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UNITED KINGDOM

DAILY TELEGRAPH PRAISES AS-SADAT'S STATESMANSHIP

LD291151Y London THE DAILY TELEGRAPH in English 29 Nov 77 p 18 LD

[Editorial: "As-Sadat Keeps in Front"]

[Excerpts] President as-Sadat continues to make rings round all the other parties involved in the Middle East dispute. He seized, and has so far held, the moral, diplomatic and public relations initiative. When the more militant Arab states denounced him as a traitor for going on his historic visit to Jerusalem he countered by inviting all concerned to a meeting in Cairo next Saturday.

Now that the dust is settling somewhat behind Mr as-Sadat's chariot three things seem clear. He has made a deep and most favourable impression on world public opinion as a statesman and a personality. Far from being torn to shreds by the outraged army and populace at home, he has been acclaimed. Finally, renewed war between Egypt and Israel seems, to say the least, to have become highly improbable, and without Egypt the others are hamstrung. These realisations may account for a milder tone in Mr al-Asad's references yesterday to Mr as-Sadat. Iraq and Jordan have started maneuvering. There need be no disappointment that Israel's foreign minister, Mr Dayan, will not after all be leading the Israeli delegation to Cairo--still the only one to have accepted. That both sides should be represented only by senior officials evidently suits Egypt, which is still sensitive to accusations of seeking a separate peace. It is devoutly to be hoped however that at this meeting Israel will make a bigger practical response than so far. Mr Raphael's moving article on this page on the 30th anniversary of the United Nations resolution that led to the creation of the state of Israel makes her preoccupation with security highly understandable but surely the situation that has now developed represents such a radical change that a calculated political and psychological risk would bring security dividends.

MIRV WARHEADS REPORTEDLY TURNED DOWN TO PLACATE USSR

LD011149Y London THE DAILY TELEGRAPH in English 1 Dec 77 p 4 LD

[Article by Clare Hollingworth: "Britain's Warhead Plans Trimmed To Placate Russia"]

[Text] Britain is planning to order from the United States a twin nuclear warhead for its Polaris missiles instead of taking up an option on the American MIRV multiple-headed, pre-targeted missile.

This is part of the scheme Britain has conveyed to America to ensure the maintenance of the British independent nuclear deterrent.

I understand that Britain has decided in principle to replace the Polaris missile warhead with one carrying two nuclear warheads of the same weight, which, like a shotgun, would cause far greater damage.

The government apparently turned down MIRV warheads--multiple independently targetted re-entry vehicles--on the grounds that to increase the number of nuclear warheads from the current 32 on two Polaris submarines to something over 300 would upset Russia.

In fact, they have suggested two instead of the more normal three warheads on the new missile they hope to acquire.

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ISRAELI PRIME MINISTER ARRIVES 2 DEC, MET BY OWEN

LD021256Y London PRESS ASSOCIATION in English 1210 GMT 2 Dec 77 ID

[Text] Israeli prime minister Mr Menahem Begin flew into London today amid tight security for the first official visit to Britain by an Israeli leader. He was met at Heathrow Airport by Foreign Secretary, Dr David Owen.

Mr Begin--the former terrorist leader who fought the British during the Palestine troubles--said after arriving: "I bring from Jerusalem a suggestion to renew the covenant signed between the British and Jewish people 60 years ago on that unforgettable day, November 2, 1917." The Balfour Declaration expressed Britain's support for the setting up of a Jewish state in Palestine.

Mr Begin also said he hoped to tell Mr Callaghan about the "dramatic events" during President as-Sadat's recent visit to Jerusalem. He said he was "gratified" to Mr Callaghan for his invitation to visit Britain--the first time an Israeli leader has been asked to visit the country.

Special Branch and Israeli security men mingled with officials and pressmen during Mr Begin's arrival. The Israeli leader was greeted by 50 flag-waving children from the Israeli embassy and was presented with a bouquet of flowers by two of them--obed Hachohen, 11, and Elait Ezer, 10.

During his six-day visit he is expected to have about 12 hours of talks with Mr Callaghan and other British ministers. Apart from briefing Mr Callaghan on President as-Sadat's visit he is also expected to discuss the forthcoming Cairo peace talks, the Palestinian question and Israel's relations with the EEC.

Dr Owen wished Mr Begin a "happy and enjoyable" stay in Britain. The Israeli leader replied that relations between Britain and Israel "are good."

Mr Begin, accompanied by his wife, flew in on a scheduled El Al Boeing 707 flight which arrived 20 minutes late. The aircraft taxied to a special VIP area in a corner of the airport for the official welcome. After a short speech Mr Begin flew from Heathrow in a helicopter of the queen's flight to Kensington Palace Gardens before moving on to his first hotel.

It is the first time an Israeli prime minister has been officially invited to Britain. For security reasons Mr Begin will be staying at a succession of hotels--for religious reasons each will be 15 minutes walk from a synagogue.

His first official engagement will be tomorrow night after the Jewish sabbath ends--when he will meet Mr Callaghan at 10 Downing Street for talks and a reception. Mr Begin is expected back at No 10 on Sunday morning for talks with a number of ministers and for a working lunch. On Monday, he will meet leaders of the Jewish community and on Tuesday will see British MP's with special interests in the Middle East. On Wednesday he will hold a press conference.

Mr Begin was to have come to Britain a few weeks ago but the trip was postponed because of the dramatic visit to Israel by President as-Sadat.

MENACHEM

Israel

BEGIN

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(Menachem BF)

BEGIN COMMENTS ON EGYPT'S BREAKING OF RELATIONS

FBI-MEA-77-234

TA060530Y Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 0500 GMT 6 Dec 77 TA

CD
BB
Patty

[Text] The prime minister has said in London that Israel was sorry to hear that Egypt had been forced to break diplomatic relations with five other Arab countries, as we seek to achieve a peace settlement with all our neighbors in the Middle East. At a banquet on behalf of the United Jewish Appeal, attended by about 1,000 people, the prime minister said that Israel favors direct negotiations, and hence we are not happy to see diplomatic relations being severed because our goal is a comprehensive peace settlement through direct negotiations with all our neighbors. Begin hopes that the U.S. secretary of state, when he comes to the region in a few days, will be able to persuade a few more Arab countries to join the efforts to reach a settlement.

In Jerusalem it was reported that Israel will not have a diplomatic reaction to Egypt's decision to sever relations with Syria, Iraq, Libya, Algeria and South Yemen. The Foreign Ministry spokesman noted this was an internal matter of the Arab world.

Our political correspondent reports it is unofficially believed that As-Sadat will now act toward reaching a settlement between Israel and Egypt. It is also believed that now Jordan will join the political moves in the region because of its interest in Judaea and Samaria. Thus it is possible that Israel will be asked to define more clearly its positions regarding Judaea and Samaria as far as the Palestinian issue is concerned.

BEGIN TO MEET WITH SECRETARY VANCE IN JERUSALEM

TA051413Y Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1400 GMT 5 Dec 77 TA

[Text] It was confirmed to our correspondent in London from the prime minister's entourage that Mr Begin will confer with the U.S. secretary of state, Cyrus Vance, in Jerusalem at the end of the week. It became known today that Mr Vance will come to Israel within the framework of a tour of several Middle East countries. He will try to persuade more countries in the region to send their representatives to the Cairo conference. The Americans are especially trying to convince King Juhayn. Britain also promised Mr Begin to help persuade the Jordanians.

Begin on Vance, Other Topics

TA051858Y Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1705 GMT 5 Dec 77 TA

[From the evening newsreel]

[Text] Today the prime minister is concluding the political part of his visit in Britain. In the afternoon the prime minister gave a special interview to our correspondent in London, Mikha Limor: [begin recording]

[Question] Mr Prime Minister, the British prime minister, Mr Callaghan, in his speech accepted your contention that the Europeans should not intervene in the peace process in the Middle East. What was the argument which persuaded him?

[Answer] You should know that we, the Israeli and British delegations, Britain's prime minister and myself, talked for long hours. This question was raised in both the private talk between us and in the joint talk. We explained to the hosts: First, the nine decided on a position that is unfounded even in the opinion of the British Government, of [demanding] a total withdrawal to the 1967 lines. The British Government, just like the U.S. Government, has never accepted this false premise. So how can such a position be determined with your approval?

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Second, such a demand actually leaves us without the possibility of holding negotiations and endangers our very existence. The last reason was that direct and very serious negotiations have begun now. As-Sadat visited us. There will be a Cairo conference in preparation for the Geneva conference. There will also be private talks. Let us conduct the negotiations. You have made decisions and proposals and nothing came out of it. You only made things difficult for us. Stop making things difficult for us. Let us have a chance to conduct the negotiations.

These arguments were accepted. The British prime minister left for Brussels at 1000. He told me privately--he repeated this publicly as you have all heard--that he will certainly advise his friends among the nine not to intervene so that free negotiations between the parties will be rendered possible. This is a very positive commitment.

[Question] He also said that you also want to discuss substantive, and not just procedural, issues. What kind of substantive issues?

[Answer] [Words indistinct] to sit in Jerusalem with President as-Sadat. The procedures do not interest me very much. I want to speak of the essence, of the content. We want this. We have a draft of a peace treaty. There will be proposals in due time. [Words indistinct] I told the British prime minister this and he accepted it willingly.

[Question] Mr Prime Minister, both President as-Sadat and King Husayn appeared on British television yesterday. Did you notice a threatening tone in As-Sadat's remarks?

[Answer] I did not hear them. I read the press this morning, though. I will tell you: I do not think it would be wise to react immediately to a public statement. President as-Sadat made his statement. We, Israeli and Egyptian representatives, are going to meet and talk face to face. We will then learn the meaning of these remarks. I was told by President as-Sadat, and told him in return: no more war. He made no reservations on this position. On the contrary, during his visit in Jerusalem, as I very well recall, he was asked: What will happen if the negotiations fail? Will a war break out then? He answered: not necessarily. The question was "if the negotiations fail." The negotiations have just begun so we should not talk of a failure; we need not do so either. There is good hope that the negotiations will succeed. Therefore, these are things I prefer not to react to, at least at this stage. We determined...

[Question--interrupting] You are not indignant at him?

[Answer] It is not a question of indignation. Ultimately, we must not forget what is happening in Tripoli. However, it is not my business to give out interpretations. My business is, in due time, to conduct negotiations in the name of Israel. As-Sadat and his advisers will conduct negotiations with my colleagues and myself in the name of Egypt. Now, since the meetings will be direct, face to face, we will not also hear but see and know.

[Question] Is a meeting with U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance expected?

[Answer] While here, I received notification that the U.S. secretary of state will make a tour in the Middle East. He will begin in Egypt on Friday and will come to us on Saturday evening. I am emphasizing this--on Saturday evening. When the Israeli people honor the Sabbath, neighbors and friends also honor it. He will be with us all day Sunday. We will hold serious talks with him. He will also visit Jordan, Syria and Saudi Arabia.

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[Question] Is it a new shuttle diplomacy?

[Answer] I do not think so. However, there is room to believe that this will be an opportunity to present each other with impressions about recent developments which are very dramatic and even surprising to a certain extent. In addition I think that this constitutes a serious U.S. attempt and effort to bring additional Arab countries to the negotiating table with Israel. They have not become discouraged over this possibility. Therefore, I want to say that we welcome this visit by Secretary of State Vance in the region and in Israel. He will be received with great sympathy by the government, the Knesset and our people. I have no doubt about this. I am already telling him today; welcome to Israel. [end recording]

Morning Editorials

TA060756Y Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 0500 GMT 6 Dec 77 TA

[From review of morning press editorials]

[Excerpt] The upcoming visit of U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance to Israel at the end of this week and developments at the Tripoli conference are the main subjects this morning.

DAVAR writes that Vance's visit bears evidence of the fact that, even under the new circumstances in our region, the United States will continue to play a first-rank role in the Middle East and in endeavors to settle the Israeli-Arab conflict.

HA'AREZ says it goes without saying that the U.S. secretary of state is a welcome visitor here at any time. Vance's intention to persuade Jordan and Syria not to absent themselves from the meetings the Egyptian president has called in Cairo should be welcomed. The prospect of direct negotiations between us and Egypt, and perhaps also with Jordan or even with Syria, has a strong attraction, encouraging a feeling of independence in Israel, a feeling not altogether different from that which is being felt in Egypt.

'AL HAMISHMAR writes that it will be impossible to postpone our moment of truth or to avoid adopting resolutions, which is especially difficult for the present Israeli cabinet. Recent developments have confronted the cabinet with a most difficult dilemma: to offer our contributions for the great prospect toward a peace settlement, or to cut off that prospect while it is still in the bud. Unfortunately, the paper adds, there is no indication yet of the way the Israeli Government intends to take if it wishes to advance the prospects of peace.

HAZOFE believes Vance will see in the course of his visit in the Middle East an Arab world immersed in a rift among Egypt, which favors political negotiations even while postulating its grave principles; Syria, which rejects serious negotiations; and the most extreme rejectionist countries, which are subject to Soviet influence. The U.S. state secretary will also be able to see the PLO and all its consistently murderous and destructive instincts.

Afternoon Papers

TA060940Y Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1000 GMT 6 Dec 77 TA

[Review of afternoon press editorials]

[Text] Both papers contemplate moves expected in the Middle East by the end of the week.

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MA'ARIV says that the mission of Under Secretary of State Philip Habib in Moscow and Secretary of State Vance's departure for the Middle East prove that Washington has decided to resume an active role in the political momentum and unflinchingly support the Egyptian-Israeli initiative.

YEDI'OT AHARONOT doubts whether Syria and its subservient PLO deserve to be the recipients of Vance's visits, since the two would not be going so far in their opposition to Egypt were it not for the political and military power of the Soviet Union behind them.

TV Commentator Ben-Yishay

TA052003Y Jerusalem Domestic Television Service in Hebrew 1900 GMT 5 Dec 77 TA

[Text] It was officially confirmed in Jerusalem today that U.S. Secretary of State Vance will depart for a tour of several Middle East countries and will arrive in Israel on Saturday evening. He will be received by Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan at Ben-Gurion Airport. Mr Vance will arrive in Israel from Egypt. Later he will continue to Lebanon, Syria, Jordan and Saudi Arabia. Mr Vance will be accompanied on his tour by Under Secretary for Political Affairs Philip Habib and Assistant Secretary for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs Alfred Atherton. Our political correspondent Ron Ben-Yishay reports on this visit:

[Ben-Yishay--live] After sitting on the fence for about 2 weeks, U.S. diplomacy is setting out on the road. Cyrus Vance, the secretary of state, is taking advantage of the respite before the opening of the Cairo conference to collect firsthand impressions of the positions of the parties in the region.

A senior diplomatic source in the U.S. Embassy told me that no dramatic developments are to be expected, or U.S. plans or statements. In Jerusalem, too, it is believed that the Americans need the information in order to reassess the situation created in the region in the wake of President as-Sadat's initiative. The U.S. secretary of state will want to check the chances of the success of the Cairo conference, and what is more important, the chances of the secret contacts to be held simultaneously with it. If the chances for reaching an agreement or at least an understanding between Israel and Egypt are good, the Americans will want to cultivate the Cairo conference and put off the Geneva conference a little. If an explosion is expected in Cairo, the Americans will try to maneuver the parties directly to Geneva after a short symbolic move in Cairo.

The Americans are encouraged by their diplomatic success in postponing the Cairo conference. This postponement allowed them time to achieve the silent agreement of the Saudis and the congratulations of King Husayn. The delay also made it possible for the Cairo conference to stand out against the background of the relative failure of the Tripoli conference today. Now Uncle Sam's diplomats want to keep the initiative in their hands. They will want to examine the conditions under which King Husayn will be ready to join As-Sadat's initiative and the degree of Saudi support that can be counted on from now on. President al-Asad, who also refused to join the position of the extremists at the Tripoli conference, is now an object of U.S. hopes. The secretary of state will probably want to check the price of Syrian cooperation.

The Americans are interested now in having as many countries as possible join the Egyptian president's initiative. The secretary of state will do his utmost in this direction.

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FUNCTION OF DELEGATION TO CAIRO TALKS DEFINED

TA051643Y Tel Aviv IDF Radio in Hebrew 1510 GMT 5 Dec 77 TA

[From the afternoon newsreel]

[Text] The Israeli delegation to the Cairo talks does not have the authority or instructions to hold negotiations about defense or military subjects. This was made clear today by Foreign Ministry officials. They stressed that the function of the delegation will, in the first stage, be limited to examining the various clauses that, in Israel's opinion, should be included in the peace treaty with Arab countries. Our correspondent Gabi Kessler reports about the definition of the function of the Israeli delegation to the Cairo talks: [begin recording].

Foreign Ministry officials said today that Israel does not understand As-Sadat's criticism of the composition of the Israeli delegation for the Cairo talks. The composition of the delegation, the sources said, was determined in accordance with the letter of invitation sent by the Egyptian acting foreign minister which clearly said that the Israeli foreign minister is requested to appoint his representatives to the Cairo talks. If President as-Sadat sends an invitation to more senior personages to come to Cairo, Israel will answer such an invitation on the spot, and it is assumed that it will be positive.

In the meantime Foreign Ministry sources stressed again that the delegation is basically technical. The function of the delegation, in Israel's view, is to work with the Egyptian delegation in order to clarify the various elements to be included in the peace treaty and examine their acceptability. Thus the delegation will discuss the issues of free navigation, goods exchange, cultural and tourist relations, and the nature of the diplomatic relations between Israel and the Arab countries. The delegation does not have, at this stage, the authority or instructions to discuss military or defense issues. It is emphasized in the Foreign Ministry that this concerns the first stage of the talks. If the need arises, the delegation will receive new instructions or, alternatively, more senior personages will join it who will have the authority to hold negotiations on defense issues.

As for As-Sadat's statement that Israel has to go to Cairo with softened positions, the Foreign Ministry sources said that President as-Sadat knows Israel's position about non-withdrawal to the 1967 lines and rejection of a Palestinian state in Judaea and Samaria. Israel also knows that Egypt's positions are opposed to the Israeli stands. Nevertheless, the sources wanted to make it clear that Israel will go to Cairo with positions and not with answers, namely, without preconditions. It is possible to assume that from the opposed positions the two parties hope to reach a common path [end recording]

BEGIN URGES AS-SADAT TO BE LOYAL TO DECLARATIONS

TA051309Y Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew 5 Dec 77 pp 1, 8 TA

[By Ilan Kefir and Arye Zimmuqi]

[Excerpts] "If the Egyptian president goes back on his declarations in Jerusalem, this would be a great disappointment to me," Prime Minister Menahem Begin said yesterday in a conversation with the YEDI'OT AHARONOT correspondent in London. "I believe that President as-Sadat and I have found a common language, and this will help us on the road to peace." These remarks were made in reaction to remarks yesterday by President as-Sadat to the effect that "Israel had better soften its positions in the Cairo talks; otherwise, it will have to bear the consequences."

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Begin added: "The talks in Cairo are only the beginning of the road. It is going to be a long and difficult road. However, I have great hope that we will proceed on the road to peace. President as-Sadat's public remarks and private talks have convinced me of the sincerity of his desire to achieve peace."

As for events in Egypt at the present moment, the prime minister said: "The day of the messiah has arrived." With apparent reference to the Israeli journalists who are in Cairo, he added: "I cannot believe how the Egyptians accepted our people in Cairo."

Political sources in London maintain that in his talks with the British prime minister Begin revealed more moderate positions than those that he has shown in the past. He explicitly spoke about a plan to solve the problem of the Palestinian Arabs.

Yesterday, Jerusalem expressed surprise at President as-Sadat's remarks about the level of the delegation. As-Sadat yesterday criticized the composition of the Israeli delegation.

Sources in Jerusalem said that the members of the delegation (the director general of the prime minister's office, Eliyahu Ben-Elissar, and the legal adviser to the Foreign Ministry, Me'ir Rosenne) were picked in accordance with the letter of invitation sent by Egyptian acting Foreign Minister Butrus Ghali to his Israeli counterpart, Moshe Dayan. The prime minister and the foreign minister chose the highest level in accordance with the letter of invitation. At the same time, they also considered the possibility of conducting contacts at a higher level, including the possibility of the participation of Dayan and even Begin at the Cairo conference.

Jerusalem is not considering any change in the composition of the Israeli delegation.

TWO JOURNALISTS LEAVE FOR CAIRO WITHOUT CLEARANCE

TA051314Y Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1200 GMT 5 Dec 77 TA.

[Text] The editor of the weekly HA'OLAM HAZE, Uri Avneri, who is also one of the heads of the Sheli movement, left this morning for Cairo, via Athens. Avneri went as a journalist on behalf of his paper.

Our correspondent Avner Tavori reports that the HA'OLAM HAZE editor neither received the compulsory permit from the Interior Ministry nor coordinated his journey with the government press office. Avneri is accompanied on his trip by a photographer from the paper.

Commitment From Egypt

TA051654Y Tel Aviv IDF Radio in Hebrew 1510 GMT 5 Dec 77 TA

[From the afternoon newsreel]

[Excerpt] The Egyptian authorities have promised the Israeli authorities they will not allow the entry into Egypt of Israeli journalists not appearing on the authorized list of the government press office. Our correspondent learned this from the director of the government press office, Ze'ev Hefez. Hefez added that Uri Avneri's departure for the Cairo conference was not approved by the government press office, nor did it get the approval of the Interior Ministry.

GAZA STRIP DELEGATION TO BE ALLOWED INTO EGYPT

TA052028Y Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 2000 GMT 5 Dec 77 TA

[Text] Our correspondent Pinhas 'Inbari has learned that Egypt has agreed to allow a Gaza Strip delegation to come to Cairo to express support for President as-Sadat and his initiative. The consent was given in a letter sent by the Egyptian ambassador in Amman to the imam of Gaza, Shaykh (al-Khuzandar). The delegation will leave for Cairo in the next few days.

Our correspondent also reports that Jordan agreed that its people in Judaea and Samaria could act in support of President as-Sadat in the framework of various actions in the territories. It was also with Amman's permission that the president of the Moslem supreme council made the arrangements for President as-Sadat's prayers at Al-Aqsa Mosque.

In contrast, differences of opinion have developed among the mayors who support the PLO in Judaea and Samaria against the background of As-Sadat's policy. Ramallah Mayor Karim Khalaf does not accept the explanation of Tu'karm Mayor Hilmi Hanun that the latter was absent from an assembly of As-Sadat's opponents about 2 weeks ago because he had a cold.

MAPAM GIVES VIEWS ON PALESTINIAN STATE, UNITY GOVERNMENT

TA022105Y Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 2000 GMT 2 Dec 77 TA

[Text] This evening the secretary of MAPAM, MK Me'ir Talmi, opened the political debate in the MAPAM council and announced that his party was opposed to a third, Palestinian, state in Eretz Yisra'el because it would neither solve problems nor create calm in the area. However, he pointed out that MAPAM did not entirely reject proposals for a temporary or partial settlement even if they included elements of functional compromise. However, this would only be on the basis of recognition of the national rights of the Palestinians, concern for Israel's security and a cessation of Israeli sovereignty over the West Bank.

The MAPAM secretary warned that his party was emphatically opposed to a national unity cabinet, and if the Labor Party were to decide on this in the affirmative, a split in the Alignment was to be expected.

USSR Stance, Likud Policy

TA031923Y Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1800 GMT 3 Dec 77 TA

[Text] The MAPAM council says that the Soviet opposition to the direct negotiations opening in Cairo harms the policy of peace, and this is particularly grave in view of the effort of the rejection front to organize under the leadership of Libya and Iraq with the intention of foiling the peace efforts. This was stated in a resolution passed this afternoon by the MAPAM council, which met in the Kefar Hamaccabiyya in Tel Aviv.

The council demands that the Likud cabinet change its policy completely because there will be no peace settlements without a clear policy of significant territorial compromise in all the sectors, with security borders for the State of Israel and a solution to the Palestinian problem. The council calls for an immediate halt to the establishment of the showcase and provocative settlements, as it puts it, of Gush Emunim. It also rejects any proposal to establish a national unity cabinet.

PRIME MINISTER BEGIN VISITS GREAT BRITAIN

For London PRESS ASSOCIATION and Jerusalem radio accounts of the visit to Great Britain by Prime Minister Menahem Begin, see the United Kingdom section of the 2 December and subsequent issues of the Western Europe DAILY REPORT.

BEGIN, Menachem BF

ISRAEL

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UNITED KINGDOM

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BEGIN CANCELS 6 DEC MEETINGS, TO LEAVE AS SCHEDULED

LD061748Y London PRESS ASSOCIATION in English 1640 GMT 6 Dec 77 LD

Menachem BF
[Text] Mr. Begin cancelled a meeting with the Tory deputy leader, Mr Whitelaw, this afternoon. Though "much better" he was not expected to attend a reception of the Herut movement tonight. But leaders of the movement were expected to call on him. An Israeli Embassy spokesman said Mr Begin would be leaving London tomorrow as scheduled.

7 Dec Press Conference Reported

LD071350Y London BBC Domestic Television Service in English 1245 GMT 7 Dec 77 LD

[Text] Israel's prime minister, Mr Begin, has ended his 5-day visit to Britain. At a news conference he said that is Egypt's President as-Sadat asked him to conclude a separate peace treaty with Egypt, he would not refuse. But this would be just a stage in the peace-making process. He said Israel wants real peace with all her neighbors.

[Start Begin recording] We never suggested to President as-Sadat during his stay in Jerusalem, or the following week, to have a seaprate peace treaty. I prefer the expression "peace treaty" instead of "deal." We do not make deals between Egypt and Israel. Because we do not want, we never intended, to drive a wedge between the Arab countries, the neighbors of Israel. We want real peace, we want peace with all our neighbors. And we want them all to participate in the peace-making process. On this we are in complete agreement with Egypt. And we shall continue to make efforts, I hope with the help of the U.S., to have the consultations with other neighboring countries about the establishment of peace in the Middle East. Of course, if President as-Sadat reaches the conclusion that other neighbors do not join in that peace-making effort, and he would suggest to us to sign a peace treaty between Egypt and Israel, we will not refuse to do so.

[Question] Mr Prime Minister, in the light of this past week's events, how do you realistically assess the chances for reconvening the Geneva conference?

[Answer] I think the Geneva conference has good prospects of being reconvened. Of course, there must be a number of participants. If, for instance, Syria does not come but Jordan and Egypt participate, we shall go to Geneva, as we did 4 years ago. Syria also did not participate in the first session of the Geneva conference in 1973. If there should be only bilateral talks between Egypt and Israel, and the two cochairmen, we shall have to decide whether it should be deemed to be another Geneva conference or a different conference. But we shall know about it in the next few weeks. [end recording]

BRITAIN REFUSES TO RECOGNIZE BOPHUTHATSWANA

LD061434Y London PRESS ASSOCIATION in English 1410 GMT 6 Dec 77 LD

[By Tom McMullan, diplomatic correspondent]

[Text] Britain will not recognise the independence of Bophuthatswana, the South African homeland territory which declared its independence today, the Foreign Office said.

BEGIN, MENACHEM

ISRAEL

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(Menachem Begin)
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MINISTER MENACHEM BEGIN, DATE AND VENUE OF WHICH UNSPECIFIED,
PASSAGES WITHIN QUOTATION MARKS ARE RECORDED EXCERPTS OF BEGIN
STATEMENT))

JERUSALEM INTERNATIONAL SERVICE IN ENGLISH 2000 GMT 8 DEC 77 LD
((TEXT)) PRIME MINISTER MENACHEM BEGIN HAS COMMENTED ON
EGYPTIAN STATEMENTS THAT ISRAEL'S DELEGATION TO THE CAIRO TALKS
IS NOT AT A SUFFICIENTLY HIGH LEVEL. THIS IS WHAT THE
PRIME MINISTER HAD TO SAY:

"THE INVITATION SENT TO OUR FOREIGN MINISTER MOSHE DAYAN BY
MR BUTRUS GHALI WAS TO THE EFFECT THAT HE, OUR FOREIGN MINISTER,
SHOULD SEND A REPRESENTATIVE. SO IT IS CLEAR THAT HE DID NOT INVITE
HIM HIMSELF. THEREFORE, WE NOMINATED TWO REPRESENTATIVES--HIGH-
RANKING OFFICIALS OF OUR GOVERNMENT--NAMES, THE DIRECTOR GENERAL OF
THE PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE AND MR. MEIR ROSEN, THE ADVISER
ON JUDICIAL PROBLEMS TO THE FOREIGN MINISTRY. AND IF THERE IS
A SUCH A REQUIREMENT WE SHALL CONSIDER IT AND, IF IT IS NECESSARY
TO UPGRADE OUR DELEGATION, WE SHALL DO SO GLADLY."

DESPITE THE ANTI-SOVIET MOVES IN EGYPT, BEGIN BELIEVES THE GENEVA
CONFERENCE COULD BE RECONVENED WITH THE SOVIET UNION, WHO STIEL
IS CO-CHAIRMAN. BUT HE ADDED:

"IF EGYPT SHOULD SUGGEST TO US TO HOLD A GENEVA CONFERENCE
WITHOUT THE SOVIET UNION, WE SHALL NOT OBJECT."

AND BEGIN BEGAN TO SAY OF THE SOVIET UNION:
"WE SEE NOW THAT THE SOVIET UNION IS ON THE SIDE OF THE WILDEST
MEN IN THE MIDDLE EAST. FOR INSTANCE, ON THE SIDE OF LIBYA,
((WORDS INDISTINCT)) ON THE SIDE OF YARAFAT, ON THE SIDE OF HABASH,
THE MURDEROUS DOCTOR; HE IS A DOCTOR OF MEDICINE, BUT HE IS
KILLING CHILDREN. AND WHAT ROLE CAN I SEE OF THE SOVIET UNION
UNTIL IT CHANGES ITS MIND? IT JUST CHOSE THE WRONG SIDE--
THE SIDE OF NEGATION, THE SIDE OF PREJUDICE, THE SIDE OF HATRED;
OF NON NEGOTIATIONS, NO PEACE, NO RECOGNITION OF ISRAEL. LET
THEM RECONSIDER THE PROBLEM; THEY SHOULD RECONSIDER." 082000 HOLLAND/ER
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APPROVED FOR RELEASE CIA HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS DIVISION AR 70-14 13 NOV 2013

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P 120714Z DEC 77

FM FBIS TEL AVIV

TO RUTLAAA/FBIS WASHDC

RUDDMKA/FBIS LONDON

RUEBFGA/VDA WASHDC

RUDDMLA/FBIS CAVERSHAM/DW

RUDDMKD/FBIS NICOSIA

RUQMIF/FBIS AMMAN

RUQMIF/AMEMB AMMAN

RUEHEY/AMEMB CAIRO

RUQMDM/AMEMB DAMASCUS

RUQMJR/AMCONGEN JERUSALEM

RUQMZN/SINAI SUPPORT MISSION

RUQDNBA/CINCUSNAVEUR N-2

RUSNAAA/USCINCEUR

RUFRBAA/COMIDEASTFOR

RHFRAAB/CINCUSAFB INO RAMSTEIN AB GERMANY

RUFDAAA/USAREUR DEP COFS INTEL HEIDELBERG

RUFIRMAA/COMSIXTHFLT

PJHQHQA/COMIPAC HONOLULU HI

DORRA/USNMR SHAPE

ZEN/AMEMB TEL AVIV

FBTA

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EZ11

UNCLAS BBC DW NC

EZ21

ATTN SHAPE: PASS TO SURVEY SECTION IMMEDIATELY
CORRECTION

TA120714 TAKE 1 OF 3--BEGIN--VANCE FILLS

REF TA111733Y (TAKE 1 JERUSALEM DOMESTIC HEBREW 111600--
VANCE--BEGIN PRESS CONFERENCE)

JERUSALEM DOMESTIC TELEVISION SERVICE IN HEBREW AT 1935
GMT ON 11 DECEMBER CARRIES A RECORDING OF THE BEGIN--VANCE PRESS
CONFERENCE IN JERUSALEM ON 11 DECEMBER, FILED IN FOUR TAKES
AS REF AND ADDS, MAKING POSSIBLE FILLS AND CORRECTIONS
TO THE ORIGINAL TEXT WHICH WAS MARRED BY THE MANNER IN WHICH THE
RADIO HANDLED THE SUPERIMPOSING OF ITS HEBREW TRANSLATION
OVER THE LIVE ENGLISH.

TAKE ONE, GRAF TWO, LINES FIVE AND SIX MAKE READ XXX REPEAT
THAT APPRECIATION WE, THE ISRAELIS, HAVE FOR THE XXX
CORRECTING WORD AND PUNCTUATION.

GRAF THREE, FROM ANTEPENULTIMATE LINE MAKE READ XXX AGAIN IN
JERUSALEM. YOU ARE NOT A NOVICE TO THIS CITY. YOU ARE ALMOST
ONE OF THE FAMILY AND WE'VE MET MANY TIMES ALSO IN THIS HOTEL.
MAY I SAY THAT THE SECRETARY OF STATE ACTUALLY TRAVELLED THE SAME
ROAD PRESIDENT AS-SADAT DID 3 WEEKS AGO, XXX SUPPLYING INDISTINCT
PASSAGE.

GRAF FIVE, FROM PENULTIMATE LINE MAKE READ XXX AND THE PRESIDENT,
I THINK THAT THERE IS A CHANCE OF MOVING FORWARD NOW TOWARDS
REAL PEACE, A TRUE AND LASTING PEACE.

((QUESTION)) CAN YOU TELL US, HOW YOU SEE THINGS WILL GO
BEGINNING WEDNESDAY IN CAIRO? WHAT DO YOU SEE HAPPENING, AT
LEAST ((WORDS INDISTINCT))?

((VANCE)) ON WEDNESDAY, THE XXX SUPPLYING INDISTINCT PASSAGE
AND QUESTION.

GRAF EIGHT MAKE READ XXX ((QUESTION)) I'D LIKE TO ASK A QUESTION

MSGNO 1374 (FBXX) CRN *12/12/77* *05112*

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OF BOTH PRIME MINISTER BEGIN AND THE SECRETARY, BASED ON WHAT THE
SECRETARY HAS TOLD MR. BEGIN, DO YOU SEE AT THE MOMENT ANY REALISTIC
POSSIBILITY THAT SYRIA AND JORDAN, OR EITHER ONE OF THEM, WILL
TAKE PART IN THE CAIRO CONFERENCE? TOWARDS THAT COMPREHENSIVE PEACE
THAT YOU BOTH SAY YOU SEE? XXX SUPPLYING INDISTINCT QUESTION;
GRAF NINE, FROM LINE THREE MAKE READ XXX WHICH EACH MUST TAKE
AS AN INDEPENDENT SOVEREIGN NATION; WHAT THE FUTURE WILL HOLD,
I DO NOT THINK ANY OF US CAN PREDICT, WE HOPE THEY WILL XXX
SUPPLYING INDISTINCT PASSAGE.

GRAF TEN, FROM LINE ONE MAKE READ XXX ((BEGIN)) MR. (MALUS),
I CAN ONLY EXPRESS HOPE THAT BOTH SYRIA AND JORDAN WILL JOIN IN THE
EFFORT. YOU REMEMBER, IN THE KNESSET, I INVITED THEM ALREADY FOR
A THIRD TIME EITHER TO COME TO JERUSALEM, AS PRESIDENT AS-SABAT
DID, OR IF THEY WOULD PREFER ME TO GO TO SEE THEM, I WILL GO
ANY PLACE AND MEET THEM, BUT I UNDERSTAND THAT THIS IS A PART
OF THE AMERICAN EFFORT NOW. AND, THEREFORE, THE SECRETARY OF STATE
IS HERE AND WILL VISIT BOTH AMMAN AND DAMASCUS. TO TRY, INDEED,
TO CONVINCE XXX SUPPLYING INDISTINCT PASSAGES AND DELETING
INDISTINCT QUESTION. 111935 SB/CLARK/LGL 12/0743Z DEC MORE

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TO RUTLAAA/FBIS WASHDC
RUDOMKA/FBIS LONDON
RUEBFGA/VOA WASHDC
RUDOMLA/FBIS CAVERSHAM/DW
RUDOMKD/FBIS NICOSIA
RUQMIF/FBIS AMMAN
RUQMIF/AMEMB AMMAN
RUEHEY/AMEMB CAIRO
RUQMDM/AMEMB DAMASCUS
RUQMJR/AMCONGEN JERUSALEM
RUQMZN/SINAI SUPPORT MISSION
RUDONBA/CINCUSNAVEUR N-2
RUSNAAA/USCINCEUR
RUFRBAA/COMIDEASTFOR
RHFRAAB/CINCUSAFE IND RAMSTEIN AB GERMANY
RUFDAAA/USAREUR DEP COFS INTEL HEIDELBERG
RUFMAA/COMSIXTHFLT
RIHQQA/COMIPAC HONOLULU HI
RORRA/USNMR SHAPE
ZEN/AMEMB TEL AVIV

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ATTN SHAPE: PASS TO SURVEY SECTION IMMEDIATELY
CORRECTION

TA120715 TAKE 2 OF 3 TA120714--BEGIN-VANCE FILLS
JERUSALEM DOMESTIC TELEVISION HEBREW 111935 XXX DELETING INDISTINCT
QUESTION.

REF TA111815Y TAKE 2 OF 4 TA111733Y--BEGIN-VANCE PRESS CONFERENCE,
SUBSTITUTE FOLLOWING FOR REF TAKE TWO IN ITS ENTIRETY. XXX
((TEXT)) ((QUESTION)) MR SECRETARY, IS IT POSSIBLE THAT YOU
CAN GET THE OTHER PARTIES THAT MR BEGIN JUST MENTIONED TO
PARTICIPATE AFTER AN INTERVAL, PERHAPS AFTER THE FIRST OF THE
YEAR, WHEN THE CAIRO CONFERENCE MIGHT POSSIBLY TAKE ANOTHER
LEVEL OR DIMENSION?

((VANCE)) I THINK IT IS POSSIBLE THAT THESE OTHER COUNTRIES
MAY DECIDE AT SOME POINT TO JOIN THE PEACE PROCESS, AS THE PRIME
MINISTER SAID. ALL OF US HOPE THAT THIS WILL BE THE CASE,
AND WE WILL CONTINUE TO URGE THAT THEY KEEP AN OPEN MIND AND JOIN
THE PEACE PROCESS AND TRY AND HELP IN ACHIEVING THE COMMON GOAL
WHICH ALL OF US SHARE BECAUSE I DO BELIEVE THAT THEY TOO
WANT PEACE.

((QUESTION INDISTINCT))
((VANCE)) I THINK THAT WE MUST PROCEED WITH THE CAIRO CONFERENCE
AND SEE WHAT HAPPENS AS WE GO ALONG THAT ROAD. THE PEACE PROCESS IS
A CONTINUING PROCESS AND HOPEFULLY, AT SOME POINT, THE OTHERS WILL
JOIN.

((QUESTION)) MR PRIME MINISTER, YOU SAID THERE IS A REASON
TO BE OPTIMISTIC. WHAT CAUSE DO YOU HAVE FOR OPTIMISM?

((BEGIN)) KNOWLEDGE OF THE FACTS. IT GIVES ME REASON TO
BE OPTIMISTIC.

((QUESTION INDISTINCT))
((BEGIN)) WE SHALL FIND ANOTHER OCCASION. BUT I REPEAT...NO,
I'D LIKE TO SAY; THE SECRETARY WILL ALSO CONFIRM IT, THIS IS FOR

MSGNO 1377 (FBXX) CRN #12/12/77* *05112*

THE FIRST TIME MY FRIEND FOR 20 YEARS THAT ISRAEL AND THE LARGEST
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FACE NEGOTIATION WITH THE PURPOSE, THE DECLARED GOAL BY BOTH OF THEM TO SIGN PEACE TREATIES. LET US NOT FORGET THIS VERY IMPORTANT FACT. IT IS A TURNING POINT IN THE HISTORY OF BOTH THESE COUNTRIES. NOW, THERE IS A NEGATIVE PHENOMENON, THE TRIPOLITANIANS, BUT WE BELIEVE IT IS PASSING, BECAUSE THEY ARE INTERESTED, THEY SHOULD BE INTERESTED, IN JOINING THIS EFFORT, NOW WE MEET, WE TALK, WE SHALL GO ON MEETING, WE CLARIFY MATTERS, WE MAKE AN EFFORT, AN INTELLECTUAL EFFORT, ALL OF US, AND THEREFORE THERE IS REASON TO BE OPTIMISTIC.

((QUESTION)) DO YOU HAVE ANY OBSERVATIONS TO MAKE ON AN ABSTRACT FROM AN EDITORIAL FROM THE NEW YORK TIMES WHICH SAID, AND I QUOTE: A DURABLE PEACE MEANS ((WORDS INDISTINCT)) CONCESSIONS THAT WILL GO BEYOND SINAI AND WILL INCLUDE SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS WITH SYRIA AND JORDAN TOO. THE PRICE FOR SECURITY: ABANDONMENT OF THE DEMAND FOR SOVEREIGNTY OVER THE WEST BANK. I WONDER IF YOU HAVE A COMMENT ON THAT?

((BEGIN)) IS THIS QUESTION INTENDED FOR THE SECRETARY OF STATE, OR FOR ME? THANK YOU, MR VALERIANI, I'M GLAD TO SEE YOU. I HAVEN'T SEEN YOU FOR A LONG TIME. WELL, WHATEVER ((WORD INDISTINCT)) WILL BE PROPOSED BY ANY OF YOU, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, I WILL GIVE THE FOLLOWING ANSWERS. A VERY SERIOUS ANSWER, MAY I SAY. MY FRIENDS, WE ARE NOW IN THE MIDST OF THE MOST DELICATE NEGOTIATIONS TO ESTABLISH PEACE AFTER SO LONG, PROTRACTED YEARS OF WARFARE BETWEEN THE COUNTRIES. GIVE A CHANCE TO THAT ((WORD INDISTINCT)), AND EVERYTHING IS, AS I SAID TIME AND AGAIN, NEGOTIABLE--OF COURSE, EXCEPT THE DESTRUCTION OF ISRAEL--AND EVERYTHING WILL BE NEGOTIABLE, BUT THE NEGOTIATIONS WILL TAKE PLACE IN CAIRO, IN GENEVA, IN JERUSALEM, WITH ALL DUE RESPECT, NOT BEFORE THE CAMERA OF OUR MIGHTY FRIEND, THE TELEVISION.

((MICHAEL ELKINS, BBC)) MR PRIME MINISTER, WITH ALL DEFERENCE TO YOUR DESIRE NOT TO CONDUCT NEGOTIATIONS HERE, CAN YOU, WITHOUT GOING INTO DETAIL, TELL US WHETHER SINCE THE AS-SADAT VISIT THERE HAS BEEN NEW THINKING CONCERNING ISRAEL'S POSITION WITH REGARD TO THE WEST BANK?

((BEGIN)) MY FRIEND, NEW OR OLD, THERE WAS THINKING AND WE ARE THINKING. XXX SUBSTITUTING TELEVISION TEXT FOR ORIGINAL.
111600 SB/CLARK/LGL 12/0802Z DEC MORE

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 RUDQMLA/FBIS CAVERSHAM/DW
 RUDQMKD/FBIS NICOSIA
 RUQMIF/FBIS AMMAN
 RUQMIF/AMEMB AMMAN
 RUEHEY/AMEMB CAIRO
 RUQMDM/AMEMB DAMASCUS
 RUQMJR/AMCONGEN JERUSALEM
 RUQMZN/SINAI SUPPORT MISSION
 RUDQNB/CINCUSNAVEUR N-2
 RUSNAAA/USCINCEUR
 RUFRAAB/COMIDEASTFOR
 RHFRAAB/CINCUSAFE INO RAMSTEIN AB GERMANY
 RUFDAAA/USAREUR DEP COFS INTEL HEIDELBERG
 RUFERMAA/COMSIXTHFLT
 RUCOHQA/COMIPAC HONOLULU HI
 RUCORRA/USNMR SHAPE
 ZEN/AMEMB TEL AVIV
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 UNCLAS BBC DW NC
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ATTN SHAPE: PASS TO SURVEY SECTION IMMEDIATELY
 TAIL1823Y TAKE 3 OF 4 TAIL1733Y--BEGIN--VANCE PRESS CONFERENCE
 JERUSALEM DOMESTIC HEBREW 121600 XXX DD WITH THAT

((TEXT)) ((QUESTION)) I WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU A QUESTION,
 MR SECRETARY OF STATE, AND THE PRIME MINISTER ((WORDS INDISTINCT))
 BOTH GENTLEMEN. MY QUESTION IS THIS. I WOULD LIKE TO KNOW WHETHER
 YOU THINK THAT UNANIMITY IN THE ARAB WORLD IS A PREREQUISITE FOR
 THE ACHIEVEMENT OF PROGRESS IN GENEVA AND CAIRO AND IN JERUSALEM,
 AND THE CONTRARY--WHETHER PROGRESS IN THOSE PLACES IS CONTINGENT
 ON UNANIMITY IN THE ARAB WORLD. AND I WOULD LIKE TO ASK THE
 SECRETARY THIS QUESTION, IS THE UNITED STATES CONCERNED ABOUT THE
 DEEP SPLIT IN THE ARAB WORLD BECAUSE OF RECENT EVENTS, AND IF SO
 COULD YOU PLEASE TELL US WHY?

((VANCE)) WE WOULD ALL LIKE TO SEE UNANIMITY. THE SOONER
 UNANIMITY IS ACHIEVED THE MORE RAPID THE PROGRESS WOULD BE TOWARD
 PEACE. THAT DOES NOT MEAN, HOWEVER, THAT PROGRESS CANNOT BE MADE
 EVEN THOUGH ONE HAS LESS THAN UNANIMITY. ((IT IS OBVIOUS)) THAT
 THERE HAS BEEN A SPLIT IN THE ARAB WORLD. HOWEVER, AS TIME MOVES
 FORWARD, I THINK ALL OF US HOPE AND BELIEVE THAT THERE IS A
 POSSIBILITY THAT THAT SPLIT CAN BE HEALED AND DISAPPEAR AND THAT
 WE CAN FIND A GREATER DEGREE OF UNANIMITY THAN THERE IS AT THE
 PRESENT TIME. I THINK THAT THERE IS A CHANCE FOR REAL PEACE AND
 WE MUST GET STARTED ON THAT COURSE.

((QUESTION)) MR SECRETARY, IS THERE AN UNDERSTANDING--AN
 AGREEMENT--BETWEEN ISRAEL ((PASSAGE INDISTINCT BUT REFERENCE IS TO
 CONVENING OF THE CAIRO CONFERENCE)).

((VANCE)) WE HAVE NO DIFFERENCES OF VIEW WITH RESPECT TO THE
 CAIRO CONFERENCE. WE HAVE BEEN MEETING OVER THE LAST 2 DAYS TO TALK
 ABOUT THE SUBSTANCE AND DETAILS OF THE CAIRO CONFERENCE AND I LOOK
 FORWARD TO A FRUITFUL CONFERENCE.

((BEGIN)) I CONCUR.

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CAIRO CONFERENCE. NOW THE DELEGATION ((PASSAGE INDISTINCT)) THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF THE PEACE TREATIES TO BE NEGOTIATED, CONCLUDED AND ULTIMATELY SIGNED, AND AS YOU KNOW, UNDER INTERNATIONAL LAW THERE ARE MANY CHAPTERS AND ARTICLES AND SECTIONS AND SUBSECTIONS OF A PEACE TREATY OF VERY GREAT VALUE TO THE FUTURE OF ANY NATION WHICH SIGNS ((PASSAGE INDISTINCT DUE TO SUPERIMPOSED HEBREW TRANSLATION OF ABOVE BEGIN'S REPLY)) I WANT TO STRESS THAT IT WILL BE A SAMPLE FOR THE PEACE TREATIES TO BE SIGNED WITH ALL OUR NEIGHBORS SO THE PEACE MAKING PROCESS WHICH STARTS NOW IN CAIRO UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES WILL BE THE END, IT WILL BE THE BEGINNING OF THAT PROCESS WHICH ULTIMATELY MUST BRING ABOUT THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A PERMANENT PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

((QUESTION--IN ENGLISH, FADING INTO HEBREW TRANSLATION)) THE PRIME MINISTER IS ASKED IF THESE PRINCIPLES INCLUDE THE PALESTINIAN ISSUE.

((BEGIN)) ((PASSAGE INDISTINCT)) WILL BE DISCUSSED, DEBATED--WE THINK OF IT AND I AM SURE THAT WE WILL FIND A SOLUTION.

((QUESTION)) MR PRIME MINISTER, IN THE ABSENCE OF OTHER ARAB GOVERNMENTS AT CAIRO WOULD YOU BE INCLINED TO REGARD PRESIDENT AS-SADAT AS A PERSON WHO CAN REFLECT THEIR VIEWS AND INDEED DISCUSS ISSUES ((PASSAGE INDISTINCT)).

((ANNOUNCER)) A CONSULTATION IS NOW TAKING PLACE BETWEEN PATTIR, VANCE AND BEGIN.

((BEGIN)) WHILST IN JERUSALEM, PRESIDENT AS-SADAT SAID, WHEN WE START TALKING DIRECTLY ABOUT PEACE, WE WOULD LIKE TO REPRESENT THE ((WORD INDISTINCT)) OF THE ARAB CAUSE AND WE AGREED, SO I HAVE NO DOUBT WHATSOEVER THAT IN CAIRO OUR DELEGATIONS WILL TALK NOT ONLY ABOUT THE BILATERAL RELATIONS BETWEEN EGYPT AND ISRAEL BUT ALSO ABOUT THE PROBLEMS CONCERNING ISSUES BETWEEN THE MIDDLE EAST NEIGHBORS. I CAN ONLY IMAGINE THAT PRESIDENT AS-SADAT WILL NOT CLAIM THAT HE CAN SPEAK, FOR INSTANCE, NOW ON BEHALF OF PRESIDENT AL-ASAD BECAUSE PRESIDENT AL-ASAD DOESN'T AGREE TO TALK WITH US, SO THIS IS A PROBLEM, INDEED, OF THE PEACE-MAKING PROCESS. LET US HAVE SOME PATIENCE, FOR THE TIME BEING THERE ARE THOSE WHO TAKE A NEGATIVE ATTITUDE ((PASSAGE INDISTINCT DUE TO SUPERIMPOSED HEBREW TRANSLATION OF ABOVE)) I BELIEVE IT WILL CHANGE, THAT THEY WILL JOIN. IT IS A PROBLEM OF TIME. ((WORDS INDISTINCT))

((QUESTION INDISTINCT))

((VANCE)) THE UNITED STATES IS DELIGHTED THAT WE HAVE FACE-TO-FACE DISCUSSIONS GOING ON BETWEEN ISRAEL AND EGYPT. IT HAS BEEN OUR HOPE FOR YEARS THAT THE TIME WOULD COME WHEN THE PARTIES COULD SIT DOWN TOGETHER, FACE-TO-FACE, AND DISCUSS THE SERIOUS ISSUES THAT HAD TO BE RESOLVED IN ORDER TO GET PEACE. WE HAVE SAID TIME AND AGAIN THAT THAT IS THE ONLY WAY YOU'RE GOING TO ACHIEVE A REAL PEACE. SO OUR ROLE IS THAT OF A MEDIATOR, A FACILITATOR, THAT IS THE ROLE WE INTEND TO PLAY. WE WANT TO BE SUPPORTIVE OF THE DISCUSSIONS, FACE-TO-FACE, AMONG THE PARTIES.

((BEGIN)) ((PASSAGE INDISTINCT DUE TO SUPERIMPOSED HEBREW TRANSLATION OF ABOVE VANCE REPLY)) THE SECRETARY OF STATE IS VISITING THE MIDDLE EAST OFTEN. AS A CITIZEN OF ONE OF THE MOST COUNTRIES I WILL ADD--NOT OFTEN ENOUGH.

((ANNOUNCER--IN HEBREW)) THE ((PREVIOUS--FBIS)) QUESTION ((TO VANCE--FBIS)) WAS ABOUT THE FACT THAT THE SECRETARY OF STATE VISITS ISRAEL FREQUENTLY. HOW DOES HE FEEL NOW ABOUT VISITING WHEN THERE ARE DIRECT TALKS?

((QUESTION INDISTINCT))

((BEGIN)) YOU MIGHT HAVE SEEN, MY FRIEND, THAT WE DO NOT GO INTO PUBLIC POLEMICS ABOUT ANY STATEMENTS WHATSOEVER. I THINK IT IS A HEALTHY ATTITUDE. THE REAL RESPONSE IS NEGOTIATIONS AND

MSGNO 1273 (FBXX) CRN *12/12/77* *0512*

NEGOTIATIONS WILL START ON WEDNESDAY IN CAIRO

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((VANCE)) AMERICA, AS ISRAEL'S HISTORIC FRIEND IS COUNSELLING WITH ISRAEL TO FIND OUT WHAT WE CAN DO TO BE MOST HELPFUL IN THE DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS WHICH ARE GOING ON FACE-TO-FACE ((PASSAGE INDISTINCT DUE TO SUPERIMPOSED HEBREW TRANSLATION OF ABOVE PORTION OF VANCE REPLY)). 111600 MD/LINDENAU/SM 11/1904Z OBC MORE

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DISSEMINATES

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FM FBIS TEL AVIV
TO RUTLAAA/FBIS WASHDC
RUDDMKA/FBIS LONDON
RUEBFGA/VOA WASHDC
RUDDMLA/FBIS CAVERSHAM/DW
RUDDMKD/FBIS NICOSIA
RUQMIF/FBIS AMMAN
RUQMIF/AMEMB AMMAN
RUEHEY/AMEMB CAIRO
RUQMDM/AMEMB DAMASCUS
RUQMJR/AMCONGEN JERUSALEM
RUQMZN/SINAI SUPPORT MISSION
RUDDNBA/CINCUSNAVEUR N-2
RUSNAAA/USCINCEUR
RUPRBAA/COMIDEASTFOR
RHFRAAB/CINCUSAFE IND RAMSTEIN AB GERMANY
RUFDAAA/USAREUR DEP COFS INTEL HEIDELBERG
RUFMAA/COMSIXTHFLT
RUHQHQA/COMIPAC HONOLULU HI
RORRA/USNMR SHAPE
ZEN/AMEMB TEL AVIV

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ATTN SHAPE: PASS TO SURVEY SECTION IMMEDIATELY
TA112050Y TAKE 4 OF 4 TA111733Y--(BEGIN-VANCE PRESS CONFERENCE
JERUSALEM DOMESTIC HEBREW 111600 XXX OF VANCE REPLY))
((TEXT)) ((BEGIN)) MAY I PAY TRIBUTE TO THE EFFORTS MADE BY
THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED
STATES THROUGHOUT THE YEARS, MAINLY THIS YEAR, TO BRING ABOUT
THIS MOMENTOUS DEVELOPMENT, AND LET ME ALSO ADD EVEN THE VISIT
ITSELF BY PRESIDENT AS-SADAT TO JERUSALEM WAS MADE POSSIBLE BY THE
HELP OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT, SO I WOULD LIKE TO PAY
TRIBUTE TO THIS EFFORT TO THE SECRETARY.
((QUESTION)) PRESIDENT AS-SADAT SAID IN AN INTERVIEW YESTERDAY
THAT THE ISRAELI POSITION ON THE PALESTINIAN QUESTION WOULD HAVE
TO CHANGE, IF PEACE IS TO BE ACHIEVED IN THE MIDDLE EAST. HAVE YOU
WORKED OUT A NEW POSITION ON THE PALESTINIAN QUESTION AND IS
MR VANCE CARRYING ANY MESSAGE ON THIS SUBJECT TO THE OTHER ARAB
COUNTRIES OR IS HE CARRYING ANY MESSAGE FROM YOU TO THE OTHER
ARAB COUNTRIES?
((BEGIN)) THERE IS A PROBLEM OF THE PALESTINIAN ARABS. I SAID
SO IN THE PRESENCE OF PRESIDENT AS-SADAT IN THE KNESSET AND WE
WILL FIND A SOLUTION FOR THIS PROBLEM. ((LONG PAUSE)) YOU EXPECT
ME TO REPLY TO IT?
((QUESTION)) YOU MADE A STRONG STATEMENT IN SUPPORT OF ARAB
UNITY. DO YOU PLAN ON THIS TRIP AND IN SUBSEQUENT WEEKS TO TRY
TO FACILITATE THE EGYPTIANS AND THE OTHER ARABS COMING TOGETHER;
HAVE YOU DISCUSSED THIS WITH MR AS-SADAT TO TRY AND FIND SOME WAY
OF BRINGING THE ARABS TOGETHER?
((VANCE)) I HAVE DISCUSSED WITH PRESIDENT AS-SADAT THE QUESTIONS
OF THE DIVISIONS THAT EXIST WITHIN THE ARAB WORLD. HE, LIKE ALL
OF US, WOULD LIKE TO SEE THOSE DIVISIONS HEALED AND DISAPPEAR.
I WILL, IN MY TALKS WITH THE OTHER ARAB LEADERS, URGE THEM AS WE
HAVE FROM THE OUTSET, TO PARTICIPATE IN THE PEACE TALKS. WE HAVE

SAID THIS TO THEM FROM THE MOMENT THAT THE CAIRO CONFERENCE WAS

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END-OBJECTIVES, NAMELY, A COMPREHENSIVE PEACE, WHICH WILL SETTLE THE QUESTIONS OF THE MIDDLE EAST; AND, THEREFORE, I WILL CONTINUE TO PURSUE OUR POSITION WITH RESPECT TO THIS AND DISCUSS THAT MATTER WITH THEM.

((QUESTION)) DO YOU THINK ARAB UNITY WILL HELP THE PEACE PROCESS, OR, AS SOME ISRAELIS IN THE PAST HAVE SUGGESTED, A DIVIDED ARAB WORLD ACTUALLY HELPS ISRAEL?

((BEGIN)) I DO NOT AGREE THAT A DIVIDED ARAB WORLD WILL HELP ISRAEL. TO THE CONTRARY. WE BELIEVE THAT WE SHOULD HAVE PEACE ON ALL THE BORDERS OF ISRAEL, SIGNED PEACE TREATIES WITH ALL OUR FOUR NEIGHBORS--EGYPT, JORDAN, SYRIA, LEBANON. ALL THE FOUR NEIGHBORS SHOULD LIVE IN PEACE WITH ISRAEL AND ISRAEL WANTS TO LIVE IN PEACE WITH THEM. WE DO NOT DRIVE WEDGES. WE DO NOT BELIEVE IN THAT FAMOUS PRECEPT KNOWN IN LATIN: DIVIDE ET IMPERA. WE DON'T WANT TO DIVIDE AND WE DON'T WANT TO RULE. WE WANT PEACE. THIS IS WHAT WE BELIEVE IN.

((QUESTION)) AT THE TRIPOLI CONFERENCE THE PALESTINIANS TOOK, ACCORDING TO PRESIDENT AS-SADAT, A MORE EXTREME POSITION THAT THEY WOULD NOT PARTICIPATE IN NEGOTIATIONS AT ALL. AT THIS STAGE ARE YOU MORE OPTIMISTIC AS YOU LOOK DOWN THE ROAD TO NEGOTIATIONS? THE PALESTINIANS HAVE, IN FACT, TAKEN THEMSELVES OUT OF THE PICTURE.

((BEGIN)) MY DEAR FRIEND, TRIPOLI CANNOT MAKE ANYBODY OPTIMISTIC. WHEN I SPOKE ABOUT OPTIMISM, I MEANT THE TREND, THE DEVELOPMENTS. WE HOPE TO OVERCOME THE NEGATIONS OF THE TRIPOLITANIANS, AND OF COURSE IT IS A MOST NEGATIVE PHENOMENON, FOR THE TIME BEING. WHAT DID IT SAY IN TRIPOLI? NO RECOGNITION OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL, NO NEGOTIATIONS WITH ISRAEL, NO PEACE WITH ISRAEL. ACTUALLY ANOTHER PRONUNCIAMENTO WAS MADE THERE THAT ISRAEL SHOULD BE DESTROYED. THIS IS NEGATIVE, OF COURSE. THE SOVIET UNION IS BEHIND THAT NEGATIVE ATTITUDE, WHICH IS VERY REGRETTABLE AND IT IS A COCHAIRMAN OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE, BUT THIS HAPPENED, LET ME SAY, 2 WEEKS AGO, AND THAT DOES NOT DECIDE THE ISSUE. MANKIND WILL MARCH FORWARD. WAR IS EVITABLE, PEACE IS INEVITABLE. SO WE SHALL OVERCOME WITH A COMMON EFFORT THAT HURDLE, TOO, AND SYRIA AND LEBANON AND JORDAN WILL JOIN IN THE PEACE EFFORTS. ULTIMATELY WE SHALL HAVE PEACE THROUGHOUT THE REGION. THIS IS OUR BELIEF.

((QUESTION)) MR VANCE, YOU SAID THAT IT IS YOUR UNDERSTANDING THAT THE CAIRO CONFERENCE WOULD DISCUSS SUBSTANCE AND PROCEDURE. THE PALESTINIAN ISSUE INVOLVES BOTH MATTERS. IN YOUR TALKS IN EGYPT AND HERE IN ISRAEL HAVE YOU HEARD ANY THOUGHTS, IDEAS OR PROPOSALS WHICH WOULD INDICATE THERE IS ALREADY MOVEMENT TOWARDS BRIDGING THE GAP, A VERY WIDE GAP BETWEEN THE ARAB AND THE ISRAELI POSITIONS ON THE PALESTINIANS?

((VANCE)) LET ME SAY THAT I BELIEVE THAT THE PALESTINIAN QUESTION WILL BE ONE OF THE ISSUES WHICH WILL BE DISCUSSED AT THE CAIRO CONFERENCE.

((QUESTION INDISTINCT, APPARENTLY ABOUT THE ROLE OF THE SOVIET UNION))

((VANCE)) THE SOVIET UNION IS THE COCHAIRMAN OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE. THEY HAVE A SERIOUS RESPONSIBILITY AND WE DO AS COCHAIRMAN. THEY HAVE SAID THAT THEY INTEND TO DISCHARGE THAT RESPONSIBILITY. I DO NOT WANT TO COMMENT ON THEIR MOTIVES AND THEREFORE WILL NOT DO SO. 111600 SB/LINDENAU/SM 11/2117Z DEC ENDALL

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FBTA

BEGIN, Menachem
Israel
CB
Patty

BT
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(Menachem BEGIN) of Israel

ISRAEL: BEGIN TO HAVE SEVERAL TALKS WITH CARTER, MAY MEET AS-SADAT
TA151206Y

TEL AVIV MA'ARIV IN HEBREW 15 DEC 77 PP 1, 2 TA
((BY GAVRI'EL STRASSMAN, MA'ARIV CORRESPONDENT ACCOMPANYING THE
PRIME MINISTER))

((EXCERPT)) IT IS POSSIBLE THAT PRIME MINISTER BEGIN AND
PRESIDENT CARTER WILL MEET TWO OR THREE TIMES IN THE COURSE OF
THE PRESENT VISIT TO WASHINGTON. "IF WE DO NOT CONCLUDE
DISCUSSING ALL THE POINTS THAT REQUIRE CLARIFICATION AND
EXAMINATION IN OUR MEETING ON FRIDAY MORNING," THE PRIME MINISTER
TOLD THE MA'ARIV CORRESPONDENT DURING THE FLIGHT ((TO THE U.S.--FBIS))
FROM ISRAEL, "WE WILL HOLD A SECOND MEETING, MAYBE ON THE SAME DAY.
IT IS ALSO POSSIBLE THAT AN ADDITIONAL MEETING WILL BE HELD
ON MONDAY."

FROM OTHER SOURCES IN NEW YORK THE MA'ARIV CORRESPONDENT
LEARNED THAT IT IS POSSIBLE THAT ONE OF THE ADDITIONAL TALKS
WILL BE HELD IN THE PRESIDENT'S RESIDENCE AT CAMP DAVID,
POSSIBLY ON SUNDAY, AND THAT IF ANOTHER MEETING IS NEEDED IT WILL
BE HELD ON MONDAY. THEREFORE, IT SEEMS THAT THE PRIME MINISTER
AND HIS ENTOURAGE WILL NOT RETURN TO ISRAEL BEFORE TUESDAY,
20 DECEMBER.

MR BEGIN ADDED THAT IT IS POSSIBLE--FOR THE TIME BEING THIS
IS A MERE POSSIBILITY AND NOTHING HAS BEEN CONCLUDED--THAT ON
THE WAY TO ISRAEL HE WILL STOP IN LONDON FOR A FEW HOURS AND
MEET WITH BRITAIN'S PRIME MINISTER, JAMES CALLAGHAN.

MR BEGIN ALSO SAID THAT "IT IS POSSIBLE THAT THERE WILL BE
ANOTHER MEETING BETWEEN PRESIDENT AS-SADAT AND MYSELF SOON."
THE IMPRESSION OF THE MA'ARIV CORRESPONDENT WAS THAT HE IS TALKING
OF SOMETHING VERY REAL. (AUTHORITATIVE POLITICAL SOURCES IN
JERUSALEM ASSESS THAT THE MEETING WILL BE HELD IN THE COMING
DAYS, DURING THE PRIME MINISTER'S PRESENT TRIP BUT NOT IN THE
UNITED STATES. IT WAS CONFIRMED IN CAIRO THAT IN AN INTERVIEW
WITH U.S. TELEVISION, AS-SADAT SAID THAT HE WAS INDEED INVITED
TO VISIT THE UNITED STATES BUT NO DATE HAS BEEN DETERMINED.)

((PASSAGE OMITTED)) 15 DEC YBYLINDENAU/SM 15/1221Z DEC

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APPROVED FOR RELEASE CIA HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS DIVISION AR 7-11-1997

BEGIN, Menachem
Israel

P 111733Z DEC 77
FM FBIS TEL AVIV
TO RUTLAAA/FBIS WASHDC
RUDOMKA/FBIS LONDON
RUEBFGA/VOA WASHDC
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RUQMIF/FBIS AMMAN
RUQMIF/AMEMB AMMAN
RUEHEY/AMEMB CAIRO
RUQMDM/AMEMB DAMASCUS
RUQMJR/AMCONGEN JERUSALEM
RUQMZN/SINAI SUPPORT MISSION
RUDONBA/CINCUSNAVEUR N-2
RUSNAAA/USCINCEUR
RUFRAAB/COMIDEASTFOR
RHFRAAB/CINCUSAFB INO RAMSTEIN AB GERMANY
RUFDAAA/USAREUR DEP COFS INTEL HEIDELBERG
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Menachem Begin
BF Israel

ATTN SHAPE: PASS TO SURVEY SECTION IMMEDIATELY
ISRAEL RADIO REPORTS VANCE-BEGIN PRESS CONFERENCE IN JERUSALEM
TA111733Y TAKE 1 OF 4--BEGIN-VANCE PRESS CONFERENCE
JERUSALEM DOMESTIC SERVICE IN HEBREW 1600 GMT 12 DEC 77 TA
((PRESS CONFERENCE AT THE KING DAVID HOTEL IN JERUSALEM GIVEN
BY PRIME MINISTER BEGIN AND U.S. SECRETARY OF STATE VANCE ON
11 DECEMBER AT THE CONCLUSION OF THEIR TALKS IN JERUSALEM--
LIVE, IN ENGLISH))

((TEXT)) ((BEGIN)) MR SECRETARY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, I'LL START
FROM THE END. THERE IS REASON TO BE OPTIMISTIC NOW, ON BEHALF
OF THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL AND THE PEOPLE OF ISRAEL, MAY I WELCOME
OUR HONORED GUEST AND DEAR FRIEND, THE SECRETARY OF STATE, MR VANCE,
TO JERUSALEM AND TO OUR COUNTRY, AND HIS FRIENDS AND COLLEAGUES WHO
ACCOMPANY HIM IN THIS VERY IMPORTANT JOURNEY TO THE MIDDLE EAST.
BEFORE PRESIDENT AS-SADAT ARRIVED IN JERUSALEM I SENT A CABLE TO
THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES IN WHICH I SAID, INTER ALIA,
PEOPLE IN OUR COUNTRY AND ABROAD CONTEND THAT THIS IS A HISTORIC
MOMENT. YOU HAD CREATED IT, MR PRESIDENT. TONIGHT I THINK IT IS
A PROPITIOUS MOMENT TO REPEAT THAT APPRECIATION WHICH THE ISRAELIS
HAVE FOR THE PRESIDENT, FOR THE SECRETARY OF STATE, FOR THE
GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE CONGRESS IN BOTH HOUSES,
IN CONNECTION WITH THESE MOMENTOUS DEVELOPMENTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST.
THE UNPRECEDENTED VISIT OF PRESIDENT AS-SADAT TO ISRAEL AND TO
THE SAME EXTENT THE UNPRECEDENTED RECEPTION ACCORDED TO HIM IN
THIS COUNTRY BY OUR PARLIAMENT, OUR GOVERNMENT AND OUR PEOPLE.
((AS HEARD))

WE ARE NOW IN THE MIDST OF THE PEACE-MAKING PROCESS. WE ARE
NOW MAKING A SERIOUS REAL EFFORT TO ACHIEVE AND ESTABLISH PEACE IN
THE MIDDLE EAST. I WOULD LIKE TO STRESS THAT IT IS THE ACCERTED
POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES, OF ISRAEL AND OF
EGYPT THAT THE EFFORT IS FOR A COMPREHENSIVE PEACE SETTLEMENT.

APPROVED FOR RELEASE CIA HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS DIVISION PAR 70 FAC 3 NOV 2013

THIS EFFORT. TO THE CONTRARY, WE INTEND TO DO OUR UTMOST AND BEST TO BRING ABOUT THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PEACE AND THE SIGNING OF PEACE TREATIES BETWEEN ISRAEL AND ALL HER NEIGHBORS TO THE SOUTH, TO THE EAST AND TO THE NORTH, AND IN THIS EFFORT WE ARE HELPED TO A VERY GREAT EXTENT BY THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES, BY THE PRESIDENT AND BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE. IT IS IN THIS SPIRIT, MR SECRETARY THAT WE WELCOME YOU AGAIN IN JERUSALEM... ((PASSAGE INDISTINCT DUE TO SUPERIMPOSED HEBREW TRANSLATION OF THE ABOVE))

... THE SAME ROAD PRESIDENT AS-SADAT DID 3 WEEKS AGO, AS THE SECRETARY CAME FROM CAIRO TO JERUSALEM AND THEN WENT TO THE KING DAVID HOTEL AND THEN WE HAD A PRIVATE TALK. IT IS ALMOST A REPETITION OF WHAT HAPPENED 3 WEEKS AGO. AND AGAIN ALL HAS BEEN DONE IN FRIENDSHIP, IN UNDERSTANDING, IN PURSUIT OF PEACE. THANK YOU, MR SECRETARY.

((VANCE)) THANK YOU VERY MUCH, MR PRIME MINISTER, FOR YOUR VERY KIND WORDS. I BRING WITH ME THE APPRECIATION, THE GRATITUDE AND THE ADMIRATION OF PRESIDENT CARTER AND OF ALL AMERICANS. THE LEADERSHIP WHICH YOU, MR PRIME MINISTER, AND PRESIDENT AS-SADAT HAVE GIVEN TO THE MOVEMENT FOR PEACE IS SOMETHING WHICH HISTORY WILL RECORD FOR GENERATIONS TO COME. I AM TERRIBLY PLEASED THAT I AM ABLE TO BE HERE AT THIS POINT TO MEET WITH YOU AND TO DISCUSS WHAT WE CAN DO TO HELP FOLLOW THE LEADERSHIP WHICH YOU AND PRESIDENT AS-SADAT HAVE GIVEN TO THE SEARCH FOR PEACE. I FEEL THAT OUR DISCUSSIONS TODAY, WHICH HAVE BEEN, AS ALWAYS, FRIENDLY AND FRUITFUL, HAVE HELPED VERY MUCH IN GUIDING OUR STEPS IN A SUPPORTIVE ROLE IN THE DAYS AHEAD. SO I THANK YOU AGAIN, MR PRIME MINISTER, ON BEHALF OF MYSELF, MY COLLEAGUES AND THE PRESIDENT... ((PASSAGE INDISTINCT DUE TO SUPERIMPOSED HEBREW TRANSLATION OF ABOVE))

((INDISTINCT QUESTION)) ((VANCE)) ON WEDNESDAY, THE MEETING IN CAIRO WILL COMMENCE. THE MEETING, AS PRESIDENT AS-SADAT HAS INDICATED, IS AN OPEN MEETING. IT HAS NO FIXED DATE WITHIN WHICH TO ACCOMPLISH ITS TASK. I ANTICIPATE THAT THERE WILL BE DISCUSSED AT THE MEETING MATTERS OF SUBSTANCE AS WELL AS MATTERS OF PROCEDURE. I BELIEVE THAT IT IS POSSIBLE IN THOSE MEETINGS TO CHART THE COURSE, TO PAVE THE WAY TOWARDS AN ULTIMATE COMPREHENSIVE SETTLEMENT, AS THE PRIME MINISTER HAS SAID. OUR OBJECTIVE, THE OBJECTIVE WHICH WE ALL SHARE IS THAT WE MAY ACHIEVE A COMPREHENSIVE SETTLEMENT OF ALL OF THE ISSUES WHICH HAVE TROUBLED THE MIDDLE EAST FOR SO LONG AND THAT THIS STEP WILL BE A VERY IMPORTANT STEP ALONG THAT PROBLEM.

((INDISTINCT QUESTION)) ((VANCE)) AT THIS MOMENT, BOTH SYRIA AND JORDAN HAVE INDICATED THAT THEY DO NOT INTEND TO PARTICIPATE IN THE CAIRO CONFERENCE. THAT IS A DECISION WHICH EACH MUST TAKE ((PASSAGE INDISTINCT DUE TO SUPERIMPOSED HEBREW TRANSLATION)) WE HOPE THEY WILL KEEP AN OPEN MIND AND AS THE PEACE PROCESS MOVES FORWARD, THAT THEY WILL DECIDE TO JOIN THE PEACE PROCESS.

((BEGIN)) ((PASSAGE INDISTINCT)) THAT BOTH SYRIA AND JORDAN WILL JOIN IN THE EFFORT ((PASSAGE INDISTINCT)) EITHER TO COME TO JERUSALEM, AS PRESIDENT AS-SADAT DID, OR IF THEY WOULD PREFER ME TO GO TO SEE THEM, I WILL GO ANY PLACE AND MEET THEM.

((INDISTINCT QUESTION)) ((BEGIN)) AMMAN AND DAMASCUS. TO TRY INDEED TO CONVINCING THE LEADERS OF THE TWO COUNTRIES THAT THEY CAN JOIN. OF COURSE, IT IS UP TO THEM. WE WANT THEM TO PARTICIPATE IN THE EFFORT TOGETHER WITH US. 111600 SBYLINDENAU/SM 11/1829Z DEC MORE

BEGIN, Menachem

V. 12 Dec 77

N 4 *(SF)*

ISRAEL

Visits East Jerusalem

TA111540Y Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1500 GMT 11 Dec 77 TA

[Text] Our correspondent Osnat Langer reports that during the break between the round of talks this morning and the beginning of talks this afternoon, the U.S. secretary of state made an official visit to Jerusalem's old city. Our correspondent remarks that this is the first time that a senior U.S. personality had made an official visit to east Jerusalem. Vance drove to the old city with his car flying the two official flags, the U.S. flag and the Israeli flag.

Our correspondent recalls that Secretary of State Rogers visited the old city without flags, while U.S. Treasury Secretary Michael Blumenthal, who recently visited Israel, said that in accordance with instructions from Washington, he was not entitled to visit the held territories.

Our correspondent says that Cyrus Vance visited the Wailing Wall wearing a yarmulka and that he heard explanations from the rabbi of the Wailing Wall. From there he went to the Temple Mount and entered the Dome of the Rock and Al-Aqsa Mosque accompanied by Moslem clergymen. He surveyed the Jerusalem landscape from the Mount of Olives for about a quarter of an hour.

The secretary of state told radio correspondent Eli Meisels that no political significance is to be attributed to his tour. He said the visit was an emotional experience for him. He has heard all his life about the sites in the old city and always wanted to visit them.

Joint Press Conference
Menachem BEGIN *of Israel* *p N4-N10*

TA111733Y Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1600 GMT 11 Dec 77 TA

[Press conference at King David Hotel, Jerusalem, given by Prime Minister Begin with Secretary of State Vance at the conclusion of their talks in Jerusalem--live, in English]

[Text] [Begin] Mr Secretary, ladies and gentlemen, I'll start from the end. There is a reason to be optimistic. Now, on behalf of the Government of Israel and the people of Israel, may I welcome our honored guest and dear friend, the secretary of state, Mr Vance, to Jerusalem and to our country and his friends and colleagues who accompany him in this very important journey to the Middle East.

Before President as-Sadat arrived in Jerusalem, I sent a cable to the President of the United States in which I said, inter alia: People in our country and abroad contend that this is a historic moment. You had created it, Mr President. Tonight I think it is a propitious moment to repeat that appreciation which we, the Israelis, have for the President, for the secretary of state, for the Government of the United States and the Congress in both houses, in connection with these momentous developments in the Middle East. The unprecedented visit of President as-Sadat to Israel and to the same extent the unprecedented reception accorded to him in this country by our parliament, our government and our people. [as heard]

We are now in the midst of the peacemaking process. We are now making a serious real effort to achieve and establish peace in the Middle East. I would like to stress that it is the accepted policy of the Government of the United States, of Israel and of Egypt that the effort is for a comprehensive peace settlement, that there is no intention to have two countries reaching peace and signing a peace treaty and leaving the other countries out of this effort. To the contrary, we intend to do our utmost and best to bring about the establishment of peace and the signing of peace treaties between Israel and all her neighbors to the south, to the east and to the north.

V. 12 Dec 77

N 5

ISRAEL

And in this effort we are helped to a very great extent by the Government of the United States, by the President and by the secretary of state. It is in this spirit, Mr Secretary, that we welcome you again in Jerusalem. You are not a novice to this city. You are almost one of the family, and we've met many times in this hotel. May I say that the secretary of state actually traveled the same road President as-Sadat did 3 weeks ago, as the secretary came from Cairo to Jerusalem and then went to the King David Hotel and then we had a private talk. And again, all has been done in friendship in understanding, in pursuit of peace. Thank you, Mr Secretary.

[Vance] Thank you very much, Mr Prime Minister, for your very kind words. I bring with me the appreciation, the gratitude and the admiration of President Carter and of all Americans. The leadership which you, Mr Prime Minister, and President as-Sadat have given to the movement for peace is something which history will record for generations to come.

I am terribly pleased that I am able to be here at this point to meet with you and to discuss what we can do to help follow the leadership which you and President as-Sadat have given to the search for peace. I feel that our discussions today, which have been, as always, friendly and fruitful, have helped very much in guiding our steps in a supportive role in the days ahead. So I thank you again, Mr Prime Minister, on behalf of myself, my colleagues and the President. I think that there is a chance of moving forward now towards real peace, a true and lasting peace.

[Question] Can you tell us how things will be beginning Wednesday in Cairo? What do you see happening, at least [words indistinct]?

[Vance] On Wednesday the meeting in Cairo will commence. The meeting, as President as-Sadat has indicated, is an open meeting. It has no fixed date within which to accomplish its task. I anticipate that there will be discussed at the meeting matters of substance as well as matters of procedure. I believe that it is possible in those meetings to chart the course, to pave the way towards an ultimate comprehensive settlement, as the prime minister has said. Our objective, the objective which we all share, is that we may achieve a comprehensive settlement of all the issues which have troubled the Middle East for so long and that this step will be a very important step along that problem.

[Question] I'd like to ask a question of both Prime Minister Begin and the secretary based on what the secretary has told Mr Begin. Do you see at the moment any realistic possibility that Syria and Jordan, or either one of them, will take part in the Cairo conference--towards that comprehensive peace that you both say you see?

[Vance] At this moment both Syria and Jordan have indicated that they do not intend to participate in the Cairo conference. That is a decision which each must take as an independent sovereign nation. What the future will hold, I do not think any of us can predict. We hope they will keep an open mind and as the peace process moves forward, that they will decide to join the peace process.

[Begin] Mr (Malus), I can only express hope that both Syria and Jordan will join in the effort. You remember, in the Knesset, I invited them already for a third time either to come to Jerusalem, as President as-Sadat did, or if they would prefer me to go to see them, I will go any place and meet them. But I understand that this is a part of the American effort now. And, therefore, the secretary of state is here and will visit both Amman and Damascus--to try, indeed, to convince the leaders of the two countries that they can join. Of course, it is up to them. We want them to participate in the effort together with us.

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ISRAEL

[Question] Mr Secretary, is it possible that you can get the other parties that Mr Begin just mentioned to participate after an interval, perhaps after the first of the year, when the Cairo conference might possibly take another level or dimension?

[Vance] I think it is possible that these other countries may decide to join the peace process, as the prime minister said. All of us hope that this will be the case. And we will continue to urge that they keep an open mind and join the peace process and try and help in achieving the common goal which all of us share, because I do believe that they too want peace.

[Question indistinct]

[Vance] I think that we must proceed with the Cairo conference and see what happens as we go along that road. The peace process is a continuing process and hopefully, at some point, the others will join.

[Question] Mr Prime Minister, you said there is a reason to be optimistic. What cause do you have for optimism?

[Begin] Knowledge of the facts. It gives me reason to be optimistic.

[Question indistinct]

[Begin] We shall find another occasion, but I repeat--no, I'd like to say; the secretary will also confirm it. This is for the first time, my friend, for 29 years that Israel and the largest Arab state, the strongest Arab state, embarked on a direct face-to-face negotiation with the purpose, the declared goal by both of them to sign peace treaties. Let us not forget this very important fact. It is a turning point in the history of both these countries. Now, there is a negative phenomenon, the Tripolitarians. But we believe it is passing, because they are interested--they should be interested--in joining this effort. Now we meet, we talk, we shall go on meeting, we clarify matters, we make an effort, an intellectual effort, all of us. And therefore there is reason to be optimistic.

[Richard Valeriani, NBC] Do you have any observations to make on an abstract from an editorial from the New York Times which said, and I quote: "A durable peace means [words indistinct] concessions that will go beyond Sinai and will include security arrangements with Syria and Jordan too. The price for security: abandonment of the demand for sovereignty over the West Bank." I wonder if you have a comment on that?

[Begin] Is this question intended for the secretary of states or for me? Thank you, Mr Valeriani, I'm glad to see you. I haven't seen you for a long time. Well, whatever [word indistinct] the following answers--a very serious answer, may I say. My friends, we are now in the midst of the most delicate negotiations to establish peace after so long, protracted years of warfare between the countries. Give a chance to that [word indistinct], and everything is, as I said time and again, negotiable--of course, except the destruction of Israel--and everything will be negotiable. But the negotiations will take place in Cairo, in Geneva, in Jerusalem. With all due respect, not before the camera of our mighty friend, the television.

[Michael Elkins, BBC] Mr Prime Minister, with all deference to your desire not to conduct negotiations here, can you, without going into detail, tell whether since the As-Sadat visit there has been new thinking concerning Israel's position with regard to the West Bank?

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ISRAEL

[Begin] My friend, new or old, there was thinking and we are thinking.

[Question] I would like to ask you a question, Mr Secretary of State, and the prime minister, with your kind permission, both gentlemen. My question is this: I would like to know whether you think that unanimity in the Arab world is a prerequisite for the achievement of progress in Geneva and Cairo and in Jerusalem, and the contrary, whether progress in those places is contingent upon unanimity in the Arab world? And I would like to ask the secretary this question: Is the United States concerned about the deep split in the Arab world because of recent events, and if so, could you please tell us why?

[Vance] We would all like to see unanimity because the sooner unanimity is achieved, the more rapid the progress would be towards peace. That does not mean, however, that progress cannot be made even though one has less than unanimity. (?It is obvious) that there has been a split in the Arab world. However, as time moves forward, I think all of us hope and believe that there is a possibility that that split can be healed and disappear and that one can find a greater degree of unanimity than there is at the present time. I think that there is a chance for real peace and we must get started on that course.

[Question] Mr Secretary, is there complete understanding--and agreement--between Israel and America regarding Israel's standing and attitude in the Cairo conference?

[Vance] We do have differences of view with respect to the Cairo conference. We have been meeting the last 2 days to talk about both the substance and details of the Cairo conference, and I look forward to a fruitful conference.

[Begin] I concur.

[Question] Is it desirable, from your point of view, and do you think it would be possible for the Cairo conference to produce a set of principles for a comprehensive settlement?

[Begin] Yes. I think this is really the purpose of the Cairo conference. Now the delegations both of Egypt and of Israel will deal with the basic principles of the peace treaties to be negotiated, concluded and ultimately signed. And, as you know, under international law there are many chapters and articles, sections and subsections of the peace treaties of very great value to the future of any nation which signs actually very important documents of international standing and value. And this is going to be discussed in Cairo. And again I want to stress, it will be a sample for the peace treaties to be signed with all our neighbors. So the peacemaking process which starts now in Cairo under no circumstances will be the end. It will be the beginning of that process which ultimately must bring about the establishment of permanent peace in the Middle East.

[Question indistinct]

[Begin] The problem of the Palestinian Arabs will be discussed, debated--we think of it and I am sure that we will find a solution.

[Question] Mr Prime Minister, in the absence of other Arab governments at Cairo, would you be inclined to regard President as-Sadat as a person who can reflect their views and indeed discuss issues which apply not only to Egypt but to the other governments with which you wish to make peace at some later stage?

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ISRAEL

[Begin] Whilst in Jerusalem, President as-Sadat said, when we start talking directly about peace, he would like to represent, if I may say so, the Arab cause, and we agreed. So I have no doubt whatsoever that in Cairo our delegations will talk not only about the bilateral relations between Egypt and Israel but also about the problems concerning other countries in the Middle East, neighboring with Israel. I can only imagine that President as-Sadat will not claim that he can speak, for instance, now, on behalf of President al-Asad, because President al-Asad doesn't agree to talk with us. So this is a problem, indeed, of the peacemaking process. Let us have some patience. If for the time being there are those who take a negative attitude, we should be optimistic. It will change. And they will join in that effort. It's a problem of time. Let us give ourselves some time.

[Question] A question for both Mr Vance and Prime Minister Begin: It seems that secretaries of state have been coming to the Middle East now fairly often on sometimes successful, sometimes unsuccessful missions, but always in the role of mediators. Now there are direct face-to-face negotiations. How do you gentlemen expect [word indistinct] the talks in Cairo and here envisage the role of the United States in the future initiatives?

[Vance] The United States is delighted that we have face-to-face discussions going on between Israel and Egypt. It has been our hope for years that the time would come when the parties could sit down together, face to face, and discuss the serious issues that had to be resolved in order to get peace. We have said time and again that that's the only way you're going to achieve a real peace. So our role is that of a mediator, a facilitator. That is the role we intend to play. We want to be supportive of the discussions, face to face, among the parties.

[Begin] You said, sir, that the secretary of state is visiting the Middle East often. As a citizen of one of the host countries, I will add: not often enough.

[Question] Mr Prime Minister, President as-Sadat was asked yesterday in Cairo whether he was pleased with the Israeli response to his initiative. He said no, not yet; they haven't answered. My question is, one, do you intend to answer; and two, when do you intend to answer? Will that be at Cairo, or before Cairo?

[Begin] You might have seen, my friend, that we do not go into public polemics about any statements whatsoever. I think it's a healthy attitude. The real response is negotiations, and negotiations will start on Wednesday in Cairo.

[Question] What is the United States advising Israel to do at this historic moment?

[Vance] America, as Israel's historic friend, is counselling with Israel to find out what we can do to be most helpful in the direct negotiations which are going on face to face between Israel and Egypt.

[Begin] May I pay tribute to the efforts made by the President of the United States and the Government of the United States throughout the years, mainly this year, to bring about this momentous development. And let me also add even the visit itself by President as-Sadat to Jerusalem was made possible by the help of the United States Government. So I would like to pay tribute to this effort to the secretary.

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ISRAEL

[Question] President as-Sadat said in an interview yesterday that the Israeli position on the Palestinian question would have to change if peace is to be achieved in the Middle East. Have you worked out a new position on the Palestinian question, and is Mr Vance carrying any message on this subject to the other Arab countries or is he carrying any message from you to the other Arab countries?

[Begin] There is a problem of the Palestinian issue. I said so in the presence of President as-Sadat in the Knesset and we will find a solution for this problem. [long pause] You expect me to reply to it?

[Question] You made a strong statement in support of Arab unity. Do you plan on this trip and in subsequent weeks to try to facilitate the Egyptians' and the other Arabs' coming together? Have you discussed this with Mr as-Sadat to try and find some way of bringing the Arabs together?

[Vance] I have discussed with President as-Sadat the questions of the divisions that exist within the Arab world. He, like all of us, would like to see those divisions healed and disappear. I will, in my talks with the other Arab leaders, urge them, as we have from the outset, to participate in the peace talks. We have said this to them from the moment that the Cairo conference was proposed. They have indicated that they too seek the same end-objectives, namely, a comprehensive peace which will settle the questions of the Middle East. And, therefore, I will continue to pursue our position with respect to this and discuss that matter with them.

[Question] Do you think Arab unity will help the peace process, or, as some Israelis in the past have suggested, a divided Arab world actually helps Israel?

[Begin] I do not agree that a divided Arab world will help Israel. To the contrary, we believe that we should have peace on all the borders of Israel, signed peace treaties with all our four neighbors--Egypt, Jordan, Syria, Lebanon. All the four neighbors should live in peace with Israel and Israel wants to live in peace with them. We do not drive wedges. We do not believe in that famous precept known in Latin; divide et impera. We don't want to divide and we don't want to rule. We want peace. This is what we believe in.

[Question] At the Tripoli conference the Palestinians took, according to President as-Sadat, a more extreme position that they would not participate in negotiations at all. At this stage are you more optimistic as you look down the road to negotiations? The Palestinians have in fact taken themselves out of the picture.

[Begin] My dear friend, Tripoli cannot make anybody optimistic. When I spoke about optimism, I meant the trend, the developments. We hope to overcome the negations of the Tripolitarians. And, of course, it is a most negative phenomenon, for the time being. What did it say in Tripoli? "No recognition of the State of Israel, no negotiations with Israel, no peace with Israel." Actually another pronouncement was made there that Israel should be destroyed. This is negative, of course. The Soviet Union is behind that negative attitude, which is very regrettable, and it is a cochairman of the Geneva conference. But this happened, let me say, 2 weeks ago. And that does not decide the issue. Mankind will march forward. War is evitable; peace is inevitable. So we shall overcome with a common effort that hurdle, too, and Syria and Lebanon and Jordan will join in the peace efforts. Ultimately, we shall have peace throughout the region. This is our belief.

V. 12 Dec 77

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ISRAEL

[Question] Mr Vance, you said that it is your understanding that the Cairo conference would discuss substance and procedure. The Palestinian issue involves both matters. In your talks in Egypt and here in Israel have you heard any thoughts, ideas or proposals which would indicate there is already movement toward bridging the gap, a very wide gap, between the Arab and the Israeli positions on the Palestinians?

[Vance] Let me say that I believe that the Palestinian question will be one of the issues which will be discussed at the Cairo conference.

[Question indistinct]

[Vance] The Soviet Union is the cochairman of the Geneva conference. They have a serious responsibility, as we do, as cochairman. They have said that they intend to discharge that responsibility. I do not want to comment on their motives and therefore will not do so.

Vance Leaves for Amman

TAL20915Y Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 0900 GMT 12 Dec 77 TA

[Text] U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance ended his visit to Israel this morning and departed for Amman--the third stop in his tour of the region. Although no departing remarks were planned at the airport, Vance went up to the correspondents on his own initiative and said that the Israeli Government is acting with vigor for peace, and he expressed his deep appreciation for the friendly and affectionate hospitality that he experienced in Israel.

Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan said that Israel is satisfied with the talks with the U.S. secretary of state and with the message that he brought from Egypt.

Several members of his entourage told an ITIM correspondent that Vance is convinced that he will be able to bring Husayn to the Cairo talks. They added that Vance is leaving with an increasingly optimistic feeling and he might return to Israel next month.

12 Dec Morning Papers

TAL20830Y Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 0505 GMT 12 Dec 77 TA

[Review of morning press editorials]

[Excerpt] The optimism expressed by Prime Minister Menahem Begin at the press conference with Cyrus Vance is one of the main issues discussed by the editorials. Many deal with U.S. policy in the region, against the background of preparations for the Cairo conference.

HA'AREZ says that the government must now define what it will be prepared to agree to during the negotiations. Our position is sensitive not only because of Egypt's demands but also because of the U.S. President's position. The tone of Mr Vance's answers at yesterday's press conference should not create the impression that the U.S. representatives will regard their function at the Cairo meetings as one of providing one-sided support for Israel. The American administration continues to look forward to Geneva, where a place for the Russians is assured, even though during the forthcoming stage it is Cairo which will serve as the political forum.

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In DAVAR's opinion, the success or failure of the Vance trip will be known only after he visits Amman and Damascus. Even though the Americans do not oppose the Israeli-Egyptian contacts, they took pains to stress in Cairo and in Jerusalem that the parties were not intent on a separate settlement but on a comprehensive settlement. There is no doubt that Washington still desires as comprehensive an agreement as possible that will also include Syria, for in the event of a polarization Syria might be pushed back into the arms of the Soviets--something which the Americans would like to avoid at all costs. For the time being, however, the chances of Mr Vance's success in Damascus appear to be rather slight. Signs of regret, about having participated in the front of those who were at Tripoli, could not be seen on Al-Asad during his trip to the oil countries.

HAZOFF calls upon the U.S. administration to let the moves in the region develop properly. The newspaper writes that President Carter's remark that he expects Israel to show courage in the face of the Egyptian peace initiative is tantamount to a call to Israel to make concessions. Israel should be allowed to decide for itself on matters concerning its national security. 'AL HAMISHMAR writes that there was a demonstrative optimism in the prime minister's remarks at yesterday's press conference. However, over and above that, we did not learn the degree of the Israeli Government's willingness to reduce the large gap between President as-Sadat's opening positions and those of Mr Begin. Everyone hopes for the success of the Cairo conference, but side by side with hope one cannot hide one's feelings of fear in view of the fog that is covering the government's moves.

HAMODI'A expresses the opinion that an observer from the sidelines would find it hard to understand how it is possible to bridge the gap between the declaration that there is no intention for Israel and Egypt to sign a separate peace and the hope that Syria and Jordan will join the Cairo conference as the peace process develops. OMER writes that it is hard to understand the basis for the prime minister's declared optimism at the press conference. The prime minister certainly knows many details which are not known to others, but it is doubtful if these details change the situation. For some reason, we have not heard that the Egyptians share Menahem Begin's optimism.

The Jerusalem POST says that in one sphere there is total agreement between Egypt and Israel--and that is that the Soviet Union has been denied the right to play an active role in the process of negotiations in the region. In SHE'ARIM's opinion, the time has come to cut down on elation over the new situation and to begin to weigh the diplomatic advantages of an agreement with Egypt against the security problems that might be created. A balanced view of the advantages as opposed to the dangers is an essential condition for correct decisions.

Afternoon Editorials

TA120911Y Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 0900 GMT 12 Dec 77 TA

[Review of afternoon press editorials]

[Text] MA'ARIV writes that the joint press conference excelled in what was not said. For example, how can President as-Sadat represent the views of all the Arabs at the Cairo conference when most are blacklisting him? What will Israel do if the PLO suddenly turns up at the conference? And might the conference lead to a separate peace with Egypt if Syria and Jordan do not participate. YEDI'OT AHARONOT quotes a senior American official in the Vance entourage who said that the Cairo conference is not the end in the Israeli-Arab dialog but a starting point. It is possible that at a certain stage a separate agreement with Egypt might be achieved, but it would be an agreement including all the foundations of a comprehensive Israeli-Arab agreement covering territories that do not belong to Egypt and the Palestinian issue.

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[Dayan--in English] We are very happy about the talks we had here and about the message that you brought from Egypt to Israel, and we shall have to find ways to make them go on with the dialog until we reach the final, real peace treaty with all the Arab countries through the help, and the very great help, of our American friends. Thank you. [end recording]

BF

Menachem BF Israel pN5 Ee

CABINET MEETS: BEGIN COMMENTS ON CAIRO AGENDA

TAl22019Y Jerusalem Domestic Television Service in Hebrew 1900 GMT 12 Dec 77 TA

[Text] Prime Minister Menachem Begin said today that the agenda of the Cairo conference, in general, will be the nature of the peace treaty. Mr Begin made these remarks when he was coming out of the cabinet's weekly session which took place in Jerusalem today. Mr Begin also said that the details of the agenda emerged during U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance's visits to Cairo and Jerusalem.

The prime minister today reported to the ministers on Mr Vance's visit to Israel. From the cabinet session our correspondent Elimelekh Ram reports: [begin recording]

[Ram] The cabinet held a political debate today at which the prime minister and the foreign minister reported on the talks they held with U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance and his aides. The cabinet also heard the survey of Israel's ambassador, Simha Dinitz, who spoke on the U.S. viewpoint on developments in the area.

One of the cabinet ministers told me after the session that we must not let President as-Sadat steal the United States. Instead of allowing President Carter to put pressure on us, we must preserve the existing system of relations with the United States and their support for us. And, indeed, at the end of the session, the cabinet secretary stressed to journalists that the cabinet had expressed its appreciation of the U.S. efforts.

Another minister said after the session: I am beginning to discover a ray of optimism. Prime Minister Menachem Begin told the correspondents who were waiting for him at the end of the session:

[Unidentified correspondent, in English] Mr Begin, did the cabinet, did the government make any last-minute decisions in regard to Israel?

[Begin--in English] We did not have to make any last-minute decisions. As far as the Cairo conference is concerned, we actually agreed on the agenda--the Egyptians, the Israelis and the Americans. And the main agenda of the Cairo conference will be the contents of the peace treaty which, as I believe, 1 day Egypt and Israel will sign and perhaps another day all our neighbors will sign with us. It is a very serious agenda. The deliberations will start on Wednesday. And this Christmas, which will be coming in some 10 days, this is probably the time of the negotiations in Cairo, at this stage--and then we shall continue.

[Ram--in Hebrew] Are you telling me that after Christmas the conference will be renewed in Cairo again?

[Begin--in Hebrew] Possibly, and possibly somewhere else. Perhaps after the new year, according to the Christian calendar, there will be a meeting in Geneva or perhaps somewhere else. We are in the era of negotiations over the signing of a peace treaty. [end recording]

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YEDI'OT AHARONOT ON TENSION AMONG ISRAELI LEADERS

TA11415Y Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew 11 Dec 77 pp 1, 8 TA

[Text] There has recently been tension in the government between the foreign minister and several other ministers. At the same time, it is believed in the coalition that these tensions are marginal and it is natural that these be felt among people with strong personalities, such as the leaders of the present government.

The tensions that have recently been in evidence concern:

--The relations between the foreign minister and the minister of defense. Minister 'Ezer Weizman is very active in the political deliberations within the government and is in on the inner consultations. Dayan would prefer the issue [presumably of peace negotiations] to revolve more around him as the person responsible for the Foreign Ministry. In view of this, there is a certain tension between Weizman and Dayan.

--The appointment of the director general of the prime minister's office, Dr Elyahu Ben-Elissar, to head the Israeli delegation to the Cairo conference. This has caused dissatisfaction in the Foreign Ministry. Even though Dayan agreed to the appointment, there is a feeling in the ministry that this appointment reduces the role of the Foreign Ministry in these contacts.

--The appointment of Maj Gen Avraham Tamir as the IDF representative on the delegation to the Cairo conference. Dayan did not agree with this appointment. On the other hand, it is 'Ezer Weizman's opinion that this appointment is the best that the IDF could make for the Israeli delegation. The defense minister stresses that Tamir heads the planning department in general headquarters and has just headed the team that prepared the alternative military plans for the border problem on all fronts with a view toward the negotiations with the Arabs.

--Criticism in the government of the way the Foreign Ministry is running the overseas information campaign in the wake of the As-Sadat visit. The critics maintain that the Israeli information effort has created an impression in the world that Israel is following Egypt while, in fact, Israel initiated several political moves that made the As-Sadat visit possible.

The "black cat" apparently walked between Dayan and the director general of his ministry, Efrayim 'Evron. Begin had proposed to Dayan that the Israeli delegation to the Cairo conference consist of the director generals of the prime minister's office and of the Foreign Ministry, but Dayan opposed 'Evron's appointment.

One of the reasons for the tension in relations between Dayan and 'Evron is the fact that the director general of the Foreign Ministry has taken positions differing from Dayan's on certain issues.

Despite all this, coalition circles maintain that these tensions will not be able to undermine government cooperation in the determination of political moves.

CONSULTATIONS BEGIN ON CONTENTS OF PEACE SETTLEMENTS

TA130831Y Tel Aviv HA'AREZ in Hebrew 13 Dec 77 p 1 TA

[By 'Uzzi Benziman]

[Excerpt] Consultations on the contents of the possible settlement with Egypt, which may also include the future of the West Bank, will begin in Jerusalem today in a closed framework and on the most senior cabinet level.

BEGIN MENACHEM

Israel

(SF)

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We have agreed upon raising the level of representation in the Cairo conference to ministerial level, and, as you have heard yesterday, we have agreed upon two committees, a political committee and a military committee headed by ministers of foreign affairs and ministers of defense. 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. I think that they will report to the plenary [as heard] whenever they reach any, I mean, decision.

The question of the withdrawal, we have made progress in it. But on the Palestinian question, which we consider is the core and crux of the problem here in the area, the Egyptian and Israeli delegations discussed the Palestinian problem. The position of Israel is that Palestinian Arabs in Judaea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip should enjoy self-rule. We have agreed that because we have differences on this issue, we agreed that the issue will be discussed in the political committee of the Cairo preparatory conference.

I hope I have given you some light upon our works. And thank you again. [applause]

Begin Statement

NC260910Y Cairo Domestic Service in English 0832 GMT 26 Dec 77 NC

[Statement by Israeli Prime Minister Begin at a press conference in Ismailia--live]

[Text] Mr President, ladies and gentlemen: I have come here a hopeful prime minister. I am leaving a happy man. The conference in Ismailia has been successful. We will continue with the momentum of the peacemaking process. Now starts the phase of the most serious negotiations in details: how to establish peace between Egypt and Israel as part of a comprehensive peace settlement throughout the Middle East. These 2 days are very good days for Egypt and for Israel and for peace. May I express our gratitude to the president for his gracious hospitality he bestowed upon me, upon friends and colleagues, the foreign minister, Moshe Dayan, the defense minister, 'Ezer Weizman, and our collaborators and advisers.

This is the second meeting between President as-Sadat and myself after the historic event of his breakthrough visit to Jerusalem. And here too may I say we spoke as friends. We want to establish a real peace. There are problems to discuss and in these two committees, the chairmanship of which will rotate between our respective ministers, those serious negotiations and talks will take place.

So now my friends and I will leave Ismailia in Egypt with the faith that we contributed to the peacemaking process. And there is hope that with God's help, President as-Sadat and I and our friends will establish peace. Thank you, ladies and gentlemen.

Questions and Answers

NC261020Y Cairo Domestic Service in English 0837 GMT 26 Dec 77 NC

[Question and answer portion of press conference given by President as-Sadat and Prime Minister Begin in Ismailia--live]

(Mentichem & F. Israel) PD13 - 23
[Text] [Press conference moderator] All right, gentlemen, you can start. Mention your name and the organization you represent.

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[Question] Good morning. My name is Hirsch Goodman of the Jerusalem POST. Mr Begin, what are the advantages of two or three committees working in tandem rather than a cohesive peace forum? And, first, you and President as-Sadat in obviously coordinating the discussion, did you expect to meet soon and did you expect to meet frequently? Thank you.

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

[Moderator] Thank you very much.

[Question] Mr President and Mr Prime Minister, would you say that Israel and Egypt are about to achieve a peace treaty in a couple of months?

[As-Sadat] A peace treaty?

[Question] Yes.

[As-Sadat] Between Egypt and Israel? We are working toward a comprehensive settlement. As I said before, we want to establish peace in the area. Without comprehensive settlement, we can't achieve peace.

[Question] Mr Prime Minister?

[Begin] I agree with the president.

[Question] Prime Minister Begin, we understood that there was a kind of ...[interrupted by press conference moderator]

[Moderator] Your name, please.

[Question] Hamdi Fu'ad, AL-AHRAM newspaper. I am Hamdi Fu'ad of AL-AHRAM newspaper. Mr Prime Minister; we understood that you were going to issue a declaration of intention--a declaration of intent. Has this idea been achieved and what is the difference between your proposals which you have presented to President Carter in the United States and the proposals you have presented here in Ismailia?

[Begin] The statement made by the President is an agreed-upon statement, so we don't need now any additional written declaration. We agreed to continue with the efforts to establish peace--a comprehensive peace settlement in the Middle East--on the basis of the Security Council resolution 242 and 338 and to establish these committees. So this is the basic agreement. This is the most important development at the Ismailia conference. And now our colleagues and friends will continue with the effort, as the president and I explained.

[Question] Concerning your proposals you presented to President Carter and the differences between the proposals...[question left unfinished]

[Begin] We presented President as-Sadat the proposals I made to President Carter. There were a few amendments not of decisive importance, and yesterday at the conference I presented all our proposals in detail.

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The president listened attentively. And now the committees may have counterproposals by Egypt, as it is natural in the process of negotiating peace treaties.

[Question] Bo'az Carr, Israel Features. Looking ahead beyond a peace settlement, Inshallah, [Arabic for "God willing"] can you tell us something about your long-term grand design for peace? How you propose to satisfy your people's expectation of a better life, of a renaissance in this Middle East, cradle of civilization? Are you in favor 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?

[As-Sadat] Well, the two committees will start and, as I said, will report to the plenary. Let me say this: We are, as I have said before, working toward a comprehensive settlement in the area here, and the nature of peace is on the agenda between both sides in the two committees. All what you have mentioned will be discussed in the committees.

[Begin] May I congratulate you Mr Carr on the poetry you read to us [laughter], and I think it is a very good vision, establish peace, all those good things you put into your question will be put into realization.

[Question] Shemu'el Segev of MA'ARIV. Mr President, in your introductory remarks you said that as far as Israel and Egypt are concerned, you made progress, but as far as the West Bank is concerned, you stated the positions of both sides. Does that mean that the gap between the two sides is unbridgeable?

[As-Sadat] Well, as much as we shall be continuing in the Cairo conference to discuss whatever points of difference are between us, we shall continue, and, as Prime Minister Begin says, if need be we shall meet again but I don't think that there is anything, any gap, that can't be bridged.

[Question] My name is Rosenfeld, also from MA'ARIV. And the question is to you Mr President. The word peace has been mentioned many times yesterday and today. I am sorry that they had also to mention the word war. I would like to ask Mr President whether you agree to the opinion that Egypt holds the key not only to peace but also to war and that without Egypt, no Arab country or no combination of Arab countries will be able to wage war in the foreseeable future against Israel?

[As-Sadat] Maybe you have heard my speech. We were sincere in war and we are sincere for peace. Take my visit to Jerusalem last November. We have agreed upon the fact that we must sit together as civilized people and discuss whatever problems we have between us, and let us agree upon the fact that the October should be the last war. Well, we didn't differ upon this at all, and the continuation itself of our efforts will answer all this.

[Question] But I asked about other Arab countries, whether the possibility exists to wage war without Egypt.

[As-Sadat] Well, you have heard for sure in the Arab world and in this area that the key to war and peace is in Egypt. This is a fact, a historical fact. Well, I can't speak for anyone but I can say this.

[Question] President as-Sadat and Prime Minister Begin, Derrick Utley of NBC news. There is evidently a serious disagreement over the question of the Palestinians and the future of the West Bank. Mr President, do you think a solution can be found to this West Bank Palestinian question without some sort of a role for the PLO?

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[As-Sadat] There should be a solution for this problem, for that we have passed it to the political committee that we have agreed upon in the Cairo conference and for sure we shall find a solution because, as I have stated before, the Palestinian question is the crux of the whole problem. Maybe in the near future after the political committee works and the discussion starts, a new situation will develop.

[Question] Prime Minister Begin, could I ask your opinion on this? Would you see the possibility of a limited role for the PLO in a Palestinian or West Bank settlement?

[Begin] The organization called PLO is bent on the destruction of Israel. It is written in its charter. They have never changed their position. As I stated time and again, from our point of view everything is negotiable except the destruction of Israel. And therefore, this organization is no partner to our negotiations. Now as I read before I reached Ismailia, a spokesman of this organization threatened the life of President as-Sadat, speaking about a bullet, one bullet, which may change the course of the events. And now we have a situation after Tripoli in which such a threat is issued--issued both against Israel and against Egypt. We want to discuss the problem of the Palestinian Arabs with our Egyptian friends. We want to negotiate with representatives of the Palestinian Arabs, and this we are going to do the first week of January.

[Question] 'Oded Geranot, MA'ARIV. Mr President, talking about the comprehensive settlement, do you see any possibility that other Arab parties will join the conference? Will you inform King Husayn?

[As-Sadat] For sure, I shall be informing King Husayn about all the developments and what has taken place here in Ismailia, and let us hope that others will join in the next stage.

[Question] Dov (Yustovsky) of YEDI'OT AHARONOT. Mr President, when you were talking of peace, you were always saying: Let us leave the question of diplomatic relations for the future generations. Now, in view of the dramatic changes which have taken place, did you change your mind?

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

[Question] Abie Nathan of the Voice of Peace. Mr President, before I ask you a question, I am sure that I will be expressing the wishes of everybody in this hall and viewers all over the world to wish you that the next 60 years you will have peace in your mind and help to lead people everywhere in the search for peace. Many happy returns. [last three words said in Arabic and As-Sadat says thanks in Arabic] Now the question. Mr President and Prime Minister Begin, you have found ways to reason with each other on the level of leadership, the foreign ministers level and the defense ministers level, but people on both sides are thirsty, hungry and impatient for more progress and they want to find ways also to be involved. Seven years ago the United States and China thought of a way to bring people together in what they called the ping-pong diplomacy. Will you open the borders to allow sportsmen on both sides even in this stage and in that way allow people to be involved to play together and to know each other? In the last press conference, I requested a football team, even though you have a stronger football team in Egypt, to visit Israel and to play with our team in Tel Aviv.

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[As-Sadat] Well, for me it is not yet right but for sure we shall be considering our discussion and 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 already said.

[Begin] Mr Abie Nathan, I fear the day the president agrees to exchange sportsmen on both sides. Do something to strengthen our team of football. [laughter]

[Question] I am Hanna Zemer of the DAVAR, Tel Aviv. Maybe I should be allowed two questions instead of one question and one speech. May I ask, Mr President, in view of the differences which seem to emerge from your respective statements on the Palestinian issue, be assured, do you envisage the possibility of a settlement or an agreement should let us say, on an interim basis being somewhat less than peace?

[As-Sadat] I can't get you. What do you mean by agreement, interim agreement?

[Question] What I meant is, in view of the differences that I thought emerged from your respective statements, do you feel that those differences have a very good chance to be overcome in the committees, and would you consider a settlement which is not full peace if you do not overcome those differences?

[As-Sadat] The differences should be overcome in the committees. This is the fact. But the second part of your question?

[Question] Do you believe you can overcome them, and is there a good chance to overcome them?

[As-Sadat] For sure.

[Question] You do not look for an alternative for a full peace treaty?

[As-Sadat] I must tell you this: As I have already stated before the Knesset, this time we are not either for a disengagement agreement or partial agreement, like you said, to reach some stages and then postpone other steps after that. No, this time we are for peace, genuine peace, comprehensive settlement.

[Begin] May I answer Mrs Hanna Zemer? As the president and I agreed that there is no alternative to peace.

[Question] Thank you very much. May I ask then a very short question? Mr President, we have encountered very much kindness and friendliness by our colleagues here and by the people of Egypt whom we met on the streets. Some of our journalists have been here for a couple of weeks. They all say the same thing. And in view of this very abrupt change from enmity and distrust to friendliness and to trust, how do you explain this abrupt switch, and is it not sort of inexplicable and does it not arouse a fear that you can reverse by a push of the button the same thing, the same process?

[As-Sadat] Well, let me tell you this. It is not abrupt. It has been in the subconsciousness of all of us. When I made my step I, in my calculations, really I knew that my people will 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 of a revival of any, I mean, anything that has happened in the past.

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[Question] Mr President, Mr Prime Minister, has understanding reached such a point that it might justify mutual troop reduction in Sinai? Or if I may put it in a more human term: Can I tell my boy that he will soon be home?

[As-Sadat] You mean about the withdrawal?

[Question] What I mean is, you have stressed in Jerusalem no more wars. Now you have progressively reached a close understanding. But does it now justify a reduction of troop deployment in Sinai?

[As-Sadat] Well, let us hope that in a few weeks we shall be in a position to report.

[Question]: Could I ask the prime minister concerning this?

[Begin] On this issue?

[Question] Yes.

[Begin] We hope that when peace comes, both countries--all countries of the Middle East--will be able to reduce their military forces and expenditure, which eats up our substance, and rather devote our sources and resources to liquidation of poverty through development of agriculture and industry. This is our common aim.

[Question] I was asking about troop reduction at this stage.

[Begin] I answered you that we do hope for the possibility of reducing troops on all sides.

[Question] Thank you.

[Question] My name is Victor (Siegelman). I am representing Paris NOUVEL OBSERVATEUR. The question to Prime Minister Begin is the following: On what moral grounds do you think, Mr Begin, are you denying the Palestinian people of the West Bank and Gaza their right to self-determination? And to Mr President as-Sadat, I would like to ask: On what moral grounds do you think you can negotiate about the future of the Palestinian people with Mr Begin without the presence of any Palestinian representative whatsoever? Thank you.

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

[As-Sadat] Well, what we are discussing really is in the Arab strategy that we have agreed upon in the Arab summit conferences. But in the details, I shall not--I mean--negotiate for the Palestinians. They should take their share. But in this Arab strategy, what I am doing really, 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 in the next stage join.

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[Question] Mr President, my name is Larry (Fredge) of Metromedia Television news. In your opinion, is an Israeli military presence on the West Bank the major stumbling block now to a solution to the Palestinian question?

[As-Sadat] I don't want to reveal what we have already discussed and the proposal that has been made by Prime Minister Begin. He has shown his will to the military government on the Western Bank. But we differ on the issue, as I have told you, of a Palestinian state on the Western Bank and the Gaza Strip through self-determination.

[Question] My name is Eddy Rosenthal from the Dutch television. The question to both the prime minister and President as-Sadat: You have been discussing the possibilities for a comprehensive settlement. Did you raise during your discussions also the future of the Golan Heights?

[As-Sadat] I can't speak for Syria or for the Golan Heights, as I told you. I am only now concerned with the main principles in the Arab strategy. Whenever we reach agreement upon those points between us in the political committee and in the military committee, well, after that, everyone should negotiate for himself.

[Begin] I agree completely with the president. I do want to express the hope that President al-Asad will join our common effort. We want a comprehensive peace treaty. We want peace with our neighbors to the south, north, and to the east. And when President al-Asad agrees to negotiate with us, we will be willing to negotiate with him. This is the problem of the northern border of Israel and the common border of Israel and Syria.

[Question] Rif'at (Badir), OCTOBER Magazine. Excuse me my president, As-Sadat. I am an Egyptian journalist and I want to ask Mr Begin in his language.

[Begin] You want to speak to me Hebrew?

[Question] In Hebrew.

[Begin] I understand Hebrew. [laughter]

[Question--in Hebrew] Mr Prime Minister of Israel, I want to ask you whether the initiative of President as-Sadat has led to fundamental changes in your thoughts and calculations? I also want to ask you how do you see the future of Israel after peace, and how do you see the future of the Middle East after peace, and how do you see the future of peace itself?

[Begin--in Hebrew] I want to tell you that you speak Hebrew better than myself. My congratulations. Now I want to answer you in Hebrew and I will translate my words into English. My answer to your question is: I want to point out that Egyptian President Anwar as-Sadat's visit to Jerusalem was one of historic significance, and it is appreciated by all the people of Israel, the Egyptian people and all the peoples in the world. Since this visit, we have worked hard on a peace plan I submitted to the president. I explained it to him in detail yesterday in the meeting between the president and myself alone and in the meeting between the two delegations. The future of the State of Israel after peace, just like the future of Egypt, will undoubtedly be bright. When peace is achieved among the peoples of the Middle East, the Middle East will develop, as his majesty the king of Morocco said, into a paradise on earth. This is indeed the cradle of human civilization, and the good tidings of peace and progress will go out from here. Therefore, I was very happy to hear your question, and this was my answer.

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[Begin--in English] And now I will translate whatever I said in Hebrew into English, with a Hebrew accent. I was asked what was going to be the future of Israel and the Middle East when peace is reigning. And I answered, first, the visit of President as-Sadat to Jerusalem was a great historic event, a turning point, and this is being appreciated by all the Israeli people, by the Egyptian people, and actually by all nations. When peace is established, there will be a great future for Israel, for Egypt, for all the nations of the Middle East, which is being called rightly so the cradle of human civilization, and it may turn, through cooperation and development, as his majesty the king of Morocco said, into a paradise on earth. So we believe that now peace is the real condition for such development, and we hope that soon it will come.

[Question] [Name indistinct], CBS news. Mr President, Mr Prime Minister, now that you raised the level of your discussions, how do you see the continuing role of the United States? Will you, for instance, be inviting Secretary of State Vance to take part in some of your talks? And is there somewhere down the road still a possible role for the Soviet Union in this process?

[As-Sadat] Well, we have agreed upon the participation of the United States and the United Nations in the political committee. But the military committee will be bilateral. Well, as for the United States, they will be in the political committee with us. The Soviet Union, we didn't exclude him here. He excluded himself. Whenever he finds it agreeable to him, well, we have no objection from our side.

[Question] Mr President, 'Asim 'Abd al-Muhsim, REUTER news agency. We have heard that Egypt will call an Arab summit at one stage to inform it of the outcome of this process. Will this Arab summit be called after the Ismailia talks and will the parties which have not attended the first round of the Cairo conference be invited to the second round once the conference has been upgraded to ministerial level? Thank you.

[As-Sadat] Well, for the first part, you have asked about?

[Question] The Arab summit.

[As-Sadat] The Arab summit, yes. Until we reach in the committees an agreement upon the main issues and, namely, the Palestinian issue, on which we have differed, until we reach this point and, as I said, as it is part of our Arab strategy, I shall not be in a position to, I mean, ask for an Arab summit meeting. But whenever we reach this, I think after that I shall be in a position to discuss with my Arab colleagues the possibility of a summit.

[Question] [Name indistinct] of the ABC news. Mr President, since your return from Jerusalem, you have said a number of times: I have made my move; now it is up to the Israelis. I wonder if you feel that the proposals brought by Mr Begin contain sufficient concessions to have justified your trip to Jerusalem and also to justify the summit?

[As-Sadat] Well, we have agreed upon certain points and I said we have made progress on the withdrawal. We have differed among us on certain points, namely, the Palestinian question. The proposals that have been made by Premier Begin, as I told you, will be put before the committees politically or militarily and our counterproposals will be submitted to these committees. I think until we reach this, we feel that the momentum that we have given to the peace process really is continuing. Yes.

[Question] Could you categorize those proposals? What do you think of them?

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[As-Sadat- I beg your pardon?

[Question] I said could you categorize those proposals? What do you think of them?

[As-Sadat] Well, as I told you, we have points of difference and points of agreement.

[Question] Mr President, [name indistinct] of the UNITED PRESS. You talked about agreement on the Sinai front. Could you be more specific and tell us what progress has been on the Sinai? Have you accepted the Israeli proposal about withdrawal? Secondly, when you talk about ministerial level, does this mean the foreign ministers exclusively in the Cairo conference now?

[As-Sadat] The second part please.

[Question] You said you were raising the level of participation in the Cairo conference to the ministerial level. Were you referring to foreign ministers exclusively now?

[As-Sadat] I have stated before that in the political committee there will be the foreign ministers, and the military committee there will be the defense ministers. For the first part what have you asked?

[Question] The specifics of Israel's proposals on withdrawal. Have you accepted a line of withdrawal? How do you categorize [word indistinct]?

[As-Sadat] I have heard the proposals. Premier Begin told us about it, and we are preparing our counterproposals in the military committee. But really what concerns us in this respect is the comprehensive settlement. It is not Sinai that is the problem now. As I told you, we are after peace, after 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. As I told you, I prefer not to reveal anything and leave the military committee to work on the details and discuss proposals and counterproposals until we reach agreement.

[Question] [name indistinct] several German and Israeli papers. You received an answer from Prime Minister Begin about the PLO. Mr President, I am [name indistinct] of Israel who motioned to accept your peace move in the Knesset. But don't you think you did not answer former question about the PLO, the role it should play? Don't you think that self-determination of the Palestinian people should include the right to choose also their representatives. Don't you feel bound to adhere also to the Rabat conference about it of 1974, and what role do you think should the PLO play in the peacemaking process?

[As-Sadat] I asked 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. Well, the PLO now is in the rejection camp. In spite of that, I sent them an invitation and they refused and excluded themselves. I did not exclude them. For the future, let us wait for what would develop.

[Moderator] Gentlemen, we have time for two or three questions at most.

[Question] Mr President, [name indistinct] of CBS news. When you were in Jerusalem, Mr President, you stated that peace would only be possible when the Israelis withdrew from all Arab land, including the entire Sinai Peninsula and east Jerusalem. May I ask you, Sir, whether that is still your position today?

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[As-Sadat] That is right.

[Question] When you speak of progress being made on the question of withdrawal, may I ask Mr Begin what he will interpret such progress as referring to specifically.

[Begin] Resolution 242 does not commit Israel for total withdrawal. Therefore, this matter is a matter of negotiations, to establish those secure and recognized boundaries which is mentioned in the second paragraph of Resolution 242. And this is the crux of our problem, to negotiate the conditions for 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.

[Question] [Name indistinct] Israeli radio, Arab station. Mr President, Premier Begin expressed the hope that President al-Asad join the peace talks. My question is, Mr President, will Syria eventually join the talks? Is there any chance and if so how will this affect the rejection group in which it is a member?

[As-Sadat] Well, I cannot answer this. You should ask President al-Asad. I can't speak for him, as I told you. And whenever they find it convenient for them to join, we shall welcome them.

[Question] [Name indistinct] of the Chicago DAILY NEWS. President as-Sadat, I would like to ask you first of all, since this conference which you called as the preparatory conference for the Geneva conference seems to me as if you are moving away from Geneva and turning the conference into a Cairo conference, and if so or if not so could you explain if the Cairo conference preparatory for Geneva--as it was set out to be--will reconvene at the committee level simultaneously with the rest of the political committee or will they meet alternately?

[As-Sadat] Or will they meet?

[Question] Alternately, not simultaneously?

[As-Sadat] It has always been my conviction that without good preparation Geneva will be a failure. I said this during my visit last April in the United States. I made my proposal. I sent proposals for a working group under Vance to start contacting all the parties concerned and a meeting to be prepared before Geneva for the preparations. What we are doing now here in Cairo is the preparation for Geneva. Geneva is not excluded.

[Question] Sir, what about the simultaneous meetings of the two committees, sir? Will they meet at the same time in Jerusalem and in Cairo?

[As-Sadat] We are, as I said, they will be working in the context of the Cairo conference and, as I said, they will report to the plenary.

[Question] Huda Tawfiq, of AL-JUMHURIYAH newspaper. Mr President, this means that the U.S. secretary of state will come here and Mr Waldheim will come here?

[As-Sadat] Let us hope so. But for sure we cannot go back; we are going forward.

[Question] The political committee will meet in Jerusalem. Does this mean that also Waldheim and Secretary Vance will also be in Jerusalem?

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[As-Sadat] Well, we shall leave this to them.

[Question] Mr Begin, may I ask you a question please?

[Begin] Of course.

[Question] You said we are going to work now for a comprehensive settlement on the bases of Resolutions 242 and 338. Can you tell us if you accept the principle of non-acquisition of territories by force? And are you going to apply this for the comprehensive settlement?

[Begin] Yes, we are for a comprehensive settlement, and I accept the principles, the famous principles established in the international law in practice. There must not be any acquisition of territories in the wake of a war of aggression. The war of the 6 days was a war of legitimate self-defense, and the president yesterday told me: Yes, he does remember the slogans issued in those days to throw the Israelis into sea. So we defended ourselves, and this is my reply to you. In complete accordance with international law and practice. Thank you.

Begin Departs Ismailia

NC261008 [Editorial Report NC] Cairo Domestic Service in Arabic at 0945 GMT on 26 December relays live the sendoff ceremony for Israeli Prime Minister Begin from An-Nakhil resthouse in Ismailia. The announcer reports at 0955 GMT that As-Sadat is seeing off Begin and his delegation and will accompany them to the helicopter pad. Another announcer then takes over from the An-Nakhil helicopter pad to report the arrival of President as-Sadat and Begin's entourage. The Israeli delegation takes off in five helicopters for Abu Suwayr Airport, where the delegation will board a plane for Israel. The live relay ends at 0959 GMT.

Former IAF Chief Hod in Ismailia

TA261101Y Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 26 Dec 77 p 2 TA

[Text] El Al Director General Mordekhay Hod, who was Israel's air force commander in the 6-day war, is in Ismailia. Yesterday morning, Hod joined Prime Minister Menahem Begin's party, which took off on El Al Flight No 447 to Ismailia.

Hod is staying with the rest of those accompanying the prime minister, and he will return today at the end of the talks between the prime minister and Egypt's president.

Israel Submitted Comprehensive Plan

NC261348Y Cairo MENA in Arabic 1320 GMT 26 Dec 77 NC

[Text] Cairo, 26 December.--MENA has learned that during the Ismailia talks Israel submitted a written plan for comprehensive and permanent peace in the Middle East area. The agency has learned that this was the first time since the beginning of direct talks or even since the beginning of the crisis that Israel has submitted such a plan for a comprehensive solution.

The agency learned that during the talks the Egyptian side studied this plan. However, in view of the differences of opinion on some of the points in the Israeli plan, the Egyptian side decided to prepare an Egyptian plan in response to the Israeli plan.

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The agency learned that despite the differences of opinion on some of the points in the Israeli plan, this move, which is taking place for the first time on the part of Israel, means reducing the time spent on procedural matters, which could have taken up to 5 to 7 years.

Declaration of Intent Postponed

NC261333Y Cairo MENA in Arabic 1325 GMT 26 Dec 77 NC

[Text] Ismailia, 26 December--MENA has learned that during the Ismailia talks Egypt concentrated on the need to achieve a comprehensive solution to the Middle East problem, including the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to establish their own state in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. This was the reason which led to the postponement of the issuance of the declaration of intent, although the Israeli side officially expressed its readiness during the talks to withdraw to the international borders of Egypt.

As-Sadat: Differences Can Be Solved

NC261400Y Cairo MENA in Arabic 1330 GMT 26 Dec 77 NC

[Text] Cairo, 26 December--President Muhammad Anwar as-Sadat said today that his talks with Israeli Prime Minister Menahem Begin were not difficult, but that there were differences of opinion. The president said there is no room for retreat from peace after today and that all differences can be solved in the working committees which have been formed.

President as-Sadat said that Israel has not yet taken the difficult decisions which I said in Jerusalem it must take. This came in press statements which President Anwar as-Sadat made to a number of newsmen after the press conference in Ismailia today.

President Anwar as-Sadat made a statement before his departure from Ismailia today to one of the Israeli correspondents in which he replied to a question on whether the negotiations with the Israeli side had been difficult. He said: I cannot say that they were difficult, but I can say that there were differences of views.

The Israeli correspondent asked: Is there any room for retreat from peace now? The president said: As I said before, it is impossible for us to go back now. All differences can be solved in the committees which have been formed.

The correspondent asked whether the religious character of President as-Sadat and Mr Begin was a factor of understanding between them. The president said: This might be true.

The Israeli correspondent told President Anwar as-Sadat: You and Mr Begin have become famous for always making bold decisions.

The president said: These are not bold decisions. They are decisive decisions made at an opportune time.

A U.S. correspondent asked about declarations to the effect that Israel has made concessions in its proposals.

BEGIN Menachem

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[Question] Does this mean, Mr Dayan, that in the coming months you will travel the Cairo-Jerusalem route?

[Answer] No. The committee with which I am connected will meet in Jerusalem. My Egyptian colleague then will have to come to Jerusalem.

[Frankel] Thank you. [end recording]

BEGIN DISCLOSES MORE INFORMATION ON ISMAILIA TALKS

TA280642Y Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 0600 GMT 28 Dec 77 TA

[Text] Prime Minister Menachem Begin said last night that he had made it clear to President as-Sadat that the negotiations would not continue should the Egyptians continue to oppose IDF presence in Judaea and Samaria. The prime minister was speaking with a group of Knesset members.

According to the prime minister, a debate took place in Ismailia between Israel and Egypt about the ultimate goal of the negotiations. Israel demanded a peace treaty, while Egypt asked to make do with a peace agreement. Finally, President as-Sadat decided personally and responded to Israel's demand.

The prime minister expressed optimism regarding the prospects of peace. He believes that Egypt's president is honestly striving for genuine peace. Mr Begin stressed that the real negotiations between Israel and Egypt have actually started, but the contacts will henceforth be made at a normal pace and not at the rapid pace that has characterized them to date.

The prime minister said that what he was quoted as having said after his meeting with the Yamit area representatives did not conform to the truth. He reacted to a report alleging that at that meeting he had said that Israel was ready to forego its sovereignty in the Sinai approaches and hand over Yamit to Egyptian sovereignty. According to that report, the prime minister had indicated that after the area was evacuated defensive forces would be deployed there.

BEGIN ADDRESSES KNESSET PRIOR TO POLITICAL DEBATE

TA280837Y Jerusalem Domestic Television Service in Hebrew 0810 GMT 28 Dec 77 TA

[Speech by Israeli Prime Minister *Menachem Begin*] opening debate in the Knesset on 28 December--live] *Menachem BF Israel p4-19*

[Text] Mr Chairman, respected Knesset members: With the establishment of peace we shall propose the introduction of an administrative autonomy for the Arab residents of Judaea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip on the basis of the following principles:

The administration of the military rule in Judaea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip will be abolished. In Judaea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip an administrative autonomy of, by and for the Arab residents will be established. The residents of Judaea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip will elect an administrative council which will be composed of 11 members. The administrative council will act according to the principles postulated in this document. Every resident 18 years old or older, regardless of his citizenship or the lack of it, will be entitled to vote for the administrative council. Every resident who is 25 years old or older the day the list of candidates for the administrative council is presented will be entitled to be elected to the administrative council. The administrative council will be elected in general, direct, personal, equal and secret elections.

The term of office of the administrative council will be 4 years from the day of its election. The council will have its seat in Bethlehem. All the administrative issues pertaining to the Arab residents of Judaea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip will be under the jurisdiction of the administrative council.

The administrative council will establish the following departments: department of education; department of transportation; department of construction and housing; department of industry, commerce and tourism; department of agriculture; department of health; department of labor and social betterment; department for the rehabilitation of refugees; department of legal administration and supervision of the local police force. The administrative council will issue regulations pertaining to the activities of those departments.

Security and public order in the areas of Judaea, Samaria and Gaza will be entrusted to the Israeli authorities.

The administrative council will elect its own chairman. The first session of the administrative council will be held 30 days after the publication of the election results. Thus, Mr Chairman, the administrative expression of autonomy for the Arab residents of Judaea, Samaria and Gaza. And now, the parliamentary expression:

Residents of Judaea, Samaria and Gaza, regardless of their citizenship or lack of it, will have the free option to receive either Israeli or Jordanian citizenship. A resident in the areas of Judaea, Samaria, or Gaza who requests Israeli citizenship will receive it in accordance with the state's citizenship law. Residents of Judaea, Samaria and Gaza who choose, in accordance with their free option, Israeli citizenship will be entitled to vote for the Knesset and to be elected to it in accordance with the election law. Residents of Judaea, Samaria and Gaza who are Jordanian citizens, or those who become Jordanian citizens, in accordance with their free option, will vote and will be entitled to be elected to the parliament of the Jordanian Hashemite Kingdom in accordance with the election law of that country. Questions deriving from the elections of the Judaea, Samaria and Gaza residents to the Jordanian parliament will be presented for negotiations between Israel and Jordan.

A committee of representatives of Israel, Jordan and the administrative council will be established to examine the existing law in Judaea, Samaria and the Gaza district and to determine which laws will remain valid, which will be abolished and what the authority of the administrative council will be to issue regulations. The decisions of this committee will be adopted unanimously.

Israeli residents will be entitled to purchase land and settle in the areas of Judaea, Samaria and Gaza. Arab residents of Judaea, Samaria and the Gaza district who become, in accordance with the free option granted them, Israeli citizens will be entitled to purchase land and settle in Israel. A committee of representatives of Israel, Jordan and of the administrative council will be established to determine immigration rules for the areas of Judaea, Samaria and Gaza. The committee will postulate those rules which will permit Palestinian refugees outside Judaea, Samaria and Gaza immigration in a reasonable volume into these areas. The decision of the committee will be adopted unanimously.

Israeli residents and the residents of Judaea, Samaria and the Gaza district will be assured free movement and free economic activity in Israel, in Judaea, in Samaria and in the Gaza district.

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The administrative council will name one of its members to represent it before the Government of Israel for the purpose of discussing common issues, and one of its members will represent it before the Government of Jordan for the discussion of common issues.

Israel insists on its right and demand for its sovereignty over Judaea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip. Knowing that other demands exist, it proposes, for the sake of the agreement and of peace, to leave the question of sovereignty in those areas open.

Regarding the administration of the places holy to the three religions in Jerusalem, a special proposal will be prepared and presented, insuring free admission for all believers to the places sacred to them.

These principles will lend themselves to reexamination after a period of 5 years.

Mr Chairman, I have to explain now the 11th clause of this plan, as well as the 24th clause. [indistinct interjection from the floor]

Esteemed Knesset members, in the 11th clause of our plan we postulated: the security and the public order in the areas of Judaea, Samaria and Gaza will be entrusted to the hands of the Israeli authorities. Without this clause there is no meaning to the plan of administrative autonomy. I wish to announce from the Knesset rostrum that it is self-evident that this includes deployment of IDF forces in Judaea, Samaria and in the Gaza Strip. We do not even dream of... [indistinct interjection from the floor]

[Knesset speaker] Knesset Member Toubi, a political debate will be taking place, and you [plural] will be able to express your opinion. I ask that you allow the prime minister to continue his speech without interruptions.

[Begin] We do not even dream of the possibility--if we are given the chance to withdraw our military forces from Judaea, Samaria and Gaza--of abandoning those areas to the control of the murderous organization that is called the PLO, or ASHAF in Hebrew, that is, translated into Hebrew. [meaning there is really no such word in Hebrew] This is history's meanest murder organization, except for the armed Nazi organizations. It also bragged 2 days ago about the murder of Hamdi al-Qadi, deputy director of the Education Bureau in Ramallah.

It is a frightening proposition that someone's solution to the problems in the Middle East might be a single bullet dispatched to the heart of Egyptian President as-Sadat, as the PLO's predecessors did at Al-Aqsa Mosque to King 'Abdallah. One single bullet. No wonder that the Egyptian Government has declared that should such a single shot be fired, Egypt would retaliate with a million shots. We wish to say that under no condition will that organization be allowed to take control over Judaea, Samaria and Gaza. If we withdrew our army, this is exactly what would happen. Hence, let it be known that whoever desires an agreement with us should please accept our announcement that the IDF will be deployed in Judaea, Samaria and Gaza. And there will also be other security arrangements, so that we can give to all the residents, Jews and Arabs alike, in Eretz Yisra'el a secure life--that is to say, security for all.

We postulated in the 24th clause: Israel insists on its right and demand for sovereignty over Judaea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip. Knowing that other demands exist, it proposes, for the sake of the agreement and peace, to leave the question of sovereignty in those areas open.

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I said these words to U.S. President Carter and also to Egyptian President as-Sadat. We have a right and a demand for sovereignty over these areas of Eretz Yisra'el. This is our land and it belongs to the Jewish nation rightfully. We desire an agreement and peace. We know that there are at least two other demands for sovereignty over these areas. If there is a mutual desire to reach an agreement and to promote peace --what is the way?

Should these contradictory demands remain, and should there be no answer to the collision course between them, an agreement between the parties would be impossible. And for this reason, in order to facilitate an agreement and make peace, there is only one possible way. One way and no other: to agree to decide that the question of sovereignty remain open and to deal with people, with nations. That is to say, administrative autonomy for the Arabs of Eretz Yisra'el; and for the Jews of Eretz Yisra'el--genuine security. This is the fairness that is inherent in the content of the proposal. And in that spirit the proposal was also accepted abroad. [indistinct interjection from the floor]

With this plan, as well as with general rules I am going to present now about the settlement of relations between Israel and Egypt, to be specified in a peace treaty between the two countries, I left for the United States to visit President Carter and present him with both parts of our peace plan.

The second part, namely, the rules for settling the relations between Egypt and Israel in the context of the peace treaty is:

Demilitarization: The Egyptian Army will not cross the Jiddi-Mitla line. Between the Suez Canal and that line the limitation of forces agreement will remain valid. The Israeli settlements will remain in place with their full complement. These settlements will be linked to Israeli administration and jurisdiction. They will be defended by an Israeli force. I repeat this sentence, for a reason well known to all members of the house: They will be defended by an Israeli force.

For an interim period of several years, IDF forces will be stationed along a defense line in the center of Sinai, and Israeli airfields and Israeli early warning stations will be maintained until our forces withdraw to the international border.

Free shipping in the Strait of Tiran, to be recognized by the two countries in a special declaration designating the strait an international seaway that must remain open to the free sailing of ships under any flag, will be guaranteed either by a UN force, whose withdrawal will be impossible except by consent of the two countries and by an unanimous decision of the Security Council or by joint Egyptian-Israeli military patrols.

I went to U.S. President Carter with these two parts of the peace plan. I had a personal, private talk with him, and he expressed, both in that talk, as well as in the talks of the two delegations, the Israeli and the American, a positive appreciation of the plan. On Saturday evening, at the second and concluding meeting, the U.S. President declared that this plan constitutes a fair basis for peace negotiations.

A positive opinion about our plan was also expressed by Vice President Mondale, as well as by Secretary of State Vance, by the president's adviser for national security affairs, Professor Brzezinski, and also by the renown and exalted and influential Senators Jackson, Case, Javits, Stone and our dear friend to whom, Mr Chairman, on behalf of Israel's Knesset I'll today send wishes for a rapid and complete recovery, none other than Senator Humphrey.

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A positive appreciation of this plan was also expressed by former U.S. President Gerald R. Ford, by former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and by the spokesman of the U.S. Jewish community, Rabbi Dr Schindler. All of them declared that fairness was at the basis of the plan.

On my way home from America I stopped over in London and presented both parts of our peace plan to the British prime minister and to the British minister of foreign affairs. Both Mr Callaghan and Dr Owen expressed their positive appreciation of our peace plan. British Prime Minister Callaghan told our legal adviser that this is a most constructive plan.

I also extended this plan to Francois Poncet, the special emissary of the president of the French republic, Giscard d'Estaing.

While I was in the United States, I asked the secretary of state to contact President as-Sadat and inform him in my name of my desire to meet with him in Cairo, in a neutral place or, should he wish so, also in Ismailia. I mentioned Ismailia as the meeting place because that possibility was discussed with President as-Sadat during his visit in Jerusalem. The Egyptian president told me via the secretary of state that he chose Ismailia to be our meeting place. I agreed. Thus, a few days after the end of the mission in the United States and in Britain, the meeting took place in Ismailia.

Mr Chairman, this was a successful meeting. Its success came with its opening. We had a private talk--President as-Sadat and myself--and in the first 5 minutes of that talk the decisive matter was accomplished: the continuing of the negotiations between the two countries for the signing of a peace treaty, as was postulated in lieu of the term peace agreement, in the meeting of the two delegations in Ismailia.

The negotiations will be conducted at a high level. The committees will be a political one, which will be meeting in Jerusalem, and a military one, which will be sitting in Cairo. The committee chairmen will be the foreign ministers and the defense ministers of Egypt and of Israel. The chairmanship of the committees will be rotated. Our foreign minister will open the committee sessions in Jerusalem. The Egyptian defense minister will open the military committee session in Cairo. A week later the chairmen will change.

The political committee will deal with the civilian settlements in the Sinai Peninsula as well as with the issue--which can be called Jewish-Arab--of the Arabs of Eretz Yisra'el. The military committee will handle all the military issues linked to the peace treaty concerning the Sinai Peninsula.

It thus came to be, Mr Chairman, that for the first time in 30 years, soon, in about 2 weeks, direct face-to-face negotiations will be started between authorized representatives, ministers of Israel, and Egypt's representatives, its ministers of defense and of foreign affairs. No third person will chair these committees, as it was wont to be in all meetings between us and the Arab countries, but the ministers themselves will conduct the sessions, chairing them in rotation. These will be profound and military negotiations for the achievement of peace and for the signing of peace treaties. And since 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 proclamations from various directions that the State of Israel should be annihilated, we have to welcome this turning point itself.

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We should also wish and yearn that during the weeks or months in which the two committees are meeting they will reach an agreement, and if there is an agreement, it will serve as a basis for peace treaties which, in that case, will be signed by authorized representatives of Israel and of Egypt.

It may be said that at the Ismailia meeting the two parties agreed also on a joint statement. Its publication, however, was prevented because the two delegations did not arrive at a joint and agreed-upon formula regarding the issue which we call--and justly--the problem of Eretz Yisra'el's Arabs, while the Egyptians call it, in their language--and this is their right to use their language--the problem of the Palestinian people. We tried, we made an effort to arrive at a joint formula. It transpired, however, that we were unable to accept one or the other version. If it was proposed by the Egyptian delegation, it was unacceptable to us, and if it was proposed by the Israeli delegation, it was unacceptable to the Egyptians. Accordingly, sometime between 2200 and 2230 on Sunday night, we postponed the meeting until Monday morning, assuming that with a mutual endeavor we would find a way out. And indeed the way out has been found: a kind of an agreement about a joint formula, based on precedents in international conferences. We proposed--and our proposal was accepted--that each side present its position, using its own language. For this reason, the announcement about the problem of the Arabs of Eretz Yisra'el, as it was read by the Egyptian president at our joint press conference, consisted of two parts, namely: [begin quotes in English] 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 Judaea, Samaria and the Gaza district should enjoy self-rule. [end quotation]

Because of the difference on this subject, the publication of the statement--over the content of which there had been full agreement--was prevented. We did not deem it proper to press for the publication of a joint statement if the Egyptian side was saying that under such circumstances it was unable to sign it. I wish to go on record, however, that the content itself was agreed upon by both delegations jointly. [several indistinct interjections, to which Begin seems to give the following retorts]

Of the joint statements.

If it was not released, why release it from the Knesset rostrum?

This will belong to the debate, Mr Yadlin.

And I have learned, particularly in the committees, that if one says he does not understand, it means he does not agree, especially an intelligent person like you.

Mr Chairman, with the completion of the meeting in Ismailia, we have done our part, we have made our contribution. From now on, the floor belongs to the other side. We, for the sake of peace, for the sake of a peace treaty, have shouldered a great responsibility and, indeed, many risks.

And already now, since my return from the United States, a difficult and painful debate is being waged between me and my best friends. Just as I told them, I will also say from the Knesset rostrum: that if I was fated to conduct such a debate, I will accept the sentence with love. They are my friends; we went a long way together, in both difficult and good days.

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I love them, am fond of them and will continue to be fond of them. But there is no choice. You have to accept responsibility with a degree of civilian courage, without which there can be no crucial political decisions. It is clear to me that we are taking the right road to facilitate negotiations for a peace treaty and to facilitate its signing.

After examining all the other paths, as they have been mentioned more than once in the course of Knesset discussions, I no longer have any doubts that the only path to facilitate negotiations toward the signing of a peace treaty is the path proposed by the government. Thus, if it will be necessary to insist on this. In debates with dear and beloved friends, we shall do so. It is a fact, however, that the responsibility is great and that there are risks. I repeat, therefore: In Ismailia, in the wake of the visit in Washington and in London, we, the Government of Israel, have done our share; we have made our contribution; and now it is the turn of the other side.

If those people in the Egyptian Foreign Ministry whose thinking is limited to the routine assume that they will succeed in exerting international pressures on us so that we accept the positions of that ministry that are unacceptable to us and with which we shall not agree, they are mistaken. Even if pressure were exerted upon us, Mr Chairman, it would be of no avail, because we are accustomed to pressure and to not surrendering to it. I am convinced, however, that no international pressure will be exerted on the State of Israel. That is impossible. The people who praised our peace plan as fair, as constructive, as a breakthrough, are very serious people. They know its full content, except for certain amendments which, too, have been submitted to our American friends and which do not change the substance of the plan.

This is the plan I submitted to President Carter and to President as-Sadat. And they cannot, at the beck and call of routine-thinking people at the Egyptian Foreign Ministry, change their opinion within a few weeks. We now enjoy great moral support throughout the United States, both in the administration and in both houses of Congress. In the House of Representatives, the leader of the Democratic majority in the house, Mr Wright, praises and accepts this peace plan. The same goes for U.S. public opinion and, last but not least, among the Jewish community in the United States. Hence, the routine people in the Egyptian Foreign Ministry are only falsely deluding themselves that if we do not accept their outdated and completely unrealistic formulas, international pressure will be exerted on us. It will not be exerted. And we shall pursue our path of bringing peace to the Israeli nation, of establishing peace in the Middle East. This has been my innermost ambition--not since the days of May-June 1977, but since November-December 1947; since the days when, after a respite of peaceful relations between Eretz Yisra'el Arabs and Eretz Yisra'el Jews, the first bullet was dispatched by an Arab hand into the heart of a Jew; and since the days when I called, from the underground, on the Arabs of Eretz Yisra'el and urged them: Do not shed Jewish blood; let us build the land together, so that it may be a glorious land for both peoples. The bloodshed, however, continued and there have been the five bloody wars we want to put an end to by making peace and by signing peace treaties. [Indistinct interjections from the floor]

This is our innermost ambition. And I am certain, Mr Chairman, and I can express the view of the entire house--except, perhaps for the opinion of a single faction--when I say that this is the innermost ambition of the entire Jewish nation: to give peace to the land, after we have made this land free.

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ISRAEL

Peres Speech

TA281133Y Jerusalem Domestic Television Service in Hebrew 0846 GMT 28 Dec 77 TA

[Speech by Labor Party Chairman Shim'on Peres in the Knesset--live]

[Text] Mr Speaker, honored Knesset: The joint hope of this house, a hope which bridges gaps, that the peace issue is to be found at the top of the mountain has not lost altitude, is not lost. It will continue to climb to its target at the top.

We approve of the government's peace policy despite our dissatisfaction with certain parts of it. We will stand by those who have hope and not by those who sow bitterness. I wish to begin my remarks with words of esteem for the government and the prime minister with respect to certain issues, despite its being difficult--and I will use a term by Anatole France, a quote--in these meetings to differentiate between the fruits of wisdom and what luck brings--I must say that the government has devoted itself to both of these and to their characteristic tempo. The prime minister did not hesitate, despite the dangers of being hasty, to pour political fuel into the vehicle of events and to travel to the shores of the dangers of war, to the shores of risks that peace demands. There is no point in thinking that tomorrow it will be easier to conduct peace negotiations. If not now, then when--this is the question that fits the issue of peace efforts.

I also explicitly praise the prime minister's willingness to make decisions, even to deviate from a number of assumptions that he held true in the past, to propose concessions, to agree to compromises, to outline withdrawals, and all this aimed at creating a background for the possibility of an agreement. I know that this is not easy and certainly involves pain. However, the truth must be told to the people: There is no way to achieve peace without compromises and without concessions. In war one has to consider the other side's army and one has to aspire to neutralize it. In peace one has to consider the aspirations of the other side and to try and meet them. For us it is both difficult and necessary.

We as the opposition--and as a responsible opposition--will not criticize the government for its willingness to follow the path of compromise and concessions. We will not criticize it for its willingness to concede territory, to ignore previous positions, to send out feelers through negotiation so the egg of dialog will hatch a dove of peace. Moreover, despite our criticism of parts of the government's plan, we will not pose parliamentary difficulties in the path of its implementation since we know that the alternative, at this moment, to the government's plan is not our plan but the failure of the negotiations. This is something that we do not want.

Mr Speaker, for 30 years, as President as-Sadat said in his speech to the Knesset, Egypt tried to ignore Israel and relate to it as an imaginary state. He said that we refused to say hello, we refused to shake hands and it would be a fiction to say that the change in the attitude toward peace took place in Israel and not in Egypt. To the best of my knowledge there is no rejectionist front in Israel. The rejectionist front is a totally Arabic front. Mr Begin aspired, as did all previous prime ministers, to meet with the Egyptian president. The change took place with the Egyptian president and not with the Israeli prime minister, and we credit the Egyptian president for this. We have great esteem for his welcome initiative. However, while the Egyptian president is demanding concessions from us, we have to stress to him that without concessions on his part, too, it will be hard to achieve peace. The peace negotiations in the past met with the same difficulties that it is meeting with today--not on the geographical and political issues between us and Egypt but on the link in Judaea and Samaria.

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I am not surprised that now the government has learned something that people want us to forget: that Egypt declared war--at least in the war of liberation--also because of the Palestinian issue. It wanted to harm the State of Israel, and it refused to conclude peace negotiations with us because of this same issue. I must say that it insists--at least in public--on this position almost without any change, up to this moment.

I am sure that the whole house appreciates As-Sadat's visit and expects that the Knesset and the Egyptian parliament will meet each other halfway with a new willingness and new positions.

We also differ with the government's position because in some of the basic clauses we have a different point of departure and also because during the negotiations experience has taught us that one has to adopt a different path than that adopted by the government.

I first of all want to point out the differences in the points of departure. First, with our feelings for the inheritance of our forefathers, we must distinguish between an inheritance and a state. The land can always be an historical inheritance. However, the nature of the state is generally determined by the demographic situation therein, both in practice and in potential--that is to say, today and tomorrow, and we believe that the Jewish character of the State of Israel should be maintained in the present and in the future. The country's past will be changed by no one. It cannot be changed. However, the future of peace calls upon us to change the borders of the past. The Herut movement recognized this from the moment that it removed its demand for the eastern bank of the Jordan from its platform.

We agreed to a partition in 1947. We avoided imposing Israeli law in 1967. We expressed a willingness to make a compromise in order to maintain Israeli sovereignty and have a real peace with the Arabs.

A second point of departure is that every peace settlement must insure not only Israel's independence but also the independence of its defense. With or without a peace treaty we cannot refuse the coming generations the minimum territory required in order to defend ourselves, and on this lies our policy of defensible borders, settlements and territories. The settlements were established for this reason and this reason is still valid.

Thirdly, we all honor our Arab neighbors--the Moslems, Christians and Druze. We honor the Arab desire to have their own independence, but just as in Arab countries there will be non-Arab minorities, so will there be a non-Jewish minority in the State of Israel. We have no desire to rule over Arab settlements outside Israel, just as we have no desire to oppress the Arab inhabitants living in Israel.

Our fourth point of departure is our belief that the road to peace is the road of compromise--in government, in timing and in the field. However, there must be no compromise about the nature of peace. This is why we oppose the establishment of an additional Palestinian state between us and the Kingdom of Jordan. Such a state, rather than being a framework for Arab independence, will be a source of consistent aggressiveness and will supply fuel to the fires of war.

Members of the Knesset, these assumptions have brought us to a number of tactical and diplomatic conclusions, some of which have been actively endorsed by the government. We said that we have to prepare the background to the Geneva conference or to a conclusive conference elsewhere. This has, in fact, been done. We said that a substantive plan should be coordinated with the United States, that we are convinced of the sincerity of its desire to aid peace in the Middle East. This advice has also been taken.

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ISRAEL

We proposed and are offering an additional piece of advice: that we should not reject settlements of a temporary nature. I have gained the impression, Mr Prime Minister, that you have also actively adopted this advice with regard to the clauses referring to Judaea, Samaria and Gaza, in the plan that you have read [several minutes indistinct] to soften the Egyptian position on Judaea and Samaria and it is doubtful if these have

I do not know if this is true or not, but yesterday the radio and this morning the press stated that Egypt was surprised by the concessions proposed by Israel in Sinai during the first stage of the negotiations, and I do not know if they were joking or not, but the Egyptians proposed Israeli sovereignty over Yamit. One should remember that, according to Resolution 242, there is room for border changes in order to create secure borders. Considering the size of the territory in Sinai--and the government called this 'a vast area' [last three words in English]--what was it that prevented the government from demanding changes of a modest nature along the international borders, for example, a territorial belt 20 or 30 km wide west of and parallel to the international border [several minutes indistinct] ties with Jordan will bring the issue of the PLO into Jordanian hands and Jordan has proved that it can deal with this issue.

Moreover, [several minutes indistinct] these advantages are lacking from the government's proposal but it also has other disadvantages. The prime minister prefers from a linguistic point of view the Greek word autonomy and the English translation self-rule [said in English] to the Hebrew self-government [mimshal 'azmi]. The Hebrew [indistinct interjection]...I can understand the difference and for this reason I did not translate it into Hebrew. I know that the difficulty does not lie in the translation but in the way it sounds. The Hebrew points to the confusion that lies in this definition, for one cannot stop such a definition on the administrative line. One cannot stop it. Granting the possibility of a choice between an Israeli and a Jordanian passport opens the possibility--at least in the Gaza Strip--that the Jordanian passport will merely be issued, while the Israeli passport will remind the refugees that they have the possibility to demand their lands and property in Israel.

The proposal about mutual rights of settlement enables the residents of the territories to purchase land in Israel but it does not actively grant a parallel right to Israelis, for Waqf lands and government lands will also be subject to the rule of the administrative council that will arise. [indistinct interjection] If you have doubts about Jordan you proposed a tripartite council with a Jordanian representative. Thus, there are both doubts and hopes which further strengthen the claims on this issue. [sentence as heard] On the other hand, the owners of private land in Judaea and Samaria will always be subject to Jordanian law, which threatens anyone with a death sentence who sells land to Jews.

The government plan, which the prime minister has just read, not only suffers from a vagueness of definition but also from a pressure of temporariness [lahaz shebezemaniyuta]. If it can be appealed in 5 years time, does anyone really believe that the Arab side will not do so? And does anyone think that the Arab side will sit quietly for 5 years without doing anything, simply waiting for the review? And if it acts and appeals, in which direction will it do this? In the direction of rapprochement with Israel or in the direction of more extreme demands?

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ISRAEL

And which side will world public opinion, which today stands beside us also as a result of the concessions that we have made, take? Let us not forget this, including the American public opinion. Will it stand by the side that calls, say, for a continued temporariness, or by the side of the party that calls for a permanent solution, while having consideration for the population living in the territories. And with Jordan's absence from the plan, will the PLO also be absent? And when there is a permanent PLO threat, we do not know what the results of such a government will be.

In my opinion the government made a mistake in its choice of direction. It might be able to avoid some of these mistakes--and it was able to avoid them [as heard]--were it to actively maintain parliamentary processes. It is untrue that parliamentary consultations are required only to add honor to parliament. It is part of the introduction of additional wisdom and experience to the government.

Members of the Knesset, with all their disadvantages and leaks, parliamentary regimes are much stronger than regimes with nonspeaking mouths and nonlistening ears.

We know that the Ismailia conference was not a total success but it was a success. We welcome the establishment of the two committees for policy and security. A security committee in Cairo and a peace committee in Jerusalem is preferable to a conference in Geneva which discusses procedure. These are direct and important negotiations, and one should not doubt their value at all. We see no room, despite the difficulties that are being revealed, and there are and will be difficulties, to accept the prime minister's overly optimistic view, and I think that he is wrong in this optimism because the difficulties naturally do not depend only on us, but there is no room to despair. At the same time we all know that the alternative to peace negotiations--either by the use of Soviet arms or pressure from the United States, or the renewal of the military option--promises nothing to the Arab side, and the alternative of a return to the previous situation is undesirable for Israel. Postponement will not help and evasion will not save. We strive to bring a new order to the Middle East--not an order founded on wars, conquests and fighting, but an order built on peace, good-neighbor relations and mutual respect.

The whole of the Knesset supports Israel's outstretched hand to peace. We are open to ideas which contain something new, and the house is united behind a real peace--both in the government and the opposition. There is a firm and promising unity.

We will submit our positive proposals and we will vote for them. We will not vote against the government's decisions just as we cannot vote in favor of them because of the criticism that I have leveled. We will grant a free vote to each of our members.

BEGIN INFORMS AS-SADAT OF PEACE PLAN CHANGES

TA281231Y Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1100 GMT 28 Dec 77 TA

[Text] In a conversation with correspondents at the Knesset, Prime Minister Menahem Begin said that he has submitted to President as-Sadat, via the U.S. ambassador, changes in his peace plan. President as-Sadat will receive the changes today. Begin told the correspondents that the plan he submitted to the Knesset today is his original peace plan. President Carter and Secretary of State Vance did not know about it until Begin went to the United States.

BEGIN, Menachem

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N 11

ISREAL

BF

[Dayan] As for ourselves, we have decided on two matters. One, concerning our security, is that the IDF will be the only army on the west side of the Jordan. There will be no army there but the IDF, and it will be positioned wherever it is deemed necessary for security reasons in Judaea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip. It will not be there to tell the Arabs how to live but to enable the Jews to live, not in order to meddle in Arab affairs but to defend the lives of Jews. We have given ourselves the right to purchase land and settle on it, and we have given ourselves the right for Jews to move and be present in any place in the Great Strip, in Judaea and Samaria without a visa. Gentlemen, we do not want others to guard us and protect our lives. But we do not want to live like strangers in our own homeland.

(Menachem
Text of *Begin*) Speech *BF Israel*

TA282148Y Jerusalem Domestic Television Service in Hebrew 1835 GMT 28 Dec 77 TA

[Speech by Prime Minister Menachem Begin at Knesset session--live]

PNH-17

FBIS MEA-77-250

[Text] Mr. Chairman, Gentlemen, Knesset members: We all, from our own experience and also from the experience of other people, know the daily routine of a democratic parliament. It usually deals with trivial matters, law, regulations, discussion. The French say about this that the share of a parliament member is boredom. However, there comes a day in the life of a democratic parliament in which all its greatness, all its importance are expressed. Today is one of these days, we are concluding about 11 hours of continuous argument. The debate was on a high level. There was pain, there were singing, elation, debate, interjections, just as there should be in an elected parliament. Today we have discussed the greatest matters concerning the Israeli people and state. This period may be one of the greatest compared with past periods. We are happy that we have reached it. The parliament has been in session for a full day and has discussed the future of the nation. The speeches were of free people. Each expressed his opinion entirely freely and each will sum up his opinion voting as a free man, without the imposition of faction discipline. Each will vote according to his consciousness and conscience.

I have an argument these days with my best friends, and I will not be deterred by it. Therefore, I will begin with a remark made yesterday in the 'Ofra Convention'. It was said there that my motive for bringing the peace plan was to win the Nobel Prize. A young man said this. We might not have been born if others who are sitting here had not risen to do something for the people of Israel in Eretz Yisra'el. I am not complaining. I only intend to draw attention to verbal lawlessness. A Nobel Prize means personal benefit. Money is unimportant here, it is the prize which is important. Well, now that I have aged I got the point when a young man from Gush Emunim said that I had toiled, worked and brought forth a peace plan out of the desire for benefit. Where does this verbal lawlessness stem from? Not to mention other things that were said.

I told the Gush Emunim in an argument once that I love them today and will continue to like them tomorrow too. I told them you are wonderful pioneers, the builders of the country, settlers on a stony ground, in wind and in winter, in hardship. However, you have on weakness. You have developed some sort of savior complex in yourselves and you must remember...(interrupted by an interjection that the Gush Emunim members had a savior, meaning Begin). This is what I told them, then, before this debate. I want the public to hear this since we spoke sincerely--you must remember that there were days when you were not born yet or were small children, when other people endangered themselves day and night, toiled and made sacrifices, and did their work without a bit of such a messiah complex.

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ISRAEL

Today I am again calling on my good friends from Gush Eranim to do the work with no less modesty than it was done by predecessors in those days and those other nights. I am in need of friends and also of opponents. Opponents catalyze the thinking. However, supervisors over Eretz Yisra'eli propriety are not required. We have devoted all our lives to Eretz Yisra'el and to the struggle for its liberation.

I will also add: Let them let us argue on this matter with respect and without such remarks as were heard last week. Mrs MK Ge'ula Cohen said that As-Sadat shocked us twice: once in the Yom Kippur war and then when he came to Jerusalem. I greatly regretted this comparison. It is lightheaded to a certain degree and is unfounded. There are shocks and shocks. Tanks, airplanes, surprise, no mobilization in Israel, no proper preparations--that was a shock with tragic results. The Egyptian president comes to us, we receive him with honor, he wants to address the Knesset and we enable him to address the people and the world from the podium of the Knesset. He wants to meet with the factions, with all of us, including the opposition parties. He is welcome to do so. Is this the same kind of shock? He came in accordance with his understanding and his conditions, with tidings of peace, and a comparison between this shock and that one--I had no shock. Why? I want the whole Knesset to know that, basically speaking, all this happened at our initiative. The only surprise given us by President as-Sadat was in his arrival in Jerusalem, but the meeting with me or with my colleagues was not a surprise. Since we took control of things according to the democratic decision of the Israeli people, we have not hesitated directly or indirectly, from the Knesset podium and in the conventional nonpublic way, to propose a meeting between President as-Sadat and myself.

When I visited the United States in July and was received by the U.S. President, I raised the possibility of a meeting with President as-Sadat. When Secretary of State Vance visited the Middle East and returned to us from Egypt, I asked him: What do you think about the possibility of a meeting with As-Sadat? I would like to meet with him. Vance's reply was: He would also like to meet with you.

When I visited Romania in August and had talks with President Ceausescu, I raised the possibility and mentioned the wish to meet with the Egyptian president. The Romanian president, who had played an important and vital role in the recent developments--and for this we should thank him from the podium of our parliament--told me: In the near future, he would like to have a meeting between your representatives and his. Yet, a personal meeting also would be possible. President as-Sadat went to Romania, and I know from the most reliable source that President Ceausescu reported to him about his talks with me. He recommended to the Egyptian president that such a meeting be held. It seems that President as-Sadat reached the conclusion that this was desirable and proper. The evidence for this he himself furnished a few weeks ago on his flight from Bucharest to Teheran, after his talks in Romania; the idea of visiting Jerusalem occurred to him. This was no surprise to us.

It is true, when President as-Sadat first made his announcement in the Egyptian parliament that he was prepared to come to Jerusalem and address the Knesset--it is true, we requested and invited him to come. In our first announcement we clearly stated: Your two demands, for Israeli withdrawal to the lines of 4 June 1967 and the establishment of a Palestinian state, are unacceptable to us. However, if you want to come to Jerusalem you can raise these ideas of yours, since this is the meaning of not presenting preconditions. You can bring your ideas, but do not condition the meeting on the acceptance of these ideas by the other party. Later, on public occasions and appearances, I had the opportunity daily of reinforcing this invitation.

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ISRAEL

Finally, the U.S. ambassador came to me and informed me that President as-Sadat was waiting for a written, official invitation. I said: We will willingly send it. It was in his hands in 24 hours. I wrote to him: When you come you will be received with honor and cordiality. I was told that this impressed President as-Sadat. And he came and that is how we received him. From this, gentlemen Knesset members, you will understand that everything we have done was done naturally. We were not surprised, nor shocked. On the contrary, we expected this and when he came, we received him, listened to him, answered him, talked with him and from this stage all the other initiatives have so far proceeded.

As I say, there can be no comparison between a shock and an apparent shock. Such a comparison should not be drawn. It is superficial and unfounded in reality. One must be wary of what one says. MK Ge'ula Cohen also said--how did she put it?--that this is perhaps something to deceive the world with. No, my dear, we are not deceiving the world, nor Egypt, nor ourselves. There is no deception here. Everything is said openly. This plan had been worked out, I was empowered by the ministerial committee for security affairs to bring it before the U.S. President, the government endorsed it, I informed the U.S. President, subject to confirmation by the Government of Israel [last eight words in English]. The government did insert certain corrections, of which we informed the U.S. secretary of state. No deception. Everything has been open and frank. Why should we blame ourselves for something that should not be done when we talk sincerely with the world and the world understands our sincerity. That is also how the U.S. secretary of state cabled the Egyptian president before my arrival in Ismailia.

Such things also should not be voiced when a government launches a pioneering action with all the required sincerity and speaks to an enemy and friend with the same frankness. However, Mrs Ge'ula Cohen is convinced that my friends around this table are mistaken. It is her right to think so. She even said that in her opinion Ze'ev Jabotinsky was mistaken. She said that everyone is mistaken. Anybody can err, I agree. But, I have the strong impression that when Ge'ula Cohen says that everyone is mistaken, she whispers to herself: Everyone but me. It is she who should ask herself whether maybe she is mistaken, maybe this is a good and not a bad plan, maybe it is a Zionist plan and not a danger to the Zionist enterprise, maybe it is a plan for a huge momentum of settlement and not for stopping settlement, maybe this is a plan that enables us to shake off our isolation in the world and does not deepen it, maybe it is a patriotic, real plan that does not require supervisors over propriety but a serious debate. Maybe she is mistaken. Ze'ev Jabotinsky--the U.S. President told me 10 days ago that he is now learning the writings of Ze'ev Jabotinsky. I was happy to hear about it. Yes, this is what he told me. He feels that he needs to learn these writings. This undoubtedly points to historic justice. Yet, Ge'ula Cohen was still very young--I also was very young, I was only 26--when there was that big debate in 1938. I do not think that Jabotinsky was mistaken then. However, there was an argument about how to liberate the people of Israel and the land of Eretz Yisra'el. I also remember his remarks. Yet, to say that even he was mistaken and not to assume that I am mistaken about something is going too far.

Let us be simple. I admit that I can err. It may be that I err in this also. What I can clearly and unhesitatingly say, though, is what this plan has led to. We were politically and morally isolated. All the plans submitted were foreigners' plans. We--also the previous government and governments--usually had to deal with foreigners and usually had to say no, we cannot accept this.

V. 29 Dec 77

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ISRAEL

Sitting here are a former prime minister, former defense and foreign ministers, and they know. They were occasionally called on to scrutinize a plan and had to say no. For the first time there is an Israeli plan. The entire world is arguing about the Israeli plan, favoring or opposing it. Washington is favorable and Moscow negative. If the representative of the Soviet Union [referring to the RAKAH representative] allows me to say this, then it is clear to me that this plan is rejected in Moscow...

[MK Peres interrupts asking: The government's plan for a withdrawal to the international border in Sinai, is it a new and Israeli plan?]

[Begin] Sir, I am talking about our peace plan, and, as Abba Eban rightly said, you were not a cabinet member yet then [in June 1967]. It is true that on 17 June 1967 such a plan was submitted with the approval of all the cabinet members, including me. This is true. Well, then, you say not an Israeli peace plan. This is an Israeli peace plan for sure. How can you add: with pains, anguish and anxiety? This is an Israeli peace plan, as I have said before. It is rejected in the Soviet Union and accepted in Washington. I know the power of the Soviet Union. I know it from personal experience. Nevertheless, I will openly say: the U.S. support for our plan is more important for us than the opposition of the Soviet Union, with all due honor to this big Eastern super-power. This holds true for Britain, and maybe also for other European countries.

There is a difference [in our status]--and this happened in the last 2 weeks, not before--and we should not disregard it. We were isolated in Europe and in the United States, and today we are isolating somebody else. This is an extremely important development which we should not ignore. Ultimately, what is the status of the Libyans even if the Soviet Union supports them? What is the status of the Libyans even in Cairo? We are talking about peace, about a peace treaty.

I will now tell you about two moments in the Ismailia conference when I was ready to say to the Egyptian president non possumus and to ask my friends to be prepared to return home. This is also a lesson for the future. Therefore, I will tell the Knesset these things today. At one point we were presented with a proposal and were asked to accept it. The proposal was: Israel undertakes to withdraw from Judaea, Samaria, Sinai, the Golan Heights and the Gaza Strip, in accordance with the introduction of Resolution 242, which reads: The Security Council, emphasizing the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war [last 13 words in English]. The argument was dramatic. I explained to the Egyptian president: This introduction--what is its real meaning? If it spoke of all kinds of war, including defensive war--how does the world accept and recognize, especially after Helsinki, the fact that the Soviet Union is in Konigsberg and calls it Kaliningrad when the Soviets had never been in Eastern Russia before and the fact that Poland stands along the Oder Neisse rivers, hundreds of kilometers west of their old border when the last time they were there was 850 years ago? How can this be explained? I said, and rightly, since these were defensive wars, and when a defensive war is waged there are also territorial changes in the peace treaty.

We, I told the president, are in Sinai today totally legitimately. Everything depends on the peace treaty and its conditions, namely, on the agreement. However, our presence there is entirely legitimate. Resolution 242 does not oblige Israel to make such a withdrawal. Therefore, we will not sign this proposal. It is unacceptable. Under no circumstances will we put up with it. We set this opinion of ours against the other and were ready to say: If this is how things are, it is impossible to continue. But what happened? It was agreed that this clause be deleted from the joint statement. It would not exist. Then we could continue and prepare a joint statement.

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ISRAEL

The second moment was when we were required, [word indistinct] and especially, a little covertly but still overtly, to announce that we would agree to the establishment of a state called Palestine in Judaea, Samaria and Gaza. We again said that we will absolutely not accept this. We said this directly: This will be a mortal danger for the state of Israel. Under no circumstances should our right be disregarded. This is our country. From the security point of view--we have 19 years of experience--even from the present borderline it is impossible to prevent invasions into Jerusalem, Petah Tiqwa, [name indistinct], Ashqelon, Ashdod and other places if this area of Judaea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip is in the hands of whoever it may be. This is from the experience of nearly two decades. It is true that it would be a mortal danger for us, and for Jordan, and for you, Mr President, and also for the free world. This can be learned from the experience of the airlifts to Angola, Mozambique and Ethiopia, when the flight time from (Odessa) to Bethlehem is less than 2 hours.

This is how things developed then. Later it became clear that we could not reach an agreement on a joint formula. We postponed the meeting, and the next day we settled on the formula that enabled us to continue the negotiations by the committees we decided to establish a day earlier. At these two moments, though, it was possible that we would say goodbye to each other without any agreement and would stop the joint discussions.

I want to explain now why we proposed the freedom of choosing a citizenship, including Israeli citizenship. This is an idea that I have supported for years, in the governments in which I took part, from the Knesset podium and in the press. The answer is again decency, fairness. I will say simple things without hurting others. We have never wanted to be like Rhodesia. The way to prove this to every man of good will is by fairness. You accuse us of Rhodesianism and other things. Here, we are proposing full equality of rights, antiracism, equality in everything--of course, if they choose Israeli citizenship.

It should be known that since 1871 when Germany annexed Alsace-Lorraine and imposed its citizenship on all the residents of these two regions, this matter of imposing citizenship has been viewed as a wrong by international law. Therefore, we will not impose our citizenship on anyone. We propose free choice. Nobody will be able to hurl accusations at us anymore that we want to be a second this or that. This is fairness. This is why we made the proposal. There can certainly be different assessments. I would like a certain number to obtain our citizenship since it is not natural for residents in a certain region all to be the owners of a single citizenship which is different from that of the state or that there are hundreds of thousands of people without a citizenship, such as the residents of the Gaza Strip. Therefore, carefully we proposed a free choice between Jordanian and Israeli citizenship.

Somebody here got sophisticated and said that that what we proposed in Judaea and Samaria is another interim settlement. This is only pretended wisdom and is unfounded. If it says that after 5 years every element can ask for a reexamination, does this turn the settlement into an interim settlement? Why? It is usually possible to check and examine things even before the end of 4 or 5 years. Each one--the Jordanian Government, the Israeli Government and the administrative council--will be able to propose: Let us check things, maybe we can add or detract something. In fact, this framework of 5 years is entirely accidental. It was possible to write 7 or 10 or 3 years. However, man tends toward some sort of plausible framework.

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The foundations, however, in fact constitute a novelty. The turning of affairs by the Arab inhabitants in Judaea, Samaria and Gaza through their chosen representatives, this is the meaning of autonomy. Therefore, the idea seized the imagination of people in the free world, in the United States, in Britain, and, I am sure, also in other countries. If somebody claims that it is not acceptable yet, well, he can claim this. We, however, gave our view--a view which constitutes a turning point--on this moral question. If we are speaking of an interim settlement. I would like to answer the members who only a month ago recommended to us not to establish a comprehensive peace or sign a peace treaty since they claimed this was impossible unless carried out through an additional interim settlement. What is an additional interim settlement--along the lines of the previous interim agreements? An additional withdrawal without peace. I am asking you, ladies and gentlemen, and myself also if this is allowed. Where could we make an interim agreement? In the Golan Heights, regarding which former Prime Minister Mr Yizhaq Rabin said: Only cosmetic changes are possible there. He meant only a few hundred meters. Could that be acceptable and serious today. Could we make an interim agreement with Jordan on the basis of Jordan's entering Jericho without peace? Could that be an interim agreement? Finally, Sinai. We withdrew there twice and would have withdrawn for the third time without peace. Until when? [MK Allon, Alignment interrupting] Mr Prime Minister, let me make a single correction. The Alignment spokesman, when they mentioned the possibility of interim agreements, proposed this as a second-rate option with first priority given to a comprehensive peace settlement. This should not be rejected in advance if there may be special difficulties in the future.

[Begin] I have heard you. I am talking of the second option then. I am telling you, gentlemen, it does not have any connection with reality. There is simply no connection between it and real things. It is impossible. I am coming now to the famous term territorial compromise, of which part of this house has really become enamored. Since I fell in love with my wife, I have never witnessed such love. [laughter] Levi Eshkol used to say: Everyone falls in love with his own compromise. They have fallen in love with this term; the only solution is territorial compromise. What is a territorial compromise? Let us analyze it with commonsense. One part to them and the other part to me, and they have to sign an agreement that the other part will be given to Israel. Signing means a peace treaty.

Dear friends, one should also admit to a mistake. It appears that a territorial compromise is the obstacle to a peace treaty. Believe me, if we went to As-Sadat and said: Know this, you will have to sign and to notify the entire Arab world that you agree, with a moral signature, that the Jordan Valley will be under Israeli sovereignty, he would have said on his part: Impossible. This is the reason why we raised this [autonomy] idea, in order to make the agreement and peace possible, to leave the question of sovereignty out of our demand for and the right to sovereignty [in general]. This is how an agreement can be reached. We today do not demand that President as-Sadat give us any signature. We have our own way and he does not have to give us any signature. Therefore, we can talk and conduct negotiations about a peace treaty. Please understand that this dogmatic, routine and ossified talk about a territorial compromise foils every chance and possibility to negotiate the signing of a peace treaty.

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[MK Hillel, Alinement, interrupting] Sir, Prime Minister, I understand that the Egyptian president preferred a total Israeli withdrawal rather than a territorial compromise in Sinai. Is this true?

[Begin] I have already spoken about this, that there are equal negotiations between two equal parties. There are no diktats and no threats. Nobody will threaten the Israeli delegation, either in Cairo or in Jerusalem, and we will discuss the proposals. They, too, will discuss the proposals, and I hope that we will reach a settlement. If the other party presents impossible demands, demands which it knows to be impossible for us, they will not be accepted. Calmly and quietly we will say: We do not accept your proposals. This is the nature of free negotiations. This is how things have always proceeded in every debate over a peace treaty. Finally an agreement is reached. Sometimes it takes a long time. Sometimes there are even breaks in the negotiations, and the parties meet again until agreement is reached and a peace treaty is signed.

[MK Yadlin, Alinement] Mr Prime Minister, will this be your position also in regard to the Golan Heights? Will you also oppose a territorial compromise there?

[Begin] Mr former Education Minister, today we are not speaking about the Golan Heights, and As-Sadat does not propose to speak about our northern border. Al-Asad does not want to conduct negotiations with us. There are no negotiations about the Golan Heights. When he comes to hold negotiations with us, we will determine our position. You will know about it and will be able to react to it. Today, there are no talks about the Golan Heights as long as the Syrian leader does not come for negotiations, and this is with the agreement of the Egyptian president.

Mr Chairman, the debate, which has lasted for about 11 hours has ended....

[MK Yizhaq Yizhaqi interrupts] Mr Prime Minister, will there be a public referendum? Will there be a public referendum finally, at the moment of decision?

[Begin] My friend Mr Yizhaqi, our law does not have this term referendum. Those who want to propose it should propose it. For this a law should be passed. If a majority favors a public referendum, I will surely accept the Knesset law. I heard that it was proposed that new elections be held. I am ready. However, all these things--a public referendum, elections--do not bother us. The people can always have their say. The practical matter [of peace] is in the focus of our attention. We have embarked on the road of direct negotiations. There is great moral support in the free world for this. We will follow this road and, God willing, we will succeed and bring peace. Mr Chairman, the debate has ended. I now ask that the voting begin, and I asking each Knesset member, regardless of faction, to vote according to his conscience. There is no imposition or compulsion. Each should vote according to his conscience. I am sure of the result.

Knesset Approves Plan

TA282023Y Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 2000 GMT 28 Dec 77 TA

[Text] By a majority of 64 to 8, the Knesset took note of the prime minister's remarks in the debate about the peace plan after an 11-hour debate. Forty Knesset members abstained.

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MOSCOW: ARAB SUPPORT FOR CARTER MIDEAST PROPOSALS IS TREASON

LD302255Y MOSCOW IN ARABIC TO THE ARAB 'WORLD' 1700 GMT 30 DEC 77.LD

(UNATTRIBUTED COMMENTARY)

(TEXT) IN HIS NEW YEAR MESSAGE, UN SECRETARY GENERAL KURT WALDHEIM APPEALED TO INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY TO UNIFY ITS EFFORTS TO SOLVE THE MOST COMPLEX AND IMPORTANT ISSUES OF THE TIME. IN PARTICULAR, HE POINTED TO THE NEED FOR A COMPREHENSIVE SETTLEMENT OF THE MIDDLE EAST CRISIS. IN FACT, OF ALL AREAS IN THE WORLD, LIQUIDATING THE GRAVE TENSION IN THE MIDDLE EAST IS OF PARAMOUNT IMPORTANCE. PERHAPS IT IS RELEVANT HERE TO SAY THAT NO ISSUE HAS BEEN THE CAUSE OF SO MANY TOURS, VISITS, MEETINGS AND DISCUSSIONS AS THE MIDDLE EAST ISSUE.

IN THE CLOSING DAYS OF THE CURRENT YEAR, U.S. PRESIDENT CARTER HAS EMBARKED ON A LONG FOREIGN TOUR AND ALTHOUGH TWO OUT OF THE SIX COUNTRIES HE IS GOING TO VISIT ARE MIDDLE EAST COUNTRIES, NAMELY, IRAN AND SAUDI ARABIA, U.S. NEWS AGENCIES SAY THAT PRESIDENT CARTER INTENDS TO GIVE PRIORITY TO THE MIDDLE EAST ISSUE, AND IT IS NATURAL, THEREFORE, THAT PRESIDENT CARTER'S TOUR WILL BE THE CENTER OF ATTENTION OF ARAB AND INTERNATIONAL PUBLIC OPINION.

WHAT IS THE U.S. PRESIDENT TAKING WITH HIM ON HIS TOUR? ONE WOULD INEVITABLY SAY IMMEDIATELY THAT FOR THOSE WHO STILL SUFFER FROM AGGRESSION IN THE MIDDLE EAST THERE WILL BE NO PRESENT FOR THEM BECAUSE BEFORE HIS DEPARTURE THE PRESIDENT SAID A FEW WORDS FROM WHICH ONE UNDERSTANDS THAT HIS EFFORTS WILL NOT BE DIRECTED TOWARD A COMPREHENSIVE SETTLEMENT IN WHICH ALL THE PARTIES CONCERNED TAKE PART. AND THIS IS WHAT THE SOVIET-U.S. STATEMENT WHICH WAS RELEASED ON 1 OCTOBER STIPULATES AS A CONDITION. INDEED, THE U.S. DIPLOMACY, AS THE TASS WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT SAYS, INTENDS TO GIVE A NEW IMPETUS TO THE SEPARATE DEALS POLICY, AND WASHINGTON IS THE ARCHITECT OF THIS POLICY.

PRESIDENT CARTER INTENDS TO EXERT PRESSURE ON SOME ARAB LEADERS WHO DENOUNCED THE CAPITULATIONIST POLICY OF THE EGYPTIAN PRESIDENT SO THAT THEY EITHER JOIN THIS POLICY OR AT LEAST REFRAIN FROM CRITICIZING AND RESISTING SEPARATE DEALS. PRESIDENT CARTER IN A TELEVISION STATEMENT FRANKLY OPPOSED GRANTING THE PALESTINIAN ARAB PEOPLE THE RIGHT TO ESTABLISH THEIR OWN INDEPENDENT STATE. HE SAID: WHAT I WOULD LIKE IS THAT THE PALESTINIANS SHOULD NOT HAVE AN INDEPENDENT STATE BUT THEY SHOULD BE LINKED TO NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES. FOR EXAMPLE, THEY SHOULD CHOOSE BETWEEN ISRAEL AND JORDAN.

IN LIGHT OF THIS SITUATION. AS IT APPEARS, ONE MUST LOOK AT THE INTENTION OF THE U.S. PRESIDENT TO MEET WITH JORDAN'S KING HUSAYN IN IRAN AND OBTAIN SAUDI SUPPORT. UPI SAYS THAT PRESIDENT CARTER'S ADVISER STATED LITERALLY THAT THE SUMMIT TALKS WITH SAUDI ARABIA WILL ACTUALLY GIVE US AN OPPORTUNITY TO BE CERTAIN IF THERE IS A POSSIBILITY TO BRING IN THE MODERATE ARABS, LIKE THE SAUDIS, THE JORDANIANS AND SOME PALESTINIANS, TO TAKE PART IN SOME FORM IN THE EVENTS THAT ARE CURRENTLY TAKING PLACE BETWEEN EGYPT AND ISRAEL.

HOWEVER, THIS WAS SAID BEFORE THE OFFICIAL STATEMENT OF THE JORDANIAN GOVERNMENT WHICH FRANKLY REJECTED THE IDEA OF COOPERATING IN THE SO-CALLED SETTLEMENT WHICH CALLS FOR GIVING ISRAEL ARAB TERRITORY AS A REWARD FOR ITS AGGRESSION AND FOR ITS VIOLATION OF THE RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINIANS AND ARABS. EVEN SAUDI ARABIA HINTED THROUGH ITS FOREIGN AFFAIRS UNDER SECRETARY THAT IT WOULD NOT OPENLY SUPPORT THE EGYPTIAN MIDDLE EAST DIPLOMACY IF PRESIDENT CARTER REQUESTED THIS.

U.S.-ISRAELI SCHEMES WHICH ARE CALLED SETTLEMENT ARE SO CLEAR IN THEIR HOSTILITY TO THE ARABS THAT NO ARAB STATE CAN ENDORSE THEM UNLESS THAT COUNTRY IS PREPARED TO COMMIT AN OPEN ACT OF TREASON.