

Vol. XLIV - 60th Year

Wednesday, September 21, 1977

No. 179

DAYAN SAYS FORMULA WILL BE FOUND TO RECONVENE GENEVA TALKS DESPITE CONTINUING U.S.-ISRAELI DIFFERENCES

By Joseph Polakoff

WASHINGTON, Sept. 20 (JTA)--Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan said today that "a formula will be found" to reconvene the Geneva peace conference before the end of this year despite the differences between Israel and the U.S. that emerged at his talks yesterday with President Carter and his principal aides. "Americans better understand now our position" and "we shall be more understanding of the American position," Dayan told a heavily attended press conference at the Washington-Hilton Hotel here this afternoon.

Responding to questions, the Foreign Minister spoke in conciliatory tones. But he also displayed adamancy on such crucial issues as Israel's refusal to deal in any manner with the Palestine Liberation Organization, its absolute rejection of any Palestinian "entity" or "homeland," its determination never to return to its pre-1967 borders and insistence on its right to establish settlements on the West Bank.

He acknowledged that the Carter Administration differed with Israel on these matters. But he said that the President did not hint of any U.S. use of its aid program to Israel to induce it to accept Washington's ideas.

"I haven't felt anything of this kind," Dayan told a questioner. "The issue of a Palestinian state is so important for us, I don't really think even though the U.S. and President Carter's position is different, they would impose it on us. They will try to convince us," he said.

Basis For Optimism

Asked to support his optimism over the Geneva conference, Dayan said, "I estimate Geneva can be convened before the end of the year with what I know of the attitudes of the Arab states, not the PLO." He said that Egyptian President Anwar Sadat and King Hussein of Jordan "really do want peace--their peace--and (to) achieve it by political means, not fighting a war to impose conditions."

At another point, Dayan said, "A way can be found" for the conference by the U.S. and Israel and "maybe the Arab states. Every day we are closer to it." He stressed that Israel will continue to oppose "any known member" of the PLO "to take part in the conference" and noted that the U.S. wants "Palestinians" in the conference but not necessarily the PLO.

"And so, ultimately, an agreed formula will be found," Dayan said. But he rejected suggestions by the Arabs, which have found some favor in Washington, for a pan-Arab delegation. He insisted that Israel must negotiate with the states on its borders.

Alludes To Differences With U.S.

Referring to his talks with Carter, Secretary of State Cyrus Vance and other Administration officials yesterday, Dayan said "I am absolutely opposed to a Palestinian state--any independent Palestinian state or an entity or a homeland" because "eventually that would be a state that would be disastrous for the Middle East and for us." He also said that a "pull-out" of Israeli military units and Jewish set-

tlements from occupied lands "is a terrible line to adopt and we will not cooperate with that."

Dayan said the U.S. position on settlements continues to be that they are illegal and an obstacle to peace. But, he said, while Israel will not return to its pre-1967 lines with only minor adjustments, that "does not mean the ultimate borders will be the settlements, certainly not."

He said that "If some settlements were on the other side of the ultimate border" means will be found to "remove them" or adjust to circumstances some other way. However, he said, "It is not a good formula to stop (establishing settlements) for a while" because no one knows when the Geneva conference will be convened or how long peace negotiations will take. "We can assure the Arab states negotiations will not be decided on settlements," he said.

Dayan then suggested that Israel may be "more selective" in the future on settlements. But he insisted that settlements on the West Bank were not based on Israel's "rights" but on "feelings" that Jews can live in their "old homeland" that includes Samaria and Judea. "The final peace agreement should take that into consideration," he said. He added that Israel is asking the Palestinians on the West Bank to "sit down and tell us how they want to live with us."

Dayan insisted that "Everything is negotiable but what is not negotiable is a separate (Palestinian) state and no Israelis on the West Bank. This is not a proper basis for living together." He said, "We want an Israeli military position not to impose ourselves on the Arabs who live there but to protect Israel."

Elements Of Peace Plan

Asked for his prognostications for 1978, Dayan said "There will be diplomatic progress." He said "The Arabs won't start a war" but immediately qualified that by adding, "No one can say for sure about any Arab country that it won't start a war. I am warning my people to be very careful." In that connection he referred to the Yom Kippur War.

Dayan declined to discuss details of the "draft" peace settlement he submitted to Carter and Vance yesterday. He said, however, that it contained three main elements: defining the problems, including borders; Israel's position on how to solve those problems; and Israel's readiness to "discuss without pre-conditions what the other parties propose."

Dayan also skirted questions about whether he or other Israeli officials have met with any Arab leaders, indicating they were "not eager" to discuss meetings. Dayan said that at his meeting yesterday with Carter, the President was warm and friendly in his comments about Premier Menachem Begin.

Heavy Schedule Of Meetings

Dayan had a heavy schedule of meetings at the White House yesterday. He spent two-and-a-half hours with Carter and Vice President Walter Mondale during which they were joined by Vance and National Security Advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski. Dayan conferred separately with Vance and his aides at the State Department before and after his

White House meetings. He also met at the White House with Hamilton Jordan, Robert Lipshutz and Stuart Eisenstadt, all members of Carter's inner circle.

White House Press Secretary Jody Powell who sat in on part of the Carter-Dayton talks, told newsmen afterwards that the session was "constructive." But he would not accept the word "progress" to describe the results as indicative of narrowing the gap between Israel and the U.S. "Clearly we have differences on questions of Palestinian representation in the Geneva conference," Powell said. The statement by Powell noted that "the President reaffirmed the commitment of the U.S. to the security of Israel." Dayan referred to that sentence during his press conference today.

UN ASSEMBLY BEGINS SESSION WITH MIDEAST AS DOMINANT AGENDA ITEM

By Yitzhak Rabi

UNITED NATIONS, Sept. 20 (JTA)--The 32nd session of the United Nations General Assembly opened this afternoon with the Middle East the dominant item on its agenda. Diplomats here said today that the Assembly's deliberations on the Middle East will be influenced by behind-the-scenes activities in Washington and New York by the foreign ministers of Mideastern countries and officials of the Carter Administration. They also believe that the war in Lebanon and the way it develops will have an impact on the Assembly's dealings with the region.

The opening session was devoted to electing a new president and admitting Vietnam and Djibouti to the world organization. This will raise the number of UN member states to 149. Lazar Mojsov, Deputy Foreign Minister of Yugoslavia, the unchallenged candidate for the presidency of the Assembly, was elected.

The Middle East issue will be given priority at the request of Egypt which asked to include the item of Israeli settlements in occupied Arab territories in the first debate following the general debate. This is likely to come up in the middle of next month. It was learned today that the Palestine Liberation Organization, which has observer status at the UN, has not yet asked to address the Assembly. Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan is scheduled to deliver his address on Oct. 6, two days after President Carter addresses the Assembly.

Meanwhile, a press conference that was scheduled this morning by U.S. Ambassador Andrew Young was cancelled at the last minute. Earlier in the week, speaking at a breakfast attended by 300 persons at Bay Shore, L.I., Young reportedly said that peace in the Mideast would not be achieved until the PLO was permitted to participate in formal peace negotiations.

"You're not going to have peace in the Mideast until the people who are doing the fighting are somehow brought to the table," Young reportedly said, adding that the PLO must first recognize Israel's right to exist. Young was not available for comment today and Israeli officials at the UN also refused to comment before getting the full text of Young's speech.

SPECIAL TO JTA EHRLICH TO MEET WITH SOUTH AFRICAN OFFICIALS TO DISCUSS ECONOMIC TIES

By Yitzhak Rabi

NEW YORK, Sept. 20 (JTA)--Israel's Finance Minister Simcha Ehrlich told the Jewish Telegraphic Agency last night that he intends to visit South Africa between the end of November and the beginning of December. He said that the purpose of his

visit is a fund-raising tour on behalf of Israel.

Asked if he is going to meet with government officials in Pretoria, Ehrlich said "yes." He added, also in response to a question, that he will discuss the possibility of strengthening the economic ties between the two countries.

Ehrlich answered the JTA questions at a reception in his honor last night at the America-Israeli Cultural Foundation. The reception was given by Israel's Consul General in New York, Uri Ben-Ari, and the Economic Missions of Israel in the United States. Ehrlich is scheduled to visit Washington next week where he will meet with Administration officials to discuss economic and financial matters between Israel and the U.S.

AUSTRALIA PLANS TO HOLD HEARINGS ON THE STATUS OF SOVIET JEWRY

By Sam Lipski

MELBOURNE, Sept. 20 (JTA)--An Australian parliamentary committee's plan to hold hearings on the status of Soviet Jewry has drawn accusations from the Soviet Union of interference in its domestic affairs. The Joint Parliamentary Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee announced yesterday it would start its inquiry in Canberra on Oct. 7 with evidence from emigre Soviet physicist Prof. Alexander Voronel, who will come to Australia from Israel for the hearings.

The committee's terms of reference have been drawn up to investigate "whether or not Jews in the Soviet Union are the victims of adverse discrimination in citizenship, in rights to religious practice, in rights to publicize, communicate, travel, emigrate and organize...."

The Parliamentary committee is proceeding with the hearings, the first such human rights inquiry in Australia, following an instruction last November from the House of Representatives. The House referred the subject to the committee for study in an all-party motion submitted by William Wentworth, a former Liberal Minister.

Wentworth had presented a petition to Parliament carrying more than 20,000 signatures which urged the Australian government to call on the Soviet Union to end discrimination against Jews. The petition had been organized by Jewish community groups and had been brought to Canberra from Melbourne on a "Soviet Jewry Freedom Bus" which attracted widespread publicity.

PANAMANIAN PRESIDENT DUE IN ISRAEL

JERUSALEM, Sept. 20 (JTA)--The President of Panama, Gen. Omar Torrijos, will pay an official visit to Israel next week, it was learned here today. The visit has not yet been formally announced by the two governments, but it was reliably learned that Torrijos will be in Israel from Sept. 28-30 as guest of President Ephraim Katzir and Premier Menachem Begin. This will be the first official visit by a head of state since the Likud government took office. * * *

NEW YORK (JTA)--Dr. Judah J. Shapiro, Labor Zionist Alliance president, has given up his Labor Zionist mandate to the World Zionist Congress in order to create a vacancy for a young person to attend that meeting in Jerusalem in February. In a letter to members of the LZA national executive committee, Shapiro said his action is motivated by the fact that "we have been asked again and again that delegates to the Congress be chosen from among our younger members." He hoped his action would set a precedent "to include new people with a fresh approach to the Congress and to Zionism."

BEHIND THE HEADLINES LESSONS OF THE BALFOUR DECLARATION

By Maurice Samuelson

LONDON, Sept. 20 (JTA)—Middle East watchers are awaiting with growing interest the forthcoming 60th anniversary of the Balfour Declaration, whereby Britain recognized Jewry as a national entity and later assumed the Mandate for the Jewish national home.

Their interest is sharpened by the news that Premier Menachem Begin of Israel may be in Britain on the anniversary of the declaration which was issued Nov. 2, 1917. The British Zionist Federation, recipient of the historic document, is hoping that the Israeli Premier will be the star speaker at its gala dinner in a London hotel.

This year, however, the anniversary will not be a straightforward festive occasion or an opportunity for hypothetical reflections. If 1917 saw the high water mark of British involvement with Zionism, 1977 is distinguished by Britain's lack of understanding for Israel's approach to a settlement with the Arabs. This attitude cannot be explained in terms of Begin's reputation as the leader of an armed revolt against Britain, since it pre-dates his election victory.

The View Today

No leading British politician, let alone a political party, has yet said, "hear, hear" to Begin's description of the West Bank as "liberated" portions of the land of Israel. Even pro-Israeli newspapers routinely refer not to Judaea and Samaria, and not even to "administered" territories, but to "occupied territories," or to "Jordan's West Bank." A sober paper like The Financial Times accepts almost unquestioningly that the core of the conflict is not Arab hostility to Israel but the thwarted drive for a new Arab state under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

The Israeli government cannot draw very much comfort either from the 450,000-strong Jewish community. Staunch in its general solidarity with Israel over security, Anglo-Jewry also applauds Israel's taboo on the PLO. But it has not yet been infected by Begin's feelings about Judaea and Samaria.

True, there is a vociferous group of Herut-followers who support him to the hilt. But their smallness merely highlights the community's general lack of full identification with Israel's current mood and policies.

The Zionist Federation, to which Herut belongs, has not engaged seriously in political pamphleteering since the British Mandate ended. Now, divided sharply between extreme supporters and critics of the Begin regime, it tries to concentrate all the more studiously on uncontroversial tasks like day school education and defensive public relations.

To whom, then, will Begin be able to turn in Britain in his advocacy of an undivided Eretz Israel? On the occasion of the Balfour anniversary the answer is clear: to the dead statesmen and politicians who brought the declaration into being 60 years ago.

The Earlier Vision

Even a cursory glance through contemporary records shows that, in their soaring enthusiasm for a Jewish national revival, these men had a vision not of a modest Jewish home in a corner of a truncated Palestine but of a Jewish Palestine undivided and undiminished. Here are some of their statements both at the time of the declaration and years later when facing the problems of Arab hostility:

David Lloyd George, Prime Minister in 1917,

told the Royal Commission in 1937 that "it was contemplated that when the time arrived for acceding representative institutions to Palestine, if the Jews had meanwhile responded to the opportunity... and had become a definite majority of the inhabitants, then Palestine would thus become a Jewish commonwealth."

Foreign Secretary Arthur Balfour agreed when, in June 1919, Justice Louis Brandeis of the United States declared to him in an interview that "Palestine should be a Jewish homeland" and that the future Jewish Palestine must have control of the land and its natural resources.

Eric Forbes Adam, one of the British experts charged with drafting the League of Nations' Mandate for Palestine, wrote that the British government had accepted "an attempt to make Palestine a state in its natural geographical and historic frontiers and by gradual immigration and special economic facilities to turn this state into a Jewish State." In a Foreign Office memorandum, he spoke simply of "the reconstruction of a Jewish Palestine."

The Recurring Theme

A recurring theme of British statesmen was that Judaea should be for the Jews as Arabia should be for the Arabs and Armenia for the Armenians. The expression was used by Lord Robert Cecil, Balfour's deputy at the Foreign Office, at the giant demonstration in the London Opera House hailing the Balfour Declaration one month after it was issued.

This integral vision of a Jewish-ruled Palestine persisted in the years immediately after the declaration while Britain was still angling for the Palestine Mandate against the rival claims of France and others. The Times of Sept. 19, 1919, rejecting French designs on Transjordan, went so far as to write in an editorial that the Jordan River "will not do as Palestine's eastern boundary. Our duty as mandatory is to make Jewish Palestine not a struggling state but... one that is capable of a vigorous and independent national life."

Herbert Samuel, shortly to become Palestine's first High Commissioner, outlined Britain's policy, on the Balfour Declaration's second anniversary, as the promotion of Jewish immigration, rural settlement, cultural development and self-government "in order that with the minimum of delay the country may become a purely self-governing commonwealth under the auspices of an established Jewish majority."

Winston Churchill, Colonial Secretary at the inception of the Mandate, envisaged "in our own lifetime by the banks of the Jordan a Jewish State... which might comprise three million or four million Jews." (Article in the Illustrated Sunday Herald, Feb. 8, 1920.)

Balfour himself was no less emphatic about the significance of the declaration for being alert to the obstacles awaiting it. Addressing an Albert Hall rally on July 12, 1920, he reminded the Arabs that it was Britain which had promoted an autonomous Arab state in Mesopotamia and urged them "not to grudge that small notch" of Palestine "to the people who for all these hundreds of years have been separated from it but surely have a title to develop along their own lines in the land of their forefathers."

To his colleagues at the Foreign Office, Balfour was even blunter than that. In his confidential memorandum dated Aug. 11, 1919, he wrote that Zionism "is rooted in age-long traditions, in present needs, in future hopes, of far profounder

import than the desires and prejudices of the 700,000 Arabs who now inhabit that ancient land."

Of course, these, pro-Zionist politicians were soon to reduce their pristine vision of a Jewish homeland in response to Arab demands for immediate majority rule. Transjordan was detached from the provisions of the Jewish national home, even though Britain earlier employed Zionist arguments to control it.

The Final Concession

Nevertheless, there was a feeling that this should be the final concession. T.E. Lawrence wrote in 1929 that the establishment of the Hashemite kingdom of Transjordan "honorably fulfills the whole of the promises we made to the Arabs in so far as the British spheres are concerned" (Letter to Prof. William Yale).

Lawrence's words are worth recalling today as Israel is pressed to redivide the country west of the Jordan River, and to enact the UN partition which she herself accepted in 1947 but the Arabs rejected. Equally topical are the sober reflections of Chaim Weizmann about that earlier partition which he, Vladimir Jabotinsky and other Zionists had accepted only for fear lest Britain would otherwise spurn the Mandate.

The 1922 White Paper, removing Transjordan from the Jewish national home, "was clearly dictated by a desire to placate the Arabs as far as possible," Weizmann wrote in his book, "Trial and Error."

He added: "It was as little realized in 1922 as it is today that the real opponents of Zionism can never be placated by any diplomatic formula—their objection to the Jews is that the Jews exist, and in this case they desire to exist in Palestine." Begin will be excused if he tells his British friends that the words of Weizmann, the friend of Balfour, are no less meaningful in 1977 than in the year they were written.

HEAVY TURNOUT OF JEWISH VOTERS GIVES KOCH RUN-OFF VICTORY

NEW YORK, Sept. 20 (JTA)—A heavy turnout of Jewish voters gave Rep. Edward Koch his substantial victory over Mario Cuomo in yesterday's run-off election for the Democratic Mayoral nomination. A survey of election districts with large Jewish populations showed that two out of three voters pulled the lever for Koch, who is Jewish.

He also did surprisingly well in Puerto Rican and Protestant districts, though less so where Black voters predominated. But it was Koch's ability to capture the strongholds of both Mayor Abe Beame and challenger Bella Abzug, who were defeated in the Mayoral primaries on Sept. 8, that accounted for his 55-45 percent margin over Cuomo who is of Italian descent.

In the heavily Jewish 28th Assembly District in Forest Hills, Queens, Koch won 72 percent of the vote compared to his 32 percent there 11 days ago. He also won 60-70 percent in the Boro Park, Sheepshead Bay and Coney Island districts of Brooklyn where Beame made his best showing and in Far Rockaway, Queens. All of those districts are Jewish enclaves with a large number of Orthodox Jews.

But Koch also did well among liberal Jews who had supported Abzug. He received 65 percent of the vote in Greenwich Village and on the Upper West Side of Manhattan where Abzug had run strongly ahead of her six primary rivals.

Traditionally, more Jews than members of any other ethnic group in the city turned out to vote.

Cuomo received the same proportion of the vote among white Catholics as Koch did among Jews but the Catholic voter turnout was not as large. In the November elections, Koch will face two Jewish candidates, State Sen. Roy Goodman, who won the Republican nomination Sept. 8 and radio talk show host Barry Farber, the Conservative Party candidate. Cuomo will run on the Liberal Party line.

ANTI-ZIONIST BOOK LAUNCHES HATE CAMPAIGN IN THE SOVIET UNION

NEW YORK, Sept. 20 (JTA)—A new assault on Zionism by a Soviet "expert" has set off a recent wave of vociferous anti-Semitic and anti-Zionist attacks in the Soviet press and news media, it was reported by the Greater New York Conference on Soviet Jewry. The basis for this was the recent publication of a book, "Wild Wormwood," which equates Zionism with Nazism. The book, written by T.S. Solodur, was widely reviewed within the Soviet Union this summer and was hailed for exposing the "true cornerstone of Zionist ideology and propaganda."

The book contains a long string of rabid accusations and primitive distortions that were circulated loudly and approvingly by the Soviet news media. The large and varied number of media services that reviewed and lauded the book caused apprehension among Western observers here, the Conference reported. It expressed fears that the wide publicity accorded the book may signal the beginning of an intensified campaign against all Soviet Jews whether they desire to emigrate or to remain part of Soviet society.

New Heights Of Abomination

The anti-Semitic image of the money-grubbing, power-hungry Jew, so widely circulated in Hitler's Germany has been raised to new heights of heinousness in "Wild Wormwood," said Margy Ruth Davis, executive director of the Conference.

Solodur claims to reveal the true similarity between Zionism and Nazism, pointing to alleged facts of Zionist and Nazi collaboration, and Zionist genocide activities. These fabrications found wholehearted support in the reviewer for the Moscow weekly, "Ogonek," who saw a "deep spiritual kinship between the followers of Adolf Hitler and Theodor Herzl," the Conference reported. A reviewer for "Vechniya Moskva," said the "ideological concepts of the Zionists resemble the racist theories of the German Nazi like two drops of water."

Another reviewer, the Conference reported, warned Soviet citizens that Zionists lure Jews to Israel because "Israel needs cannon fodder. Soviet citizens who have renounced their homeland are weeping...and pleading to be returned, and are ready to atone at any price for their renunciation of Soviet citizenship."

Bronx Borough President Robert Abrams, Conference chairman, observed that the outrageousness of this untruth is revealed by the fact that of the 130,000 Jews who have emigrated to date, only 200 have applied to return. The Soviet authorities are plainly trying to use campaigns of this sort to stem the tide of Jews demanding their right to emigrate, Abrams said.

JERUSALEM (JTA)—The Israel Pound was devalued by 1.93 percent Monday night and now stands at IL 10.32 - \$1. The devaluation was the second since Aug. 17 and the fifth since the Likud government took office three months ago. In that period the Pound has been reduced by 10 percent.