

**DOCUMENTS SHOW TRUMAN DEMANDED
ISRAEL WITHDRAW FROM AREAS TAKEN
DURING THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE**

By David Ettlinger

WASHINGTON, July 24 (JTA)—An angry President Truman demanded Israeli withdrawal from territories occupied during Israel's War of Independence but was rebuffed by the nascent Jewish State, according to documents released by the State Department last week.

The documents, entitled "Foreign Relations of the United States, 1949," reinforce the view that the 1949 State Department, whose Near East Affairs Bureau was dominated by Arabists, was actively lobbying against Israel. Previously classified diplomatic notes, cables, and memoranda also depict Truman as waffling in his support for Israel.

According to the documents, Truman delivered an angry note to Israel on May 29, demanding Israel withdraw from territories captured during the 1948-49 fighting. In a formal note to the U.S. Government dated June 8, Israel rejected the American demand. Noting that it was the Arab states that had initiated the war in defiance of the 1947 UN partition resolution, the note insisted that "the Arab attack ... had created a new situation".

Methods Of Pressure Suggested

A "top secret" State Department memorandum to Truman two days later called upon the U.S. to adopt a hard line attitude toward Israel in an attempt to pressure her to return to the partition lines. The memorandum suggested "the following course of action vis-a-vis Israel:

"(1) Immediate adoption of a generally negative attitude toward Israel. This would include: refusing Israeli requests for U.S. assistance, such as for the training of Israeli officials in this country and the sending of experts to Israel. Maintenance of no more than a correct attitude toward Israeli officials in this country and toward American organizations interested in promoting the cause of Israel; and failing to support the position of Israel in international organizations.

"(2) Holding up allocation of \$49 million of a \$100 million Export-Import Bank loan earmarked for Israel and (3) lifting the tax-exempt status of the United Jewish Appeal and other American Jewish fund-raising organizations."

Israel Opinion Embittered

The then U.S. Ambassador to Israel, James G. McDonald, who is shown to be sympathetic toward Israel, later cabled White House aide Clark Clifford, another Israeli sympathizer, to inform him that Truman's note had "embittered Israeli opinion" and that Premier David Ben-Gurion and Foreign Minister Moshe Sharett might be forced "despite their will and better judgment to resist U.S. demands".

The envoy suggested that "Israeli concessions with refugees are possible if request for these are not again put in form of demand but under no circumstances except use of overwhelming force will Israel yield any part of Negev".

The State Department documents include over 1800 pages of previously unpublished material on American policy in the Middle East during 1949. More than 1,000 pages relate to U.S. interests in the Arab-Israeli conflict and "the future status of Palestine".

Included are diplomatic notes, cables, memoranda and other top secret documents relating to Israel's admission to the UN, the setting up of the U.S. Embassy in Tel Aviv rather than Jerusalem, and the Israeli-Arab armistice agreements.

**BEHIND THE HEADLINES
THE SWEET SMELL OF SUCCESS**

By Murray Zuckoff

NEW YORK, July 24 (JTA)—A new stage in the relationship between Israel and the United States, "an unwritten alliance," was established last week during the meetings between President Carter and Premier Menachem Begin of Israel. In addition, a deep and genuine friendship and respect was welded between the two chief executives that went beyond surface appearances.

This assessment was offered here by a senior Israeli source during a 90-minute question and answer working breakfast with a select number of newspaper, television, radio and magazine editors, including the Jewish Telegraphic Agency, last Friday.

The source stressed several times that the optimism exuded by Begin about future U.S.-Israel relations and the possibility of moving toward a Geneva peace conference was not the result of euphoria on the Premier's part, following his round of talks with Carter nor from the need to score propaganda points either in Israel or the Arab world.

Genuine Accomplishments Cited

Begin's optimism, the source said, was based on genuine accomplishments and the very real "good feelings" that were established between Carter and Begin during their five hours of talks last Tuesday and Wednesday. Carter, the source noted, felt warmly disposed toward Begin after reading his book, "The Revolt," which details the events in the life of the former Irgun leader from the time of his imprisonment in a Soviet labor camp in Siberia in 1940 to the birth of the Jewish State.

Begin and Carter, the source noted, related to each other in "complete candor" and parted "in great understanding". Carter impressed Begin "as a man with heart, a good heart"—and Begin came away feeling that Carter was a person of "extraordinary intelligence, capability, with a keen, quick grasp of essentials and able to make far-reaching decisions".

The two discussed all the substantial issues affecting steps toward a peace conference and eventual peace, including the West Bank and the Palestinian issue. "They reached a measure of agreement but differences remain," the source observed. "Differences cannot be fully resolved in two days. But they agreed to express differences amicably".

Stresses Role Of Reciprocity

The source observed that the friendship between Israel and the U.S. is now rooted not only in the friendship between the President and the Premier but what he termed Israel's contribution to United States national security. The source said Begin had given Carter information pertaining to Soviet weaponry which was gleaned

from that left behind by the Arab armies from time to time when they attacked Israel. Much of this weaponry had been deployed by the Arabs and abandoned by them when they retreated.

The source stressed that the policy of the Israeli government under Begin, unlike that under the Labor Party, is not to continue to rely on the U.S. as a big brother helping its small sibling. What Begin established in his meetings with Carter, the source explained, could be termed an "unwritten alliance, bilateral help, reciprocity". Underscoring this point, he stated, "Reciprocity is the key element between Israel and the United States. Israel does not want unilateral help given by a powerful nation to a small one. Israel wants mutuality."

Pursuing the basis for Begin's optimism, one editor asked how this was possible since neither Israel nor the Arabs have basically changed their views on substantial issues. The source noted some moves recently taken by Egypt to help improve the atmosphere as a further basis for optimism.

One example cited was Egypt's move earlier this month to withdraw some 4000 troops from Sinai placed there in excess of the number agreed to in the Sinai accord. Although this followed Israel's complaints to the United Nations Emergency Force, Egypt pulled back these additional forces "without any condition," he said. Another example was Egypt returning, with full military honors, the remains of 19 Israeli soldiers who had been killed in the Yom Kippur War, also "without any conditions. In both cases, Egypt did not ask what it would receive in return," the source said.

Meaning Of No Pre-Conditions

Asked what Israel meant by going to the Geneva talks without "pre-conditions" and whether this includes discussing the future of the West Bank and Jerusalem, the source affirmed that Israel wants to go to Geneva "with a clean state. Everything will be brought to Geneva, including Jerusalem".

Israel, he said, wants direct negotiations with its neighbors; it does not want to come to Geneva with commitments that it must discuss specific issues because the Arab governments insist that these are the issues to be discussed. "This is a pre-condition," he said. "Israel's view is that there be no prior commitment on what to discuss. It is not permissible, as far as Israel is concerned, for the Arabs to ask the United States to pressure us to accept their demands before we sit down to talk."

For example, he said, if Israel should say to President Anwar Sadat of Egypt that he must accept Israel's position on Jerusalem before the conference begins, that is a pre-condition. "Israel, of course, has a position on Jerusalem, but Israel will not present that position as a condition for discussion. In fact, Begin has asked for a political truce until the Geneva conference is reconvened."

What if the Geneva talks fail? he was asked. Wouldn't the frustration arising from that lead to war on the part of the Arabs? The source responded by noting, "War depends on whether the Arabs want to go to war. One session of Geneva will not lead to war if it isn't successful. If one session doesn't work there can be other sessions." What is required, the source said, is patience, and Israel has patience. "The very wish to negotiate, to sit around the same table, to see each other may dispel misunderstanding on both sides," he said. "What is needed is neither shooting nor shouting."

Geneva-Talks And The PLO

Would Israel accept a member of the Palestine Liberation Organization as part of an Arab delega-

tion? The source replied that it depended on whether that person was known by Israel to be a PLO member. There would be no objection to a Palestinian Arab being a member of the Jordanian delegation because Jordan is a "legitimate" country with which to discuss peace. But if the person was a well-known PLO member, Israel would oppose him "because the PLO stands for Israel's destruction".

However, he observed in what appeared to be a measure of flexible diplomacy, "if there is a member of the PLO in the delegation who is not known by Israel to be a member, well, his pockets will not be searched to see if he has PLO credentials".

Digressing from the Mideast situation, the source was asked to assess the impact on Israel of Soviet Jewish emigrants who once they reach Vienna opt to go to countries other than Israel, and that of yerida, emigration by Israelis.

Soviet Jewish Drop-outs, Yardim

On the issue of Soviet Jews who "drop out" in Vienna the source said this is "a very serious problem". He said it was morally wrong for a Soviet Jew to ask for a visa to go to Israel then, arriving in Vienna, decide instead to go to the U.S. "At this time, however, we cannot refuse to help them," he stated. "They are free people and can go anywhere once they leave (the USSR). But if they really want to go to the U.S. they should ask for visas to go to the U.S. But having asked for visas to go to Israel, they should come to Israel. Otherwise they are using Israel and that is unfair to Israel and unfair to the Russians themselves." He said a way should be found to talk to prospective Soviet Jewish emigrants in the Soviet Union about this problem before they leave. But he did not elaborate on how this should be done.

On the issue of yordim, the source said an appeal should be made to them to return. It is wrong to call them names, as some members of the previous Labor government did, he said. "This will not help them to return. We need to understand why they left and how to bring them back. We have to tell them there is work to be done in Israel and that they are needed."

RABIN RAPS BEGIN'S FOREIGN POLICY

By David Landau

JERUSALEM, July 24 (JTA)--Former Premier Yitzhak Rabin has expressed the first public criticism by an opposition leader of Premier Menachem Begin's conduct of foreign policy during his visit to Washington last week. He charged specifically, on an Army Radio interview over the weekend, that Begin had neglected an opportunity to change the American position on territories and the Palestinians and claimed that, as a result, U.S.-Israeli policy will not be coordinated when the Geneva conference is reconvened and Israel will go to the peace table totally isolated.

Reports from New York today indicated that Begin was angered by Rabin's critical remarks while he was still on his mission abroad. Rabin praised Begin for his "impressive and honorable" appearances in Washington. He explained, however, that he was forced to speak out on political matters because "a senior Israeli official" criticized the former government's policies during a briefing of Israeli correspondents in Washington. Rabin also noted that the official part of Begin's trip to the U.S. had ended before he spoke.

A clash over policy is expected to develop in the Knesset Wednesday when Begin reports on his

talks with President Carter. The report will be followed by a debate. Begin will brief his Cabinet on his trip before appearing in the Knesset.

Rabin criticized the Begin-Carter tactic of a political truce which, he said, avoided a confrontation during the Premier's visit but made one inevitable when the Geneva conference resumes. He said that Begin himself called for a "political truce" and thereby, in effect, agreed to differ with Washington over the substantive issues of territorial withdrawals and a Palestinian homeland. But Begin failed to launch a major effort to shift U.S. governmental and public opinion away from the views on those issues which are detrimental to Israel's interests, Rabin said.

He said that Begin's declaration that the friendship between Israel and the U.S. was deepened as a result of his visit was pernicious because it effectively legitimized the American position. "How will it be possible to fight for a change of view in U.S. public opinion if the Premier, who is well aware of the President's position, declared that the friendship has been deepened?" Rabin asked.

He said that Labor-led governments were never so fulsome in their praise of U.S. "friendship". According to Rabin, it was in fact possible to alter America's position. He claimed that Premier Golda Meir had done this in 1969 when she persuaded the Administration in Washington to shelve the Rogers Plan. Rabin predicted that the wide gap between the Israeli and U.S. positions on key issues would leave "no alternative" but to seek further interim agreements with individual Arab states.

BEGIN HAS GRUELING WEEKEND SCHEDULE

By Yitzhak Rabi

NEW YORK, July 24 (JTA)--Premier Menachem Begin, who was scheduled to return to Israel tonight, spent the weekend in a grueling series of public appearances before major American Jewish organizations, held private talks with prominent Jews and non-Jews, conferred for an hour with United Nations Secretary General Kurt Waldheim, was interviewed on NBC-TV "Meet the Press," and met for little more than an hour with former Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger today.

Kissinger said after his meeting with Begin, which was at the Premier's invitation, that he was hopeful the Israeli leader's proposals could result in a peace agreement. He also told reporters he was very hopeful that the Geneva conference would reconvene this year. "These talks should be given a chance," Kissinger said.

He added that the Geneva conference "alone can bring peace". A spokesman for Begin disclosed later today that the Premier spoke by telephone to former President Gerald Ford. He said Begin invited Ford to visit Israel and Ford accepted and said he would arrange a date.

Responsibility For Israel's Survival

Begin told 400 cheering well-wishers at a meeting of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations here Friday morning at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel that Israel wants no guarantees of its survival from the U.S.

"Israel will never ask one American soldier to shed his blood for Israel. For the survival of Israel, only the Jewish people and its elected representatives are and will be responsible," he said. He said that Israel had little faith in guarantees, citing the long history of broken commitments dating from the Munich pact of 1938.

The Premier was praised by Rabbi Alexander Schindler, chairman of the Presidents Conference,

who said he had succeeded in regaining "the moral initiative" for Israel during his visit here. However, Schindler warned the Jewish community not to be blinded by the euphoria over Begin's success but to be ready to face "the harsh realities before us".

Urges Jewish Unity

Begin received a tumultuous welcome from more than 2000 American Jewish leaders attending a United Jewish Appeal luncheon in his-honor Friday afternoon. He told them that Israel does not want to need American assistance forever and urged the American Jewish community to stand behind Israel "to fight with her and to resist if necessary". He urged Jews to help Israel to stand on a sound economic foundation by investing in Israel.

Leonard Strelitz, UJA general chairman, greeted Begin with the observation, "You are the right man at the right time to provide leadership". He said the obligation of the American Jewish community is to keep Israel strong and the goal of the UJA is to raise \$700 million in 1978.

Urges Investment In Israel

Addressing a cheering throng of more than 2000 Jewish leaders from the U.S. and Canada at a national dinner on his behalf by the Israel Bond Organization where some \$13.5 million in bonds were sold, Begin reaffirmed that his mission to the U.S. had been successful in deepening U.S.-Israel friendship.

Directing his remarks to the business and industrial leaders at the dinner, the Premier asserted that his government "stands for free private initiative as the instrument to build a country. We are grateful for any assistance but we dream, we strive for the day we can live on our own toil. So come and invest. We shall remove obstacles to bureaucracy. We shall give security to investment so all of us together can build up the country".

Sam Rothberg, Israel Bond general chairman, who presided at the dinner, called Begin "the symbol of heroic leadership in the struggle for independence and now "the spokesman for a new destiny for the Jewish people".

Plight Of Syrian Jewry Discussed

At his meeting with Waldheim, which preceded the UJA luncheon, Begin focused on the plight of Syrian Jewry and criticized the European Economic Community for adopting a resolution recently supporting the idea of a Palestinian state. "Perhaps more than any other people, the Europeans should be very careful with proposals which may mean the shedding of Jewish blood".

Begin said he told the Secretary General that Israel would do "whatever we can" to prevent the destruction of the Christian minority in Lebanon and that Israel would never agree to the establishment of a Palestinian state. He said he also asked Waldheim to intercede with President Hafez Assad of Syria to obtain exit visas for the Syrian Jewish community of about 800 families. Begin said Waldheim promised to take up the issue with Assad.

Appearing today on the "Meet the Press" program, Begin repeated most of the elements of the peace plan he presented to President Carter and unveiled at a press conference in Washington last Wednesday. Noting that the plan contained three alternate ways of proceeding with the Geneva talks—face-to-face but separate talks at Geneva, bilateral talks with each of the neighboring countries or proximity talks—Begin said the goal of any one of these should be the signing of a final, comprehensive peace agreement.

