

MARCH-APRIL, 1979

ADL BULLETIN



שלום Peace سلام

Quotes from the March 26 speeches of Carter, Sadat and Begin at the peace signing ceremonies:

Carter:



"Mothers in Egypt and Israel are not weeping today for their children fallen in senseless battle. The dedication and determination of these two world statesmen (President Sadat and Prime Minister Begin) have borne fruit. Peace has come to Israel and to Egypt."

Sadat:



"Let there be no more war or bloodshed between Arabs and the Israelis. Let there be no more suffering or denial of rights. Let there be no more despair or loss of faith. Let no mother lament the loss of her child. Let no young man waste his life on a conflict from which no one benefits. Let us work together until the day comes when they beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks..."

Begin:



"... now it is time for all of us to show civil courage in order to proclaim to our peoples and to others no more war, no more bloodshed, no more bereavement, peace unto you, shalom, salaam forever."



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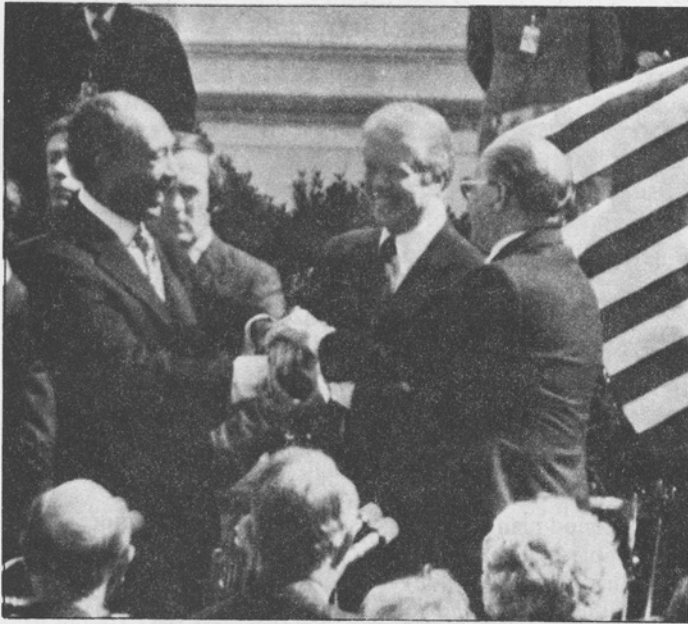
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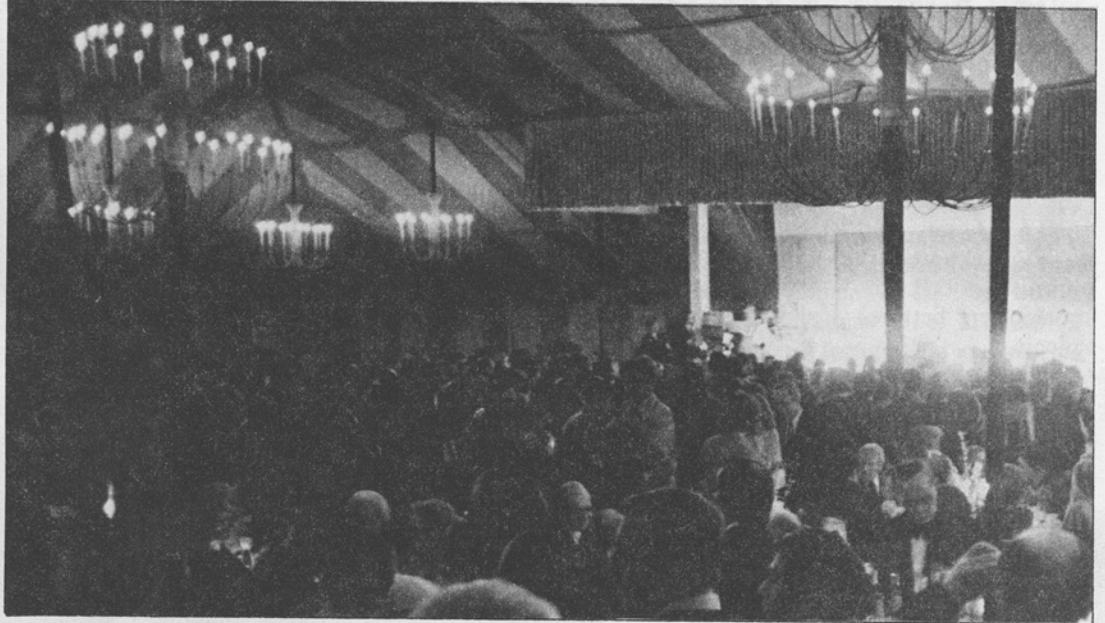
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ADL at White House On Historic Day



Eight of its top leaders and executives represented ADL in Washington on the day Egypt and Israel ended more than three decades of warfare. The delegation, led by national chairman Maxwell E. Greenberg, witnessed the outdoor ceremony which concluded with the hand clasp, at left, of Presidents Sadat and Carter and Prime Minister Begin. That evening, the delegation was part of the overflow crowd of invited guests to a state dinner held in a large tent (below). The reception line included (clockwise from bottom right) Mr. Greenberg, accompanied by Irving Shapiro, chairman of the Middle Eastern affairs committee; Benjamin R. Epstein, executive vice president of the ADL Foundation, with his wife, Ethel; Abraham H. Foxman, associate national director, and Nathan Perlmutter, national director. Other delegates, not shown, were Burton M. Joseph, honorary national chairman; Max M. Kampelman, national vice chairman, and David A. Brody, ADL's Washington, D.C. representative.



The Egyptian Israeli Peace Treaty: *Two Perspectives.*

1.

A View From Jerusalem by Yoram Kaniuk

While 108 members of the Knesset, on March 23-24, dissipated the moment into a marathon talk show, Israel seemed somewhere between a nightmare and a picnic.

Prices went up, way up, again; the inflation drove everyone into a mood of delirious fun, mixed with gloom. The first signed peace in 4000 years seemed to be sneaking in with only a muted fanfare.

Sixteen months ago when Sadat paid his famous visit to Jerusalem, people saw the stars. Then came the harsh realities of commas, indefinable terms and accusations; so by now, peace is finally at hand and there is a cautious mood. A certain detachment, a sobriety on the edge of the absurd.

Anise Mansour, no friend of the Jews and Sadat's close friend, wrote last year in Egypt's *October* magazine that if you give the Jews paradise, they will hang pictures of Hell on its walls. Well, maybe he's right, but the mood reflected the success of the negotiations rather than its failure. Its very success is rooted in the loose language whose ambiguity was debated



Yoram Kaniuk is a columnist and one of Israel's leading novelists. His works include *Adam Resurrected*, *Rocking Horse* and *The Story of Aunt Shlomzion*.

here with high rhetoric for 28 hours.

In a paradoxical way, the loose ends make this peace a very good ground plan for life. It is the best treaty possible, not in spite of, but because it lacks the basis for rejoicing. You can't put an end to such a complicated long war, at least not in this part of the world, with a formula that ignites euphoria.

You can only lay down rules of behavior and construct a framework. A framework where everyone may be a little sad, less a winner than a loser.

Maybe only a combination by which every side comes out a little bit the loser can solve the Middle East problem. I said maybe because this treaty is only the beginning of something. The Israelis see it one way, the Egyptians another, the rest of the Arabs yet another.

It is therefore a good treaty, not only because each side sees it entirely in a different light, but also because, for the first time, the far left and extreme right in this country can unite in a single rejection—maybe one can say a single vision.

And so, rather than a forced solution, the treaty presents a formula in which the Egyptian and Israeli "NEVERS" merge in mutual need to solve a painful situation rather than fight over it. Yes, the painful situation remains, but only as a part of mutual interests, not conflicting ones—mutual interests which might progress into what is the ultimate hope for eventual comprehensive peace, namely the permanent coexistence between Jews and Arabs living together on both sides of the Jordan River.

What this peace is all about is a war on war, an opening for a new reality which like all unknown phenomena looks both exciting and dangerous, both unreal and necessary.

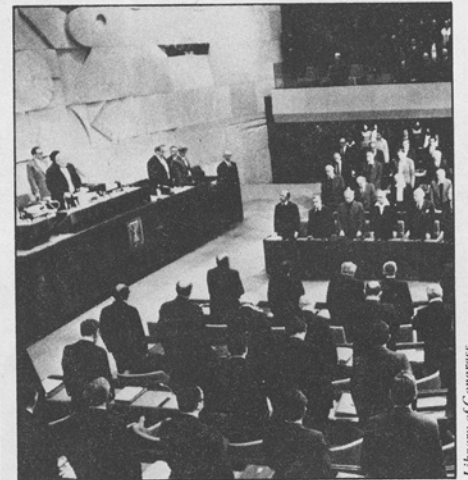
The peace therefore is a compromise, and the exhilaration will probably become much greater as the two losers—the Israelis and the Egyptians—see how much they have gained by it. As yet, they are shy of it—with the shyness that can

enter the embrace of great warriors.

Some say it was Jimmy Carter's show. He pressed hard in the interest of America, in the interest of a personal vision; as much as he needed it, he seemed to believe in it.

But it is Sadat and Begin who have made this treaty possible. Begin who signed the peace treaty, not because of, but in spite of almost 40 years of convictions. He met Sadat, who until a few years ago, was willing to sacrifice one million Egyptians in the cause of war. Yes, Sadat did get the goods without one bullet, but he's paying a high price. Opening the door to Israel, a nation he once swore to drive into the sea.

The heart has reasons reason doesn't know, says Montaigne, and Begin, who



The Knesset: Gamble for survival

had left Golda Meir's Cabinet in protest over the acceptance of U.N. Resolution 242, will be Israel's first Prime Minister who brought peace, a feat which seemed unbelievable only two years ago.

Yet, I think that besides Sadat, whose story should be told by an Egyptian, we should take note of the contradiction by Moshe Dayan and Ezer Weisman, who contributed most to what one member of the Knesset lamented in the debate as a "choked peace" and "glorious moment which is

mourned instead of being celebrated.”

Dayan, more than any other Israeli, was responsible for the October War, and this lone wolf, this gloomy man, reckless and bright, with a passion for ancient art, both a Lear and a cowboy, whose vision is tragic and whose mind is quick and flexible, this man, who understood before anyone else, as maybe he should have, the meaning of the October War, was the man who ended it now.

It was he who made Sadat's visit possible. It was he who fought for the treaty. It was he who convinced Begin. If the treaty belongs to Begin, the thinking behind it belongs to Dayan, who together with Weizman perceived, or made the government perceive, the enigma within the riddle. Weizman was the builder of the modern Israeli Air Force, and behind the scenes, he was the planner of the victory of the Six Day War. Two warriors, weary

I started this piece by saying the peace treaty's success is owing to its vagueness and the different interpretations it encompasses. And slowly, in spite of dangers, both sides will have to come to terms with their utmost dreams and weave them into a new reality that creates its own momentum—the reality of peace. Israel will find greatness in knowing the limitations, and will be what Levi Eshkol, Israel's third Prime Minister, called *Shimshon Ha'Giber Nebecher*, Samson the weakling.

Meanwhile, nothing is solved yet except that from now on, the process will have to corral the vision so that the endless shedding of blood will cease to be.

Is it possible? I can't be sure. No one can. But since the creation of the State of Israel, no Prime Minister has had to make such a difficult and historical decision. It is a gamble—a gamble with all the eggs in



Sadat being greeted upon arrival in Israel in November, 1977

of war and bloodshed, have convinced their own doctrinarian Begin to take up a new role. It was they, while knowing the price we would have to pay, who withstood the fire of negotiations and fought it through to its conclusion.

None of the dangers have vanished. None of the gloom is erased. But seeing how the glimmer of visions of paradise as yet unattained are hung on the walls of Hell, this man makes everyone believe that Mansour was only partly right. The heart of the problem remains yet to be solved: Jews and Arabs live side by side for generations and are bound up in an absurd dilemma for which no magical or geometrical solution is feasible.

the basket, but still a lot depends on the goodwill of both sides. It is a gamble with survival, but it is also a gamble for survival—and therefore, be what may, even pessimists like me take their cue from Dayan and celebrate in somber wonder what might be the greatest moment in this nation's history. ■

“What this peace is all about is a war on war, an opening for a new reality—both exciting and dangerous—unreal and necessary.”

2.

Facing The Reality

by Zev Furst

Missing in the Israeli reaction was the exuberance of sixteen months ago. Some said the Israelis were more realistic now and understood the grave risks inherent in the treaty. Was this excessive skepticism or just plain apathy?

The truth is that Israel is having difficulty coming to terms with the new reality of peace with Egypt because it has never experienced what Americans take for granted—a normal and peaceful existence and way of life.

To a generation that lived through the Holocaust, built a state, defended itself in five wars only to find itself an international orphan, the adjustment from a claustrophobic existence to a new reality is difficult and painful. Israelis still find it awkward to accept and acknowledge that a significant element of the Arab world (40 million Egyptians out of 120 million Arabs) is tacitly recognizing and accepting that the Jewish State of Israel has legitimacy. It is far easier to dwell on the grave risks Israel is taking than to recognize that Egypt is accepting the continuity of the Jews in their homeland. It is far easier to envisage the tangible concessions in returning the Sinai peninsula than the intangible Egyptian promise to enter into a peaceful relationship.

Is it any surprise, then, that following one of the most historic events in Israel's national existence, the national debate revolves around traumatic questions? “Are we risking too much?” “Is real peace possible with any Arab country?” “What next will we be urged to concede in order to assuage United States interests in the Middle East?”

Moreover, barely one month after the ink is dry on the peace treaty, negotiations will begin with Egypt (and possibly with Jordan) on setting up the autonomy plan. The negotiations will of necessity make past disagreements between Israel and Egypt and Israel and the United States seem minute and irrelevant.

Most important, too, is the fact that since Camp David, Israeli leaders have dwelt on the tremendous risks Israel is being asked to undertake. Because of Is-

Mr. Furst is the director of ADL's Jerusalem office.

raeli concessions, the average person, unaccustomed to hard bargaining and its resultant give and take, has lost confidence. The country's leadership suffers from a major credibility problem, aggravated by massive internal economic and social problems, which to a large degree have been ignored.

Moreover, a glance at the rest of the Middle East does not leave the Israeli in a comfortable state of mind. The "peace loving" states of the Arab League—Syria, Iraq, Jordan, Algeria, Libya and Yemen—pose a far greater threat than at any time in the past. Facing Israel on its eastern front are 750 combat aircraft, 4,370 tanks, 2,200 artillery pieces. Every able-bodied Israeli will still have to serve the annual mandatory 45-day reserve duty.

Normalization of relations between Israel and Egypt is only a step—vital as it may be—toward lasting peace. However, most wars have begun between states that had embassies in each other's capitals, that engaged in economic relationships with each other, that maintained open borders with each other.

Nevertheless, the mere signing of the peace treaty does represent an historic rapprochement between the Jewish people and the Arab nation (as embodied in Egypt). No matter what may occur in the future, the Arab-Israeli conflict can never again be the same.

The peace treaty proves that there can be a foundation for the establishment of normal relations between Israel and her neighbors. It means that there does exist a basis for mutual confidence that both parties may be willing to cooperate with each other on the basis of mutual trust and credibility and that the strategic threat does not emanate from either of these two countries, but rather from other internal and external factors.

But the strategic level is not the only one in which common interests exist which can strengthen the agreement. Cooperation on the economic, cultural and educational levels may also act as catalysts in strengthening peace. It must become an inherent part of the Israeli and Egyptian consciousness that it simply does not pay to abrogate or threaten the treaty, since other interests override and outweigh any attempt to compromise the agreement.

From the American vantage point, peace is indeed a greater challenge than war for the peoples of the Middle East. It is a profound challenge not only because of its inherent subtleties, complexities and tremendous dangers, but also because of the opportunities it offers.

The Zionist purpose was not simply to

create a state in which persecuted Jews could find a home. Of equal, and perhaps greater, importance was the establishment of a center for the reawakening, the renaissance of Jewish culture and Judaism. The Jewish State fulfilled one Zionist aspiration. But the second goal—to make Israel the center of Jewish life—has not been implemented owing to the external dangers which Israel has been forced to confront over the past 30 years.

The peace treaty with Egypt affords Israel, for the first time, the real possibility to confront, head-on, this second, unfulfilled goal.

It affords both Israel and the world Jewish community the opportunity to work out a more mature relationship which will benefit not Israel alone, nor American Jews alone, but all Jews.

It opens up a new era which must be utilized to transform the dream of Israel as a cultural center of the Jewish people into living reality. ■

CRUDE FOR FOOD

In Phoenix, composer Brent Burns struck a responsive chord with Americans — angry at gas prices — in a country tune, "Cheaper Crude or No More Food." Singlehandedly, he took on OPEC with what is shaping up as a hit record of the year:

"If they don't lower the gas, we're going to lower the boom,

*Quit shipping all that wheat and corn,
Forget the Golden Rule.*

*If they don't lower the price of crude,
We're gonna cut off the food*

*And in a week they'll sing a different tune."**

Burns told reporters, "The Arabs have a dagger at our throats; it's time we used our clout." A news commentator premiered "Crude" on a national program. D.J.'s aired the song hourly, describing it as "the voice of heartland America."

"And if they still want to play rough

We'll show 'em who's really tough

Let 'em make a loaf of bread from a gallon of crude

If you folks in the Middle East are listening,

You better listen to what I'm saying,

'Cause we'll take it for a while,

But once you got us riled

You're gonna think you got a tiger by the tail."

A woman reportedly sent 5,000 copies to the White House. It was discussed in the Delegates Lounge at the U.N. "Crude" concludes:

*"I'll tell you folks, our farmers feed the world,
And that includes the countries I've been talkin' about.*

If they don't lower the price of crude,

We'll just raise the price of food;

Let 'em pay ten bucks for a loaf of bread."

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Greenberg Arranges Meeting With Sadat In Washington

President Sadat met March 27 with a small group of Jewish community leaders for a cordial exchange of views on the tripartite relation among Israel, Egypt and the United States.

According to Maxwell E. Greenberg, national chairman of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, who had arranged the meeting at the suggestion of Ashraf Ghorbal, Egyptian Ambassador to the United States, "No one departed the meeting with substantially changed ideas or attitudes."

Speaking English fluently, President Sadat stated that:

—A "gesture" from Prime Minister Begin, such as accelerated withdrawal from the Sinai, would enhance his popularity among Egyptians;

—In spite of appearances to the contrary, Saudi Arabia does support this peace initiative;

—King Hussein is opposed to the negotiations because of his "dream" of a "United Hashemite Kingdom";

—Jerusalem should be united with free access to the Holy Places under a joint council of Israelis and Arabs which would manage municipal services;

—Economic arrangements between American businessmen and Egypt should be swiftly implemented.

Others present included: Nathan Perlmutter and Abraham H. Foxman, national director and associate national director of the League; ADL honorary national chairman Burton M. Joseph; Max M. Kampelman, ADL national vice chairman; Jack J. Spitzer, B'nai B'rith International President; Theodore Mann, chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations; Elmer Winter, former president of the American Jewish Committee; Theodore Ellenoff, chairman of the executive committee, and Morton L. Mandel, president of the Council of Jewish Federations. ■