

ס/קז

מדינת ישראל

אגף אג"ו

י"ג הסדר המל"ק
אגף אג"ו
בכ"ו אג"ו
הכרעה

מאח

לשכת ראש הממשלה

13/2

newsweek newyork i.t.t. 420395

prochristopher exborchgrave elkins herewith interview paren
condensend from two hour fifteen minute conversation unpars:

question:-- by what right do you continue to occupy arab
lands query.

answer:-- we have fought three wars in our brief lifetime of
twenty years. if the arab governments had accepted, as the whole
world did, the establishment of the state of israel, this would
not have happened. in fact, there would have been no need to
change our borders one jot. but after the six-day war, its aye
miracle that we are still here, so why should we now crawl on our
hands and knees to the arabs and say -- please, do us aye favor,
and take it all back..... if we had lost the last war, our lot
would have been the same as the nine iraqi jews hanged in public
last week. our occupation of the territory is the outcome of
war. in 1948, jordan conquered the west bank. in 1967 we conquered
the west bank. ... you seem to forget the arabs werethe first to
attack.

question:-- they were query.

answer:-- they closed the straits of tiran, moved tanks
and troops into sinai, and were headed toward our borders. when
they chased the united nations troops out, we were faced with aye
blatant act of war, there was no way out for us. eye tried to
procrastinate, to delay, hoping something would happen, something
would intervene. it didnt.... guarantees proved worthless. ten
years ago, president eishhower pledged that the suex canal would
be open to us and that if president nasser tried to stop it, the
international community would have to deal with the situation with
aye firm hand. you know what happened.

question:-- president nasser is convinced that you are an
expansionist power -- that your objective is aye greater israel,
from the Nile to the euphrates. what can you say that would
convince him this is not so. query.

answer:-- it is difficult to say anything that would
convince him. during the last two decades, we have repeatedly said
we are feady to discuss our problems with nasser. eye am still
ready to fly to cairo tomorrow. eye dont want to talk to him as
aye conqueror. eye want him to rid his mind of the ridiculous
notion of aye greater israel. he cannot base a policy on a phrase
that has been uttered by individuals who represent nothing but
themselves. even the bible doesnt use that phrase. the quote
river of egypt unquote referred to in the old testament is the
el-arish rpt el-arish river -- aye muddy stream aye few miles
inside sinai.

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eye can pledge my word to nasser it never was and never will be our policy. eye am ready to meet him anywhere, anytime, and eye wont quarrel about procedure, agenda, or the shape of the table.

question:-- what about your plans for new israeli settlements on the golan plateau in syria, on the west bank of the jordan river, and in egyptian sinai query.

answer:-- you know what happened on the golan heights before the war --- the syrians shelled our settlements from there. never again.

question:-- but why not an agreement to demilitarize golan rather than settle israelis in what is part of syria query.

answer: -- what is demilitarization query. who watches over the border query. no one knows what demilitarization means. we had eye war. we won it. and as long as golan remains eye dangerous spot, we will settle it. besides, we have no one to talk to on the syrian side.

question:-- are you prepared to give up these new settlements in occupied territories as part of eye final peace settlement query.

answer:-- it is not proper to answer iffy questions today. we are flexible on everything, but eye dont want to get into specifics before negotiations.

question:-- right after the six-day war, israeli leaders were telling correspondents that they would surprise the world with their magnanimity; that they would make generous offers to settle the refugee problem once and for all. what happened query.

answer:-- ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ we were perhaps eye little overoptimistic on the chances for eye lasting settlement. clearly the refugee problem can only be settled in cooperation ~~sixksz~~ with our neighbors. we must have eye dialogue. the refugees are an international problem. we need land and water for them. we are eye small nation. jordan has ninety thousand square kilometres of land and an annual water flow of 650 rpt 650 million cubic meters.... lebanon -- ten thousand square kilometres and three billion cubic meters of water.... syria -- 185,000 rpt 185,000 square kilometers and 3.8 rpt 3.8 billion cubic meters and, with the euphrates thrown in, another several billion..... egypt -- one million square kilometres and 84 billion cubic meters.... iraq -- 450,000 ~~kixkaxkrexzx~~ rpt 450,000 square kilometers and 60 billion cubic meters. israel with 20,000 square kilometers has 1.5 rpt 1.5 billion cubic metres of water -- largely from wells that we have dug since independence.

query:-- whats your point query.

~~ans. eye~~

MORE

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interview. page three:--

answer:-- if these countries would sign peace with us, there is much empty territory and much wasted water. we will pay compensation to the refugees or buy land for them to ~~resettle~~ resettle in neighboring countries.

question:-- arab leaders see no chance of peace because they are convinced you are determined to hold on to what you have conquered come what may. can you prove this is an erroneous assumption. query.

answer:-- eye am sure that nasser knows that the opposite is the case.

query:-- how. query.

answer:-- through channels eye cannot disclose, arab rulers have heard interesting things from us. they know we want peace.

question:-- but would you go back to your frontiers in return for peace. query.

answer:-- let me say, clearly and unequivocally, there will be no return to the situation preceeding the june war. the present cease-fire lines will not be changed except for secure and agreed lines within the framework of eye final and durable peace. we must discuss new borders, new arrangements. the armistice agreements are dead and buried.

question:-- you have repeatedly demanded direct negotiations with arab governments, but if part of your country were occupied by arab armies, could you afford to sit down with them face to face before they agreed to get out. query.

answer:-- surely. no doubt, no doubt whatsoever. god forbid, but if we had been the losers and -- miraculously -- were still alive, and they were to say quote we are ready for peace negotiations unquote, eye cannot imagine that we would refuse. has it ever been otherwise in history. query.

question:-- you insist on eye permanent peace with the arab governments as the price of withdrawl, but is this possible without finding eye solution to the refugee problem. query.

answer:-- for our neighbors, the refugees are eye convenient political football, not eye life and death issue. if they want to begin with the refugee problem, we are ready. we are completely flexible on the agenda. its all eye package deal so it doesnt matter where you start.

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question:-- the united nations call for the choice of the right to return or compensation for all refugees. why do you object to this . query.

answer:-- eye would like to remind our friend nasser that there was aye time when we agreed to the return of 100,000 rpt 100,000 refugees -- though eye was against it as eye didnt believe it would work out, because arab leaders needed them as pawns. today the situation has changed. the refugees are aye ~~timebomb~~ timebomb for israel. we cannot take them back, but we have agreed over the years to the return of 40,000 rpt 40,000 of them on compassionate grounds. eye repeat we are ready to pay compensation.

question:-- are you prepared to withdraw from occupied territories in return for:-- 1. freedom of navigation.... 2. an arab declaration of non-belligerence.... 3. arab recognition of the territorial integrity of israel. and..... 4. ^{eye united} ~~eye united~~ ~~frontiers~~ ~~the~~ the nations--policed demilitarized zone along your ~~frontiers~~ ~~the~~ whole package guaranteed by the powers. query.

answer:-- no.

question:-- why not. query.

answer:-- we have learned aye lesson. demilitarization is aye very complex problem. we must work out aye viable system. remember the uunn force in 1967. query. nasser whistled and they packed their kitbags.

question:-- do you still insist on aye completely demilitarized sinai and ~~thasaxxiwxzxxkxx~~ west bank, aye permanent military presence at shar-el-sheikh, an access road to sharm el sheikh through sinai, and the continued occupation of the golan heights as the quid-pro-quo for withdrawal. query.

answer:-- we dont insist on anything. try us out and youll be surprised on the degree of give and take we are prepared for. we have not made any demands on the demilitarization of sinai. at sharm el shekih, however, we must be in aye position to defend the access to the straits of tiran-- our backyard. we cannot rely on outsiders to do it for us. we cannot live as aye nation without aye peace treaty. as for golan, we will quite simply never give it up. the same goes for jerusalem.

question:-- beyond aye possible compromise on the holy places in jerusalem, are you prepared for ay any give and take on the city itself. query.

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answer:-- no, here there is no flexibility at all. eye regret it. eye would be very happy to say yes, but every time eye look at the map eye shake my head because there is no possible way to compromise on jerusalem. it is the very heart of our state.

question:-- some israeli leaders are now suggesting that president nasser and king hussein are too weak on their homefronts to be valid negotiating partners, and that sooner or later you will have to settle your problems with the palestinians directly. what do you think. query.

answer:-- if those two could work together -- and if nasser didnt stab the king in the back from time to time, eye am quite sure they could sell aye reasonable settlement to their peoples. eye have met at least half aye dozen times with palestinian leaders on the west bank. they said they would go talk to hussein and to nasser. they did, but came back empty-handed. one million arabs on the west bank have now seen the israelis with different eyes. but if arab leaders remain intransigent, the situation will, of course, get worse.

question:-- do you see el-fatah and the fedayeen as a potentially new political factor in the middle east. query.

answer:-- eye dont want to brag, but the fedayeed have lost aye lot of people. many are leaving the movement dispirited. eye do not believe the fedayeen will become as important as some people seem to think in western countries. but if el-fatah want to talk to us directly, we would not say no. if one day they overthrew established arab governments, we would then have aye new enemy and aye new situation. but eye dont believe this will happen because they feel better off as free-lancers, and are not at all anxious to take on the burdens of government.

question:-- you call them terrorists. but didnt you carve out your own country by terror and force of arms. query. how does el-fatah differ from other resistance movements through history. query.

answer:-- if people perpetrate terrorist acts they can, of course, call themselves aye resistance movement. but what are they resisting. query. they cannot find shelter on the west bank. the arabs there are not cooperating with the fadayeen. that hardly qualifies them as resistance fighters.

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question:-- but in gaza the local population is resisting. are they not eye resistance movement to israeli occupation. query.

answer:-- as eye jew eye will answer with another question. what difference does it make. query. why should eye glorify them with their own label. for twenty years gaza was occupied by the egyptians. the egyptian curfew there was much tougher than ours. the palestinian refugees in gaza resisted the egyptians just as strongly as they resist us.

question:-- is it conceivable to you that Israelis and piazx palestinians may one day live together in eye sort of condominium or bi-national state, perhaps comparable to the way christians and moslems run lebanon. query.

answer:-- eye would not like to be in the same position as lebanon on eye fifty-fifty bases. lebanon could become sixty-- forty one day..... and then what happens to the minority. query.

question:-- but lebanon has worked. query.

answer:-- its very important that our detractors should understand that for two thousand years we were persecuted minorities around the world. never again. we must have our own place and we must be the majority. look at cyprus. twentythree percent turks, and look at whats going on. is that what you want for us. query.

question:-- in that case, how would you feel about eye separte palestinian arab state. query.

answer:-- eyem against it. personally eye think palestinian connections and ties should be with jordan -- same customs, same religion, same language.

question:-- if the jews are entitled to eye homeland in this part of the world, arent the palestinians similarly entitled to their own country. query.

answer:-- what arepalestinians query. when eye came here there were 250,000 nonjews -- mainly arabs and bedouins. it was desert -- more than underdeveloped. nothing. it was only after we made the desert bloom and populated it that they became interested in taking it from us.

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question:-- you expect arab governments to disown the fedayeen, or at least to disarm them or control them, but were jewish leaders capable of controlling irgun and the stern gang at the time of your own struggle for independence from the british. query.

answer:-- yes, to a certain degree we were, but how can you compare. query. the arabs have established governments with armies and police forces. we had nothing, we were just as illegal as the underground movements you just mentioned.

question:-- president nasser told newsweek that egyptian representatives are prepared to sit down with israelis in joint committees with unnn observers as you did under the 1949 armistice agreements and until the 1956 war, an arrangement he says you yourselves ended. what are your objections to resuming such a dialogue. query.

answer:-- there was always a third party in these committees and this third party -- the unnn -- was the decisive party. the unnn observer nearly always said he never saw what happened. the arrangement had become a mockery, a travesty of justice. when nasser launched the first fedayeen raids, he was free to do as he pleased while we were supposed to respect the armistice agreements. that's why the arrangement broke down, but if nasser is ready to resume these joint committees and to sit on them, why isn't he ready to sit with us under the security council resolution of november twentytwo 1967. query.

question:-- hasn't the time come for some fresh thinking and some new israeli peace initiatives. query.

answer:-- we feel that every day is the time for this. the question is what and how. let's sit down and discuss it, let's reason together. we have said -- and it certainly reached the ears of the jordanian government -- that if jordan needs a mediterranean harbor we are prepared to give them free port facilities in haifa or jaffa. we can embark on all sorts of joint endeavours to develop their industry and export business. go talk to the arab farmers on the west bank and they will tell you what we have done in a few months to increase their productivity that had barely moved for centuries. we dug wells for them where their own people had assured them there was no water. this is what we can offer. but there is a price. either they maintain a state of war and nothing happens, or they want real peace and then the hopes for the future are unlimited.

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interview. page eight.

question:-- if you ~~wazzax~~ were president nixon trying to counteract russian penetration of the arab world, wouldnt you find it necessary to inch closer to the arab view of the israeli occupation and the ~~reqnzzkzax~~ requisites for aye settlement. query.

answer:-- its always hard to put yourself in someone elses shoes, especially those of the president of the united states. but eye am convinced that the six-day war served the interests of the free world in the middle east. there is much alarm about soviet influence, but what do egypt and syria have to offer the west. query. and the states that do have aye lot to offer -- saudi arabia, kuwait, iran, turkey, etcetera -- in those states, soviet influence is minimal. the value of israel to the west in this part of the world will, eye predict, be out of all proportion to its size. we will be aye real bridge between three continents and the free world will be very thankful not only if we survive, but if we continue to thrive in secure and guaranteed borders.

~~XXXXX~~ note:-- this filed at eighteen hundred newyork time monday. regards.

concen pls acknowledge if received okay.

