the strongest military power in that part of the world. Her army was perhaps the most efficient in the world. Israel's army tested American weapons in the field. Periodically, her army captured sophisticated Russian equipment and turned these over to our Intelligence. When necessary Israel's army supported American interests in Jordan and Lebanon. America's special relationship with Israel became and has remained a critical element of our national interests.

There were other American interests in the Middle East: oil, ports in the Persian Gulf, markets for our products, relationship with governments who controlled the land bridge between Europe and Africa. America wanted/wants good relationships with Israel and the Arabs. We want a secure oil supply. We seek new markets for our exports. In order to promote these commercial and strategic interests we need to defuse the Arab-Israel confrontation and that "peacemaking" goal soon become a cornerstone of American policy. The argument is that once Israel and her Arab neighbors normalize their relationships America can go about its other

business without hindrance. The policy was easy to finalize but remarkably difficult to achieve. Israel has wanted peace, normalcy. The Arab states have not wanted peace, except on terms which would insure Israel's eventual destruction. Then, eighteen months ago, Egypt signaled her willingness to try serious negotiations. America sensed the long-awaited breakthrough. The senior confrontation state which had fielded the largest army and had spent the greatest amount of its treasure on war against Israel was willing to talk about normal relations even if the other states were not willing to go along. Our State Department accepted Egypt's action as a first step towards the comprehensive arrangement, which is the goal of our policy, and energetically set about exploiting the preferred opening.

When the treaty is signed a first step will have been taken towards what the United States hopes will be a comprehensive settlement. - Even this first step is ex-We are used to peace treaties which end the actual fighting and tremely complicated. promise that within a few months the armies will withdraw beyond the original borders, normal relationships will be resumed and whatever reparations have to be paid will The treaty requires Israel to begin military withdrawal within a few days, to remove its armies from half of the Sinai within nine months and from all of Sinai within three years. It requires free passage of Israeli ships through the Suez Canal and the Straits of Tiran. It states that Israel shall be able to buy oil from Egypt as any customer might. It requires the exchange of various levels of diplomatic personnel when various degrees of compliance with treaty terms are achieved. Finally, it links, but not in so many words, this whole complicated process with a process designed to create something called "autonomy" for those who live in Gaza and the West Autonomy is not defined - deliberately so. At this point autonomy means to Egypt and, I suspect, to our own State Department full self-government with perhaps the right of Israel to maintain a few strategic early warning bases. Autonomy to Mr.

Begin, as he made clear two days ago in a speech to the Kenesset, means that individuals in the Gaza and the West Bank shall be governed by their own religious law and shall have full rights to organize community life; but internal and external security and policies of water and land use remain the prerogative of Israel. Existing Israeli settle ents are to remain in place and Israeli settlers are to be governed by Israeli law. These views are poles apart, but the treaty requires that Israel and Egypt reach an agree ent on "autonomy" within a year. The local Arabs and the confrontation states say they will not take part in such negotiations. What purpose then are theoretical discussions? How can Israel compromise successfully with Egypt on this issue if any such compromise will be the beginning point of later negotiations with the Palestinians?

There will be many arguments. There will be many frustrations. After the evacuation of Sinai has been completed and Egypt possesses again all the territory she controlled before 1967, Egypt will be afforded innumerable pretexts for the claim that Israel has failed to live up to her bargain and, therefore, to declare herself able to renounce her part of the bargain, the normalization of relationships and the exchange of ambassadors.

The treaty will require patience and a remarkable amount of good will; and patience and good will are in international short supply. It will require a high degree of statesmanship on all sides. The United States' role will be crucial, and let it be remembered that the United States, as a matter of national interest, will not be satisfied simply by the successful implementation of this treaty by Israel and Egypt. Let us assume Egypt's actions have been motivated by her own internal interests: the high cost of defense and the serious military threat she faces on her western border with Libya and in the south where her satellite, the Scudan, is threatened by Cuban and others moving up from Eritrea and Ethiopia. Let us assume Egypt finds reason to be

cannot let it be at that. The United States is committed to a comprehensive settlement those are the key words. Only a comprehensive settlement will allow us to establish
easy, free and uncomplicated access to the governments of the region, their markets
and their oil. It is not a matter of chance that every time an agreen ent between Israel
and Egypt has been approached the Administration has dispatched senior State Department or National Defense officials to Aman or Riyad to try and buy or console these leader
as to the agreement and the desirability of entering the negotiations process. Nothing has
frustrated our policymakers more than that states they had looked upon as moderate Jordan, Saudi Arabia - have moved to align themselves with the rejectionist front. Both
states went to Bagdad Conference, designed to undo the Camp David agreements. Both
will be represented next week at the Arab Summit, convened to take action against Egypt
and Israel for the signing. A comprehensive settlement seems further rather than
closer to realization. The domino theory seems to work no better in the Middle East
than in Southeast Asia.

It is altogether possible that in retrospect Monday, March 26, 1979 will be seen as a high water mark in Israel-American relationships; that as the days become weeks and the weeks become months we will see a renewal of the pressures we saw two years ago when Washington demanded that Israel make unilateral concessions for the benefit of the United States. Our diplomats may soon be heard saying that what the PLO really wants is a Palestinian State in the West Bank and not a secular democratic state in all of Palestine, that is, the destruction of Israel. We may hear again that there are ways to divide authority in Jerusalem, yet, keep the city united.

Of course, there are other possible scenarios. The United States might simply say to Jordan and Saudi Arabia: "Your survival depends upon us. Act as moderating forces or no arms or political support." But energy is our Achilles heel. Each day

we become more dependent upon Saudi Arabian oil. There are powerful commercial interests in the United States which have determined that we must not ruffle Saudi's feathers lest they lose Saudi clients. So it is more than likely that Washington will pursue its comprehensive peace policy by tilting toward Riyad.

I would suggest that Israel faces a difficult stretch not only from an increase in terrorist acts born of frustration among those who thought everything was going their way, but also from United States pressures aimed at achieving our accomplished objectives - a comprehensive peace. These last months Begin has shown himself to be a doughty warrior; indeed, when push came to crunch he was able to face down the President of the United States, but America holds most of the cards and the power, and in the long run small states rarely have their way. Israel remains dependent for arms and aid upon the United States.

Both Israel and Egypt face an uncertain future. Egypt is now excommunicate in the Arab world. The Arab world is awash with xenophobic hysteria. Khomeini's transpected in the Arab world. The Arab world is awash with xenophobic hysteria. Khomeini's Iranspectation is the new sword of Islamic represents a major triumphover the West. The oil weapon is the new sword of Islamic and they are wielding that weapon effectively. Islamic religious chauvinism is also on the rise and, again, Khomeini's Iran has important ramifications for Sadat's survival. Sadat represents, as did the Shah, the West, the middle-class, the professional classes, modern technology, those who accept our way of solving problems through technology, research, education and economic development. There are in Egypt dozens of potential Khomeinis. The Muslim Brotherhood represents the old Islam: the Islam of villages and the urban poor, the Islam which has not admitted women into personhood, the Islam which believes that modern life must be governed by the Koran, the Islam which has never forgotten or forgiven the Crusades.

A year ago the government of Mr. Sadat tabled in his Parliament a bill increasing the rights of women. This bill had to be withdrawn because of the power of the Muslim conservatives. At the same time, in order to defuse the anger of this Muslim right wing, the government of Mr. Sadat proposed and passed a bill which made it a capital crime for a Muslim to convert to another religion. The bill was voided under great pressure from the villages where Copt and Muslim often intermarry; but its original passage testifies to the power of Muslim fundamentalism. Egypt's citizenry include also a strong left wing, an old Nasserite group which, like the Marxist Fedayeen in Iran, would willingly make a marriage of convenience with the medievalists and Alakanab imperialists to overthrow the professional classes and interests which now dominate the country.

Sadat is committed now, perhaps irrevocably, to the United States. He needs money. There were bread riots in Cairo just a year ago. There are forty-four million Egyptians and their standard of living is among the lowest in the world. He has talked often of a Western Marshal plan for Egypt. If the United States wishes to sustain Sadat in power the cost will be high. We have promised a billion dollars of foreign aid this year, but that sum hardly begins to meed the needs of the Egyptian people. It would have to be doubled, immediately, if the Saudis cut off the billion dollars of foreign aid they annually send to Egypt. Mr. Sadat is walking on a narrow edge, he and those who agree with him. He has taken a great chance, in part because he sees that Egypt must solve Egypt's problems first; in part because the economic interests of his class are at the moment identical with the economic interests of America; and in part because he, like Begin and Carter, really believes that peace is preferable to war.

Sadat has kept other options alive, though I am not sure he can still use them.

At Camp David he really accepted the concept of a separate peace. His focus has been on getting back for Egypt that which was originally Egyptian and then allowing his country to concentrate on her domestic problems. But he has kept another option visible by saying over and over: "I am testing the Israelis to see whether they are committed

to a comprehensive peace. This is a first step. If the Israelis do not establish a meaningful autonomy on the West Bank and in Gaza, if they do not act on Jerusalem, if there is not withdrawal from the Golan Heights, what will we have lost? We will have regained territory and we can move on from there. "Sadat might not survive a volte face, but Egypt would be accepted back readily into the ranks of the confrontation states. Make no mistake about that.

Difficult and uncertain times are ahead for Israel and for Egypt. Each country will repeatedly test the other. Wariness is understandable. Each country will have to make unwanted compromises and admit new dangers. Israel will face increased terrorist attack and a new military alliance or her northern and eastern borders where Iraq has joined Syria in a common army and Iran has proclaimed herself a confrontation state. Mr. Sadat faces assassination, subversion and a possible revolution led by the Muslim Brotherhood.

Given two small countries which have made and are making major sacrifices for peace, it is incumbent for us to show a degree of patient statesmanship beyond which we have shown in the past. The role of the United States is critical. If the United States shows itself to be weak vis a vis the rest of the Arab world, if the United States shows itself a paper tiger which can be bought off with the promise of oil or markets, Mr. Sadat will be undone quickly because those who are in power respect power.

If the United States begins to pressure Israel again, and there is every reason to believe that she will, the PLO and its allies will have good reason to maintain their position of absolute adamancy. Why negotiate for half a loaf when in time you will get the whole thing? The PLO read the message of Formosa and understands that the United States will pull back from a small ally when it wants to.

The position of the United States is critical. The testing of this President as a peacemaker is just beginning. There is language and there will be three signatures. We have an agreement, but the agreement is only a beginning. Will the President use the great power of these United States to see that all phases of the agreement are met, that Israel withdraws and Egypt normalizes relationships? Will Mr. Carter use pressure so urgently for a comprehensive solution that he will make it impossible for the Israelis to move cautiously on the West Bank issues. No other scenario is politically doable. Will the President provide the wherewithal to sustain Sadat and remind Sadat of his obligations under the treaty if he again begins to rewrite its terms? I do not envy our President. If he wins the peace prize of 1979 they may take it away from him in 1980.

The United States has committed its prestige to Israel and Egypt. We once committed our prestige to South Vietnam. We came to rue the day. In the process of vacating that commitment we undid some of the glue which holds together the western world. The fallout from Vietnam includes the weakening of NATO and the revolution in Iran. Ultimately, if a great nation fails its commitments the world turns elsewhere for its security.

The four or five billion dollars which the United States will spend for the relocation of Israel's Defense Forces in the Negev and for foreign and military aid to

Israel and Egypt will be a small price if, in fact, this agreement is a successful first

step, if it is lived up to and becomes, in time, a larger peace. If we waste this opportunity it will be money down the drain.

Blessed are the peacemakers, if they have sechel.

Kaddish

Friday

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MARCH 25,1979

Those who passed away this week

DAVID C. GREEN
DR.LOUIS FIRESTONE
MERLE W.MARX

DONALD L. RUBINFIELD

Hahrzeits

SYLVESTER L.TRAUB DR. MORRIS E.GANS BLANCHE M. MAYER LENA MENDELSOHN MAXWELL L. LAPPIN DAVID TOMARKIN SIDNEY N.WE ITZ DR.EMANUEL KLAUS LILLIE A.COPENHAGEN EUGENE FRIED WILBUR A.STEUER ESTHER SEIDMAN MARTHA B. MARKOWITZ HERMAN J.REICH DR. NATHAN B. JAFFE ABRAHAM C.BIGELSON AARON E. TRATTNER BERDIE STOTTER COLE EDWIN R.COLE DR.LOUIS H.BROOKS MANUEL GERDY REBECCA WOLF LUNTZ SAMUEL D.WISE DR. HARRY J.RIEMER ABE E.AMSTER

JULIUS VIDOR
JOSEPH SAKS
Irving Schumann

Your TEMPLE Calendar - Clip and Save

26000 SHAKER BOULEVARD 831-3233

SUN	MON	TUES	WED	THURS	FRI	SAT
25 SERVICES 10:30 a.m. The Temple Branch Rabbi Silver will speak on EGYPT, ISRAEL WHAT NOW?	26	27 TWA Activities 10:00 a.m Branch Fellowship & Study Group Rabbi Stephen Klein 10:45 a.m Branch	TML QUAD Temple - moses scente	29 Britz trops	Services - 5:30 p.m. The Temple Chapel	Shabbat Service 9:45 a.m Branch Bar Mitzvah BRUCE ROTH 4:30 p.m. The Temple Branch Mr. & Mrs. Club SHOWTIME 8:30 p.m Branch
A P R I L SERVICES 10:30 a.m. The Temple Branch Rabbi Silver will speak on THE ABORTION DEBATE	2	TWA FIRST TUESDAY 11 a.m Shop & Socialize 12 noon - Lunch 1 p.m Beryl Rothschild Fellowship & Study Group Rabbi Stephen Klein 10:45 a.m Branch Mr. & Mrs. Club Board Meeting - 8:00 p.m.	4 HS	5 ERICAN IEWISH 3C HI V E S	FIRST FRIDAY Dr. Henry Rosovsky The Higher Purpose of Education Services - 5:30 p.m. The Temple Chapel	Model Seder Grades 5-9 Bat Mitzvah MIRIAM FRIEDMAN 11:00 a.m. The Temple Chapel Bat Mitzvah RENEE WHITE 5:30 p.m. The Temple Chapel SENIOR YOUTH GROUP THEATRE PARTY "Something's Afoot"
8 SERVICES 10:30 a.m. The Temple Branch Rabbi Silver will speak Model Seder Grades K-5 Confirmation Party	9	TWA Activities 10:00 a.m Branch Fellowship & Study Group Rabbi Stephen Klein 10:45 a.m Branch TMC LUNCH WITH THE RABBI James Tavern 12 noon - 1:30 p.m.	11 SEDER	PASSOVER 12 PASSOVER SERVICE & HEBREW GRADUATION 10:30 a.m Branch	13	14
Mr. & Mrs. Club Passover Program		Temple Board Meeting 8:00 p.m Branch			Services - 5:30 p.m. The Temple Chapel	
15 SERVICES 10:30 a.m. The Temple Branch Rabbi Silver will speak	16	TWA Activities 10:00 a.m Branch Fellowship & Study Group Rabbi Stephen Klein 10:45 a.m Branch	18 LAST DAY PASSOVER 10:30 a.m Branch	19	20	Shabbat Service 9:45 a.m Branch Bat Mitzvah RUTH ABRAMS 11:00 a.m. The Temple Chapel
Recognition Day	NO.	SCHOOL - VACATIO	Temple Men's Club Board Meeting 8:00 p.m Branch	BLOODMOBILE 1-7 p.m Branch	Services - 5:30 p.m. The Temple Chapel	

Eternal God of all peoples and races, may all Your children learn to live together in peace and friendship. Let the day come when oppression, discrimination, and prejudice will be forgotten, and all the world filled with Your spirit, as it has been said: "Turn to Me and be saved, all the ends of the earth!" May that day come soon, O Lord; the day foretold by our prophets and sages, the day for which we long, when all humanity will recognize that it is one family. Let the day come proclaimed by Your prophet: "In that day Israel will be the third with Egypt and Assyria, a blessing in the midst of the earth, whom the Lord of Hosts has blessed, saying: Blessed be Egypt My people, and Assyria the work of My hands, and Israel My heritage."

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