

מדינת ישראל

גנזך המדינה

משרד _____
ראש הממשלה

בג"כ ונאמני הממשלה

בג"כ 8/8 - 8/1978

מס' תיק מקורי _____

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יו"ר קצרת

מדינת ישראל

משרד הממשלה

משרד



לשם היות ~~לשם~~ להסקיה חוף

(מאונסיה)

1977 - 1978

מ.מ.מ.

מחלקה



114/22.1.1978/4.06.08

CABINET COMMUNIQUE ISSUED FOLLOWING PRESIDENT SADAT'S RECALL
OF THE EGYPTIAN DELEGATION TO THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE
IN JERUSALEM, ON 19 JANUARY 1978.

The Government of Israel noted with regret the announcement of the Egyptian Government as to the sudden suspension of the negotiations within the framework of the political committee. This abrupt Egyptian announcement proves once more that the Egyptian Government was under the illusion that Israel would surrender to demands that at no time were acceptable to Israel. The Egyptian delegation demanded of the Israeli delegation the withdrawal of Israeli forces from Sinai, the Golan, Judaea, Samaria and Gaza.

The Egyptian Foreign Minister, on his arrival in Israel, did not hesitate to demand that Israel transfer the Old City of Jerusalem to foreign rule, and further demanded the establishment of a Palestinian state in the territory of *Eretz Yisrael* in Judaea, Samaria, and in Gaza. Such a Palestinian state would have extinguished any prospect of peace, and would have created a danger to the very existence of the Jewish state.

There has never been, and there will never be, a government in Israel that would agree to such conditions. However, the Government of Israel, which strives for a real peace, has proved its willingness by presenting a peace plan that was received positively by all those who have seen it. The Israeli peace plan was presented on 17 December to President Carter and his advisors. Secretary of State Vance declared in an official communique that it is a "notable contribution" and that it contains a constructive approach. President Carter announced on 28 December 1977 that the Israeli peace plan contains "a great deal of flexibility" and that it is "a long step forward." Former President Ford and ranking senators, including the leader of the majority in Congress and British Prime Minister Mr. Callaghan, have declared that it is a most constructive plan. It is only the Egyptian Government, in its astonishing intransigence, that sees the plan as "delaying tactics" and "deceit," and which decided, in the midst of this early stage of the negotiations on a "declaration of principles," to suspend the talks. We did not put any preconditions. We did not make any discussion on Egyptian proposals conditional on their acceptance of ours. As in all negotiations, there was an exchange of proposals and counter-proposals. Israel will continue to strive for the establishment of a permanent and just peace with her neighbours. Should the Egyptian Government decide to renew the negotiations, Israel will be willing to do so.

101/1.1.1978/4.06.08

THE JERUSALEM
POST

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 29, 1977

BEGIN EXPLAINS HIS PLAN TO THE KNESSET

'Real security'

The following is Prime Minister Begin's statement in the Knesset yesterday:

MR. SPEAKER, Members of the Knesset,

On the establishment of peace we shall propose to grant administrative self-rule to the Arab residents of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza District on the basis of the following principles:

(Mr. Begin then read out the plan for self-rule for Judea, Samaria and Gaza.)

Mr. Speaker, I must now explain paragraph 11 of this plan and also Paragraph 24. In Paragraph 11 of our plan we stated that security and public order in the areas of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza District will be the responsibility of the Israeli authorities. Without this paragraph the plan for administrative self-rule is meaningless. I wish to state from the Knesset rostrum that it obviously includes the stationing of Israeli army forces in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip. It is quite out of the question — if we had been asked to withdraw our army forces from Judea, Samaria and Gaza — to allow these areas to be dominated by the murderers' organization known as the PLO — "Ashaf" in Hebrew translation. This is the vilest organization of murderers in history, with the exception of the Nazi armed organizations. A few days ago it also boasted of the murder of Hamdi el-Kadi, the deputy director of the education office in Ramallah, and today it threatens to solve the problems of the Middle East by one bullet to be dispatched to the heart of Egyptian President Sadat, as its predecessors did in the Al-Aksa Mosque against King Abdullah — with one bullet. No wonder the Egyptian government announced that if one such bullet is fired Egypt will reply with a million bullets.

WE WANT to say that this organization will not be permitted, under any conditions, to dominate Judea,

Samaria and Gaza. If we did withdraw our forces, that is what would happen. And therefore let it be known that anyone who wants an agreement with us should be good enough to accept our statement that the Israel Defence Forces will be stationed in Judea, Samaria and Gaza; and there will also be other security arrangements so that we shall give all the residents — Jews and Arabs in the Land of Israel — security of life, that is, security for all.

In paragraph 24 we stated:

"Israel stands by its right and its claim of sovereignty to Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district. In the knowledge that other claims exist, it proposes, for the sake of the agreement of the peace, that the question of sovereignty in these areas be left open."

We explained this to U.S. President Carter and to Egyptian President Sadat. We have a right and a claim of sovereignty to these areas of the Land of Israel. This is our country, and it belongs by right to the Jewish people. We want agreement and peace. We know that there are at least two other claims of sovereignty over these areas. If there is a mutual will to achieve an agreement and bring about peace, what is the way? If these conflicting claims are upheld and if there is no solution to the conflict between them, there can be no agreement between the parties. And for this reason, to facilitate agreement and to make peace, there is only one way: to decide, by agreement, that the question of sovereignty remains open; and to deal with the people, the nations — for the Palestinian Arabs, administrative self-rule; and for the Palestinian Jews, real security. This is the fairness contained in the proposal, and thus it has also been received abroad.

Principles for settlement

WITH THIS plan, as well as with principles which I shall now explain,

for the settlement of relations between Israel and Egypt to be laid down in a peace treaty between these two countries, I went to the United States to visit President Carter and to inform him of both parts of our peace plan. The second part — namely, the principles for the settlement of the relations between Egypt and Israel in the context of a peace treaty — are:

- Demilitarization — The Egyptian army shall not cross the Gidi-Mitla line. Between the Suez Canal and this line the agreement for the thinning out of forces shall remain in force.
- Jewish settlements shall remain in place. These settlements will be linked with Israel's administration and courts. They will be protected by an Israeli force — and I repeat this sentence for a reason well known to all the members of the House — they will be protected by an Israeli force.
- A transition period of a number of years, during which IDF forces will be stationed on a defensive line in central Sinai, and airfields and early-warning installations will be maintained, until the withdrawal of our forces to the international boundary.
- Guarantee of freedom of navigation in the Straits of Tiran, which will be recognized by both countries in a special declaration as an international waterway which must be open to all passage of all ships under any flag; either by a UN force which cannot be withdrawn except with the agreement of both countries and by unanimous decision of the Security Council, or by joint Egyptian-Israeli patrols.

With the two parts of this peace plan I came to the President of the United States, Mr. Carter. I had a personal tete-a-tete with him. Both during that talk and in the talks between the Israeli and American delegations, he expressed a favourable assessment of the plan. On Saturday evening, at the second meeting, the President of the United States said that this plan was a fair

basis for peace negotiations. A favourable view of our plan was also expressed by Vice-President Mondale; Secretary of State Vance; the president's adviser on national security, Prof. Brzezinski; as well as by the well-known, distinguished and influential Senators Jackson, Case, Javits, Stone and our dear friend — to whom, Mr. Speaker, on behalf of the entire Knesset of Israel I today extend best wishes for a full and speedy recovery — Senator Humphrey. In addition, a favourable assessment of this plan was expressed by former U.S. president Gerald Ford, former secretary of state Henry Kissinger, and the spokesman of the American Jewish community, Rabbi Dr. Schindler. All of them stated that the basis of the plan was its fairness.

FROM AMERICA, en route home, I stopped over in London, and I presented our two-part peace plan to the prime minister of Britain and the British foreign secretary. Both Mr. Callaghan and Dr. Owen expressed their favourable assessment of our peace plan, and Mr. Callaghan told our attorney-general that this was a very constructive plan. I also conveyed the plan to the special envoy of the president of the French Republic, Giscard d'Estaing, namely Francois Poncet.

While I was in the U.S., I asked the secretary of state to contact President Sadat and to inform him, on my behalf, that I would like to meet with him — whether in Cairo or in a neutral place, or, should he so desire, in Ismailiya. I mentioned a meeting in Ismailiya because we spoke of such a possibility with President Sadat when he visited Jerusalem.

The president of Egypt informed me, via the secretary of state, that he was choosing Ismailiya as the site of our meeting. I agreed. Thus, a few days after the conclusion of my mission in the U.S. and Britain, the meeting in Ismailiya took place.

Mr. Speaker, that was a successful meeting. Its success came with its opening. We held a personal talk, President Sadat and myself; and within the first five minutes of that talk, the decisive result was attained: continuation of the negotiations between the two countries for the signing of a peace treaty — as was decided, instead of the expression "peace agreement," in the meeting between the two delegations in Ismailiya.

These negotiations will be conducted at a high level. The committees will be: political, to sit in Jerusalem, and military, which will sit in Cairo. The chairmen of the committees will be the foreign ministers and the defence ministers of Egypt and Israel. The chairmanship of the committees will rotate. Our foreign minister will begin at the sessions of the committee in Jerusalem. The Egyptian

defence minister will begin at the sessions of the military committee in Cairo. At the end of a week, the chairmen will rotate. The political committee will deal with the civilian settlements in the Sinai Peninsula and the subject — which is a moral one, it may be termed an Arab-Jewish one — of the Palestinian Arabs. The military committee will deal with all the military questions connected with the peace treaty for the Sinai Peninsula.

THUS, MR. SPEAKER, for the first time in 30 years, in the very near future — in about another two weeks — direct, face-to-face negotiations will commence between authorized representatives — ministers of Israel — and Egypt's authorized representatives, its foreign and defence ministers. No third person will serve as chairman of these committees, as was the custom in all the meetings between ourselves and the Arab states; but the ministers themselves will conduct the sessions and rotate as chairmen. These will be fundamental, detailed, political, security negotiations for the attainment and signing of peace treaties.

And because this is happening for the first time since the establishment of our state, for the first time after five wars, for the first time after the declaration from various directions that Israel must be liquidated — we must welcome this shift in itself. And let us hope and wish that during the weeks or months during which the committees will sit, they will reach agreement — and if there is an agreement it will serve as a basis for the peace treaty which, in this case, will be signed by authorized representatives of Israel and Egypt.

It may be said that at the Ismailiya meeting the two sides also agreed on a joint declaration. But its publication was prevented because the two delegations did not arrive at an agreed and joint formula for the problem which we term — and justly so — the question of the Palestinian Arabs, while the Egyptians call it, in their terminology — and it is their right to use their terminology — the question of the Palestinian people. We tried, we made an effort, to arrive at a joint formula; but it emerged that we could not accept one or another wording — whether proposed to the Egyptian delegation by us, or whether proposed to the Israeli delegation by the Egyptians. On Sunday, between 10 and 10:30 p.m., we therefore postponed the meeting until Monday morning, on the assumption that, with an effort by both sides, a way out would be found. And, indeed, it was found.

BY WAY OF agreement on a joint formula, in accordance with precedents in international conferences, we proposed — and our proposal was accepted — that each side would assert its position and employ its own terminology. Hence,

the statement on the question of the Palestinian Arabs, as read out by the President of Egypt to our joint press conference, was made up of two sections, namely:

"The position of Egypt is that a Palestinian state should be established in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. The position of Israel is that the Palestinian Arabs residing in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district should enjoy self-rule."

Because of the difference over this issue, publication was prevented of the declaration whose contents had been completely agreed upon. We did not deem it proper to press for publication of a joint statement if the Egyptian side said that under these conditions it could not sign it. But I must note that the content itself was agreed upon by the two delegations together. (Interjection by Knesset Member Aharon Yadin, of the Alignment: What is left of the contents?) If it was not published, why do so from the Knesset rostrum? (Interjection by Knesset Member Yadin: How can settlements be defended by an Israeli force if the IDF withdraws to the international border?) That belongs to the debate — and I have learned, especially from committee proceedings — that if someone says he does not understand, he means he does not agree — particularly someone as intelligent as yourself.

Took many risks

Mr. Speaker, with the conclusion of the meeting at Ismailiya, we have done our part; we have given our share. Henceforth, the other side has the floor. For the sake of peace, for the sake of a peace treaty, we have assumed great responsibility and taken many risks. Yes, indeed. And already during these days, since my return from the U.S., a hard and painful debate has been under way between my best friends and myself. From the Knesset rostrum, too, I shall state, as I told them, that if it is my lot to conduct such a debate, I shall willingly accept the decree. They are my friends. We went a long way together, in difficult days and in good days. I love them, and regard them — and shall continue to regard them — with affection.

BUT THERE IS no escape. You must accept responsibility with that degree of civic courage without which there can be no political decisions. To me it is clear that we are on the right path to facilitate negotiations for, and the signing of, a peace treaty. After examining all the other ways, as they have often been mentioned in Knesset debates, I no longer have the slightest doubt that the only way to make negotiations for the signing of a peace treaty possible is the one that is proposed by the government. Therefore, should it be necessary to face a debate on this matter with dear,

even beloved, friends, we shall do so. But it is a fact that the responsibility is great and the risks exist. Therefore I reiterate: In Ismailiya, in the wake of the visits to Washington and London, we, the government of Israel, did our part, we made our contribution; and it is now the turn of the other side. If the followers of routine thinking in the Egyptian Foreign Ministry assume that they will succeed in getting international pressure exerted on us, so that we will accept their positions which are unacceptable to us, and that we will agree to them — they are wrong. Even if pressure were to be exerted on us, Mr. Speaker, it would be of no benefit to anyone, because we are used to pressure and the refusal to yield to it.

No pressure expected

But I am convinced that no international pressure will be exerted on the State of Israel. It is inconceivable. The persons who praised our peace plan as fair, as constructive, as a breakthrough, are

very serious persons. They know its full contents, except for certain amendments — which we have also transmitted to our friends the Americans — which do not alter the substance of the plan. This is the plan I made known to President Carter and President Sadat. And they cannot, by invitation of the conventional thinkers of the Egyptian Foreign Ministry, change their minds within the space of a few weeks. We have today massive moral support throughout the U.S.: in the administration; in both Houses of Congress — and the House majority leader, Mr. Wright, told me that he praises and approves this peace plan; in American public opinion; and last, but not least, among the American Jewish community.

THEREFORE the conventional thinkers in the Egyptian Foreign Ministry are making a great mistake if they are under the illusion that if we do not accept their antiquated formulae, which are totally divorced from reality, then international pressure will be exerted on us. It will

not. And we shall continue on our path, to bring peace to the people of Israel, to establish peace in the Middle East. For that is my aspiration — not from May and June 1977, but ever since November and December 1947, from the days in which — after a break in the relations of peace between the Palestinian Arabs and the Palestinian Jews — the first bullet, directed by an Arab hand into a Jewish heart, was fired, and from the days in which I appealed to the Palestinian Arabs from the underground, and called upon them: do not shed Jewish blood, let us build the country together, so that it may be a glorious land for the two peoples. But the bloodshed continued and there were five bloody wars — to which we want to put an end by establishing peace and signing peace treaties. This is our heart's desire. And I am certain, Mr. Speaker, that I can express the view of the entire house — with the exception, perhaps, of one faction — if I say: This is the heart's desire of the entire Jewish people — to bring peace to the land, having liberated the land.

The Prime Minister's self-rule plan

This is the plan for self-rule for Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district which Prime Minister Begin read out in the Knesset yesterday:

SELF-RULE for Palestinian Arabs, Residents of Judea, Samaria, and the Gaza District, Which Will Be Instituted upon the Establishment of Peace —

1. The administration of the military government in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district will be abolished.
2. In Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district administrative autonomy of the residents, by and for them, will be established.
3. The residents of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district will elect an Administrative Council composed of 11 members. The Administrative Council will operate in accordance with the principles laid down in this paper.
4. Any resident 18 years old or over, without distinction of citizenship, including stateless residents, is entitled to vote in the elections to the Administrative Council.
5. Any resident whose name is included in the list of candidates for the Administrative Council and who, on the day the list is submitted, is 25 years old or over, is eligible to be elected to the council.
6. The Administrative Council will be elected by general, direct, personal, equal, and secret ballot.
7. The period of office of the Administrative Council will be four years from the day of its election.
8. The Administrative Council will sit in Bethlehem.
9. All the administrative affairs relating to the Arab residents of the areas of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district will be under the direction and within the competence of the Administrative Council.
10. The Administrative Council will operate the following departments: education; religious affairs; finance; transportation; construction and housing; industry, commerce, and tourism; agriculture; health; labour and social welfare; rehabilitation of refugees; and the department for the administration of justice and the supervision of the local police forces. It will also promulgate regulations relating to the operation of these departments.
11. Security and public order in the areas of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district will be the responsibility of the Israeli authorities.
12. The Administrative Council will elect its own chairman.
13. The first session of the Administrative Council will be convened 30 days after the publication of the election results.
14. Residents of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district, without distinction of citizenship, including stateless residents, will be granted free choice of either Israeli or Jordanian citizenship.
15. A resident of the areas of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district who requests Israeli citizenship will be granted such citizenship in accordance with the citizenship law of the state.
16. Residents of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district who, in accordance with the right of free option, choose Israeli citizenship, will be entitled to vote for, and be elected to, the Knesset in accordance with the election law.
17. Residents of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district who are citizens of Jordan or who, in accordance with the right of free option, become citizens of Jordan, will elect and be eligible for election to the Parliament of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan in accordance with the election law of that country.
18. Questions arising from the vote to the Jordanian Parliament by residents of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district will be clarified in negotiations between Israel and Jordan.
19. A committee will be established of representatives of Israel, Jordan, and the Administrative Council to examine existing legislation in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district; and to determine which legislation will continue in force, which will be abolished, and what will be the competence of the Administrative Council to promulgate regulations. The rulings of the committee will be adopted by unanimous decision.
20. Residents of Israel will be entitled to acquire land and settle in the areas of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district. Arabs, residents of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district, who, in accordance with the free option granted them, become Israeli citizens, will be entitled to acquire land and settle in Israel.
21. A committee will be established of representatives of Israel, Jordan, and the Administrative Council to determine norms of immigration to the areas of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district. The committee will determine the norms whereby Arab refugees residing outside Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district will be permitted to immigrate to these areas in reasonable numbers. The rulings of the committee will be adopted by unanimous decision.
22. Residents of Israel and residents of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district will be assured freedom of movement and freedom of economic activity in Israel, Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district.
23. The Administrative Council will appoint one of its members to represent the council before the government of Israel for deliberation on matters of common interest, and one of its members to represent the council before the government of Jordan for deliberation on matters of common interest.
24. Israel stands by its right and its claim of sovereignty to Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district. In the knowledge that other claims exist, it proposes, for the sake of the agreement and the peace, that the question of sovereignty in these areas be left open.
25. With regard to the administration of the holy places of the three religions in Jerusalem, a special proposal will be drawn up and submitted that will include the guarantee of freedom of access to members of all faiths to the shrines holy to them.
26. These principles will be subject to review after a five-year period.



105/1.1.1978/4.06.08

EXCERPTS FROM A NEWS CONFERENCE GIVEN BY PRIME MINISTER BEGIN
AT BEN GURION AIRPORT, UPON HIS RETURN FROM ISMAILIYA,
ON 26 DECEMBER 1977.

Prime Minister Begin: The meeting at Ismailiya was crowned with success. Yesterday, immediately after our arrival, I had a personal talk with President Sadat and, within a few minutes, we agreed to set up two committees: one political, the other military. We thus lent added momentum to the peace-making process in the Middle East. We agreed that the two committees would be chaired by the Foreign and Defence Ministers of the two countries. We agreed that the political committee would sit in Jerusalem, and the military committee in Cairo. We also agreed that the chairmanship of the committees would be determined on a rotating basis: in Cairo, in the first week of the discussions, General Mohammed Gamasy - whom we respect as a courageous soldier - will be chairman; and, after a week, Defence Minister Ezer Weizman - whom the Egyptians respect as a courageous soldier - will take over. In Jerusalem, the political committee will be chaired first by the Foreign Minister of Israel and, after a week, the new Foreign Minister of Egypt will take over as chairman.

These committees will start work in mid-January, probably on the 14th or 15th. We have set no date for the conclusion of their work, but it may be expected that they will carry on for about two or three months. We hope they will bring us an agreement. If there is an agreement, it will serve as the basis for the peace treaties.

There was a proposal that we issue a joint declaration, and we discussed it. Many things were agreed upon but, what was not agreed upon, as regards content and formulation, concerned the Palestinian Arabs. An Egyptian formulation - which we could not accept - was presented to us, and we put forth our own formulation, which the Egyptians could not accept. For several hours we tried to arrive at a joint formulation and, last night between 10 and 10:30 P.M., we had not yet attained an agreed joint formulation. We therefore decided to put off the session until this morning, on the assumption that, following further thought, we would, as regards this matter too, find a formulation acceptable to both sides.

QUESTION: Is there any time-table for narrowing the existing gap?

PRIME MINISTER BEGIN: There is no time-table. There is no time limit. The committees will begin their discussions in about another three weeks, and I assume that the discussions will continue for several months.

Q: Could there be a separate Israeli-Egyptian agreement if no other Arab states join in the discussions?

PM: It is too soon to ask a question like that. It was put to President Sadat at the press conference. He said: "No, peace must be established throughout the Middle East," and I agree with him.

Q: If there is a Knesset vote, will you impose party and coalition discipline, or will everyone be allowed to vote according to his conscience?

PM: We shall impose no coalition discipline. Every Knesset member will be able to vote according to his conscience. I hope that this decision, concerning the government supporters, will also have an effect on those opposing the government. In other words - this time, because one of the most fundamental issues of our national life is involved, that all the factions will allow their members to vote freely.

Q: Did you and President Sadat reach agreement on possible demilitarization in Sinai?

PM: Our proposals concerning Sinai are crystallized. True, there is an element of demilitarization in them, but that is one of the details, and we shall conduct all the negotiations on details in the military working committee.

Q: What is the present plan for the Cairo Conference plenum?

PM: The Cairo Conference will convene tomorrow and will decide to defer its discussions, so as to enable the working committees in Cairo and Jerusalem to proceed with their work.

THE JERUSALEM
POST

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 27, 1977

Ismailiya summit

ISMAILIYA (AP). — *Text of the statements and news conference of Egyptian President Anwar Sadat and Israeli Prime Minister Menahem Begin yesterday at the conclusion of their Middle East summit meeting: (The remarks were in English unless otherwise noted).*

Sadat's statement:

In the name of God, let me seize this opportunity to express my gratitude for the efforts you have done to cover the historical moments here in Ismailiya. As you know, after my visit to Jerusalem on the 20th of November, a new spirit prevails in the area and we have agreed in Jerusalem and in Ismailiya also to continue our efforts towards achieving a comprehensive settlement.

We have agreed upon raising the level of the representation in the Cairo conference to ministerial level and as you have heard yesterday (Sunday) we have agreed upon two committees — a political committee and a military committee headed by ministers of foreign affairs and ministers of defence. The military committee will convene in Cairo. The political committee will convene in Jerusalem.

Those committees shall work in the context of the Cairo conference, meaning that they will report to the plenary whenever they reach any decision. The question of the withdrawal we have made progress, but on the Palestinian question, which we consider the core and crux of the problem here in this area, the Egyptian and Israeli delegations here discussed the Palestinian problem.

The position of Egypt is that on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip a Palestinian state should be established. The position of Israel is that Palestinian Arabs in Judea, Samaria, the West Bank of Jordan, and the Gaza Strip should enjoy self rule.

We have agreed that because we have differed on the issue, the issue will be discussed in the political committee of the Cairo preparatory conference.

I hope I have given you some light upon our work and thank you again.

Begin's statement:

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen. I have come here a hopeful prime minister and I am leaving a happy man. The conference in Ismailiya has been successful. We will continue with the momentum of the peace-making process.

Now starts the phase of the most serious negotiations — how to establish peace between Egypt and Israel as part of a comprehensive settlement throughout the Middle East. Those two days are very good days for Egypt, Israel and for peace.

May I express our gratitude to the president for his gracious hospitality he bestowed upon me, upon my friends and colleagues, the Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan and the Defence Minister Ezer Weizman and our collaborators and advisers.

This is the second meeting between President Sadat and myself after the historic event of his breakthrough visit to Jerusalem.

Here, too, may I say, we spoke as friends. We want to establish real peace. There are problems to discuss and in these two committees, the chairmanship of which we will rotate between our respective ministers, those serious negotiations and talks will take place.

Now my friends and I will leave Ismailiya and Egypt with the faith that we contributed to the peace-making process and there is hope that, with God's help, President Sadat and I and our friends will establish peace.

Thank you, ladies and gentlemen.

News conference

Q: Mr. Begin, what are the advantages of two or three committees working in tandem rather than a cohesive peace forum and since you and President Sadat obviously coordinated these discussions, do you expect to meet soon and frequently?

Begin: The committees will start with their work quite soon. In the first week of January they will work every day. We hope for good and concrete results. President Sadat and I also agreed during our private talks, if necessary, from time to time we shall meet again.

Q: Mr. Begin and Mr. Sadat, would you say Egypt and Israel are about

to achieve a peace treaty in a couple months?

Sadat: We are working towards a comprehensive settlement. As I said before, we want to establish peace in the area. Without a comprehensive settlement we can't achieve peace.

Begin: I agree with the president.

Q: To Begin: What about the declaration of intention you were both to announce? And how do the proposals you submitted to President Carter differ from those you brought here?

Begin: The statement made by the president is an agreed upon statement. So we don't need now an additional written declaration. We agreed to continue the efforts to establish a comprehensive peace settlement in the Middle East on the basis of UN Security Council Resolution 242 and 338 and to establish these committees. This is the basic agreement. This is the most important development at the Ismailiya conference.

Our colleagues and friends will continue with the efforts as the president and I explained. We have presented to President Sadat the proposals I took to President Carter. There were a few amendments not of decisive importance. And yesterday at the conference I presented all our proposals in detail. The president listened very attentively and now the committees may have counter-proposals by Egypt as is natural in the process of negotiating peace treaties.

Q: Looking beyond a peace settlement, can you tell us something about your long-term grand designs for peace? How to satisfy your people's expectations of a better life, of a renaissance in this Middle East cradle of civilization? Are you in favour of cooperation in science, education, agriculture, industry, trade and cultural exchanges between your two countries and eventually between Israel and the Arab world as a whole?

Sadat: Well, the two committees will start, and, as I said, will report to the plenary. Let me say this — we are working towards a comprehensive settlement in the area here and the nature of peace is on the agenda between both sides of the two com-

mittees, and all that you have mentioned will be discussed in the committees.

Q: Begin: May I congratulate you, Mr. Carr (Maurice Carr, of Israel Features Service), on the poetry you read to us and I think this is a very good vision and when we establish peace, all those good things you put into your question will be put into realization.

Q: Mr. President, is the gap on the Palestinians unbridgeable?

Sadat: In as much as we shall be continuing in the Cairo conference to discuss whatever points of difference between us, we shall continue. As Prime Minister Begin has said, if need be we shall meet again. I don't think there is any gap that cannot be bridged between us.

Q: President, do you agree that Egypt not only holds the key to peace in the Middle East, but also that no combination of Arab countries can wage war in the foreseeable future against Israel?

Sadat: Well, maybe you have heard my speech. We were sincere in war and we are sincere for peace since my visit to Jerusalem last November. Let us sit together like civilized people and discuss whatever problem between us. Let us agree upon the fact that the October war should be the last war. We did not differ upon this at all. The continuation of our efforts will answer all this.

Q: What about waging war without Egypt?

Sadat: Well, we have here, for sure, in the Arab world, in this area here, the key to war and peace. In Egypt here, this is a fact, an historic fact. Well, I can't speak for anyone but I can say this.

Q: Mr. President, can the West Bank Palestinian issue be solved without a role for the PLO?

Sadat: There should be a solution for this problem. We have passed it to the political committee that we have agreed upon in the Cairo conference. For sure, we shall find a solution. Because, as I have said before, the Palestinian question is the crux of the whole problem. Maybe in the future, after the political committee works and the discussions start, a new situation will develop.

Begin: The organization called the PLO is bent on the destruction of Israel. It is written in their charter. They never changed their position. As I stated time and again, from our point of view everything is negotiable except the destruction of Israel. Therefore, this organization is no partner to our negotiations. Now as I read before I reached Ismailiya, the spokesman of this organization threatened the life of President Sadat — speaking about one bullet that may change the course of events. So now we have a situation, after Tripoli, in which such threats are issued both against Israel and Egypt. We want to discuss

the problem of the Palestinian Arabs with our Egyptian friends. We want to negotiate with the representatives of the Palestinian Arabs and this we are going to do in the first week of January.

Q: Is there any possibility that other Arab countries will join the conference? Will you keep King Hussein of Jordan informed?

Sadat: For sure I will be informing King Hussein of all the developments that have taken place here in Ismailiya and let us hope that others will join yet in the next stage.

Q: In view of the dramatic changes that have taken place, have you, Mr. President, changed your mind about delaying diplomatic relations for future generations?

Sadat: As I have said before, the nature of peace is one of the important points that is on the agenda for the two committees and for the plenary session after that. Let me tell you this — it is now not more than 35 or 40 days since my visit to Jerusalem. Everything has changed. Everything has changed since that visit took place. I quite agree with those who say that the world after the Jerusalem visit is completely different to the world before the visit.

Q: Seven years ago the U.S. and China started ping-pong diplomacy. Will you open the borders to allow sportsmen of both sides, even at this stage, and in that way to allow people to know each other and play together? The Egyptian football team — which I'm told is better than Israel's — could play the Israel team.

Sadat: It is not yet ripe. But for sure we shall be continuing our discussions in our meetings. As you have heard, there will be a committee here and a committee there and gradually we shall be in a position to reach agreement upon all what you are proposing here.

Begin: Until the day the president agrees to exchange sportsmen on both sides, do something to strengthen our football team (laughter). (The questioner was philanthropist Able Nathan.)

Q: Mr. President, in view of the disagreement on the Palestinians, can an interim accord be reached between Egypt and Israel?

Sadat: The differences should be overcome in the committees. It is a fact.

Q: You are not seeking an alternative to peace?

Sadat: As I have already stated before the Knesset, this time we are not either for a disengagement agreement or a partial agreement — trying to reach some stages and then postponing other steps after that. No. This time we are for peace. Genuine peace. Comprehensive settlement.

Begin: May I add, Mrs. Zemer (Hanna Zemer, editor of "Davar"), the president and I agreed that there is no alternative to peace.

Sadat: Right.

Q: How do you explain the abrupt change from years of enmity and distrust to friendliness and trust?

Sadat: It is not abrupt. It must have been in the subconscious of all of us and when I made my step, in my calculation, really, I knew my people would agree to it. But I never thought that they will go to this extent. It is a natural feeling and there is no fear at all. There will be no revival of anything that has happened in the past.

Q: Mr. President, Mr. Begin, have you reached the stage where mutual troop reductions in the Sinai are possible?

Sadat: Let us hope that in a few weeks we shall be in a position to report.

Begin: Yes. Yes. We hope so. When peace comes on, both countries, all countries, in the Middle East will be able to reduce their military forces and expenditure which is eating up our substance and rather devote our sources and resources to the liquidation of poverty, development of agriculture and industry. This is our common aim.

Q: I was asking about troop reduction at this stage.

Begin: We do hope for the possibility of reducing troops from all sides.

Q: On what moral grounds, Mr. Begin, are you denying the Palestinians, the West Bank and Gaza their right to self-determination? And you, Mr. President, on what moral grounds can you negotiate about the future of the Palestinians without a single Palestinian representative present?

Begin: One correction, my friend. I belong to the Palestinian people too. Because I am a Palestinian Jew and there are Palestinian Arabs. But, of course, we want to live in human dignity, in liberty, justice and equality of rights. Therefore, I brought the president a proposal of self-rule for the first time in the history of the Palestinian Arabs. Now we have established a political committee. We stated our positions clearly and the political committee will continue the discussion of this very serious problem.

Sadat: What we are discussing really is within the Arab strategy that was agreed upon in the Arab summit conference. But in the details I shall not negotiate for the Palestinians. So they should take their share. But in this Arab strategy, what I am doing really is that I am not speaking for myself but for this strategy in its principles. But I shall not put myself as a spokesman for them or speak for them. They should join in the next stage.

Q: Is Israel's demand for a military presence in the West Bank a major stumbling block?

Sadat: I do not want to reveal what we have already discussed in the proposals that have been made by

Prime Minister Begin. He has shown his will to end the military government on the West Bank. But we differ upon the issue, as I have told you, of a Palestinian state on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. That means self-determination.

Q: Did you discuss the future of the Golan Heights?

Sadat: I cannot speak for Syria or the Golan Heights, as I told you, now we are concerned with the main principles in the Arab strategy. And whenever we reach agreement upon those points between us in the committees, in the political and military committees, after that everyone should negotiate for himself.

Begin: I do want to express the hope that President (Hafez) Assad (of Syria) will join our common effort. We want a comprehensive peace treaty. We want peace with all our neighbours to the south, to the north and to the east and when President Assad agrees to negotiate with us, we will be willing to negotiate with him. This is a problem of the northern border of Israel and the common border of Israel and Syria.

Q: I am an Egyptian journalist and I want to ask Mr. Begin in his language.

Begin: You want to speak to me in Hebrew? I understand Hebrew (laughter).

Q: (In Hebrew) Mr. Prime Minister, I want to ask you if the initiative of President Sadat brought about profound changes in your thinking and outlook, and also how you see the future of Israel and the Middle East after peace.

Begin: (In Hebrew) Firstly, I want to tell you, you speak better Hebrew than I do. (In English, addressing Sadat) I want you to know he speaks better Hebrew than I do (laughter). Congratulations. No, I want to answer. I thank you for your question. (In Hebrew) I want to say that the visit of President Sadat to Jerusalem was a visit of historic significance, for the whole Israeli people, for the whole Egyptian people, for all the peoples, and we appreciate it. Since the visit we have worked well on a peace plan, and I brought this peace plan before the president, and we explained it in detail yesterday in the joint meeting, when we were alone, and when the two delegations met.

The future of Israel after peace is achieved, as in the case of Egypt — I have no doubt, it will be glorious and that peace will be achieved between the peoples, the Middle East will develop, and as his majesty, the King of Morocco has said, it can become a sort of paradise on earth. This is the cradle of human civilization and from here came the tidings of peace and progress. Therefore, I was very happy to hear your question and that is my answer. Now I shall translate into English with a Hebrew accent. (Begin then translated his remarks in English).

Q: Now that you have raised the level of the talks, how do you see the role of the U.S.? Will you be inviting Secretary of State Vance to take part in some of your talks and is there a role for the Soviet Union?

Sadat: I foresee for the U.S. and the UN in the political committee (inaudible) but the military committee will be bilateral, as for the U.S., it will be in the political committee without the Soviet Union. We didn't exclude them. They excluded themselves. Well, we have no objection from our side.

Q: Mr. President, will you call an Arab summit, and will the other parties be invited to the Cairo conference when the level is upgraded?

Sadat: Until we reach in the committee agreement on the main issues and mainly the Palestinian issue, on which we have differed — until we reach this point, as it is part of our Arab strategy, I shall not be in a position to ask for an Arab summit meeting. But whenever we reach this, I think that after that, I shall be in a position to discuss with my Arab colleagues the possibility of a summit.

Q: Do you feel that Mr. Begin's proposals contain sufficient concessions to have justified your trip to Jerusalem?

Sadat: Well, we have agreed on certain points. We have made progress on the withdrawal. We have differed among us on certain points, namely the Palestinian question. These proposals that have been made by Premier Begin will be put before the committee, political or military, and other counter-proposals will be submitted to these committees, and until we reach them we think that the momentum that we have given to the peace process is continuing.

Q: What do you think of Begin's proposals?

Sadat: Well, as I have told you, we have points of difference and points of agreement.

Q: Can you be more specific on what progress was made on Sinai? And does this mean foreign ministers exclusively in the Cairo conference?

Sadat: I have stated before that in the political committee there will be the foreign ministers, and in the military committee there will be the defence ministers. For the first part that you have asked, I have heard the proposals Premier Begin told us about and we are preparing our counter-proposal in the military committee. But really what concerns us in this respect is a comprehensive settlement. This is not the Sinai that is the problem now, because as I told you, after peace, after a genuine peace in the area, regarding Sinai, this is a side issue and, of course, in a comprehensive settlement it will be part of it. And as I told you, I prefer not to reveal anything, and leave the military

committee to work on the details and discuss proposals and counter-proposals until we reach agreement.

Q: Mr. President, what about the PLO? Don't you feel the Palestinians have the right to choose their representatives? What role do you think the PLO should play in the peace-making process?

Sadat: I have stated before the Knesset that the Palestinians should be a part of this settlement because, as I said, the Palestinian question is the core of the whole problem. The PLO is now in the rejection camp. I sent them an invitation and they refused and excluded themselves. Well, I didn't exclude them. For the future, let us wait for what will develop.

Q: Mr. President, is it still your position that Israel must withdraw from all occupied land, including East Jerusalem?

Sadat: That's right.

Q: When you speak of progress on the question of withdrawal, may I ask Mr. Begin how he interprets that progress?

Begin: Well, Resolution 242 does not commit Israel to total withdrawal, and therefore this matter is a matter for negotiation, to establish those secure and recognized boundaries which are mentioned in the second paragraph of Resolution 242. And this is the crux of our problem — to negotiate the conditions of peace in order to establish peace throughout the Middle East. This is what we are going to do in the next few weeks and months.

Q: Will Syria eventually join the talks, and what would be the effect?

Sadat: I can't answer this. You should ask President Assad. I can't speak for him, as I told you. Whenever they find it convenient for them to join, we shall welcome them.

Q: Will the Cairo conference reconvene simultaneously with the two ministerial committees? Or alternately?

Sadat: It has always been my position that without good preparation, Geneva will be a failure. I said this during my visit last April in the U.S. I made my first proposal for a working group under Vance to start contacting all the parties concerned and a meeting to be prepared before Geneva.

Q: But what about simultaneous meetings of the two committees?

Sadat: They will be working in the context of the Cairo conference, and as I said, they will report to the plenary.

Q: Does this mean the Cairo conference will continue on the foreign minister level, that Mr. Vance and Mr. Waldheim will come here?

Sadat: Let us hope so. But for sure, we shall not go back. We are going forward.

Q: But the political committee is meeting in Jerusalem. Does this mean that Mr. Vance and Mr.

Waldheim will also be in Jerusalem?

Sadat: Well, we shall leave this to them.

Q: Mr. Begin, do you accept the principle of non-acquisition of territory by force and are you going to apply it to a comprehensive settlement?

Begin: Yes, we are for a comprehensive settlement and I accept the principle established under law attesting that there mustn't be any acquisition of territory in the wake of a war of aggression. The war of the Six Days was a war of legitimate self-defence, and the president told

me yesterday, yes, he does remember the slogans issued in those days to throw the Israelis into the sea, and so we defended ourselves in accordance with international law and practice. Thank you.

ירושלים, ט"ו בטבת תשל"ח
25 בדצמבר 1977

א ל ה נ צ י ג ו י ת

תוכנית הטלויזיה "מול פני האומה" מארחת את ראש הממשלה
מר בגין 18 בדצמבר 1977

במהלך ביקורו האחרון בארצות הברית, רואין ראש הממשלה, מר מנחם
בגין, בתוכנית הטלויזיה הפופולארית "מול פני האומה".

הראיון שודר ברשת הטלויזיה האמריקאית סי.בי.אס. ב-18 בדצמבר
1977.

עיקרי השאלות שהוצגו לראש הממשלה ותשובותיו מצ"ב לידיעה
ולשימוש.

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EXCERPTS FROM AN INTERVIEW WITH PRIME MINISTER BEGIN ON
"FACE THE NATION," CBS, 18 DECEMBER 1977.

George Herman: ...Has President Carter supported or endorsed in any way your proposals? Has he put the US Government behind your proposals?

Prime Minister Begin: I found good will and understanding by President Carter, who has contributed decisively to those dramatic events which now make peace possible in the Middle East. I did not ask for any commitment by the President. What I was interested in, as in what I believe President Sadat is interested, was the good will of the US. That we got. Therefore, if I came here a hopeful man, I'm leaving a happy man.

Herman: If I understand your first answer, you came here to explain your proposal to the President.

Begin: That's true. And I think we had very fruitful, very constructive talks. The main question raised concerned what is going to happen with the Palestinian Arabs. I cannot go into details of our discussions, because the first man to hear from me now will be President Sadat. But I can say that our proposal entails the possibility, for the first time in history, of the Palestinian Arabs having self-rule and the Palestinian Jews security. Both are vital.

William Beecher: Can you tell us whether President Carter asked you to reconsider any of your basic proposals before they are presented to President Sadat?

Begin: He did not. I can say that he considers the proposals which I brought to him a fair basis for negotiation to achieve peace.

Marvin Kalb: Does he support them, Sir?

Begin: Well, if he says they are a fair basis, there is some support for them. And I think

this is the position now of both the President and the Secretary of State, Mr. Vance, who yesterday made a public statement to this effect, saying that my proposals are constructive and conducive to peace.

Herman: Didn't they also say that additional steps would be necessary, that this doesn't go all the way?

Begin: No. Additional steps were mentioned because we are now at the time of very delicate negotiations. We have actually started negotiations directly face-to-face. There are very complicated problems to solve. Therefore, the American endorsement could not be complete, of course. There will be many problems. For instance, we want a comprehensive peace settlement. We never initiated, we do not initiate today, a separate peace agreement with Egypt. We want peace agreements and treaties with all our neighbours, to the north, to the south and to the east. For the time being, Jordan has not joined our effort, and Syria even opposes that effort. We believe that they will come in. But it is a very serious problem. These are the additional steps to be undertaken.

Kalb: Could you tell us, Sir, what does autonomous self-rule mean?

Begin: It means what it says - self-rule. In other words, the people will have the possibility to conduct their own affairs through their own elected men.

Herman: Even if they elect Yasser Arafat?

Begin: Well, I don't think they will elect particularly that man. But, of course, no negotiations between Israel and the so-called PLO can take place... Of course, we cannot know whom they are going to elect. But I do believe that those who have a completely negative attitude, a destructive attitude, will not be elected. I don't think they will be candidates.

Beecher: If something like this formula should be negotiated, would you exclude the possibility that, after years of Israel and the residents of the West Bank living harmoniously together, a separate nation would emerge there?

Begin: No, on the contrary. I think we shall live together in Judaea and Samaria and in the Gaza district. This is our striving all the time.

Beecher: But would you see this arrangement in perpetuity, with the possibility of a nation

emerging there?

Begin: There can always be a review. But I wouldn't like to go into detail, because, as I said, the first man to hear from me should be President Sadat.

Herman: *Have you had any direct or indirect contact with President Sadat recently?*

Begin: We have permanent contact through the American Ambassador. I sent President Sadat a message before I left for Washington, informing him about my journey to the US and about the talks to take place between President Carter and myself. Nothing was done behind his back. He knows perfectly well what is going on, and then, I will be going to Egypt to meet with President Sadat in order to inform him about the contents of our talks in Washington, and also, of course, bringing our ideas concerning the peace-making process.

Herman: *Have you contacted any other Arab governments, either indirectly or directly?*

Begin: No.

Kalb: *Is there a difference, Sir, between your concept of an autonomous region on the West Bank and a homeland such as President Carter suggested many months ago?*

Begin: Anybody can choose his own language. I prefer to say "autonomy," in Greek; translated into English it is "self-rule" - a very good translation. But why should you call it "West Bank?" The West Bank is the whole territory from the Jordan River to the Mediterranean. I think the proper language is Judaea and Samaria.

Kalb: *Does self-rule also mean self-determination?*

Begin: I think one can say they are synonymous.

Beecher: *Mr. Begin, when you're in Egypt, talking to President Sadat, do you think that there'll be some agreement that will actually come out of your brief visit there on this next trip?*

Begin: I hope so. And I have a suggestion to make to President Sadat. This I can publish in advance. If President Carter should invite President Sadat and myself to come to Washington, than we shall be in a circle of friendship and faith - a Christian President, a Moslem leader and a Jewish Prime Minister - and we can announce to the world *Pax Vobiscum*,

Shalom Aleichem, Salem Aleicum - all of which mean "Peace unto you." I think it will be quite an event in the annals of Mankind, in our generation.

Kalb: Is the peace that you speak of a peace for all the Middle East?

Begin: Yes, Sir. This is our striving.

Kalb: And would you seek a declaration of principles that would be applied in the negotiations between Israel-Egypt, Israel-Syria, Israel-Jordan?

Begin: That will be part of the negotiation with the President of Egypt, because the President wants, of course, to have a peace treaty on the basis of bilateral relations between Egypt and Israel. But he also told me that he represents the Arab cause, and that he would like to see a solution to the problem of the Palestinian Arabs. I'm going to propose such a solution to him. And then we shall negotiate. If, as I said, we reach an agreement, then let us announce it to the world.

Herman: One of the crucial emotional issues in this whole question seems to me to be the question of East Jerusalem. When President Sadat spoke before the Knesset, he talked about Jerusalem as an open city. When I questioned him on "Face the Nation" a few weeks ago, I said: "How about East Jerusalem?" And as you may know, he said: "For sure, under Arab control." Now, if he feels so strongly about it, and if the Saudi Arabians feel so strongly about the Arab holy places in East Jerusalem, what is your concept of what will eventually happen to East Jerusalem?

Begin: Would you accept the principle that I feel strongly about Jerusalem?

Herman: Certainly. That's why I'm asking you.

Begin: Well, Jerusalem is and has been, the capital city not only of our State, but of the Jewish People for three thousand years, since the days of King David.

Herman: And a major stumbling block to peace, perhaps?

Begin: No, no; it's not going to be a stumbling block at all. On the contrary, it is the city of peace. As I said in the presence of President Sadat, London is a city, Paris is a city, Cairo is a city. They are not going to be divided; why should Jerusalem be divided? Nobody in his senses would suggest that barbed wire should again divide this city into two

parts. Jerusalem is one city, the capital city of our State and of our People, with completely free access to all the holy shrines of every religion, Moslem, Jewish and Christian, as President Sadat himself learned when he visited Jerusalem. He went to the el-Aqsa Mosque to pray with complete freedom, and then he went to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. And he saw how there was completely free access to all the holy shrines. That had not been the case for nineteen years under Jordanian rule. We, for instance, the Jews, could not go to the Western Wall of our Temple, destroyed by the Romans. For nineteen years, we could not go to that holy shrine to pray. Now, everybody can go to his holy shrine. We will, perhaps, have a proposal about self-rule of the religious representatives of their holy shrines, and that is a very positive and constructive solution for everybody concerned.

Beecher: Let's pursue the security issue. We understand your desire that any and all peace agreements stand on their own feet, without dependence on outside guarantees, assurances or commitments. Have you, on this recent trip, discussed with President Carter the possibility of a mutual security treaty with the United States?

Begin: No, we didn't discuss it at all. About guarantees, I would like to say that, in the whole world, there is no guarantee that can guarantee an international guarantee. We have the experience of Czechoslovakia in 1938, the tripartite declaration regarding the Middle East which never prevented any war, a declaration that the international community will never tolerate the closing of the Tiran Straits. Again they were closed; nobody moved. We had to fight not only for the freedom of navigation, but for our survival. Therefore, we do not rely on guarantees; we do not ask for guarantees. We can sustain our own independence, and we shall.

The question of a security pact between the US and Israel is a question to be dealt with as sovereign states should do, without connection with the peace-making process. If the US should find it necessary or possible to suggest a security pact between itself and Israel, we shall be very willing to consider it.

Herman: In this new mood of negotiation, this new momentum towards peace, is everything negotiable with other countries, for example, the Golan Heights with Syria?

Begin: We always said that everything is negotiable, except the destruction of Israel. Everything is negotiable.

Beecher: I'm trying to get some notion of an outside role once you will have succeeded in negotiating peace agreements with your neighbours. Do you see the possibility, the useful-

ness, of American and Russian monitors in demilitarized zones - whether in the Sinai, on the Golan Heights or the West Bank?

Begin: There are now Americans in Sinai, as you know. There are no Russians. I don't think we would like to have them, either President Sadat or myself, either the People of Egypt or the People of Israel. We have some experience with the Russians. Whenever they come, it's not so easy to ask them to leave. And there is now an international problem. We would not like to have the Russians in our region at all.

Kalb: *Could you tell us, Sir, whether your policy is still to encourage Jewish settlements on the West Bank, even within the framework of self-rule?*

Begin: I don't have to encourage them. There are settlements. It's the perfect right of the Jewish People to settle in Judaea and Samaria, and it will be the right of the Arabs in Judaea and Samaria to settle in Israel. There will be symmetrical justice. Everybody will be free to settle. There will be free movement.

Kalb: *But supposing within a framework of an autonomous region, homeland, whatever it is to be called, the leadership of the Palestinian Arabs says "We don't want Jewish settlements?"*

Begin: Well, why shouldn't Jews and Arabs live together all over the country? We have Arabs in Jaffa, in Haifa, in Lydda, in Ramla. And there may be Jews in any place in Judaea and Samaria. These are the tenets of cooperation, of living together. I think everybody will understand it. I don't think it will ever be a problem.

Herman: *Mr. Prime Minister, how do you evaluate the role of the Cairo meeting?*

Begin: Well, I think it is a very useful conference. Our friends met with their Egyptian counterparts. They were received, by the way, with the warmest hospitality possible. This, too, is part of the peace-making process: coming together, liquidating prejudice, seeing each other, seeing that we can live together, work together and make peace together.

Interview with Mira Aoredh
"People" - France.

Q 1: IN A SPEECH BEFORE THE KNESSET, PRESIDENT SADAT MADE IT CLEAR THAT HE DOES NOT APPROVE OF ISRAELI ANNEXATION OF JERUSALEM. IN YOUR REPLY, PRIME MINISTER BEGIN, YOU POINTED OUT THAT THERE IS NOW FREE ACCESS AND TRAVEL TO THE HOLY PLACES, BY MEMBERS OF FAITHS, INCLUDING MOSLEMS AND CHRISTIANS. DOES THAT MEAN THAT ISRAEL DOES NOT CONSIDER THE STATUS OF JERUSALEM NEGOTIABLE, AND DOES THAT MEAN THAT YOU HAVE NO INTENTION OF RELINQUISHING YOUR SOVEREIGNTY OF WHAT WAS FORMERLY ARAB JERUSALEM?

A 1: WHAT IS ARAB JERUSALEM? THERE IS ONLY ONE JERUSALEM, AND IN THIS CITY THERE LIVE JEWS AND ARABS. THE INVASION AND THE ILLEGAL OCCUPATION BY JORDAN OF A PART OF THE CITY, DID IN FACT CUT THE CITY IN TWO, ESTABLISHING AN UNNATURAL BARRIER BETWEEN ITS TWO SECTIONS. HAPPILY THIS BARRIER WAS REMOVED IN 1967 AND THE UNITY OF THE CITY RESTORED. WE DO NOT INTEND TO RELINQUISH THE CITY WHICH WAS ALWAYS BEEN NOT ONLY THE CAPITAL OF OUR STATE, BUT THE CAPITAL OF OUR PEOPLE, EVEN WHEN WE HAD NOT YET REGAINED OUR STATE. THE PLACE OF JERUSALEM IN THE HISTORY AND CULTURE OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE IS UNIQUE. PERHAPS ^{IT IS} BECAUSE OF ^{THE JEWISH} ~~OUR~~ SENSE OF ^{THAT} UTTER IDENTIFICATION WITH JERUSALEM, ^{HAD NO} WE ALONE HAVE ~~BEEN~~ ^{DIFFICULTY OR INHIBITION ABOUT INVITING AND ENABLING MEMBERS} ~~ABLE TO BE GENEROUS AND ENABLE MEMBERS OF ALL FAITHS~~ ^{OF ALL FAITHS} FREELY TO COME AND WORSHIP IN THEIR HOLY PLACES IN THE CITY.

Q 2: COULD YOU TELL ME HOWEVER, WHAT YOUR STAND WOULD BE REGARDING WITHDRAWAL FROM SINIA (INCLUDING SHAREM EL SHEIK) AND THE GOLAN HEIGHTS AND WOULD YOU CONSIDER AN ARRANGEMENT WHEREBY YOU WOULD WITHDRAW COMPLETELY FROM THE WEST BANK, EXCEPT FOR JERUSALEM, AND RETURN IT TO JORDAN WITH THE

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Q2 cont:

UNDERSTANDING THAT PALESTINIAN ARABS ALREADY LIVING THERE WOULD HAVE SOME MEASURE OF INTERNAL AUTONOMY, AND DO YOU FEEL THAT FOR THE SECURITY OF ISRAEL IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS SHOULD BE MAINTAINED ON THE WEST BANK AND IN GAZA?

A 2: ^{THE TERRITORIAL} ~~THESE ARE~~ QUESTIONS THAT ARE PROPER TO THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS AND WILL NO DOUBT BE DISCUSSED BY US AND BY ~~EGYPT~~ THE ARAB STATES. AS FOR ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS IN JUDEA AND SAMARIA ^{***** OUR RIGHT TO ESTABLISH THEM IS ABSOLUTE, AND OUR SECURITY CERTAINLY REQUIRES THAT WE ESTABLISH THEM.}

Q 3: YOU HAVE GONE ON RECORD RECENTLY AS SAYING THAT YOU WILL HAVE NOTHING TO DO WITH THE "NAZI PLO" IN NEGOTIATIONS OF A POSSIBLE PALESTINIAN STATE. HOW DO YOU SEE A POSSIBLE SOLUTION FOR THE WEST BANK AND THE GAZA STRIP THAT MIGHT SATISFY THE ARAB STATES?

A 3: WE WILL NOT NEGOTIATE WITH THE SO-CALLED PLO ABOUT ANYTHING WHATSOEVER.

**** ADDITION TO QUESTION ANSWER No. 2

YOU DON'T REALLY EXPECT ME TO TELL YOU WHAT WE INTEND TO SAY IN ADVANCE, DURING NEGOTIATIONS.

Q 4: DOES THE RECENT DISCOVERY OF OIL IN SINIA COMPLICATE THE WHOLE PROBLEM OF SETTLENG THE SINIA ISSUE?

A 4: I IMAGINE THAT OIL IN ANY PART OF THE MIDDLE EAST ADDS A DIMENSION TO ITS PROBLEMS. PERHAPS THIS WILL BE THE CASE IN SINIA AS WELL.

Q 5: SHOULD NO OTHER ARAB COUNTRIES WANT TO TAKE PART IN THE SADAT-CALLED DISCUSSIONS IN CAIRO, WOULD YOU BE WILLING TO NEGOTIATE YOUR PROBLEMS WITH EGYPT ON A BI-LATERAL BASIS, IF EGYPT WOULD BE WILLING TO DO SO?

A 5: WE ARE ENTERING THESE NEGOTIATIONS IN A FULL REALIZATION OF THE ^{INTER ARAB} PROBLEMS WHICH PRESIDENT SADAT HAS TO FACE. WE, ~~KRØ~~ FOR OUR PART, ARE NOT INTERESTED IN DRIVING A WEDGE BETWEEN THE ARAB STATES, OR INDEED, IN ADDING TO PRESIDENT SADAT'S DIFFICULTIES. WE ^{DO} ^{HOWEVER} HOPE TO BE ABLE TO NEGOTIATE OUR BILATERAL PROBLEMS WITH EGYPT.

Q 6: IF OTHER ARAB COUNTRIES WILL NOT TAKE PART, DO YOU BELIEVE THAT SADAT HAS ANY AUTHORITY TO CARRY THE BALL FOR ANY OTHER ARAB STATES, AT LEAST IN THESE PRELIMINARY STAGES?

A 6: AS TO PRESIDENT SADAT'S AUTHORITY TO CARRY THE BALL FOR THE OTHER ARAB STATES, IT WOULD BE PRESUMPTUOUS OF ME AT THIS STAGE, EVEN TO OFFER AN OPINION.

Q 7: IT SEEMS THAT SADAT'S MISSION ~~TO~~ JERUSALEM SEEMS TO HAVE ^{REDUCED} ~~REOPENED~~ SOVIET INFLUENCE IN THE MIDDLE EAST, IF ONLY BY BYPASSING THE GENEVA CONFERENCE WHERE RUSSIA WOULD BE CO-CHAIRMAN. DO YOU AGREE WITH THIS OBSERVATION AND ~~IF~~ SO, DO YOU REGARD THIS AS DANGEROUS TO A POSSIBLE FUTURE PEACE SETTLEMENT IN THE AREA, OR ASSA PLUS?

A 7: THIS IS A REASONABLE OBSERVATION. WE HAVE NOT HIDDEN OUR VIEW THAT WE REGARD SOVIET INFLUENCE IN OUR AREA AS HIGHLY UNDESIRABLE AND EVEN DANGEROUS.

Q 8: BY THE SAME TOKEN THE SADAT-BEGIN INITIATIVES SEEM TO HAVE REDUCED THE ROLE OF THE U.S. TO THAT OF JUST AN "HONEST BROKER", WHICH IS MAYBE WHAT IT SHOULD BE. WHAT DO YOU THINK SHOULD BE THE FUTURE ROLE OF THE U.S. IN ANY SETTLEMENT PROCESS?

A 8: WE HAVE CONSISTENTLY CALLED ON THE ARAB STATES TO AGREE TO FACE TO FACE NEGOTIATIONS. THOUGH WE HAVE ALWAYS WELCOMED THE GOOD OFFICES OF THE U.S., WE HAVE NEVER DEPARTED FROM OUR STATED DESIRE THAT THESE GOOD OFFICES SHOULD NOT DEVELOP INTO EXTERNALLY DEVISED SOLUTIONS FOR OUR PROBLEMS. WE WERE GRATIFIED THAT THIS ATTITUDE WAS ENDORSED IN THE 1976 DEMOCRATIC PARTY ELECTION PLATFORM. I THINK THAT ANSWERS ME THE QUESTION.

Q 9 : N IT SEEMS OBVIOUS THAT GENEVA NOW IS NOW A LONGER WAY OFF THAN EVER. DO YOU SEE A SERIES OF BI-LATERAL CONFERENCES BETWEEN ISRAEL AND OTHER ARAB STATES TO SOLVE YOUR MUTUAL PROBLEMS? OR DO YOU STILL THINK OF GENEVA AS NECESSARY, AND IF SO, WHEN DO YOU EXPECT IT TO TAKE PLACE?

A 9: THESE QUESTIONS ARE SO SPECULATIVE TO START WITH THAT IT DOES NOT SEEM TO ME, AT THIS POINT OF TIME, THAT A REALLY ENLIGHTENING ANSWER CAN BE GIVEN TO ANY OF THEM.

Q 10: WHAT WERE YOUR IMPRESSIONS OF PRESIDENT SADAT AS A MAN AND AS A STATESMAN.

A 10: PRESIDENT SADAT UNDOUBTABLY HAS HIS INTERNAL PROBLEMS AND I WOULD CERTAINLY NOT WISH TO CAUSE HIM ANY EMBARRASSMENT. HE DID SAY HOWEVER, "I AM INVITING YOU TO SINIA". I

A 10 cont:

I ANSWERED: "TO WHERE?" HE REPEATED: "TO SINIA", TO
WHICH I ANSWERED: "TO SINAI, MR. PRESIDENT, I WILL
INVITE YOU!"

~~INXITEXYOM~~

Question to Prime Minister Begin by Mira Avrech.

QUESTION: SINCE THE U.S. SUBSIDIZES THE STATE OF ISRAEL WITH 22BILLION DOLLARS ANNUALLY IN ECONOMIC AND MILITARY AID, WHY DOES ISRAEL QUESTION THE DEPTH OF THE U.S. COMMITMENT TO ISRAEL'S SURVIVAL?

ANSWER: IT IS NOT ASSA COMMITMENT TO ISRAEL'S SURVIVAL THAT WE REAGARD AMERICAN AID. RESPONSIBILITY FOR SURVIVAL CAN AND MUST AND WILL BE BORNE BY ISRAEL ALONE. AMERICAN AIDEIS DESIGNED TO HELP ENSURE ISRAEL'S SECURITY AND PROGRESS. ISRAEL IS NOT THE ONLY STATE IN THE WORLD THAT ENJOYS U.S.AID. IT IS GENERALLY ACCEPTED THAT THROUGH ITS FOREIGN AID, THE US IS GIVING EXPRESSION TO A COMMON INTEREST. WE BELIEVE THIS TO BE TRUE OF AID TO ISRAEL. WE BELIEVE THAT A STRONG ISRAEL IS A COMMON INTEREST. MOREOVER, AID IS NOT ONE WAY. ISRAEL, WITHIN HER MEANS, HAS PROVIDED AID TO THE U.S. AS WELL. WE ARE DEEPLY APPRECIATIVE AND GRATEFUL FOR THE MASSIVE AID AND SUPPORT OF THE U.S., BUT WE DO NOT BELIEVE THAT THE U.S. GOVERNMENT EXPECTS US TO PAY FOR IT BY ENDANGERING THE VERY SECURITY IT IS DESIGNED TO FURTHER.

Q: WHY NOT ACCEPT U.S. GUARENTEES OF PROTECTION IN EXCHANGE FOR CONCESSIONS CONCERNING TERRITORIES TAKEN BY ISRAEL IN THE 1967 WAR?

A: WE CERTAINLY CANNOT AGREE TO SURRENDER THE ELEMENTARY RIGHT - NOR ABANDON THE ELEMENTARY DUTY - OF ANY GOVERNMENT TO DECIDE WHAT IS THE CORREET POLICY TO ENSURE THE SECURITY OF ITS PEOPE. THIS IS INDEED AN INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTED AXIOM INSISTED ON BY EVERY RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT. ALL THE MORE SO IN THE LIGHT OF THE PITIFUL HISTORY OF GUARENTEES IN THE WORLD.

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Q.2 cont;

ESPECIALLY DOES THIS APPLY WHEN WHAT IS SUGGESTED IS THAT ISRAEL SHOULD LET NOT ONLY HER SECURITY BUT HER VERY EXISTANCE, DEPEND NOT ON HER OWN FORCES, NOT ON HER OWN DEFENCE CALCULATIONS, BUT ON THE GOODWILL AND EFFICIENCY OF OUTSIDE POWERS.— AND THAT, AT SOME DATE IN THE FUTURE. ISRAEL IS ASKED TO WITHDRAW OUT OF TERRITORIES 9 MILES WIDE AT ITS MOST POPULATED POINTS, AND THUS TO EXPOSE HER WHOLE POPULATION TO PERMANENT HARASSING IF NOT WORSE. THERE ARE NO GUARENTEES IN THE WORLD THAT CAN PREVENT THIS. MOREOVER ISRAEL HAS SUFFERED IN THE PAST, PERHAPS MORE THAN ANY OTH... PEOPLE, FROM BROKEN AND INEFFECTIVE GUARENTEES, OR THE BREACH OF AGREEMENTS

Q 3: CAN ISRAEL REALLY AFFORD TO GO IT ALONE IN THE MIDDLE EAST?

A: ONE HOPES THAT WE SHALL NOT HAVE TO "GO IT ALONE", BY WHICH I PRESUME YOU MEAN BEAT OFF ARAB AGGRESSION WITHOUT ANY AID FROM ANYBODY. IT WOULD IMPLY A GROTESQUE DEGENERATION OF BOTH MORALITY, OR BELF- INTEREST, AND OF POLITICAL UNDERSTANDIN IN THE WORLD IF THIS WERE TO HAPPEN. BUT THIS IS ONE HYPOTHETICAL QUESTION THAT OUGHT TO BE ANSWERED. IF WE WERE TO BE ATTACKED AND ABANDONED BY OUR FRIENDS - WE WOULD NOT ACCEPT THE ROLE OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA (OF SURRENDER) IN 1938. WE WOULD FIGHT, FOR THE THREAT TO US WOULD BE ONE OF ELIMINATION.

Q 4: HOW DOES YOU EVALUATE THE POLICIES OF PRESIDENT CARTER IN COMPARISON TO THOSE OF OTHER U.S. PRESIDENTS? DO YOU REGARD CARTER AS A POTENTIAL ENEMY OF ISRAEL?

A: I

A: I BELIEVE PRESIDENT CARTER IS A FRIEND OF ISREAL. WE DIFFER ON POLICIES, AND WE HAVE SO FAR, IN EFFECT, AGREED TO DIFFER.

Q 5: WHY WOULD THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A PALESTINIAN STATE ON THE

Q 5: WHY WOULD THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A PALESTINIAN STATE ON THE JORDAN'S WEST BANK NECESSARILY MEAN THE DESTRUCTION OF ISRAEL?

A: I RECOMMEND YOU READ THE CHARTER OF THE SO-CALLED PLO WHOSE CENTRAL AND REPEATED THEME IS THE DESTRUCTION OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL.

Q 6: ARE YOU UNCONDITIONALLY UNWILLING TO NEGOTIATE WITH THE PLO -- ANYWHERE, ANY TIME, ON ANY ISSUE?

A: THE PLO IS AN ORGANIZATION OF MURDERERS, AND ISRAEL WILL NOT NEGOTIATE WITH THEM.

Q 7: DO YOU BELIEVE MEANINGFUL COMPROMISE IS POSSIBLE BETWEEN ISRAELIS AND MILITANT PALESTINIANS? IF SO, DO YOU CONSIDER YOURSELF THE ISRAELI LEADER MOST LIKELY TO ACHIEVE SUCH A COMPROMISE?

A: NO.

Q 8: WHAT DO YOU BELIEVE YOU CAN ACCOMPLISH THAT PREVIOUS PRIME MINISTERS COULD NOT?

A: I AM HOPEFUL OF MY GOVERNMENT ACHIEVING PEACE WITH THE ARAB STATES.

Q 9: TO WHAT EXTENT IS THE PRECARIOUS STATE OF YOUR HEALTH LIKELY TO INTERFERE WITH YOUR PERFORMANCE AS PRIME MINISTER? HAVE THE PRESSURES OF OFFICE CONTRIBUTED MATERIALLY TO YOUR HEALTH PROBLEMS? HAVE YOUR DOCTORS ADVISED YOU THAT IT WOULD BE DANGEROUS FOR YOU TO CONTINUE IN OFFICE?

A 9: IF MY STATE OF HEALTH WERE TO INTERFERE WITH MY PERFORMANCE AS PRIME MINISTER, I WOULD NOT STAY IN OFFICE. MY MEDICAL ADVISORS HAVE NOT SUGGESTED THAT THE STATE OF MY HEALTH IS ANY MORE PRECARIOUS THAN THAT OF ANYBODY ELSE.

Q 10: YOU HAVE SAID YOU DESPISE THE PLO AS MURDERERS AND TERRORISTS. HOW DO YOU RECONCILE THIS CRITICISM WITH YOUR OWN ROLE IN THE DEIR YASSIN MASSACRE IN WHICH 250 ARABS WERE KILLED, WOMEN AND CHILDREN AMONG THEM.

A: I WROTE THE STORY OF WHAT HAPPENED AT DEIR YASSIN IN MY BOOK THE REVOLT 26 YEARS AGO. THE TRUTH ABOUT WHAT HAPPENED THERE HAS ALSO BEEN PUBLISHED IN STATEMENTS BY THE ISRAELI FOREIGN OFFICE AND IN SUBSEQUENT WORKS OF RESEARCH. THE CHARGES MADE AGAINST THE IRGUN AT DEIR YASSIN WERE BASELESS. IT IS SIMPLY UNTRUE THAT THERE WAS A MASSACRE AT DEIR YASSIN. REPEATED REPETITION OF UNTRUTHS DOES NOT MAKE THEM TRUE.

FURTHERMORE, I CONTINUE TO BE SHOCKED AT THE WAY IN WHICH PEOPLE IN DEMOCRATIC COUNTRIES IGNORE THE VERY SIMPLE FACT THAT THE IRGUN AND ITS SPOKESMAN HAVE REPEATEDLY DENIED THE ACCUSATIONS MADE AGAINST THEM, AND HAVE DENOUNCED THE PERVAJORS OF THE STORY AS MALICIOUS. THE IRGUN CASE HAS BEEN CONSISTENTLY IGNORED. I ONCE AGAIN REJECT THE STORY AS SLANDER. ITS BASELESSNESS, AND INDEED ABSURDITY IS ONLY EMPHASISED BY THE REFERENCE TO MY "OWN ROLE" IN THE MASSACRE. AFTER ALL, WHATEVER ELSE MAY BE IMAGINED ABOUT DEIR YASSIN, I WAS NOT AT DEIR YASSIN, AND PLAYED NO PERSONAL ROLE THERE. I WAS RESPONSIBLE, AS COMMANDER OF THE IRGUN, FOR ALL ITS ACTIVITIES. THE ATTEMPT TO COMPARE THE ACTIVITIES OF THE IRGUN WITH THE PLO MURDERERS IS OBSCURE. THE IRGUN FOUGHT A WAR OF LIBERATION AGAINST OVERWHELMING MILITARY ODDS.

A 10 cont:

THE PLO CONDUCTS A WAR AGAINST CIVILIANS DELIBERATELY AND EXCLUSIVELY. CHILDREN HAVE BEEN THEIR SPECIAL TARGETS. THEY BOAST OF THEIR EXPLOITS IN KILLING CIVILIANS. AND — AGAIN — THEY DECLARE THEIR POLITICAL AIM TO BE THE DESTRUCTION OF ISRAEL. I CANNOT THINK OF ANY ORGANIZATION TO WHICH THEY CAN BE COMPARED EXCEPT THE NAZI MURDERERS.

Q 11: WE HAVE BEEN TOLD YOU SHUN NORMAL SECURITY PRECAUTION IF THIS IS TRUE, WHY?

A 11: I DO NOT SHUN NORMAL SECURITY PRECAUTIONS. I DO FIND THEM UNACCEPTABLE. I DON'T LIKE BEING SURROUNDED OR FOLLOWED PUBLICALLY BY SECURITY PEOPLE. BUT I RECOGNIZE THAT THESE DAYS NATIONAL LEADERS HAVE TO TAKE PRECAUTIONS

Q 12: IN THE PAST, YOU HAVE BEEN EXTREMELY CRITICAL OF MANY ISRAELI STATESMEN— INCLUDING FOR EXAMPLE, DAVID BEN-GURION.

A 12: OF COURSE I WAS EXTREMELY CRITICAL OF SOME ISRAELI STATESMEN, INCLUDING BEN-GURION. I HAPPENED TO DISAGREE WITH THEIR POLICIES, AND OPPOSED THEM POLITICALLY AS HARD AS I COULD.

Q 13: ARE THERE ANY POLITICAL FIGURES ON THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE PAST OR PRESENT, WHOM YOU DEEPLY RESPECT? WHO? WHY?

A 13: OF COURSE THERE ARE POLITICAL FIGURES ON THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE WHOM I RESPECT. IF I WERE A WRITER, I WOULD PERHAPS WRITE A BOOK OF PROFILES. FROM A PRIME MINISTER IT WOULD BE INVIDIOUS TO SINGLE OUT ANYBODY.

.....

Q 14:; WHAT DO YOU THINK THE CHANCES ARE THAT ANOTHER WAR WILL BE FOUGHT IN THE MIDDLE EAST IN THE FORSEEABLE FUTURE?

A 14: I AM HOPEFUL THAT THERE WILL NOT BE FURTHER WARS IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

Q 15: CAN SUCH A WAR BE AVOIDED IF CONCESSIONS ARE NOT MADE TO THE ARABS IN GENERAL, AND THE PALESTINIANS IN PARTICULAR?

A 15: THE CONDITION FOR AVOIDING WAR IS THAT THE ARABS SHOULD BE CONVINCED THAT THEY CANNOT DESTROY ISRAEL. AS TO WHETHER ISRAEL MUST MAKE CONCESSIONS -- AND IF SO, WHICH CONCESSIONS, THESE ARE PROPER SUBJECTS FOR THE NEGOTIATIONS FOR A PEACE TREATY WHICH WE HOPE WILL TAKE PLACE.

Q 16: DO YOU CONSIDER YASSAR ARAFAT A MODERATE IN COMPARISON TO, SAY, GEORGE HABASH? IF SO WOULDN'T IT MAKE SENSE TO DEAL WITH ARAFAT RATHER THAN WITH A MORE INTEMPERATE PALESTINIAN SPOKESMAN?

A 16: I HAVE NO OPINION ON THE SUBJECT. BOTH ARE MURDERERS. THE ARTIFICIAL CLASSIFICATION OF "MODERATES" AND OTHERS, IS JUST NONSENSICAL.

Q 17: AFTER THE HOLOCAUST, DO YOU THINK IT WILL BE POSSIBLE FOR YOU TO FEEL TRULY AT PEACE? DO YOU FEEL AN EMOTIONAL RELEASE WHILE FIGHTING FOR THE CREATION OF ISREAL? --I.E. RETURNING VIOLENCE FOR VIOLENCE FOR VIOLENCE?

A 17: THE HOLOCAUST DESTROYED SIX MILLION OF OUR PEOPLE. BUT AFTER THE HOLOCAUST IN EUROPE, WE ARE STILL THE ONE PEOPLE IN THE WORLD WHO ARE OPENLY THREATENED WITH PHYSICAL ELIMINATION.

A 17 cont:

THIS IS A FACT OF LIFE. WE SHALL FEEL AT PEACE WHEN WE FEEL NORMALLY SECURE - THAT IS LIKE ANY OTHER PEOPLE.

Q 18:

TO WHAT EXTENT ARE YOU WILLING TO ACCEPT THE OPINIONS OF CRITICS WHO DID NOT EXPERIENCE THE FULL HORROR OF THE HOLOCAUST, AND WHOSE FEELINGS AND CONVICTIONS WERE NOT FORGED IN THE KNOWLEDGE OF IT?

A 18:

FIRST, I DID NOT PERSONALLY EXPERIENCE THE FULL HORROR OF THE HOLOCAUST, AND I BELIEVE THE LESSONS OF THE HOLOCAUST SHOULD BE TAKEN TO HEART NOT ONLY BY ITS VICTIMS. SECOND, I BELIEVE EVERYBODY HAS A RIGHT TO HIS OPINIONS, AND I HAVE ALWAYS TREATED THEM WITH RESPECT, PROVIDED THEY WERE BASED ON A REASONABLE KNOWLEDGE OF THE FACTS. I WOULD SUGGEST HOWEVER, THAT FOR ANYBODY TO BE TREATED SERIOUSLY AS A CRITIC OF OUR POLICY, IT IS NOT MUCH OF A RECOMMENDATION THAT HE IGNORES THE MONSTROUS IMPLICATIONS OF THE FACT THAT IN THE MIDDLE OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY, AN OSTENSIBLY CIVILIZED NATION IN THE HEART OF EUROPE, FOUND IT POSSIBLE TO ADOPT A POLICY OF WIPING OUT AN ENTIRE PEOPLE, AND TO IMPLEMENT THIS POLICY WITH CONSIDERABLE SUCCESS, AND THAT HE NOW APPARENTLY IGNORES A RENEWED THREAT OF THE EXTINCTION OF A PEOPLE.

Q 19:

DO YOU CONSIDER YOURSELF INTRANSIGENT?

A 19:

INTRANSIGENT? -- NONSENSE. I MERELY TRY TO AVOID BEING BRAINWASHED INTO GIVING UP THE VITAL SECURITY NEEDS OF MY PEOPLE, AND TO BE PATIENT WITH IGNORANT AND SELF INTERESTED PEOPLE WHO THINK THEY KNOW BETTER. I PREFER TO BE CALLED INTRANSIGENT NOW, RATHER THAN TO HAVE MY COUNTRY THE SUBJECT OF POST MORTEM, (LIKE THE CZECHS IN 1939).

Q. 20: WHAT DO YOU REGARD AS YOUR GREATEST VICES? YOUR VIRTUES? HOW DO YOU WISH TO BE REMEMBERED? WHAT DO YOU ANTICIPATE WILL BE YOUR PLACE IN HISTORY?

A 20: I DO NOT INDULGE IN THIS SORT OF SPECULATION. LET OTHERS DECIDE.

Q 21: HOW CAN YOU RECONCILE JEWISH SETTLEMENTS IN THE OCCUPIED LANDS? DO YOU NOT UNDERSTAND HOW PROVOCATIVE THEY ARE TO THE ARABS AND TO THE REST OF THE WORLD? ARE YOU PREPARED TO ABANDON THESE PERMANENT SETTLEMENTS IF A PEACE TREATY SHOULD RECOMMEND IT?

A 21: ESTABLISHING JEWISH SETTLEMENTS IN THE TERRITORY OCCUPIED IN THE SIX DAY WAR - A POLICY FORMED BY ALL PREVIOUS ISRAELI GOVERNMENTS - IS PERFECTLY LEGAL, AND IS NO MORE PROVOCATIVE OF THE ARABS THAN OUR PRESENCE ANYWHERE IN THE LAND OF ISRAEL. BEFORE THE LANDS WERE "OCCUPIED" - WE HAD TO BEAT OFF ARAB ATTACKS ON OUR VERY EXISTANCE. ADDITIONALLY - EVERY SETTLEMENT WE ESTABLISH, WE BELIEVE REDUCES THE THREAT OF WAR. ALSO - IT SO HAPPENS THAT THE AREAS RECENTLY INVOLVED ARE PART OF OUR NATIONAL PATRIMONY AND OUR RIGHT TO IT IS ENTRENCHED IN INTERNATIONAL LAW. WE SHALL DO OUR BEST TO EXPLAIN THESE FACTS IN THE WORLD AT LARGE WHEREAS A GOOD DEAL OF BRAINWASHING HAS BEEN IN PROGRESS. I RECOMMEND THE VERY EXCELLENT PRESENTATION ON THE SUBJECT MADE BY ISRAELI AMBASSADOR HERTZOG IN THE UNITED NATIONS DEBATE. OUR PEACE TREATIES WITH THE ARAB STATES WILL BE DETERMINED IN NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN US AND THE ARAB STATES.

Q 22: THERE IS TALK IN WASHINGTON OF ANOTHER MIDDLE EAST WAR WITHIN
18 MONTHS IF THE PRESENT TENSION CONTINUES AND GENEVA
CONFERENCE DOES NOT TAKE PLACE. WHAT DO YOU THINK OF THIS
VIEW?

A 22: THERE ARE INNUMERABLE HYPOTHETICAL QUESTIONS BEGINNING
WITH "IF".

Q 23: PRESS REPORT HERE SAY THAT ISRAEL, EGYPT AND SYRIA HAVE
CIVILIANS WORKING IN CONCERT TO COMBAT TERRORISM. TRUE?
WHAT CAN YOU TELL US ABOUT IT?

A 23: I IMAGINE THERE ARE MANY SUCH RUMOURS FLOATING AROUND.
THEY ARE GRIST TO THE NEWSPAPERS' MILL.

INFORMATION

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BRIEFING



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TRANSCRIPT OF JOINT PRESS CONFERENCE

GIVEN BY PRESIDENT SADAT AND PRIME MINISTER BEGIN

AT THE JERUSALEM THEATRE, 21 NOVEMBER 1977,

INCLUDING THE AGREED COMMUNIQUE ISSUED UPON THE CONCLUSION

OF PRESIDENT SADAT'S VISIT TO ISRAEL

TRANSCRIPT OF JOINT PRESS CONFERENCE
GIVEN BY PRESIDENT SADAT AND PRIME MINISTER BEGIN
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Prime Minister Begin: With the permission of the President, our noble guest, I will read to you, ladies and gentlemen, the text of the agreed communique issued at the conclusion of the visit to our country of President Sadat:

"In response to the sincere and courageous move by President Sadat, and believing in the need to continue the dialogue along the lines proposed by both sides during their exchanges and the presentation of their positions in the historic meeting in Jerusalem, and in order to enhance the prospect of a fruitful consummation of this significant visit, the Government of Israel, expressing the will of the people of Israel, proposes that this hopeful step be further pursued through dialogue between the two countries concerned, thereby paving the way towards successful negotiations, leading to the signing of peace treaties in Geneva with all the neighbouring Arab states."

Thank you for your attention, ladies and gentlemen.

Question: *Mr. Prime Minister, have you received an invitation to go to Cairo and, if so, when will you go?*

Mr. Begin: We discussed this issue, with complete candour. I think that President Sadat would like to reciprocate. I would like to see Cairo, but I do understand the reasons why, at this stage, such an invitation was not issued. I would like to say, I do hope to visit Cairo, Mr. President.

Question: *In addition to agreeing, in principle, that the dialogue between the two countries will continue, did the two of you, during the course of President Sadat's visit, work out specific, practical details for the continuation of this dialogue, even before the Geneva Peace Conference?*

Mr. Sadat: Well, for sure, we had a big survey of all the problems that we are facing. We gave great importance to the convening of the Geneva Conference, but not more than this; the time was so short.

Question: *I would also like Prime Minister Begin to respond to that question. How do you continue a dialogue without an Israeli Ambassador in Cairo and an Egyptian Ambassador in Jerusalem? How will you do it, practically?*

Mr. Begin: The establishment of diplomatic relations usually goes together with the signing of peace treaties. In fact, sometimes the establishment of diplomatic relations does precede the signing of a peace treaty, as was the case between the Soviet Union and Japan, when, in Moscow, in October 1956, they signed a peace declaration which, though not a peace treaty, included the establishment of diplomatic relations. But, in our case, I suppose it will be logical to have diplomatic relations established as an integral part of the peace treaty which, in God's good time, we hope to sign.

Question: *Mr. President, why aren't you inviting the Prime Minister of Israel to visit Cairo at this stage?*

Mr. Sadat: Well, after I was invited here by the Prime Minister, and after I addressed the Knesset and the Israeli people through the Knesset, the Prime Minister has the full right to come and address our Parliament in Cairo. For certain reasons that we discussed together, we have found that we should postpone this issue for the future.

Mr. Begin: Mr. Kital, you heard from the President that I have a right, and we have only postponed the exercise of this right.

Question: *Mr. Prime Minister, in view of the political and physical risks that the President of Egypt took by coming to Israel, do you feel that you have gone far enough in giving him something that he can take back home?*

Mr. Begin: We appreciate very much the courage of the President, in his decision to come from Cairo to Jerusalem. We did our best to make his stay enjoyable. I think he enjoyed his stay, and we had a frank discussion, both in public, from the rostrum of the Knesset, our Parliament, and in private. It is not a matter of a kind of compensation. What we wanted to achieve during this visit was to make sure that we started a serious direct dialogue about the ways to establish peace in the Middle East - not only between Egypt and Israel, but also between Israel and all the other neighbouring countries. I think we can say that we made progress on this issue, and the key word is "continuation." We agreed that we are going to continue our dialogue and, ultimately, out of it will come peace.

Question: *Mr. President, my name is Abie Nathan. I am from The Voice of Peace - the*

peace ship that sailed into the Suez Canal, thanks to your permission, early this year. My question to you, sir, is: How did you get the idea, and who were the leaders around the world who encouraged you to take this bold initiative for peace, to help to bring our peoples together? And, when can I hope to come with an Israeli football team to Cairo to play against the Cairo eleven?

Mr. Sadat: Well, for the first part of the question - about this initiative and if I have already discussed it with any other leader - my answer is this: It started before I began my last trip to Romania, Iran and Saudi Arabia. I didn't discuss it with anyone except my Foreign Minister and, for sure, our Security Council in Egypt. The whole situation needed action, the peace process needed momentum again, and these are the motives behind this initiative.

Question: *A common key question to President Sadat and Prime Minister Begin: After so many conversations, did you really reach an agreement on the meaning of the word "security" concerning Israel and the neighbouring countries? The second question is directed to President Sadat: Arab hospitality is very well known all over the world. Did you feel a little bit embarrassed about the fact that you had to postpone the invitation of Mr. Begin to Cairo?*

Mr. Begin: I am not embarrassed.

Mr. Sadat: Well, the first question about security - with the Premier and with the various parties in the Knesset today, we agreed upon the principle. Upon security we agree. But, on the meaning of security, we differ. I think that, through Geneva, we can reach an agreement, and let us hope that what I have said already today in the Knesset - let us hope that the two slogans that I want everyone to say are: "Let us have no war after October" and "Let us agree upon security." I think those are the main issues.

For the second question, on hospitality - very sly - either I am an Arab and hospitable or not. No, as I said before, we have discussed this, Premier Begin and myself, and we have agreed together to postpone it for the time being.

Mr. Begin: I would like to add one remark. I would say to the questioner and to all of you, ladies and gentlemen, that, during the visit of President Sadat to our country and to Jerusalem, a momentous agreement has been achieved, already, namely: No more war, no more bloodshed, no more attacks, and collaboration in order to avoid any event which might lead to such tragic developments. When I addressed the Egyptian people directly, I said: Let

us give a silent oath, one to another: No more war, no more bloodshed, no more threats. May I say that that mutual pledge was given in Jerusalem, and we are very grateful to President Sadat that he said so from the rostrum of the Knesset, personally to me, and today also to my colleagues in Parliament, both the supporters and the opponents of the government. It is a great moral achievement for our nations, for the Middle East and, indeed, for the whole world.

Question: *Mr. Prime Minister, according to the joint communique, it is understood that the dialogue is going to be resumed. How is it going to be resumed, where, and will there be any place for the Palestinians to participate in this dialogue, now or later on in the Geneva Conference?*

Mr. Begin: In the Geneva Conference the proper representation of Palestinian Arabs will take place. We agree on it. As far as the places in which the dialogue will continue, believe me, President Sadat and I know some geography.

Question: *Mr. President, as you prepare to leave Israel, do you have a message for the people of Israel, with whom you are, after all, still at war?*

Mr. Sadat: If I may say anything through you to the people of Israel, I must say this: That I am really deeply grateful for the very warm welcome and the marvelous sentiments that they have shown to me.

Question: *Mr. President, I am Shmuel Segev from Ma'ariv. The Israeli government has allowed many Egyptian journalists to come and cover your visit. Will you now be prepared to open the doors of Egypt for Israeli journalists?*

Mr. Sadat: When Mr. Begin visits us, for sure you will be coming.

Question: *Not before?*

Mr. Begin: Mr. Segev, "L'Hitra'ot B'Kahir." ("See you in Cairo.")

Question: *I have two questions. First, after all your talks, are you now both convinced of the sincerity of the desire for peace of each of you? The second question: Did you fix a date for the reconvening of the Geneva Conference?*

Mr. Sadat: For the first question - yes. For the second question, we shall be working

in the very near future for the reconvening of the Geneva Conference.

Mr. Begin: For the first question - yes, and we shall together work for the reconvening of the Geneva Conference.

Question: *Mr. President, what psychological and what substantive progress have you made in Israel on your visit?*

Mr. Sadat: Well, maybe you have heard me say before, that one of the main motives behind this visit to Israel was to give the peace process new momentum and to get rid of the psychological barrier that, in my opinion, was more than 70 percent of the whole conflict, the other 30 percent being substance. For the substance, as I told you, we have made a very big survey, but the time is too short to have progress in this way.

Mr. Begin: The time was so short that I think that, before I go to Cairo, I will have to invite President Sadat to Jerusalem for a second time.

Question: *I have two questions for President Sadat. The first: After your meeting with the delegation of the Armed Services Committee of the US House of Representatives, you were quoted as saying: "The Soviet Union will for sure make difficulties for me and I am making my calculations so that this attitude should not create any obstacles at Geneva." Mr. President, was the Soviet Union, in the circumstances, blocking the road to Geneva?*

Mr. Sadat: You must have heard of the communique that was issued by the Soviet Union and the United States for the convening of the Geneva Conference. What I told the committee you mentioned is this: That my relations with the Soviets are strained and it appears that whatever I do doesn't go to their liking at all. For instance, the visit here also, in their comments, doesn't go to their liking at all. I fear that the same attitude could be adopted in Geneva, and they are one of the co-sponsors. But, in the same answer, I said that, whenever the parties concerned reach an agreement, no-one, neither a big power nor a small power, can prevent us from fulfilling it, as much as we have agreed upon it.

Question: *Egypt agreed to a joint venture with the black-listed US Ford Motor Company. Mr. Mohammed Mabruk, head of the Arab Boycott of Israel, attacked the Government of Egypt. Don't you think, Mr. President, that the time has come to put an end to the boycott?*

Mr. Sadat: Well, I have an idea on this. I consider all these to be side issues. Let

us try to solve the main issue, then all the side issues, automatically, will be solved.

Question: *Mr. President, I thought it was significant that you went out of your way this morning to congratulate Mr. Peres on his speech. You called it constructive. Could you tell us what, precisely, in Mr. Peres' speech you found constructive?*

Mr. Sadat: I said that, and I said it in spite of the fact that we differ on several issues; don't forget that. I said: "...in spite of the fact that we differ on several issues," but his speech was still constructive.

Question: *You repeated several times in the Knesset this morning that, whatever happens again between Egypt and Israel, the solutions must be sought not through war. Does this repeated statement cancel your previous repeated statements in Egypt that, if you cannot get back the territories by diplomatic means, you will get them back by force of war?*

Mr. Sadat: For sure, I must tell you quite frankly that I am issuing this after I made my visit here and at the same time when we are preparing for Geneva. Well, after we had this new momentum and this new spirit, let us agree that, whatever happens between us, we should solve it together through talks rather than going to war. Because, as I told you, really, I was very deeply touched when I saw the children, the Israeli children, hailing me here; the Israeli women. Really, I was very touched, and the same thing happens in Egypt also. Maybe you know that my people now are 100 percent behind me. They don't want any war. They want that we settle our differences on the table. But, mark this. I also said in the Knesset, and on this I differed with Premier Begin - he considered this as a condition - I said that the issue of the withdrawal from the occupied territories should not even be put on the table, except for the details of it, not as a principle. We differ on this. But when I made my statement, this is behind it. I mean this will be automatically, in Geneva, negotiated and decided.

Question: *Mr. President, have you discussed today with the West Bank personalities the political future of the West Bank, and do you think they should participate in Geneva? When are you going to visit King Khalid?*

Mr. Sadat: Well, for the first question, I received them. They were very kind to come and apologize for those who are abusing me in the outside world, from their patriots. I was very happy and elated when I prayed yesterday in Al Aqsa, and I met with our Arab citizens. I was very happy and elated regarding their representation. I should not say anything about this because the Palestinians should decide this for themselves.

About the visit to Saudi Arabia - whenever there is any issue, there are very close contacts together, and whenever there is any need to discuss anything, I may go at any time, or King Khalid may come to Cairo at any time. We do not have protocols and so on between us.

Question: *Mr. President, now that you are more acquainted with the facts of the Nazi Holocaust, do you have a better insight into Israel's determination to maintain appropriate security positions against the extremist elements that are openly committed to the destruction of the Jewish state?*

Mr. Sadat: Could you repeat the question?

Question: *As above.*

Mr. Sadat: As you have heard me saying just now, security is one of the two main issues or two main slogans that should be raised now. I quite agree. I quite understand the point of view of security for the Israelis but, on the other hand, it shouldn't be through any compromise on land, because that would mean expansion. And, in my opinion, we shall discuss this thoroughly afterwards. A few kilometres here, or a few kilometres there, will not provide security. The intention is what provides security.

Question: *Mr. President, you have faced very strong attacks from much of the rest of the Arab world for your visit here. You've even been faced with the threat of assassination for what you have done. What do you say to these people?*

Mr. Sadat: I shall not be saying anything to those people. I think I shall be telling my people in Egypt what has happened here. I shall be giving a speech before the Parliament a few days after my arrival. I need not answer all those who have attacked me. Let me remind you that, after the disengagement agreement, for one continual year I was much more vehemently attacked than I am now.

Question: *I have a question for both Prime Minister Begin and for President Sadat, and the premise is the same for both questions. Since there are 23 other Arab countries, with millions and millions of miles and plenty of money, and since Israel's territory is so small, by comparison, and since, as President Sadat just said, some of this land was not acquired by what he termed expansion, but was actually acquired by defensive war, after it was started, does Premier Begin believe that any of this land should be given up, in view of the biblical injunction not to surrender one inch of land acquired with the*

help of God?

And my question to President Sadat, would a larger demilitarised Sinai with joint development of the oil resources or the other resources of the area and with economic development and cooperation required to help his battered economy - wouldn't this and tourism be better for Egypt and for Israel than giving up any of the land; or is vanity to win territory more important?

Mr. Sadat: Two words only for my answer - our land is sacred.

Mr. Begin: My friend, if you asked me a question about security...

Question: *No, the question was about territory, not about security.*

Mr. Begin: Will you please allow me to reply?

Question: *O.K.*

Mr. Begin: Thank you for your permission. I will explain now what security is to us: The lives of every man, woman and child. This is what national security means to us. We have long experience: In one generation we lost a third of our people and, in this country, 11 times we have had to defend ourselves against repeated attempts to destroy us. With such an experience we will care for our people, for our women and children, as I said yesterday in Parliament. I think that we have almost a complete national consensus - with the exception of one party, the Communist Party, which is completely subservient to Moscow. This is the consensus by the overwhelming majority of our Parliament, whether in coalition or in opposition, and this is going to be our attitude during negotiations. Of course, I can respect a statement as was made just now by President Sadat: "Our land is sacred," and, because I respect it, I can say now: "Our land is sacred."

Question: *Mr. Prime Minister, do you note a certain lack of symmetry in the fact that President Sadat is crossing a political canal and exposing himself to risks vis à vis his own people, while you stayed within the relative safety of Israeli official concept? In other words, while President Sadat came to Jerusalem and addressed himself to us, you came to Jerusalem and addressed yourself to us. Is this symmetry?*

Mr. Begin: As I told you, my friend, I am ready to go to Cairo any day. And then, if to accept your statement, I will take that risk. So, if taking risks is a problem, both

of us, I suppose, are prepared to take risks.

Question: Yesterday, in his speech, President Sadat spoke about the Palestinian problem being the crux of the Mid-East conflict. Israel, in his view, would have nothing to fear if a new state were established. No peace can be established without solving the problem. I should like to ask the Prime Minister, why did you not relate by so much as a word to what Mr. Sadat had to say?

Mr. Begin: I did, but I spoke in Hebrew. And I must correct you as I do always. Palestine is the name of a country, and in this country there are two nationalities. There are Palestinian Jews and Palestinian Arabs. When you say Palestinians, you do not explain the problem at issue. We do recognize the Arab nationality in our country, and therefore I always say: "Please, the question of the Palestinian Arabs." And in Hebrew I say "Ha-ba'ayah shel Araviyei Eretz-Yisrael," because in Hebrew, the name of this country is Eretz-Yisrael. Since the book of Samuel, and President Sadat knows the Bible perfectly well, no less than the Koran - so he knows the book of Samuel as well - where it is written for the first time: "And no locksmith shall be found throughout Eretz-Yisrael." The translation of Eretz Yisrael is Palestine. I spoke about the Arabs of Eretz Yisrael or, in other words, about Palestinian Arabs. It is an issue, and we have proposals to solve this issue.

Question: Mr. President, do you have any plans to meet with President Assad and persuade him maybe to join you?

Mr. Sadat: From time to time we do meet in the Arab world. I was asked in Damascus, before I came here, whether President Assad tried to put pressure on me not to complete this visit. I told them that no-one put pressure on the other. This is our way.

Question: The fact that you have come on this visit, is it really a breakthrough towards peace?

Mr. Sadat: We have always been speaking about and, indeed, the most important thing today is that we should go to Geneva. And that is what we have been talking about - going to Geneva.

Question: I come from Australia, which last week was a much shorter visit than yours from Cairo. May I ask you, since you have been here in the last 24 hours, do you feel closer to reconciling the just rights and needs of the Israeli people and the just

rights and needs of the Palestinians?

Mr. Sadat: I am sure that the progress that we started through my visit here will enable us to solve all the problems. For example, we consider that there is an urgent problem of security. I also consider that the Palestinian state is very important. In spite of our difference upon this issue, we can decide in Geneva on all these. If you ask me whether I am optimistic or pessimistic, I can tell you, I am optimistic.

Mr. Begin: Ladies and Gentlemen, it will take another two hours until President Sadat will be on his way to his country, to Cairo. May I now sum up this momentous visit. It is indeed a momentous visit. We are formally in a state of war, our two countries. As far as I can remember, I do not know of a precedent that the leader of a country that finds itself in a state of war with another country paid such a visit to that country, and was received with so much warmth and sincerity. The reaction was positive in the government, in Parliament, but, first and foremost, among our people.

We drove, President Sadat and I, several times together. We have seen our people in the streets, in the thousands - men, women and little children - all of them greeting the President, taking him to their hearts. The children waved both flags, the Egyptian flag and the Israeli flag. I wish, with your permission, Mr. President, to express the hope that the day is not too far when Egyptian children will wave the Israeli flag and the Egyptian flag. This visit is a real success for both countries, and for the cause of peace.

And, as we both believe, the President and I, in Divine Providence, before the departure of the President and his party, we pray to the Almighty that he give all of us the wisdom to continue in our efforts to bring peace to our nations - real peace - and so to make sure that this region, with all the nations dwelling here, achieves peace, advances, and lives in liberty, in justice and in happiness. Thank you.

Mr. Sadat: Well, ladies and gentlemen, may I take this opportunity to thank Prime Minister Begin, the Israeli people and President Katzir for the very warm welcome that was accorded to me here. We are at a crucial moment. Let us hope, all of us, that we can keep the momentum in Geneva. And may God guide the steps of Premier Begin and the Knesset, because there is a great need for hard and drastic decisions. I already did my share in my decision to come here, and I shall be really looking forward to those decisions from Premier Begin and the Knesset.

All my best wishes to my friend Premier Begin and his family, and all my deep gratitude to the Israeli people, whose welcome I can never forget. Thank you.

Premier discusses Sadat trip with visiting leader

Forw. section Ref. Nov 18 1977

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Begin: U.S. Jewry's support vital

By JUDY SIEGEL
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Prime Minister Menachem Begin said yesterday that in light of the far-reaching impact of Egyptian President Anwar Sadat's visit to Jerusalem, Israel needs more backing from American Jewry than at any time in the State's history.

At a noontime meeting with Yehuda Hellman, the executive director of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, the prime minister stated that he was aware of the historic significance of the coming visit, and that the eyes of the world will be on Jerusalem as never before. Begin asked Hellman to thank Rabbi Alexander Schindler, the chairman of the conference, for his support since the new government was formed and to continue to mobilize organized U.S. Jewry behind Israel.

Hellman told *The Jerusalem Post* after his discussions at the Prime Minister's Office that the Egyptian leader's visit would be a "media event," in which Begin and Sadat would have to "battle to make the best impression" before world TV viewers to gain support from world opinion. "I have confidence," said

Hellman, "that Begin will be a match for Sadat."

U.S. public opinion, Hellman added, is formed largely between the hours of 5 and 7 p.m. when the evening news programmes are aired and TV commentators explain the news.

According to the most recent polls, about 27 to 30 per cent of the American public are strong supporters of Israel and reasonably informed about the Middle East. Another seven per cent are strong supporters of the Arabs. The rest, asserted Hellman, are the "silent majority who are either neutral on the issue or leaning slightly to Israel's position. This in-between majority are largely ignorant of the facts." Their opinion must be cultivated every day, he added.

Israel's information must come from a single source, maintained Hellman. Whether it is an information ministry, an adviser to the premier or the Foreign Ministry is up to Israel. An information effort by American Jewry must be independent and recognized as separate from Israeli propaganda.

"There is a new role for American Jews," he continued. The grass roots can keep the pro-Israel consensus alive by constantly articulating support, by talking to friends and

writing letters to opinion-moulders and decision-makers — all the time explaining that support for Israel is good for America. Giving money is no longer enough, Hellman said. Prominent Jews whose names carry with them prestige and position — "like Milton Friedman, Arthur Goldberg and Henry Kissinger, to name a few" — should be encouraged to voice these sentiments as well.

President Jimmy Carter has not been trying to divide American Jewry and set up his "own" presidents' conference, Hellman said. "Carter is looking for Jews who agree with his Middle East policy of substantial withdrawals and will go anywhere to find them. He doesn't want to split them — only to convince them."

American Jewish businessmen are still in the dark about the implications of Israel's new economic policy. The Begin government must explain the NEP in real terms — how to invest and what they can gain by doing so. After this is done, Hellman concluded, a "Jewish Common Market" can be formed in order to facilitate investment in Israel and the purchase of blue-and-white goods.

ירושלים, ל' באב תשל"ז
14 באוגוסט 1977

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דברי ראש הממשלה בארוחת ערב לכבוד מזכיר המדינה האמריקני
ב-9 באוגוסט 1977

ראש הממשלה, מר מנחם בגין, ערך ב-9 באוגוסט במשכן
הכנסת, ארוחת ערב לכבוד מזכיר המדינה של ארצות הברית,
מר סירוס ואנס.

נוסח הדברים שהשמיע מר בגין בארוחה מועבר בזה לידיעתכם
ולשימושכם.

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PRESS BULLETIN

FOR YOUR RECORDS

TOAST BY THE PRIME MINISTER, MR. MENAHEM BEGIN,
AT DINNER TENDERED IN HONOUR OF U.S. SECRETARY
OF STATE CYRUS VANCE - KNESSET, 9 AUGUST 1977

PRESIDENT OF THE SUPREME COURT, YOUR EXCELLENCIES, MEMBERS OF THE CABINET, OF THE KNESSET, THE COMMANDER OF OUR ARMY, CHIEF OF GENERAL STAFF, MY FRIEND AND PREDECESSOR MR. RABIN AND MRS. RABIN, MY FRIEND THE LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION PERES AND MRS. PERES, PROFESSOR YIGAEEL YADIN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

MR. SECRETARY, I WELCOME YOU ON BEHALF OF THE GOVERNMENT AND THE PEOPLE OF ISRAEL, TO OUR LAND, TO ITS CAPITAL JERUSALEM, AND TO THE KNESSET, THE CENTRE OF OUR DEMOCRACY IN WHICH RECENTLY CERTAIN TOPOGRAPHICAL CHANGES TOOK PLACE. IT TOOK SOME TIME AND SOME PATIENCE TOO, AND NOW WE CAN SAY THAT DEMOCRACY IS A MATTER OF GEOGRAPHY AND TOPOGRAPHY. WE GREET YOU WITH ALL OUR HEART.

I APOLOGIZE TO MRS. VANCE ON BEHALF OF MY WIFE THAT TONIGHT SHE COULDN'T BE HERE BECAUSE OF HER ILLNESS AND SHE WILL NOT BE ABLE TO ACCOMPANY YOU, OUR DEAR FRIEND MRS. VANCE, AS YOU AGREED WITH HER IN WASHINGTON. BUT I KNOW THAT MRS. DAYAN IS A GRACIOUS HOSTESS, I KNOW IT OF MY PERSONAL EXPERIENCE, SO MRS. DAYAN AND YOU WILL GO TOGETHER AND SEE THE COUNTRY. IT'S A FINE COUNTRY, WORTHWHILE TO SEE AND WE ALWAYS SAY A SMALL COUNTRY BUT NEVER A DULL MOMENT.

MR. SECRETARY, WE ARE GRATEFUL TO YOU THAT YOU UNDERTOOK THIS JOURNEY TO THE MIDDLE EAST, THAT YOU MET THE ARAB RULERS AROUND. YOU DID IT IN THE CAUSE AND IN THE SERVICE OF PEACE TOGETHER WITH YOUR COLLEAGUES, ASSOCIATES AND ADVISORS. IT IS NOT EASY, IT'S A PHYSICAL AND INTELLECTUAL EFFORT AND THEREFORE WE THANK YOU THAT YOU UNDERTOOK THIS JOURNEY. AFTER WE TALKED EARLIER IN THE EVENING I CAN SAY WITH THE FULL KNOWLEDGE OF FACTS THAT THE SECRETARY OF STATE CAN ALREADY NOTE A VERY SERIOUS, INDEED GREAT, ACHIEVEMENT IN THE CAUSE OF PEACE. WE CONGRATULATE YOU ON THIS ACHIEVEMENT AND WE SHALL ALL CONTINUE TO FIND ANY ROAD, ANY AVENUE, ANY WAY TO PROMOTE PEACE.

WHEN I WAS IN WASHINGTON AT THE INVITATION OF THE PRESIDENT WE BROUGHT ON BEHALF OF OUR GOVERNMENT CERTAIN PROPOSALS TO FEED THE MOMENTUM TOWARDS THE PEACE-MAKING PROCESS. I THINK IT WAS A POSITIVE INITIATIVE AND WE WILL CONTINUE THINKING AGAIN AND AGAIN HOW TO PROMOTE THE MOMENTUM TOWARDS THE PEACE-MAKING PROCESS. I THINK I

CONT./...

ON BEHALF OF EVERY CITIZEN - OF EVERY WOMAN AND MAN IN THIS COUNTRY - WHEN I SAY THAT WE YEARN AND PRAY FOR PEACE. IN THIS ROOM, MR. SECRETARY, THERE ARE MEN WHO FOUGHT FOR THE LIBERATION OF OUR PEOPLE, RISKED THEIR LIVES, LED ARMIES, WON VICTORIES. ON BEHALF OF ALL THOSE MEN I AM ENTITLED AND IN DUTY BOUND TO SAY THAT NOW WE HAVE ONE AMBITION: TO BRING PEACE TO OUR LAND, TO OUR PEOPLE, AND TO THE REGION IN WHICH WE LIVE - AND WE DO HOPE THAT PEACE WILL COME.

WE HAD EARLIER IN THE EVENING A VERY GOOD, VERY HELPFUL DISCUSSION AND MAY I SAY - I BELIEVE THE SECRETARY WILL BEAR ME OUT - THE REALITY IS NOT AS DARK AS THE PRESS WAS FOR THE LAST 24 HOURS. AND I THINK WE SHALL MAKE PROGRESS. FOREIGN MINISTERS WILL VISIT YOUR GREAT COUNTRY NEXT MONTH, YOU WILL MEET WITH THEM AND THE MOMENTUM WILL GO ON AND, OF COURSE, WE ALL HOPE THAT THE PEACE CONFERENCE IN GENEVA WILL BE MADE POSSIBLE WITH PROPER REPRESENTATION AND WE SHALL START SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN ISRAEL AND THE ARAB COUNTRIES, OUR NEIGHBORS, ABOUT CONCLUSION AND SIGNING OF PEACE TREATIES.

THERE IS ONE PROBLEM WHICH I WILL SHORTLY DWELL ON WHICH IS NOW OF INTERNATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE AND INTEREST. IT IS MY DUTY TO RAISE IT. IN ORDER TO CLARIFY OUR ATTITUDE I WILL USE AN ALLEGORICAL STORY. LET US ASSUME THAT IN A CERTAIN CORNER OF THE GLOBE THERE IS NOW A COUNTRY CALLED THE HUNLAND, THE LAND OF THE HUN, AND THE BASIC PHILOSOPHY OF ITS GOVERNMENT IS A BOOK CALLED "MEIN KAMPF" - IT MAY HAPPEN IN OUR TIME. WHAT WOULD WE DO, THE JEWISH STATE, THE STATE OF ISRAEL? SURELY WE WOULD CALL UPON ALL FREE NATIONS TO BE WATCHFUL, TO HAVE NO RAPPORT WITH THAT HUNLAND BECAUSE WE ALL HAVE THE EXPERIENCE. ALL MANKIND PAID THE PRICE. ALL NATIONS, BECAUSE OF A BASIC MISTAKE MADE IN THE 1930S, MADE THE MOST HORRIBLE SACRIFICES TO GET RID OF THAT EVIL. ADMITTEDLY WE PAID THE HIGHEST PRICE. WHEN I USE THE WORD "TERTIATED" I MEAN TO SAY THAT WE DO NOT ACCEPT THE KNOWN TERM OF "DECIMATION." THE JEWISH PEOPLE WERE NOT DECIMATED, BECAUSE THAT TERM STEMS FROM AN OLD CUSTOM IN THE ROMAN LEGIONS, THAT WHEN A BREACH OF DISCIPLINE HAPPENED EVERY TENTH LEGIONNAIRE WAS EXECUTED. OUR PEOPLE LOST EVERY THIRD OF ITS SONS OR ITS DAUGHTERS AND THEREFORE WE MAY USE THE WORD - IT WAS TERTIATED. IT IS PHANTASMAGORIC - IT WOULD MEAN EIGHTEEN MILLION BRITONS WIPED OUT OR NINETY MILLION RUSSIANS OR TWO HUNDRED EIGHTY MILLION CHINESE OR EIGHTY MILLION AMERICANS. THERE ARE ALL THOSE PHANTASMAGORIC FIGURES WORKED OUT BY SCIENTISTS DEALING WITH THE MEGATONS, BUT THE MEGATONS - ALTHOUGH PRODUCED - WILL NEVER BE USED. WE HAVE TO LIVE WITH SUCH PHANTASMAGORIC FIGURES AND IN OUR GENERATION, AND FOR GENERATIONS TO COME. SO WE ALL HAVE THE EXPERIENCE AND THEREFORE WE WOULD CALL UPON ALL FREE NATIONS, "BE WATCHFUL." AND THEN PERHAPS SOME WOULD GIVE US THE ADVICE "DON'T TAKE IT SERIOUSLY, IT IS NOT AS IT IS WRITTEN IN THE BOOK." IF THAT HAPPENS WE WOULD RESPECTFULLY SAY TO EVERYONE IN THE WORLD, "GENTLEMEN, FORGIVE US, BUT WE CANNOT ACCEPT THAT ADVICE, WE HEARD IT FORTY YEARS AGO." DOMESTIC PROPAGANDA WRITTEN, THEY DON'T MEAN IT, DON'T BELIEVE THEM AND THEN WE KNOW WHAT HAPPENED. THEN PERHAPS SOMEBODY WOULD SAY, "THERE IS A CERTAIN RESOLUTION BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL OF THE UNITED NATIONS - WE HEARD THAT THAT HUNLAND IS READY TO ACCEPT THE RESOLUTION." WHAT WOULD BE YOUR REACTION? I HAVE NO DOUBT WE WOULD SAY, AGAIN, "BUT WE HAVE OUR EXPERIENCE." NOBODY PAID ATTENTION TO WHAT WAS WRITTEN IN THE BOOK, IN THAT INFAMOUS BOOK, EVERY WORD OF IT WAS BROUGHT INTO REALIZATION, AND NOW THERE MAY BE SOME PEOPLE WHO LEARNED FROM MISTAKES IN HISTORY HOW TO REPEAT THEM. OUR GENERATION WITH ITS EXPERIENCE SHOULD LEARN FROM MISTAKES IN HISTORY HOW TO AVOID THEM.

CONT./...

NOW, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, PERHAPS SOME OF MY HONOURED LISTENERS TONIGHT MAY HAVE A SUSPICION THAT WHEN I SPOKE ABOUT THE IMAGINED HUNLAND AND "MEIN KAMPF" ETC. I ACTUALLY MEANT THE ORGANIZATION KNOWN AS P.L.O. I WOULD LIKE TO REASSURE THEM - I MEANT IT.

AND NOW I WILL READ TO YOU A VERY SHORT DOCUMENT, ARTICLE ONE "PALESTINE IS THE HOMELAND OF THE PALESTINIAN ARAB PEOPLE AND AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE GREAT ARAB HOMELAND, AND THE PEOPLE OF PALESTINE IS A PART OF THE ARAB NATION." NO ROOM FOR THE JEW. "JEWS WHO WERE LIVING PERMANENTLY IN PALESTINE UNTIL THE BEGINNING OF THE ZIONIST INVASION WILL BE CONSIDERED PALESTINIANS." (NOTE: THE PREMIER IS QUOTING ARTICLE 6 OF THE 1968 PALESTINIAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.) IN OTHER WORDS, JEWS WHO LIVED PERMANENTLY IN OUR LAND, CALLED BY FOREIGNERS PALESTINE, UNTIL THE BALFOUR DECLARATION OF 1917, WILL BE CONSIDERED PALESTINIANS, ALL THE OTHERS HAVE TO LEAVE. THE NUMBERS: FIFTY OR SIXTY THOUSAND TO BE LEFT - TWO MILLION NINE HUNDRED AND FIFTY THOUSAND, CIRCA, TO GO. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ISRAEL IS FUNDAMENTALLY NULL AND VOID. NULL AND VOID. THE BALFOUR DECLARATION, THE MANDATE DOCUMENT AND WHAT HAS BEEN BASED UPON THEM ARE CONSIDERED NULL AND VOID. THE CLAIM OF THE HISTORICAL AND SPIRITUAL TIE BETWEEN JEWS AND PALESTINE DOES NOT TELL OF ITS HISTORICAL REALITIES NOR WITH THE CONSTITUENTS OF STATEHOOD IN THE TRUE SENSE.

AND I REMEMBER SAN REMO - 1922 - BRITAIN WAS GIVEN THE MANDATE TO MAKE IT POSSIBLE TO HAVE A NATIONAL HOME FOR THE JEWISH PEOPLE TO BE RECONSTITUTED, RE-CONSTITUTED, AND THAT RE- IS THE MOST CHARACTERISTIC IN THAT DOCUMENT. YOU CAN RE-CONSTITUTE A THING WHICH EXISTED - AND THEN THE WORDS ARE USED IN THE PREAMBLE "RECOGNITION HAVING BEEN GIVEN TO THE HISTORICAL CONNECTION BETWEEN THE JEWISH PEOPLE AND PALESTINE." WOODROW WILSON, THE GREAT PRESIDENT WHO GAVE TO THE WORLD THE CONCEPT OF NATIONAL SELF-DETERMINATION, APPOINTED A COMMITTEE FOR THE MIDDLE EAST WHICH BROUGHT HIM RECOMMENDATIONS (THAT) IT IS JUST THAT PALESTINE SHOULD BECOME A JEWISH STATE. PALESTINE A JEWISH STATE. THE CONNECTION BETWEEN PALESTINE AND THE JEWISH PEOPLE.

AND NOW, AFTER RECOGNITION BY ALL THE CIVILIZED NATIONS OF THAT HISTORICAL CONNECTION, WE HEAR THAT THE CLAIM OF A HISTORICAL AND SPIRITUAL TIE BETWEEN JEWS AND PALESTINE IS NON-EXISTENT. JUDAISM AND ITS CHARACTER AS A RELIGION OF REVELATION IS NOT A NATIONALITY, NOW WE ARE NOT EVEN RECOGNIZED AS A NATIONALITY. ONLY AS A RELIGION. WE KNOW WHEN THAT RECOGNITION WAS GIVEN TO US AND THE OTHER DENIED.

NOW ALSO MAY I INFORM YOU, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, THAT SINCE JANUARY THE FIRST THERE WERE MANY ATTACKS CARRIED OUT BY THAT ORGANIZATION, ALL OF THEM AGAINST CIVILIANS: TWO KILLED, 120 WOUNDED - BUT WHEN WE SAY WOUNDED, WE DON'T DESCRIBE REALITY. WE SHOULD SAY LEGLESS, ARMLESS, EYELESS, HANDLESS PEOPLE, MAIMED

CONT./...

FOR A LIFETIME, ALL OF THEM CIVILIANS, MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN. BECAUSE THEY TURNED THE CIVILIAN POPULATION INTO THE TARGET OF THEIR ATTACKS. THEY AIMED TO DESTROY A PEOPLE, TO ANNIHILATE A PEOPLE, TO RENEW THE UNHEARD OF WRONG DONE TO THE JEWISH PEOPLE FOR CENTURIES: HOMELESS AND DEFENCELESS - AND TURNING (THEM) AGAIN INTO A DEFENCELESS AND HOMELESS PEOPLE. WHEREAS THAT WRONG WAS REDRESSED BY THE PROCLAMATION OF OUR INDEPENDENCE, BY THE CREATION OF OUR STATE - DEMENTED GENOCIDE KILLED MAN, WOMAN AND CHILD.

IT IS A VERY SERIOUS MATTER TO US, OUR DEAR FRIEND, MR. SECRETARY, SOME MAY SAY THAT WE ARE SENSITIVE ABOUT IT. WE ARE - BECAUSE WE HAVE THE EXPERIENCE. BUT PERHAPS SENSITIVITY IS NOT THE PROPER WORD. I THINK IT IS RATIO, LOGIC.

TO LEARN FROM EXPERIENCE IS THE DUTY OF A MAN WHO BEARS RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE FUTURE OF HIS NATION. AND THEREFORE OUR STAND IS CLEAR: WE WANT PEACE, WE WANT TO NEGOTIATE PEACE TREATIES, WE BROUGHT PROPOSALS, ALTERNATIVE PROPOSALS, WE HAVE LOOKED, WE SHALL LOOK FOR ANY AVENUE TO BRING ABOUT SUCH NEGOTIATIONS TO CONCLUDE PEACE TREATIES. BUT THAT ORGANIZATION, THE PHILOSOPHY OF WHICH IS BASED ON AN ARABIC "MEIN KAMPF," IS NO PARTNER WHATSOEVER AND NEVER WOULD BE A PARTNER FOR US TO HOLD ANY TALKS - BECAUSE SUCH IS THE PHILOSOPHY, SUCH THE DESIGN, AND SUCH THE METHOD. I BELIEVE ALL FREE MANKIND SHOULD ACCEPT THAT ATTITUDE AND ALSO HAVE THE SAME ATTITUDE. IT'S A DANGER TO ALL FREE NATIONS, TO THE FREE WORLD.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, WE BELIEVE THAT OUR GREAT FRIEND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA WILL COMPREHEND THE ATTITUDE OF ISRAEL TOWARDS THIS SPECIAL MORAL ISSUE. WE WILL HAVE THE SAME DECISION AS FAR AS PARTICIPATION IN THE GENEVA CONFERENCE IS CONCERNED, BECAUSE WE BELIEVE IN THE MORAL GREATNESS OF THE UNITED STATES. NOW WE HOPE WE SHALL MAKE PROGRESS AND ACHIEVE PEACE.

WE ARE GRATEFUL TO YOU, MR. SECRETARY, FOR YOUR EFFORTS. WE WILL DO WHATEVER WE CAN TO MAKE YOUR STAY AND THAT OF YOUR GRACIOUS LADY ENJOYABLE IN OUR COUNTRY.

AND IN THIS SPIRIT OF HOPE AND OPTIMISM AND FAITH IN THE FUTURE OF OUR NATIONS, AND INDEED OF HUMAN LIBERTY AND JUSTICE, I RAISE MY GLASS TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, TO OUR GUESTS, SECRETARY OF STATE - AND TO THE EVERLASTING FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND ISRAEL. THANK YOU VERY MUCH.

/SN/AL