

## BEHIND-THE HEADLINES

### THE COMPLEXITY OF THE SUMMIT-TALKS

By David Landau

THURMONT, Md., Sept. 17 (JTA)--It is not yet time to attempt a post mortem on the Camp David summit. But certain questions were pressing themselves insistently at the weekend after several days of intensive efforts to negotiate some sort of success for the nearly two-week long conference. (See P. 3 for latest developments at Camp David.)

What was Israeli Premier Menachem Begin doing while other Israeli ministers were talking with President Anwar Sadat and other Egyptian officials? Were the relations between him and Sadat so poor they simply could not meet together? Was President Carter involved himself in the minutiae of drafting? Was he playing a middle-man role? Were these, then, proximity talks? If so, could this be termed a summit?

These were some of the queries that were fired at Presidential Press Secretary Jody Powell during the "crucial," "final," "intense and specific" period of the conference.

His replies were themselves instructive in their diplomatic elegance. He had not made a practice, he said, of reporting on the three principals' activities when they were not involved in formal negotiating sessions, and so he could not say precisely how the Israeli Premier occupied himself when his ministers were meeting with Sadat.

He had no way of "temperature-taking," Powell noted, on the state of personal relations between the two leaders. He was not present at their initial meetings, together with Carter, 10 days ago, and so he couldn't characterize the atmosphere that prevailed at them.

As for Carter's role in the talks, the President was certainly "involving himself, directly and indirectly," in all aspects of the conference, including the drafting. But, interestingly, Powell omitted to report officially the fact that Carter had been sitting for long hours with the legal aides of the two delegations, separately and together.

### The Relations Between Begin and Sadat

On reflection, the questions regarding the personal relationship between the two leaders, and the inferences implied in them, seemed slightly simplistic. International affairs on the highest level are not conducted on the basis of personal likes and dislikes. Statesmen cannot afford to allow their social sentiments to impinge on their perception and pursuit of national interests. Exceptionally, a leader arises who does allow himself that luxury. Sadat is not such an exception and nor, of course, is Begin.

Sadat has known how to play the game of likes and dislikes these past 10 months since his visit to Jerusalem to the discomfiture of the Israeli Cabinet. But ultimately, he must have known all along that, so long as that discomfiture did not become a disintegration, his partner for peace or war was Begin--like him or not. And he came to Camp David in the clear knowledge that no disintegration had in fact set in in

Jerusalem. More to the point, then, in trying to understand the negotiating process at Camp David, is to recall a report by Haaretz's reliable Yoel Markus early in the summit to the effect that Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan had suggested, and the Americans agreed to, postpone Sadat-Begin one-to-one sessions until the agreement was all but concluded.

The Premier's spokesman, Dan Patir, hotly denied that report. But then, neither Dayan nor the Americans would have been particularly anxious to confirm it to him. Patir, at any rate, gave a reason for the Sadat-Begin disengagement which certainly had a measure of logic to it.

Sadat-Begin encounters, he said, were by their nature the "court of last instance" from which there could be no appeal. In other words, if the two of them became deadlocked over any issue, despite the proddings and promptings of Carter, there would be nowhere else to turn to.

### The Weakness Of The Thesis

But the logic had a weakness in it: It begged the question--why have a summit? After all, Sadat had sat with Israeli Defense Minister Ezer Weizman half a dozen times these past few months. On occasion they even neared agreement--only for Sadat to back-track or for Weizman to discover that he did not carry his Premier and his Cabinet with him; that is part of the history that preceded the Camp David summit. And, after all, the definition of a summit is a series of meetings by the people at the top.

Thus, while accepting Patir's thesis as a partial explanation, some observers believed there was another factor that must be recognized; this summit was not symmetrical.

On the Egyptian side, there was Sadat, unquestionably alone at the apex of a retinue of subordinates. On the Israeli side there was a team of three ministers plus former Attorney General Aharon Barak, with Begin certainly and unchallengeably the first among equals but not the splendid autocrat that Sadat is. In large part, that was perhaps a consequence of the Israeli system of Cabinet government, and of the specific play of forces at work in the present government and Knesset.

### The Internal Israeli Constellation

Ironically, Begin could have had it otherwise, certainly as regards Weizman, whose counterparts, Egyptian War Minister Mohammed Gomassy and U.S. Defense Secretary Harold Brown, were not participants at this conference. But the Premier, out of shrewd political calculations, deliberately insisted that Weizman attend--so as to associate him in the outcome of the summit, for better or for worse.

The Americans and the Egyptians naturally made the most of this internal Israeli constellation, as they had indeed tried to do ever since the peace initiative was launched.

They were acutely conscious of the disparate political constituencies back home to whom Begin, Dayan and Weizman each owe their accounting. And, perhaps more importantly, they were aware of the differences on the issues between the three men (what are delicately referred to in Hebrew officialese as "Hevdelei Nuancim"). They were aware that Weizman's devotion to the dogma of Eretz Israel seems less tenacious than Begin's, and that Dayan's

desire to involve Jordan and the Palestinians in the control of the West Bank seems more enthusiastic than Begin's.

Highly placed Israeli conference sources gave assurances at the week's end that the Israeli delegation was functioning in remarkable harmony and efficiency. But they added that the harmony reflected not a simple yes-saying to the Premier at the internal Israeli discussions, but a frank and open airing of differences, too.

They stressed that Begin was "entirely in command," indicating that the Sadat-Dayan and Sadat-Weizman meetings did not signal partisan efforts by the two Israeli ministers. And this was probably true. But the very fact that this comment was volunteered seemed to indicate that both of the ministers were having an energetic input in the ongoing Israeli policymaking.

### Carter's Role Criticized

Carter's role--and his spokesman's representation of it--were also thought-provoking. The U.S. President spent many hours alone with one or both of the two sides' legal advisers, Barak of Israel and Osama El-Baz for Egypt. This was an altogether irregular phenomenon, and Powell chose not to announce these meetings officially at his daily briefings, even after they had already been reported by Israeli correspondents, who cited Israeli sources.

There were adverse comments in the media here on the extent and duration of the President's commitment to the summit, as though the Israel-Egypt negotiations were all he had to deal with. In the event of the summit's success, of course, these strictures would be quickly forgotten. But if there is failure, they would doubtless be rehearsed by the President's critics to add to his embarrassment.

Obviously, by acting in this unprecedented way, Carter was applying an increase of the psycho-political pressure on the two sides which underlay the U.S. strategy at this summit. His eleventh-hour sessions with Sadat and Begin yesterday and today were the final gambit in that strategy. By late this afternoon it was still unknown whether the strategy had brought a sufficient measure of success.

### SUPREME COURT ORDERS HALT TO NEW GUSH SETTLEMENT ON WEST BANK

By Barbie Zelizer-Meyouhas

JERUSALEM, Sept. 17 (JTA)--The Supreme Court today ordered a halt to development work at Beit El, a new Gush Emunim settlement near Ramallah on the West Bank, where 60 families established themselves last week. In a two-pronged action, the Court issued an order nisi requiring Defense Minister Ezer Weizman to explain within 40 days why permission was granted to establish the civilian settlement on land taken over by the army in 1970 for military needs. The order also applies to the military commander of the West Bank and the commander of the Ramallah region.

At the same time, the Supreme Court issued an interim order banning the army from engaging in excavations, construction or any work on behalf of civilian settlers in the area until further notice. The Court acted in response to complaints from 12 Arab residents of the Beit El region who say that the 80 dunams of land involved belongs to them. The ground work for the Gush settlement was started last month.

The Gush attorneys argued in court that the settlement does not change the military needs for which the land was originally appropriated. The Gush secretariat said later that the Court's decision has "serious implications" for all future settlements on the West Bank. It planned to hold a meeting on the issue tonight.

In recent months, the Supreme Court has ordered the military to explain reasons why land was expropriated in the Nebi Salah region near Ramallah and why the Mayor of the West Bank Arab town of Beit Jallah was dismissed after disturbances there. Final decisions in both cases are still pending. Today's ruling was the first to deal with the establishment of Jewish settlements on the West Bank as such.

### CHURCH SAYS HE WOULD NOT AGREE TO AMERICAN TROOPS ON THE WEST BANK

PARIS, Sept. 17 (JTA)--U.S. Senator Frank Church (D. Idaho) said in a newspaper interview published here yesterday that he would not agree to the stationing of U.S. troops on the West Bank but that he "could conceive" of an American air or naval base in Sinai. Church told the newspaper, *Le Matin*, he opposes U.S. troops on the West Bank "because it is a powder keg. The stationing there of American forces would drag us down immediately into the possibility of a new war with the danger of Soviet intervention." On the Camp David summit conference, the Senator said that what is at stake is "the creation of a great alliance which would prevent Soviet infiltration in the Middle East and thus safeguard a vital interest for the West: oil."

### 7-UP BOWS TO ARAB PRESSURE

By Yitzhak Shargil

TEL AVIV, Sept. 17 (JTA)--The American company producing the soft drink Seven-Up has refused to license distributors in Israel because of the Arab boycott, it was reported today. The firm said to do so would damage its business in the Arab countries where the soda is widely sold.

But Israelis who prefer the "Un-Cola" need not do without it. A 7-Up bottling plant has been operating in the Gaza Strip since the Egyptian occupation before the Six-Day War. Until recently, the millions of bottles turned out annually have been marketed only in the Gaza Strip and on the West Bank. But now an Israeli distributor is selling the Gaza product in Israel proper, competing with locally bottled soft drinks, including Coca-Cola.

The distributors of competing brands have applied to Dan Halperin, Deputy Director General of the Treasury, for government action to ban the sale of 7-Up from Gaza in Israel. They say the Gaza firm is attempting to make money through the back door and that it does not pay taxes to the Israeli Treasury.

### EGYPTIAN ROTARY HEAD TO VISIT ISRAEL

JERUSALEM, Sept. 17 (JTA)--The head of the Rotary Club in Egypt has accepted an invitation to visit Israel in 1979, it was announced today. Israeli Rotary head Yitzhak Baraz met his Egyptian counterpart recently at an undisclosed international conference and took the initiative of inviting him to a Rotary conference to take place here during the coming year. The Egyptian accepted the offer and noted that he is certain the Egyptian Government will permit him to attend.

## SUMMIT CONFAB STILL A CLIFFHANGER: CONFERENCE MAY END MONDAY

By Joseph Polakoff

THURMONT, Md., Sept. 17 (JTA)--The Middle East summit conference at Camp David moved into what appeared to be its last day with no sign by early evening of what the ultimate result may be. Presidential Press Secretary Jody Powell distributed a written notice to the media shortly after 1 p.m. announcing that President Carter met with President Anwar Sadat of Egypt for 45 minutes this morning and "expects to meet with Premier (Menachem) Begin (of Israel) this afternoon. We will have additional information later this afternoon," the notice said. By early this evening reporters were still waiting for additional information.

The written notice also said "This morning, intensive consultations within and among the three delegations continued. President Carter met with the American delegation before attending church services." The announcement disclosed that Carter met with Sadat at the latter's quarters in Dogwood Lodge rather than in the President's quarters in Aspen Lodge.

Carter met privately with Sadat for 2-1/2 hours last night and, after a short break, held a 4-1/2 hour conference with Begin. There were no signs, however, that either Sadat or Begin have changed their positions. Israeli Defense Minister Ezer Weizman met with Sadat at about mid-day today and the Israeli and Egyptian delegations reportedly met this afternoon. It was not known at what level the two delegations met or how long the Sadat-Weizman meeting lasted. Carter met with Begin for six minutes this afternoon and seven minutes later went into a meeting with Sadat. The brief meeting with Begin was at the latter's quarters in Birch Lodge.

Powell did not appear for his regular 1 p.m. press briefing here today. He was quoted by an associate as saying that "things are moving along" and suggested that reporters stand by and "don't get lost in the countryside." Later, another associate announced that Powell would not appear to brief the press until later this afternoon at the earliest. "You can watch the football games," he told reporters. The official notice of the delayed briefing was circulated a short time later.

### Developments Are A Puzzlement

These developments puzzled seasoned observers here but little credence was put in the many theories circulating. Some observers believe there is a possibility that the latest obstacle to an announcement from Camp David was the language of a statement rather than the substance of an agreement.

In an interview with Israel Radio this morning, Begin's press spokesman, Don Patir, gave no indication of the status of the Camp David talks. But he suggested that the American news media was being too optimistic and the Egyptian media too pessimistic. "The process is continuing and that itself is a hopeful sign," he said.

In a sudden and surprise development, the White House announced here yesterday that a decision had been reached to end the summit meeting today though as of the time of the announcement the United States, Israel and Egypt had not reached the summit goal of agreement on intended guidelines for peace talks. Powell, briefing newsmen here, said the move to end the summit was proposed by Carter Friday and accepted by

Sadat and Begin. Powell also said one or more documents would be issued at the end of the summit.

### Egypt Preparing Propaganda Campaign

Meanwhile, Egyptian media and Egyptian diplomatic sources were building up a propaganda campaign that should the summit talks end in failure, it will be the fault of Begin. The Cairo press was declaring that Sadat has done all he can to bring about agreement. There was no indication, however, that Sadat has veered an iota from his pre-summit position that Israel must withdraw completely from all territories it occupied in the Six-Day War and allow the Palestinian Arabs to establish a state of their own under the term "Palestinian self-determination."

To achieve this goal, it was indicated in the Cairo press, according to information received here, Sadat will go to Washington after the conference and tell key members of Congress that Begin is using the American Jewish community to block an agreement in the Middle East.

It was announced in New York, meanwhile, that Begin will address a delegate assembly of representatives of all American Jewish organizations and communities Wednesday morning. The meeting will be sponsored by the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations. The time and place have not yet been set.

### KNESSET APPROVES DMC REPLACEMENTS

TEL AVIV, Sept. 17 (JTA)--A Knesset committee has given approval for two new groups, each with seven members, to replace the Democratic Movement for Change (DMC). One group is the Democratic Movement, headed by Deputy Premier Yigael Yadin, and the other is the Movement for Change and Initiative (SHA), led by Prof. Amnon Rubinstein and Meir Amit. Amit resigned last week as Minister of Transportation and Communications. One of the DMC's former 15 MKs, Assaf Yaguri, will serve as a one-man faction in the Knesset.

SHA had its constituent meeting last week with Rubinstein and Amit declaring that the new movement's motto is: "We shall not repeat the mistakes of the DMC, we shall learn from those mistakes."

Meanwhile, Yadin's group is under attack from Likud MK Geula Cohen, who said that since the DMC is no longer in existence, the coalition agreement which Premier Menachem Begin signed with the DMC no longer applies. Cohen, a member of Likud's Herut wing, charged that the clause giving the DMC the right to vote against the government on the settlement issue was adopted at the insistence of the Rubinstein group, which no longer supports the government. She said Yadin's group should agree to its deletion.

Yadin rejected her demand. He regards his Democratic Movement as the successor of the DMC and insists that it inherits all the agreements approved by the DMC. (By Yitzhak Shargil)

JERUSALEM (JTA)--The strike of 60,000 teachers ended its first week Sunday with no settlement in sight as the government and the teachers' union stood fast on their respective positions. Negotiations broke down Friday after the teachers charged the government with backtracking on an earlier offer of a 25 percent salary increase, 10 percent above the ceiling set for all civil service workers. Government representatives denied that any such offer had been made.

**BOMB BLAST INJURES SEVEN PERSONS**

By Gil Sedan

JERUSALEM, Sept. 17 (JTA)--Two bombs exploded in the Old City yesterday, one of them injuring seven persons--four Jews and three Arabs. The Palestine Liberation Organization claimed responsibility for the bombings in an announcement from Beirut today. Thirty suspects were detained here.

All but one of the injured were released from the hospital after treatment. An Australian tourist, Kenneth Baronti, was still hospitalized today for moderate injuries. The first explosion occurred at about 9 a.m. local time near the Old City's northern wall between western Jerusalem and Jaffa Gate. No one was hurt and there was no damage. A half hour later a second bomb exploded outside a souvenir shop in the crowded market place injuring seven.

Jerusalem Police Chief Zvi Ben Eliahu sharply criticized shopkeepers for not being more alert for suspicious-looking objects. The police have distributed flyers in Arabic to all shopkeepers instructing them how to guard against bombs and how to report suspicious objects to the police. But these warnings were apparently disregarded, Ben Eliahu said.

At least 16 persons have been injured in terrorist bombings in the Old City in the past three months. All of the explosives were planted on Saturdays, calculated to take a heavy toll among the throngs of Sabbath shoppers. Five of the bombs were discovered and dismantled before they detonated.

**DINSTEIN URGES STRENGTHENING ISRAELI-U.S. BUSINESS COMMUNITIES RELATIONS**

WASHINGTON, Sept. 17 (JTA)--Zvi Dinstein, Economic Minister of Israel to the Western Hemisphere, called yesterday on the State of Israel Bond Organization to "complete the tremendous work you have done in the economic development of Israel by strengthening mutual relations between the Israeli and American business communities." Addressing the 1978 Fall International Leadership Conference of Israel Bonds at the Washington Hilton Hotel, he declared that a solid relationship between American and Israeli business would be the instrument that finally establishes Israel economic independence.

Nearly 1000 lay readers from 50 communities in the United States and Canada are participating in the three-day conference which ended today. Last night they attended a gala 30th Anniversary concert commemorating three decades of Israeli statehood, with Leonard Bernstein conducting the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra at the Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts.

In his address, Dinstein said: "You are equipped to carry the message of Israel's fast growing and high quality economy to the business community, and thus help Israel by spurring increased investments and exports through the penetration of new markets." Israel has much to offer, he said, as typified by the high-technology and science-based industries that are universally recognized.

"Israeli exports, including goods and services, will reach \$7 billion this year as against \$5.75 billion in 1977," he observed and growth is still spiraling. The growth rate for exports in the first eight months of this year is 25% more than it was at the same time last year, he said. Declaring that Israel's economy is "coming of

age," Dinstein paid tribute to the Bond leaders for their \$3.9 billion in Bond sales since 1951.

"By giving high priority to Israel's industrial aspirations and high achievement," Dinstein said, "you will accomplish a vital and important service to Israel and to the Israel Bond program." He discussed a new Israeli law that seeks to encourage foreign investment in Israel by financing up to 75% of the investment "while protecting the dollar value in less of a bureaucratic process than ever before." Dinstein also said that "the Israel government is committed to resolve Israel's high inflation substantially in 1979."

**CAREY'S ROSH HASHANAH MESSAGE**

ALBANY, N.Y., Sept. 17 (JTA)--Gov. Hugh L. Carey, in a Rosh Hashanah message to the Jewish people of New York, expressed his wish that the New Year 5739 "will be serene and bountiful for the Jewish community. It is my prayer that it will bring to the cherished State of Israel the just and lasting peace that for so many years has eluded men and women of goodwill."

Carey also expressed his "fervent wish that this be a year of solace and redemption for the Jews who are persecuted in the Soviet Union and other parts of the world." He observed that the Jewish people have made outstanding contributions to the American way of life and that New York State has been the beneficiary of the high moral and spiritual values of the Jewish people.

**BLUM'S ROSH HASHANAH MESSAGE**

NEW YORK, Sept. 17 (JTA)--In a Rosh Hashanah message, Yehuda Blum, Israel's Ambassador to the United Nations, expressed hope that the New Year will bring "the long-awaited peace for the State of Israel and for all the peoples of the Middle East. May it bring redemption to our captive brethren in the Soviet Union and in Arab countries." The envoy added: "May the New Year see the strengthening of unity and of the bonds of solidarity within the Jewish people and the enhancement of those eternal values that have made our people great."

**ATLAS OF JEWISH SCHOLARS**

TEL AVIV, Sept. 17 (JTA)--Rabbis, heads of yeshivas and religious scholars are hailed an unusual event, the publication of an atlas that includes 2091 names of Jewish scholars during the 600 years that ended with the expulsion of Jews from Spain. The atlas also includes 70 maps that show the centers of Jewish learning through the 600 years, and indicates the line of relaying the Torah from father to son and from teacher to disciple.

What makes the event unusual is that the author is none other than Rabbi Raphael Halperin, who was once known worldwide as Mr. Israel, the wrestler who held the world championship title in the free-style wrestling division. Halperin was an ordained rabbi when he took to the wrestling circuit. He was acclaimed, in his various bouts, for his clean style and for eschewing the "dirty tricks" that other wrestlers used as their trademark.

Halperin was also involved in business activities but sold all his business holdings and returned to rabbinic studies at the Bnei Brak Yeshiva. The atlas was the result of his studies. The huge volume, described as an indispensable tool for anyone studying the evolution of Jewish learning through the ages, was printed by the Government Survey Department Printing Press, in view of the many maps and graphs it includes.