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BEHIND THE HEADLINES A FINE BALANCE OF COMPROMISES

By David Landay

JERUSALEM, March 18 (JTA) -- Now that the dust has settled a little behind "Air Force One" and the lebks have disclosed, little by little, virtually everything that was agreed upon during President Carter's dramatic mission to the Middle East, it is possible to make an accounting of who conceded what to whom

The bottom line turns out to be that there was a delicate balance of compromises, mostly proposed by the United States, and accepted by the parties under the intense psychological pressure engendered by the President's massive per-

sonal involvement

The Carter trip to Califo and Jerusolem must be viewed together with Premier Menachem Begin's visit to Washington a week earlier. To gether they comprise the final phase of the 16month peace process. The final phase began with five issues unresolved. These were: Article VI, paragraph 2; Article VI, paragraph 5; the Linkage side-letter; the off type, and the exchange of ambassadors question

New Formulations Proposed

For three days, nothing moved at the White House talks between Carter and Begin. But on onday, only hours after each leader had made o public statement saying there was no progress, the U.S. proposed new formulations on the Article VI issues and on the side-letter. Begin immediately seized upon them, telling the Preident that he would submit them to his Cabinet at once and implying that he would add his o positive recommendations.

On the side-letter, the U.S. proposal wa that the "target date" of 12 months apply only to the parties' attempts to reach agreement be tween them on autonomy, not; as heretofore proposed, to the actual holding of the autonom elections. The elections, the U.S. proposal said were to be held as soon as possible thereafter

with no specific target date set.

For Begin, this was a distinct advance. His consistent argument against a target date for holding elections had been that it would make the peace treaty contingent upon the copperation of the Palestinians, the people who are to vote in the elections. Now, with the target date applicable only to Israel-Egyptian negotiations on autonomy, this objection was removed.

An 'Agreed Minute' Proposed

On Article VI, paragraphs 2 and 5, the U.St proposed, in place of the various letters and interpretative notes that had been drafted during the past two months, a single "agreed minute" that would read as follows:

The provisions of Article VI shall not be construed in contradiction to the provisions of the Framework for Peace in the Middle East agreed at Camp David. The foregoing does not derogate from the provisions of Article VI (2) which reads as follows: The parties agree to fulfill in good faith their obligations under this treaty, without regard to action or inaction of any other party, and independently of any instrument external to this treaty".

"The "agreed minute" continued: "It is agreed by the parties that there is no assertion that this treaty prevails over other treaties or agreements, that other treaties or agreements prevail over this treaty. The foregoing does not derogate from the provisions of Article VI (5) which reads as follows: Subject to article 103 of the UN Charter, in the event of a conflict between the obligations of the parties under the present treaty and any of their other obligations the obligations under this treaty will be binding and implemented.

The 'Agreed Minute' Weakened

In Cairo, Carter found a basic Egyptian willingness to accept these formulations in principle. But the Egyptian officials insisted on small but sig nificant changes. In the side-letter, they demanded only that the holding of elections be set to take place "expeditiously." On Article VI, they de manded that the words "does not derogate from" be replaced, in both sections of the "agreed minute, with the words "shall not be construed as contra-

vening."
This small amendment clearly does a great deal to weaken the effectiveness of the "agreed minute" from Israel's standpoint: "Does not derogate from" means clearly that the Article V1 (2) or V1 (5) as the case may be, it not to be weakened or super seded by the statement made in the "agreed minute." Shall not be construed as controvening" is the classic phrase used in international agreements to blur over a case of clash or conflict between provisions.

Carter, in Jewsalem, pressed Israels to accept the Egyptian amendments. The Cabinet spent bours arguing over "does not derogate" and "shall not be construed as contravening ." Legal officials carefully explained to the non-expert ministers what was at stake here

In the event, five ministers abstained when Begin put the issue to a vote, attaching his own pos itive recommendation. The identities of the five is instructive: three were the consistent hardliners Haim Landau; Zevulun Hammer and Yitzhak Modai The other two were Shruel Tamir and Moshe Nissim, the only professional lawyers in the Cabinet. Both men had led the long fight over Article VI and they were not entirely happy with the solution that was being proferred.

After the vote, Israeli sources maintained that the amended formula still gave Israel its minimal requirement: the ability to argue in the event that either paragraph is called into question, that the peace, treaty is not legally linked to the Camp David framework (Article VI - 2) or that the peace treaty takes priority over Egypt's inter-Arab commitments (Article VI - 5).

But they conceded that beyond that, the 'agreed minute" as finally formulated, restored the vagueness and ambiguity that were inherent in the original drafting of the two paragraphs.

Focus On Other Issues

Having obtained Brael's agreement to the Egyptian amendments on the side-letter and Article VI, Carter facussed all his attention on the oil and the ambassadors issues. As it writed out, the exchange of ambassadors, 10 months after the treaty signing, was linked in Cairo's thinking to the issue of the "phased withdrawal" from Sinal, i.e., Israel's _-2

readiness or refuctance to supply Egypt in adwonce with a schedule for its gradual evacuation for the western part of Sinai over the coming nine months.

A third unresolved issue that threatened to talped the talks at the IIth hour was Egypt's demand for a "liaison presence" in the Ocza Strip.

On this last point, Carter believed -nghily -- that he had made significant headway
when, in Washington he week before, Begin had
indicated to him that Israel would, after all; be
willing to cooperate in the establishment of the
proposed Palestinian autonomy in Gaza as a first
stage, prior to its eventual establishment on the
West Bank. This was not, yet, a formal Israeli.
Cabiner position. But the President knew that if
Begin had aired it; it would be backed by the
majority of his ministers.

This was true, but did not mean, as the President apparently hoped, that Israel would agree to an Egyptian "liaison presence" in the Strip.
Begin and the minister flatly apposed this, maintains that it was the thin end of the wedge and would bring about an eventual return of full Egyptian control of the strategically.

Seportant Strip.

During the Cabinet session that lasted through Monday night into fuesday morning, there was a detectable softening on the "phased with-drawal." But the position on the dil and the "licison" genoined frozen when the President and the Premier sof advant to break hast Tuesday.

morning Begin Takes Crucial Step

It was then that Begin took final stock of the struction, with all its overwhelming strategic god political cruciality, and resolved to offee a concession on the all in exchange for Egypt's dropping of the "liation in Coin" demand. Israel would accept, he told Carter, a speake undertaking, attached to the treaty protocols, that Egypt would regard that a regular oil customer, under normal unarker conditions.

Since that tareful day last Juesday, there bor already been a good deal of "rewriting his, tofy" here in Jenysderm, with several of the players seeking to agogate who themselvers larger roles than they actually had in the drama, her haps these various individually tic versions are to be expected when so many ministers were involved in the negotiations.

But they should not be allowed to contravene - or derogate from - the fundamental fact
that Begin nook-his political futures in his hands morality
and of the scitical moments, offered the required motions
concession, going beyond established Cobinet
positions, which made the treaty a reality the
was Begin who conducted these negotiations find therefore the credit - and the blame, if
the mee
there is to be any - go to him.

THREAT ON THE EASTERN FRONT By Yirzhak Shargil

FIL AVIV, March 18 (JTA) -- Israeli, military circles have warned against a new threat on the eastern front, once an Israeli-Egyptian peace treaty-is signed, that may explode into hostilities involving the combined larges of Syric and Irga. Reports, from various Arab capitals today indicated that those countries are pooling their military strength on a large scale.

Tensions were heightened by Palestine Liberation Organization leader Yasir Arabat's warming in Amman yesterday that "the whole Middle East will explode it Sadat signs the pact" with Israel and his thinly veiled assassination threat

The Syriaglagovergment's afficial newspaper, I lishrin, warmed yesteday that a peace treaty between fixed and Egypt would leave no choice but war to the controlled to the syriage and least the Kuwalit daily. All-Siyasa, reported vesteday that three Iraqi divisions have entered Syria in the past few days ander their recent agreement to suit like a joint military command, threel, military circles claimed that Iraq and Syria are secretly speeding up, their agreement to counter a peace treaty. According to the braelis, the agreement calls for Iraqi, whits to be stationed in Syria in support of Syria afforces facing time!

Amfat Sounds Warning

Arafat metwith King Hussein of Jordan yesterday at the Matroa oir base to discuss possible action against the peace treaty. They reportedly agreed to great a temper "to liquidate the right of the Palestinians." Speaking to a Radio Luxembourg reporter, Arafat and "We shall triss! that the oil embago be imposed on Egypt for it 15 incare from the discussion of Egyption oil to Israel." He sals warned that Sadat. "will pay for his treachery" and redailed that King Farout's Prime Minister, Nokrashi Pasha, was assistated after he signed the armistice agreements with Israel in 1949.

Meanwhile, a U.S. delegation headed by President Carter's National Security Advisor Zbigniew Brezzinski was in Arman spiley facutectings with Hussein. The delegation, Wash Riyadh, Saudi Arabia yesterday, where it net with King Khaled. The purpose apparently is to convince the Saudi and bordanions to take no over tarthan against the Israell-Egyptian peace treaty if they continue to boycott the peace-process itself.

Soudi Foreign Minister Squa Faisal and the

U.S. Embasy issued statements after Brzezinski so departure saying the two countries agree to "remain in close contact in connection with the evolving issues in the explain." However, Fairal emphasized that "security and stability in the region can only be achieved through meeting, the aspirations of Arab, Islamic and Palestinian nations and based on a just and connected remaine peace.

The Embossy-statement noted that the U.S. and Savei Argbia "respect and appreciate the underlying concern for peace which forms the basis for national policiest." I I described the visit by the American delegation as "friendly" and that the discussions were "serious and far-ranging" and emphasized "the commonality of values and interest between our two

In Amman, Brzezinski met for three hours with Hussein today in what was described by the American official as "useful and constructive" talks. During the meeting, Brzezinski gove Hussein a message from Garter, However, it was not revealed what was in the lefter or the content of the talks between the two officials. The U.S. delegation left this afternoon for Cajiro.

ANTI-SEMITIC ACTS IN SWITZERLAND

GENEYA. March 18 (JTA) -- Police here and in other cities in Switzerland are investigating a series sh'anti-Semitic incidents over the last few days. In Zurich; the door of a synagogue was destroyed by a bomb last Thunday causing an estimated 10,700 Francs in damages. The walls of the synagogue were daubed with slogans saying, "We shall kill you," "Heil Adolf," and "We are fighting the lies about the gas chambers."

An anonymous phone caller to the Zurich news-

saper Blick said that the Jewish school in that city would be set on fire if the American NBC-TV film "Halocaust" is shown on Swiss television as scheduled beginning April. In Lausanne, and Geneva, anti-Semitic slogens have been painted

an public walls. Swiss Jewish community leaders said there is reason for concern but not for alarm. They expressed hope that Swiss IV officials will not be influenced by these acts and will show "Holocoust." There are 61-10 Jews in Zurtch and 3250 in Lausanne

MIDDLE EAST ISSUES AIRED By Joseph Polakoff

WASHINGTON; March 18-(JIA) -- Israet Defense Minister Ezer Weizman said today that he expects to complete the negotiations with Egyptian Defense Minister Kamal Hassan Ali on the military annexes of the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty by the time he leaves tomorrow to return to Jerusalem. He odded that while he may not be "as happy with it as I should be, that element will not block the signing of the treaty in Washington which is expected to take place next week

Weizman also said he anticipates reaching pareement with Defense Secretary Harold Brown on the U.S. contribution to the cost of Israel's removal of its bases from the Sinai to within Israel's old borders" before he leaves tomorrow "Notody expects the U.S. to foot the bill for everything," he soid. "We shall tighten our belts and do our bit, too." I speel estimates the cost at \$3.2-\$4 billion.

Weizman's appearance on NBC-TV's "Meet the Press" completed a cycle of three nationally-televised interview programs on Middle East issues roday. He was preceded on ABG IV "Issues and Answers" by Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Frank Church (D Idaho) and Secretary of State Cyrus Vance on CBS-IV's Face the Nation.

No Secret Commitments

Both Church and Vance said President Carter made no secret commitments to Egypt or israel on any factor, including establishment of autonomy on the West Bank and Goza, With Saudi Arabia media attacking the agreement and Jordan also opposing it, Church declared that the U.S. mission "Is the most plain spoken" the Carter Administration has yet sent to Saudi Ar-

them our special-relationship is a two-way street, " he added. While those countries do not necessarily have to endorse the agreement, Church said, "it is our right to look to them for discreet help as long as they look to us as their ultimate protector.

Without mentioning the opposition by Sen. William Proxmire (D. Wis.) to what he termed too costly U.S. financial contribution to the Egyptian-Israeli agreement, Church asked "sup-pose it is So billion, isn't that a good investment?" He noted the U.S. spent \$27 billion because of the last four wars in the Middle East and the oil embargo. He called on the "rich" West European rations, specifically West Ger-hany, and Japan, to help in the peace process beginning with the Egyptian-Israeli treaty. "We all have an interest syntian-Israeli treaty." he said - Late last week, Senators Richard Stone

Diffo), Ted Stevens (R. Alaska) and Larry Pre ster (R.S.D.) asked for European and Japanese contributions to join with the U.S. in underwrit ing the economic costs of the treaty and to help in the costs of the three-vegs Israeli withdrawal from

Both Vance and Weizman were asked about the threat of violence voiced by Yasir Arcfat, chief of the Palestine Liberation Organization. Vance sold "we cannot rule out some violence after the sign-ing" and U.S. Embassies thave been told to take precautions. When Weizman was asked about Arafar calling the treaty a "time bomb," he replied Arafat.
"is wrong" and added that Arafat "is an expert on.

actual time bombs. , Weizman said Israeli troops on the West Bank, once autonomy is in-effect, will not be there to control the civilian population but to counter mili tary threats from Syria, Iraq and others. He rejected the view that Israel should leave the Golan Heights as it will do in the Sinai, pointing out that the Syrions are not Egyptians and the areas are not geoaraphically the same.

Issue Of Defense Treaty

Regarding a possible U.S. defense treaty with track). Church replied, "Israel has never asked for a pact" off therefore "there is an resone for us to ask the it." Weizman asid "I don't think it would be a bad idea, " but he noted there are "various oping ions" in Israel about such a treaty and emphasized the main thing is to get settled down with Egypt..."

Vance was asked whether the U.S. would go to was to protect Saudi Arabia. He replied, "We consider the territorial integrity and security of Saudi Arabia to be of fundamental importance to us. Asked if he was talking about the oil there, Vance replied he was "talking of the stability of the region" which is important "not only to the U.S.,

Vance was asked if the U.S. would have a "direct role" on the future of the Palestinians and "Palestinian state." He replied that the letter in connection with the peace treaty would have the "participate fully in the negotiations" an the establishing of a self-governing authority on the West Bank and Gaza.

Church rejected the suggestion that gas stations will be closed Sundays in the U.S. and Americans will have to cancel vacations because U.S. oil will go to Israel on the quarantees in the agreement. 'No new oil commitment is entailed," he said, after noting that the 1975 Sinal agreement guaranteed that Israel would have oil. Church pointed out that the Israelis are "adroit" in finding oil supplies and Egypt is to sell Israel oil under the treaty: Church said that despite the Saudi Arabian

apposition to the agreement, he did not think Saudi Arabia would cut off aid to Egypt. "Gertainly we will keep our commitment to Israel," he said. While Egypt "may need some limited military help" regarding Libya and its African position, "I will be fvery much against" such "grandiose talks to make Egypt the policeman of the Middle East. We should learn from our Iranian experience to avoid that.

JERUSALEM (JTA) -- The Histodruf Executive has called a four-hour general strike Monday to protest-souring-prices for basic food products and comhodities. Described as a warning strike, it is to a last from noon to 4 p.m. local time or half the work day. Delegations of workers from all over the countries. try will assemble outside Histodayt headquarters in Tel Aviv after the strike ends. It will be Israel's first general strike in many years.

NEW YORK CITY POLICE DEPARTMENT ENCOURAGING THE ENROLL MENT OF ORTHODOX JEWS IN THE POLICE FORCE BY BEN GOLLOW

NEW YORK, March 18 (JTA) — For the first time in the history of the New York City Police. "Department, top police officials are encouraging enrallment of Orthodox, Jews in the force, as carding to Louis Weiser, the president of the Councit of Jewish Organizations. In Civil, Service Weiser, who is also a former president of the Shammin Society, which is comprised of Jewish police; said filting for examinations for a new list of police officer, candidates opened. March 1 and will continue until May 30:

will continue until May 30:

Me said the written examination will be held
on a Soutday, June 30; and that a special Sabbath observer test will be held an Sunday, July I
A similar Sabbath observer test for Jewish condidates was held for the prior list in 1973, Weiser
told the Jewish Telegraphic Agency, but, as for
as he known, no Orthadox Jews joined the Joscafrom that Kst.:

He said the corrent examinations, to develop frew four-year list, may be the last opportunity for Jewish young people to enter the police force in any substantial numbers. Apart from the fact, that the police department wants to broaden minority representation, Weiser said there is a possibility, that "selective certification" "- the appointment of a candidate out of this or, her examination, and for excerential histogram by the extended to cover applicants with fluency in languages other, than Spanish, as at present.

Weiser said preferential hirting or that basis.

Weiser said preferential hiring on that bosis had been held legal by the court if the police department demonstrates to the city's personnel department the need for personnel with such spectral gualifications, the said fire process may be broadened for the less than it include candidates fluent in Russian, Hebrew, Viddish and John Languages.

He said that if that preferential hising procedure was broadened to include such additional languages, the applicant would be asked to indicate fluency in one of the languages and be given a test, if he or she passed the examination, tacconfigm the claimed fluency.

Meetings Have Been Held

Weiser sgid Police Commissioner Robert
McGuire has shown strong interest in the progrom to affract more lews, including Orthodax
Jews, to the faces He said meetings had been,
held with members of the Orthodox community on
recruitment of Orthodox Jews and the police of
department officials had promised full cooperation. One of the problems, it that a federal grant
of \$250,000 far recruitment of minority members
for the exmination will not be available in full
far that purposa. Weiser said the City Board of
Estimate had disallowed use of \$150,000 of the
grant for public media to reach minorities.

He also reported that tog bolice officials were examining the problems anticipated in observant Jews joining the force, including provistions for absence for Jewish holidays and for the Jewish Sabbath, not only in police duties but at the Police Asademy.

Weiser said that currently, only 750, Jewish men and women are on the force; compagned with some 2400. Black and Hispanic police; the noted that the city's problem of budget austerity raised questions about employment opportunities for those passing the examinations and meeting.

other requirements for appointment. He said there were currently about 11,000 police officers eligible for retirement and that the normal attrition rate is estimated at 1200 to 1400 yearly.

Weiser wid it was estimated that between 5000 and 6000 successful candidates would be appointed from the new list, though he added it was not possible to estimate now how many of the jobs left open by other international to left the list of the congruing of the thing that of the sudgers are feasing. He said the Shomrim Society was getting the cooperation of the Jewish Community Relations Council of New York and the Anti-Defamation League of B'rai B'rith in its efforts to recruit Jews for the examination. He added that the ADI would spots of no elite the examination classes, in appearation with the Shomrim Society on April 422-23 at the ADI offices here.

Several years ago, the police department sponsored a cappaign to recruit more lews but that campaign was not aimed specifically to include. Orthodox lews. Weiser said there was even a possibility that Hasidic lews might be approached to take the examination. He said there was no information immediately available as to the number of lews who had filled to take the examination since filling began March 1.

AMERICANS URGED TO AID SOVIET JEWS BY SENDING MATZOS TO USSR EMBASSY

NEWARK, N. J., March 18 (JTA) - A groupof New Versey teenagers is appealing to the American public to help Soviet Jews by sending mates to the Soviet Union's Embassy in Washington in advance of the Passover holiday beginning April 11.

Susan Jeanette Kuperstein, a 17-year-old Springfield, N. J., high school senior and spokes person for the New Jersey Region of United Synangeue, Youth USSY, and USS members believe that if the Soviet Embosy is swamped with matzo, Soviet authorities will allow the unleavened bread to be shipped to the USSR "for its more than three million lifethly instructed Jews, many of whom despectately wont to Teave that country for freedom."

As 11 is, she said, "only a small matzo appaduation."

Ms. Kujerstein ported that President Carter has said, the Soviet Union effects to be allowing an instruction of the Minds of the Minds

BERNARDO VERBITSKY DEAD AT 711

BUE NOS *AIRES, March 18 (JIA) - Bernvilde. Werbissky, one of Argeithan International Mellion with eight of the page of 71 after a long-lilliers. A few months ago, for received the Argentine Concort Prize for his novel, "Sister Shadow/Sister Londlines." Verbitsky, who was \$6000 for the publication of his novel, "Slum Are Also America" (1957).