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4 LEADERS OF THE ISRAELI DELEGATION TO WARSAW LEAVE AFTER PLO REPRESENTATIVE LAYS A WREATH AT WARSAW GHETTO FIGHTERS MEMORIAL

By Gil Sedan

JERUSALEM, April 20 (JTA) -- Four leaders of the Israeli delegation to the Warsaw Ghetto memorial ceremonies have cut short their visit. They are returning to Israel, angered that the Polish authorities failed to prevent a Palestine Liberation Organization representative from laying a wreath at the memorial to the Warsaw Ghetto fighters -- an incident Interior Minister Yosef Burg likened to the desecration of a grave.

But the 40 other members of the Israeli delegation are remaining in Poland to tour Nazi death camp sites. They have demanded an apology from the Polish government which had given its assurances that the PLO would be allowed no role whatever in the memorial tribute.

The group visited Treblinka today although Voice of Israel Radio reported from Warsaw that they would boycott the official ceremony there as a sign of protest.

The four returning to Israel are Mayor Shlomo Lahat of Tel Aviv; Avner Shalev, an official of the Education Ministry; Haim Kubersky, Director General of the Interior Ministry; and David Rivlin of the Foreign Ministry. According to the radio report, one of the four is leaving Warsaw today and the others will leave tomorrow because they were unable to get tickets on earlier flights.

Official Note Of Protest

In its official note of protest, the Israeli delegation called the placing of a wreath by the PLO on a monument to Jewish martyrs a "cynical act and a desecration of the memory of the victims" of the Nazis. Lahat praised Polish hospitality but described the behavior of the Polish authorities in this matter as "cheating."

The Warsaw media has ignored the incident and there has been no official meeting between the Israeli delegation and the authorities. Voice of Israel Radio reported, however, in unofficial contacts with the Israelis, Polish officials explained that the PLO representative placed the wreath yesterday afternoon without the knowledge of the authorities. They said a PLO wreath laid on the monument on the morning prior to the memorial ceremonies had been removed before the ceremonies began.

ISRAEL IS SEEKING CLARIFICATION ON REAGAN'S LETTER TO ASSAD

By David Landau

JERUSALEM, April 20 (JTA) -- Israel is seeking "clarification" from the U.S. of a recent letter President Reagan sent to President Hafez Assad of Syria, reportedly intimating that Washington would include the return of the Golan Heights to Syria on the agenda of broadened Middle East peace negotiations based on United Nations Security Council Resolution 242.

Israeli policy-makers were not reassured by the assertion of Administration officials that Reagan's message to Assad contained nothing new and was no

more than a reiteration of longstanding American positions on the meaning of Resolution 242 and its application to all aspects of the Middle East conflict.

Radio Monte Carlo, an Arabic-language radio station in Paris, reported that Reagan sent his letter to Assad on Sunday, April 17, on the occasion of Syria's National Day which celebrates its independence at the end of the French mandate. According to this report, Reagan emphasized that the U.S. is determined to expand Middle East negotiations based on Resolution 242 which he said, deals with the West Bank, Gaza Strip and the Golan Heights, in order to establish real peace in the region.

Hints About The Golan Heights

State Department deputy spokesman Alan Romberg refused to make public the contents of Reagan's letter but said the Syrians could do so if they wished. The Wall Street Journal reported Monday that Reagan had "hinted" to Syria that the U.S. may demand that return of the Golan Heights be included in any future peace negotiations.

The Knesset voted in December, 1981, to apply Israeli law to the Golan Heights, an act viewed in most quarters as de-facto annexation of the territory captured from Syria in the 1967 Six-Day War.

The Journal article, by correspondent David Ignatius, was based on the Reagan letter, the partial text of which was published in Arabic over the weekend by the official Syrian news agency, SANA.

Ignatius, reporting from Beirut, quoted SANA as saying Reagan wrote:

"We believe that the best way to serve the future of your country and the prosperity of your people is by reaching a peaceful and just settlement to the problems of the region ... Therefore, I shall continue to work for expanded negotiations on the basis of United Nations Security Council Resolution 242, which calls for the exchange of territory for real peace and applies to the West Bank, Gaza and the Golan Heights."

Timing Is Most Disturbing

What is most disturbing, according to Israeli sources, is not only the contents of the message but its timing. The Israelis apparently fear that the U.S., having failed to draw King Hussein of Jordan into negotiations over the West Bank, may now be considering broadened negotiations which would embrace the Golan Heights to try to induce Syria into the peace process, and possibly the Soviet Union, now Syria's main arms supplier.

Such a strategy would inevitably increase tensions between Israel and Washington, the sources pointed out. When Israel applied its laws to the Golan Heights, Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir insisted that negotiations still could be held with Syria without preconditions. But Israel has made it clear that it has no intention ever to relinquish the Golan Heights.

Shamir said at yesterday's Cabinet meeting that the Reagan letter was apparently intended to improve the climate of U.S.-Syrian relations in order to advance prospects for the the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Lebanon.

The U.S. and Israel both hope that once an agreement is reached between Israel and Lebanon on withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanon, the Syrians will cooperate by making a simultaneous withdrawal of their own troops from Lebanon and that the remaining units of the Palestine Liberation Organization would leave with them.

But Israeli policymakers are anxious that American efforts to improve relations with Damascus do not lead Washington into pledging concessions from Israel which it cannot deliver.

Concern About Syrians' Military Preparations

Defense Minister Moshe Arens told the Knesset's Foreign Affairs and Security Committee today of "worrying military preparations" by Syria. But he conceded that Israel is not certain whether those measures were being taken in preparation for aggression against Israel or for defense against a feared attack on Syria by Israel.

Arens warned on a television interview a week ago that the Israeli army must be alert and vigilant on the eastern front in Lebanon because of military moves on the Syrian side of the line. He said at the time that "this does not mean there will be war" but the possibility could not be ruled out and Israel must keep on guard.

Meanwhile, tensions were heightened by the presence of two Soviet electronic surveillance ships in positions just off the Israeli and Lebanese coasts. They were first reported by Haaretz and Israel Television filmed them from a low-flying plane.

Israeli sources said the "spy ships" are capable of monitoring all broadcasts inside Israel and Lebanon. Such vessels off Israeli coastal waters are not new, but Moscow normally employs only one in the eastern Mediterranean.

RESOLUTION SUBMITTED IN THE SENATE CALLING FOR THE U.S. TO SELL AND DELIVER F-16s TO ISRAEL

WASHINGTON, April 20 (JTA) -- Sen. Alfonse D'Amato (R., N.Y.) submitted a resolution in the Senate yesterday calling on the U.S. to "proceed with the sale and delivery of F-16 aircraft to Israel" without "any further delay." The measure has six co-sponsors and will be sent to the International Operations Subcommittee.

The resolution referred to 75 F-16 fighter-bombers promised Israel in 1979 to offset U.S. weapons sales to Egypt, Jordan and Saudi Arabia. President Reagan said a week ago that he would not send official notification of the sale to Congress, as required by law, until an agreement is reached on the withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanon. The aircraft are scheduled for delivery in 1985.

D'Amato's resolution described Israel as "a proven and trusted ally of the United States" and maintained that "the security interests of Israel and the United States are closely linked." It referred to "an unprecedented arms build-up in the Middle East" by the Soviet Union and claimed that "the politics pursued by the Soviets and their allies in the region pose a clear and immediate threat to the security of Israel."

The resolution also noted that the U.S. "has formally committed itself to continue to maintain Israel's defensive strength through the supply of advanced types of equipment such as the F-16 aircraft" and that the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff "have endorsed the sale of F-16 aircraft to Israel."

REAGAN MORE DETERMINED TO ENSURE LEBANON IS A FREE, SAFE COUNTRY

By David Friedman

WASHINGTON, April 20 (JTA) -- President Reagan declared today that the bombing of the U.S. Embassy in Beirut has left him more determined to ensure that Lebanon becomes a "free and safe country again."

The President's statement was made during a telephone conversation this morning with the U.S. Ambassador to Lebanon, Robert Dillon, according to White House deputy press secretary Larry Speakes. "This tragedy, however awful, must not distract us from our search for peace in Lebanon and elsewhere," the President was quoted as telling Dillon.

Reagan, praising Dillon for his "devotion to duty," added: "Please let everyone know we will never give in to this cowardly incident. I am determined now more than ever to ensure that we do whatever is necessary to make Lebanon a free and safe country."

Speakes' account of the President's telephone conversation came as he announced that Reagan had named Lawrence Eagleburger, Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs, as head of a delegation to go to Beirut and bring back the remains of the Americans killed in the bombing. The latest report is 10 Americans dead and 6 missing, according to Speakes.

Dillon reported that 49 American and Lebanese were killed or missing and presumed dead.

The delegation will leave tomorrow but no return date has been set as of yet. Speakes indicated that Reagan would meet the returning party. The President today also ordered that all U.S. flags at government installations in the United States and abroad be flown at half mast through Tuesday.

No Determination On Shultz

The President has not yet made a determination on whether to send Secretary of State George Shultz to the Middle East, Speakes said. There had been reports that Shultz might go as early as this week.

But Speakes said the delegation will meet with members of Lebanese President Amin Gemayel's government, "the courageous men and women both Lebanese and American of the Embassy staff" and members of the Marine Corps serving with the multinational force in Beirut.

"The visit by this high level delegation will also serve to underscore the depth of our gratitude to and admiration for the brave members of Lebanon's internal security force and military services, some of whom gave their lives in protecting our diplomatic mission," Speakes said.

He denied the U.S. had any time since the bombing criticized the Lebanese for being "lax" in their security around the Embassy. He stressed that the Lebanese government "has done whatever possible to ensure security."

Asked about the Israeli statement that the bombing underscores Israel's concerns about security in south Lebanon, Speakes would only say that there has "been no change in the U.S. position" and there is "a need for all foreign forces to be withdrawn as soon as possible."

He stressed that the U.S. would have no official comment on who caused the bombing or how it occurred until the completion of the investigation now being conducted by the Lebanese government.

SOLON SEEKS TO MAKE YOM KIPPUR A LEGAL HOLIDAY IN NEW YORK STATE

By Ben Gallob

NEW YORK, April 20 (JTA) — Dov Hikind, a Democratic member of the New York State Assembly, said today that he hoped to find soon a leading member of the Republican-dominated State Senate to introduce a bill, similar to the one he has introduced in the Assembly, to make Yom Kippur a legal holiday in the state. Approval of the bill would make New York the first state to make Yom Kippur a legal holiday.

Hikind, of Brooklyn, said he introduced the proposal because, in its absence, an observant Jew may be penalized for taking that day off to observe Yom Kippur. He said such Jews now face the possibility of a deduction of a day's pay or deduction from sick days, vacation or personal leave days.

Hikind told the Jewish Telegraphic Agency that, apart from the fact that adoption of his proposal would establish a national precedent, he was aware of the problem presented by the fact that at the state personnel level, such a new holiday would mean a substantial cost to the state in loss of employe time.

He said that he had obtained bi-partisan sponsorship for the Yom Kippur proposal in the Democratic-dominated Assembly and that he needed to find a leading Senate Republican as an essential step for introduction. Hikind commented that he would have no trouble finding a Jewish State Senator to introduce the measure but that he needed a leading Republican Senator to collect the support of other leading Republican Senators before a parallel measure was introduced in the Senate.

Proposal Has Nine Co-Sponsors

The proposal is co-sponsored in the Assembly by eight Democrats and one Republican. In announcing his introduction of the measure, Hikind said that he supported the law that makes Christmas a legal holiday, adding that "no Christian should have difficulty in observing this day. By the same token, an observant Jew should be able to celebrate his (or her) holiday without incurring any inconvenience or financial loss."

Hikind told the JTA he was determined to give the proposal a maximum effort, now that the Legislature has adopted the state budget, as it is required by the Constitution to do by April 1, and has now entered the period of debate and action on legislation. He said he would seek to obtain through discussion and debate on the Yom Kippur proposal, and "hopefully" approval before the Legislature adjourns its regular session in June.

MEMORIAL TO JEWISH HOLOCAUST VICTIMS TO BE BUILT ON PUBLIC PROPERTY IN SAN FRANCISCO

By Ben Gallob

NEW YORK, April 20 (JTA) — One of the few memorials to the six million victims of the Nazis on public property in the United States is scheduled to be built in a public park in San Francisco and it will consist of George Segal's sculpture, "The Holocaust," currently on display in the Jewish Museum in Manhattan.

William Lowenberg, one of the three co-chairmen of San Francisco's Mayor Diane Feinstein's Committee for a Memorial to the Six Million Victims of the Holocaust, told the Jewish Telegraphic Agency in a telephone interview that

the committee had examined a number of entries offered in response to committee letters, asking for proposals for a memorial.

He said the memorial committee decided, on the basis of sketches Segal submitted, that he should be chosen to prepare the finished work for the memorial in San Francisco.

Segal began work on the sculpture by searching out photographs he remembered seeing in 1945, just after the Allies liberated the Nazi death camps. His sculpture shows seven men, two women and a boy, either naked or in undergarments, who have been taken out of the gas chambers and tossed in a heap. Segal said he chose deliberately to make the figures appear hollow and disembodied, as much souls as human beings.

Somber viewers who have crowded the Jewish Museum to see "The Holocaust" have noted that Segal tried to indicate religious and allegorical motifs. The figure, critics agree, that pulls the composition together is a standing figure in the foreground, holding himself upright by grasping one of the barbed wires which surround the sculpture. He is dressed in the striped prison pajamas the Nazis gave their victims.

As with Segal's previous works, the plaster figures in "The Holocaust" were made by taking molds from people and by making plaster casts which Segal remolded into final form after the living models emerged from the still-soft plaster. Segal said the man who modeled for the standing figure was a real survivor, "an Israeli friend who survived the camps."

Will Overlook The Golden Gate

Lowenberg, himself a survivor, told the JTA that the Segal sculpture will be the totality of the memorial which will be located in Lincoln Park, overlooking the Golden Gate. The park now holds an unrelated museum, the California Palace of the Legion of Honor.

The land on which "The Holocaust" will be placed was donated to the memorial committee by the Park and Recreation Commission of the City and County of San Francisco, Lowenberg said.

He estimated the total cost of the memorial project, which will be the only memorial to the Six Million on public land in San Francisco, at \$750,000. He said a major part of that sum will be for payment for the sculpture and its preparation for permanent exhibition. The rest will be used for a permanent fund to finance the teaching of the Holocaust in the city's public and private schools.

Lowenberg said the memorial, which will be cast in bronze for permanent display, will be in place for dedication ceremonies in November but that the precise date and content of the dedication ceremonies remain to be fixed. Asked whether the Segal sculpture will be easily accessible to residents and visitors, Lowenberg replied that the Lincoln Park is a "must" on city-sponsored tours.

Asked whether the memorial committee, a city-wide group of Jews and non-Jews, including a number of survivors, had any concern that the sculpture, which will not be protected by any kind of a fence, might be the targets of vandalistic attacks, Lowenberg replied, "We thought about it and discussed it many times and we finally decided to take a chance that those seeing it would have enough respect not to abuse it."

TEL AVIV (JTA) — Israeli industrialists in both private and cooperative enterprises have announced that they will boycott government sponsored delegations to trade fairs in Israel and abroad to protest the Likud regime's economic policies.

SPECIAL INTERVIEW TWO OPTIONS FOR ISRAEL ON THE WEST BANK: ONE BAD, THE OTHER WORSE By Yitzhak Rabi

NEW YORK, April 20 (JTA) — One of the world's leading experts on the Arab-Israeli conflict claims that Israel has two options regarding the future of the West Bank: one bad, the other worse.

Prof. Yehoshafat Harkabi, a former chief of Israel's intelligence service and presently a professor of international relations and Middle East studies at Hebrew University in Jerusalem, told the Jewish Telegraphic Agency, "The choices Israel is facing are not between good and bad, but between bad and worse. The worse for Israel is to annex the West Bank. By annexation, Israel will solve some of its security problems but, at the same time, will significantly increase the number of the Arabs in the country, creating a new Jewish-Arab state with many, many tensions."

According to Harkabi, who is also a General (res.) in the Israeli army, "Israel will become a new Belfast in the Mideast. Such a state will be an easy target for the Arab countries. It will be a weak and unstable state."

Furthermore, he said, "Jews from other countries will not come to settle in such a state and Israel will be further isolated in the international community and in the United Nations since (Security Council) Resolution 242, the only resolution accepted so far by the Arabs and Israel as a basis for a Mideast settlement, does not recognize annexation."

Harkabi warned that the annexation of the West Bank by Israel "would perpetuate the Arab-Israeli conflict. The Arabs are presently weak and Israel is strong, but this situation might change in the future"

The Lesser Of Two Evils

The other choice for Israel, which he termed the lesser of two evils, is to relinquish the West Bank, although it would be to Israel's disadvantage from the viewpoint of security, Harkabi pointed out. Nevertheless, he continued, "I believe it is the better choice for Israel. I am not a leftist. All I am interested in is the welfare of Israel and I reached the conclusion that a moderate policy would benefit Israel better than a hawkish approach."

Harkabi, who was an advisor on Arab affairs to both Premier Yitzhak Rabin and to Premier Menachem Begin ("I resigned as Begin's advisor after a few months") said he is in favor of a "conditional negotiation" between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization.

"I believe that a survey among Palestinians would prove that most of them consider the PLO as their representative," he said. "This is an ugly organization, no doubt, by its actions and ideology but one does not negotiate only with those he loves."

Harkabi conceded that "the public in Israel is not willing to negotiate with the PLO. But I do not differentiate between the PLO and the Palestinians. If we will not negotiate with them, we will perpetuate the conflict. Perpetuation of the conflict is not in Israel's interest."

"The Bar Kokhba Syndrome"

Begin's policy toward the Palestinians "is not realistic," he observed. "The approach of Israel toward solving the Arab-Israeli conflict is not realistic." Harkabi's contention that Begin's policy toward the Palestinians is not realistic is in

line with the major thesis in his book, "The Bar Kokhba Syndrome" (Rossel Books, New York, \$15.95). The English-language edition was released in New York this week. The Hebrew-language edition appeared last year in Israel and caused a fierce controversy there.

In it, Harkabi claims that Bar Kokhba, the legendary Jewish hero, waged a futile and very unrealistic revolt against the Roman occupation of Israel in the years 132 C.E. to 135 C.E. The Bar Kokhba rebellion resulted in the destruction of Judea and the exile of the Jewish population and its dispersion around the world.

"The Bar Kokhba example teaches us a lesson about the value of realism," Harkabi said. "My criticism of Bar Kokhba is an instrument with which I hope to induce realistic thinking in today's Israel and among the Jewish people. Once a people changes its view of the past, then it will change the future and its behavior in the future. A prospect on the past can bring changes in the present."

Cites Changes In The Arab World

Turning to current developments, Harkabi said that he does not think that King Hussein's rejection recently of negotiations with Israel is final. "Without a settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict the Arabs will have to prepare for a major new confrontation with Israel," Harkabi said. "Such a confrontation is not possible without major political changes and even revolutions in the Arab countries."

Hussein, along with Saudi Arabia's rulers and those of other Arab countries "are most afraid of these changes," Harkabi observed. "Hussein understands that without progress in the Mideast the whole Arab world will be engulfed in turmoil. Therefore, it is in Hussein's interest to want to find a settlement. I think, however, that as long as Israel continues with implementing settlements on the West Bank he cannot enter into negotiations, because if he does, it is as if he endorses Israeli settlements."

Continuing, Harkabi said: "It seems to me that the Arabs are now starting to distinguish between their vision of doing away with Israel and the policy of reconciling themselves to its existence. The Arabs used to have the same vision and the same policy: elimination of the State of Israel. The vision is still the same, but not the policy. I think this is applicable even to (PLO chief) Yasir Arafat."

Harkabi warned that "if the Arabs will not achieve political progress regarding their conflict with Israel, there is a danger that they will return to match their vision with their policy against Israel."

KOHL POSTPONES HIS VISIT TO ISRAEL

BONN, April 20 (JTA) — Chancellor Helmut Kohl has postponed his visit to Israel, tentatively scheduled for early this summer. The West German leader is expected to go to the Middle East some time next fall and will follow his visit to Israel with visits to Egypt, Jordan and Saudi Arabia, diplomatic sources here said.

The sources firmly denied that Kohl is deliberately delaying his planned visit to Israel. But they confirmed that the Chancellor preferred that the visit be part of a series of talks with the leaders of other Middle Eastern nations rather than an isolated event.

The sources said Kohl, leader of the ruling Christian Democratic Union (CDU) intends to give priority to the Geneva talks limiting the deployment of medium range nuclear missiles in Europe and will go to Moscow shortly at the invitation of Soviet leader Yuri Andropov for talks related to that objective and other matters.