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From H. P. R. of Israel.

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REPUBLIQUE ARABE D'EGYPTE

Rapport de visite au PG israélien blessé
détenu en République Arabe d'Egypte

La visite a été effectuée par MM. Marcel A. Boisard et Olivier de Beaumont, délégués du Comité international de la Croix-Rouge.

<u>Date de la visite</u>	: 19 septembre 1971
<u>Date de la visite précédente</u>	: 29 août 1971
<u>Lieu de détention</u>	: Hôpital des Forces Armées de Maadi.
<u>Nom du prisonnier</u>	: Major Navigateur Akhicar Eyal.
<u>Logement</u>	: Sans changement.
<u>Nourriture</u>	: Satisfaisante.
<u>Hygiène</u>	: Sans changement.
<u>Soins médicaux</u>	: L'état de santé du patient demeure stationnaire. Il est toujours incontinent, tant des selles que des urines. Il ne voit, quant à lui, aucune amélioration à son état. Le médecin traitant a déclaré devant le responsable de la détention, le prisonnier et les délégués du CICR qu'il doutait que le patient puisse jamais recouvrer l'usage de son sphincter. Il a déclaré que chaque semaine le médecin faisait des analyses d'urine et que celles-ci ne décelaient aucune infection. L'entérite dont il a été fait mention dans le rapport précédent a pu être enrayée. Il a été question, lors de la visite, d'un ulcère à la fesse qui est apparu récemment, ainsi que d'une infection de la peau des cuisses. Un des médecins aurait dit

au prisonnier, qui se plaignait à lui de son état de santé, que cela provenait du fait que son corps n'avait plus de résistance. En ce qui concerne les hémorroïdes du patient, aucun changement notable n'est à relever, le prisonnier se trouve toujours devant le dilemme d'accepter l'opération ou d'attendre. Le prisonnier avait très mauvaise mine.

Correspondance et secours

Le prisonnier n'a pas reçu de lettres ni de paquets de sa famille depuis la dernière visite. Le PGI Levitov, qui rendait visite au patient, alors même que les délégués étaient à l'hôpital, a remis à son camarade un paquet avec des vivres en guise de cadeau pour la nouvelle année. Il est à noter qu'il lui a également remis un rasoir électrique à piles qu'Eyal réclamait depuis des mois. Le prisonnier a écrit une lettre qu'il a remise aux gardes en date du 10 septembre et une carte qu'il a remise aux délégués lors de la visite.

Loisirs

Compte tenu de son état général, et du fait de sa solitude, le PG n'a guère de loisirs. Il passe son temps à lire, méditer et aussi probablement dans un état de prostration. Il faut noter que les autorités lui ont accordé la permission de recevoir la visite d'un de ses camarades pour la fête de Rosh Hashana. Cette visite est tombée en même temps que celle prévue pour les délégués de la Croix-Rouge. Ceux-ci se sont arrangés de manière à ce que le prisonnier puisse profiter au maximum de ces deux occasions. Après avoir rencontré le médecin traitant, ils sont sortis de l'hôpital et sont revenus trois quarts d'heure plus tard, donnant ainsi au prisonnier le loisir de pouvoir converser tout à son aise avec son camarade. Les délégués espèrent vivement que leur proposition de visite hebdomadaire au prisonnier Eyal, qui avait été examinée avec bienveillance par l'officier de liaison, sera mise en pratique.

Remarques générales

La visite a duré de 11 h. à 15 h.30. Le prisonnier était dans un état moral extrêmement bas et, malgré ses efforts, parvenait difficilement à sortir de son mutisme. Il semblait dans un état de semi-prostration. Il a été déclaré aux délégués que, lors d'une sorte de crise psychologique, le prisonnier a brisé la vitre de sa porte-fenêtre, incident dont il n'est résulté que de légères coupures qui étaient en voie de cicatrisation lors de la visite. Cet incident a paru aux délégués comme extrêmement grave. Comme les délégués lui faisaient une remontrance à cet égard, le

prisonnier a déclaré que s'il avait trouvé la mort dans cet accident, cela aurait peut-être été la meilleure solution pour remédier à l'état dans lequel il se trouve. Le prisonnier a écrit à sa femme pour lui demander de reprendre sa liberté et de se considérer comme libre. Lorsque l'on songe à l'importance que l'état psychologique du prisonnier a pour le recouvrement de ses fonctions, on est effrayé de le voir dans un si piètre état moral. Il donne l'impression de se considérer comme un mort-vivant. En dépit des longues heures que les délégués ont passées avec le prisonnier, en cherchant à remonter son moral, ils ont dû le quitter en le laissant dans cet état d'abattement qu'ils lui connaissent maintenant déjà depuis plusieurs semaines.



ISRAEL

PERMANENT MISSION OF ISRAEL
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

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של ישראל לאומות המאוחדות

15 EAST 70TH STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10021

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STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR YOSEF TEKOA
SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING
16 SEPTEMBER 1971

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

Mr. President,

In the Dark Ages, when Europe was still covered with primeval forests and marshes, when superstition was rampant, and the law was in the hands of robber barons, the Jewish people conquered by foreign invaders and uprooted from its homeland found itself dispersed in various lands where Jews became bearers of an ancient but advanced civilization, forerunners of medicine, science, finance. In those days when disasters of war, flood, famine or plague befell the local population, it was not unusual for rulers to try and divert the grief and wrath of the populace by directing it against the Jews in its midst. It seems that the Hashemite Kingdom is not adverse to resorting to such retrograde methods. Apparently its rulers believe that their internal difficulties, the bloodshed which has engulfed the land, the conflict with other Arab states, the armed clashes with the Syrian army, the closing of borders and the severance of diplomatic relations can all be offset by a show of hostility toward the Jewish state. This is an old primitive method. It has never succeeded in concealing the real problems and calamities. It has always brought only disrepute upon those who resorted to it.

The Jordanian Government can hardly expect that a frivolous complaint against peace and progress in Jerusalem would camouflage the malaise Jordan finds itself in at present.

From atop the Judean hills, Jerusalem has watched and lived three thousand years of history. It has known peace and war, destruction and rebuilding. It has seen a multitude of conquerors pass through its gates and settle within its walls. Throughout all times, however, it has been the center of life of only one nation -- the Jews. It has been the capital of only one state -- the Jewish state. There would have been no Jewish people without Jerusalem; no Jewish culture or religion without Jerusalem. There would have been no rebirth of Israel without Jerusalem. Equally there would have been no Jerusalem were it not for the Jewish people. Eventually the city acquired a spiritual sanctity for Christianity and Islam. With its Holy Places it became the seat of numerous churches and mosques and religious institutions. However, only in the history of the Jewish people has it held at all times an unrivalled national and religious primacy making Jewish life inseparable from Jerusalem.

Throughout history Jerusalem has preserved its unity and integrity. Except for the transitory occupation of its eastern sector by Jordan, it has always been one; in its fate, its glory and in its sacredness. In an existence encompassing millenia there were nineteen years of forced,

tragic division. They are gone, a grim, painful episode in the life of the Eternal City. Once ended, this dark episode of warped languor can no longer overshadow the city's natural state and its normal life.

Jerusalem is its true self again.

It is for this Jerusalem that Israel stands. It is of this Jerusalem that I speak.

Universally revered for its Holy Places, Jerusalem is at the same time a living city. It is the home of close to 300,000 inhabitants, three fourths of whom are Jews. These citizens are following the proceedings in the Security Council with understandable wonderment. Indeed, it is a cause for amazement that the state which had brought so much suffering upon the city, should find it possible to try and harass Jerusalem again. Jordan which invaded Jerusalem in 1948, in violation of the Charter and United Nations resolutions, seized its eastern sector, destroyed the entire Jewish Quarter of the Old City and uprooted all its inhabitants, is now trying to invade the city's right to normal existence, to reconstruction and development. Jerusalem's citizens categorically reject this intrusion. No one can question their right to natural growth, to the clearance of slums and the construction of new housing, especially not an aggressor state guilty of grave crimes against the city. Jerusalem's citizens are not pawns to be trifled with in a game of international belligerency in which the welfare of their city and the rights of its population are cynically brushed aside. They will not be sacrificed on the altar of Jordan's internal political squabbles. The men, women and children of

Jerusalem have the same rights as the citizens of any other city in the world. They refuse to have their lives tampered with and dissected by those who had mercilessly trampled them into dust.

They do not consider the Security Council, or other organs of the United Nations, as forums appropriate for the examination of questions concerning the city's life. The United Nations, its General Assembly and the Security Council have displayed a singular disinterest in Jerusalem's welfare at the most trying and crucial moments. When the Arab states invaded Israel in 1948 and besieged Jerusalem, the United Nations abandoned them to their own resources and left them to fight for their lives alone. When Jordanian and Egyptian guns rained fire and death on the city, endangering the very existence of its Holy Places, the Security Council did not evince much concern. It remained silent when the Jordanians eliminated the Jewish population of the Old City and razed to the ground all its Jewish houses of worship and institutions of learning. The Security Council did not lift a finger when the ancient Jewish cemetery on the Mount of Olives was defiled and destroyed and its tombstones carted away for the construction of sidewalks and latrines in Jordanian army camps. Where was the Security Council when, during nineteen years, Jordan, in breach of its explicit international undertakings, prohibited access to the Holy Places of Judaism and barred Israeli Moslems from sites holy to Islam? Where was it when the Jordanian troops of occupation subjected Jerusalem to a reign of terror, repeatedly opening fire and killing innocent residents

and visitors in its western sector? Where was the Security Council when in June 1967 Jordan used the occupied part of Jerusalem to launch an assault on Israel? There have been no Security Council sessions to prevent or stop Jordan's crimes against Jerusalem's peace, sacredness and integrity. There was no Security Council action to protect Jerusalem's citizens from armed threat and attack.

Now that the city is no longer divided by barbed wire and mine-fields, now that it is secure and peaceful, the Security Council is mobilized in an attempt to advise Jerusalem to stop healing its wounds, to bar progress, to stifle growth.

For generations Jerusalem's Jewish majority and its Arab minority lived side by side. With the removal in 1967 of the barriers which had separated the two communities during the period of Jordanian occupation, Jews and Arabs again live and work together. Arab and Jewish labourers are employed in the same enterprises. Thousands of Arab workers have become members of the Israeli Labour Federation -- the Histadrut. They are no longer exploited as they had been under Jordanian rule. Joint Arab-Jewish commercial and industrial ventures are being launched all the time. There are joint cultural and sports clubs; joint artistic performances. Jewish and Arab citizens alike participated in the municipal elections of 1969. The number of Arab voters was 3 times greater than in the elections organized by the Jordanian authorities.

There is freedom of the press to a degree unknown in the Arab states. Two Arabic dailies are published in East Jerusalem. In Arabic schools, the pupils have the choice of preparing themselves for Jordanian or Israeli matriculation examinations.

The Qadi, Moslem Religious Justice, of Ramallah, a town on the West Bank in the vicinity of Jerusalem, reacted on 27 May 1971 to the Jordanian attempts to distort the situation in Jerusalem. He declared:

"Doesn't the Jordanian Government realize that Jerusalem is practically a united city, that commerce is flourishing and Arab businessmen make a lot of money, that thousands of Arab workers work in Israel, apply to Israeli courts and join the Histadrut?"

An impressive reflection of the situation in Jerusalem is to be found in the number of tourists who visit the city annually. In 1967 291,000 of visitors to Israel toured Jerusalem; in 1968 - 432,000; in 1969 - 410,000 and last year 437,000. Moreover there are tens of thousands of Arab tourists from neighbouring Arab countries who come to Jerusalem. This summer the number of visitors to Jerusalem from Arab states was more than 100,000.

Is this a situation that threatens international peace, as alleged by Jordan? Could there be an allegation more baseless ~~than this~~?

As in every large city, especially one with a heterogenous population, Jerusalem has its occasional public security problems. These, however, are rare and the measures adopted to cope with them -- most infrequent and limited as compared with police measures in other parts of the world or with Jordan's recent actions against its citizens and with the

extreme acts of repression which the Jordanian authorities had been in the habit of carrying out before 1967 to maintain order among the all Arab population of eastern Jerusalem. Thus, for instance since 1967 only 9 Jordanian agents who tried to encourage and organize violence were ordered to leave the city and join their masters in Amman. The last time such a step proved necessary was two years ago. Two of these persons have in the meantime been allowed to return to the city. Nine houses used as terrorist bases have been demolished in accordance with laws in force since the British Mandatory Administration. The last demolition took place in May 1969 -- and none have occurred since.

The Arab inhabitants of Jerusalem still remember the treatment meted out to them by the Jordanian occupation forces. They remember for example how the Jordanian authorities handled the frequent strikes and demonstrations. They have not forgotten how in April 1963 the Jordanian army and police dispersed a demonstration by killing 11 and wounding 150 residents, including 17 girl students. They remember how in another demonstration on 24 November 1966 at least 20 were killed and many more wounded by the Jordanian forces. They know that the Jordanian authorities regarded themselves as occupation authorities and acted throughout the entire period brutally and mercilessly. They are aware of the fate of their brethren in Jordan today.

Jerusalem is a living, throbbing metropolis. It cannot be cordoned off from the world. Its natural growth, its municipal needs, its economic dynamism cannot be artificially garroted. Its normal development cannot proceed in some fields and be unnaturally arrested in others. City planning and construction are a normal and indispensable element in such development. They are proceeding in several directions. Essential services such as sanitation, public health, electricity, water, roads, etc. have been assured to all parts of the city. Slum reconstruction has begun, with tenants receiving in each case new housing or compensation adequate to acquire new housing. The concern for the social and esthetic attributes of the city is not confined to slum clearance. The minefields which used to divide Jerusalem have become attractive parks. Under Jordanian occupation eastern Jerusalem did not have a single park or playground for children. Today it has six parks and four playgrounds.

As for building activities, the most important work is that of the reconstruction of the Jewish Quarter destroyed by the Jordanians. The Quarter had always been inhabited by Jews. At the beginning of this century approximately 15,000 Jews lived in it. None remained after the Jordanians occupied it in 1948.

Abdallah el-Tal, the commander of the Jordanian forces which captured eastern Jerusalem described its fate in his memoirs published in Cairo in 1954. He stated:

"The Jewish Quarter was destroyed... For the first time in more than a thousand years not a single Jew remained in it."

The Catholic Archdeacon of Oxford, C. Witton-Davies wrote in The Tablet of 12 June 1971:

"It was the Arab Legion that advanced on the Old City... What followed? The senseless and shocking destruction of Jewish houses that could have been used temporarily for Arab refugees, and the obscene desecration of Jewish synagogues, some of them of great historical value and sanctity, simply because they were Jewish".

Were the Israeli authorities to leave this revered area in a state of ruin and degradation? In the name of what principle, on the basis of what law was the barbaric ravage of the Jewish Quarter to be preserved?

The ruins of the Quarter and the slums that had grown upon it, including the Moghrabi houses, have been cleared. The Arab tenants affected were offered new housing and compensation. All of them, all without exception, have as a result of this relocation improved their living conditions. In letters to the Municipality they have expressed their appreciation for the manner in which this was done.

The area contained more than 60 synagogues and numerous religious institutions. Some of them were not only ancient but also magnificent in their architecture. Their restoration is an act of manifest merit and propriety.

Second only to the reconstruction of the Jewish Quarter in historic, cultural and humanitarian significance, comes the reconstruction of the

Hebrew University campus and the Hadassah Hospital on Mount Scopus.

When Jordan invaded Jerusalem in 1948 and occupied a part of it, it failed to dislodge Israel from Mount Scopus. Under the Armistice Agreement of 1949, Israel retained possession of the Mount which dominates the eastern district of the city. Jordan undertook to ensure free access to the humanitarian and cultural institutions on Mount Scopus and the resumption of their normal activities. The Jordanian Government refused, however, to implement this undertaking. The University and the Hospital remained skeletons of structures guarded by Israeli units. Today these institutions are functioning again. The buildings have been restored. Some new ones have been added. The hospital will have 700 beds and will serve the entire Jewish and Arab population of the eastern and north-eastern part of the city.

In accordance with Jordan's international obligations this should have been the situation even in the period preceding 1967. Are we to be told that now that Jordan's violations of its international obligations can no longer interfere with the normal operation and development of the University and the Hospital on Mount Scopus, Israel should nevertheless keep this area in a state of devastation and neglect? Jordan has proved during nineteen years its contempt for learning, science, medicine at the service of humanity. Is anyone at all to give serious regard to views sanctioning this contempt; views opposing the establishment of a new hospital wing, the construction of housing for doctors and nurses, professors and students, the creation of the International Truman Peace Center? How far should disregard for human values be allowed to run wild?

The third area in eastern Jerusalem where building activities are taking place is Neve Yaakov. This Jewish-inhabited district was overrun by the Jordanian forces in 1948 and turned into an army encampment. Jews are now returning to it, building new homes, constructing new roads.

Then there is the construction of housing for Arab residents who lived in slums or in the ruins of the Jewish Quarter. Some of them have found ~~housing~~ in existing buildings. Others are settling in newly constructed houses. Under Jordanian rule there had been no public housing in eastern Jerusalem. Today there are several projects under construction. One is underway in Wadi Joz where a number of Arab families have already settled. Another is about to begin in the Beit Hanina district. The contractor and the architect are members of distinguished Arab families.

Other projects are destined to accommodate the growth of Jerusalem's population, Jewish as well as Arab. For this purpose 4,402 acres have been acquired in the last four years by the Government and the municipality. This was done in accordance with the "Land (Acquisition for Public Purposes) Ordinance No. 24 of 1943" which remains in force since the British mandatory period. A parallel law was in force under the Jordanian rule -- "Land (Acquisition for Public Purposes) Law -- No. 2 -- 1953" (In Arabic: Qanun Istimlak el-Arabi lilmasalih el-Aama).

1,180 of the owners of the land thus acquired were Arabs and 2,140 Jews. The Jewish owners were actually affected more than the Arab ones. Though special care was taken to acquire land that was completely

vacant, nevertheless there were on it 270 structures owned by Jews as compared with 35 Arab-owned structures. The latter were in a deteriorated condition. They were inhabited by 40 Arab families numbering about 240 persons. The Jewish structures were occupied partially by 485 Jewish families consisting of more than 3,000 persons and partially by stores, garages and workshops which provided living quarters for an additional 300 families.

The owners of the land, Arabs and Jews, are being paid full compensation. The tenants are being relocated.

It is to be observed that housing construction is pursued largely on the basis of plans elaborated by the British administration during the Mandate period and suspended after the Jordanian invasion of 1948. However, contrary to the Jordanian allegations there is no Master Plan. Construction is carried on in the conviction that following the termination of Jordan's invasion, the development of Jerusalem must once more proceed on its normal course, interrupted by war and subsequent bisection of the city.

In view of the universal interests in the city, the Mayor of Jerusalem has invited an international group of outstanding individuals in the fields of theology, architecture, art and letters, philosophy, archaeology, social sciences, and law to form an advisory board which would aid the Municipality of Jerusalem and the Government of Israel in planning future development and especially housing construction. It was named the Jerusalem Committee.

The ^{original} ~~first~~ 34 members of the Jerusalem Committee first met in Jerusalem in July 1969, and by December of that year the founding group had swelled to about 70 members. The discussions were lively and the first statement published by the Committee stated among other things:

"We found the city already deeply engaged in rehabilitation and reconstruction work as well as in archaeological exploration, with people of all ages from all over the world, contributing their knowledge and their energy to the task... Our visit to Jerusalem convinced us that much of the work to be done is long overdue. To delay any longer the rehabilitation of the Wall, the clearance of slums and the protection of sites would do irreparable harm. The many essential values involved require immediate study and prompt action. The preparatory work of the authority is both valid and farsighted... We believe that we must not succumb to the temptation of using the extraordinary wealth of tangible reminiscence of the past to make the City a museum or a stage set. Jerusalem must be kept a living city... We suggest that the Municipality of Jerusalem be empowered to create an office of coordination to reconcile the divergencies and implement whatever plans it adopts. Past mistakes, such as the construction of a hotel on the top of Mount Olives, the construction of a hospital on the ridge of Mount Olives and the construction of a church which blocks the beautiful view of the Kidron Valley from the bridge, (all three took place during the Jordanian administration of East Jerusalem) are sad examples

of building in the wrong location and should help us to prevent similar mistakes in the future. Now that Jerusalem is, at last, freely accessible to all, we call upon all cultural and spiritual groups throughout the world to come here as we did for meetings and exchanges of views and join in the challenging and great adventure which lies ahead."

Among the founding members of the Jerusalem Committee were:

Pasteur Marc Boegner, Past President, World Council of Churches, U.S.A.; Reverend W. G. M. Brandful, President, Christian Council of Ghana; Prof. Jacques Courvoisier, Theologian and Former Rector, University of Geneva, Switzerland; Prof. Oscar Cullmann, Former Rector, Basel University, Switzerland; His Eminence Diangenda, Chef Spirituel de L'Eglise, Kinshasa, Congo; Reverend Th. M. Hesburgh, President, University of Notre Dame, U.S.A.; Mr. Jorge Amado, Author, Brazil; Mr. Oskar Kokoschka, Artist and Author, Switzerland; Mr. Jacques Lipchitz, Sculptor, U.S.A.; Henry Moore, O.M., Sculptor, U.K.; Mr. Isamu Noguchi, Sculptor and Landscape Architect, U.S.A.; Mr. Thomas Hoving, Director Metropolitan Museum of Fine Arts, U.S.A.; Mr. John Pope-Hennessy, Director, Victoria & Albert Museum, U.K.; Dr. Willem Sandberg, Former Director, Municipal Museums of Amsterdam, Netherlands; Lord Goodman, Chairman of the Arts Council of Great Britain, Mr. Ernesto Sabato, Author and Philosopher, Argentina; Mr. Ignazio Silone, Author, Italy; Mr. S. N. Tagore, Author and Political Thinker, India; Mr. Luis Borges, Author, Argentina; Mr. Geoffrey Bawa, Architect, Ceylon; Prof. Torngny Segerstedt, Rector Magnificus, University of Uppsala, Sweden; Mr. Manuel Aguilar,

Publisher, Spain; Maestro Pablo Casals, Puerto Rico; The Hon. Carlos Garcia, Former President of the Philippines; Sir Robert Menzies, Former Prime Minister of Australia; H.E. Vittorino Veronese, Former Director General, UNESCO, Chairman Italian Committee for Human Rights, Italy.

The town-planning sub-committee includes: Buckminster Fuller, Sir Philip Hendy, Louis I. Kahn, Isamu Noguchi, Sir Nikolaus Pevsner, Luigi Piccinato, Moshe Safdie and Bruno Zevi, and many other luminaries of architecture and town planning.

A declaration adopted on 10 June 1971 at a Conference of Catholic, Protestant and Evangelical leaders of the United States described the construction projects in Jerusalem as follows:

"Our inquiry into the question of public housing in the Old City and environs has convinced us that the construction of these buildings is a legitimate effort on the part of the Israeli government to effectuate a renewal of certain slum areas of the City, to rehouse in new apartments Arabs from these quarters, to provide living space for a Jewish population increased by immigration, and to re-introduce a Jewish presence into the Old City from which it had been forcibly barred after the war of 1948. The development plans are in no sense designed to oust the Arabs, nor to 'suffocate' the Christian and Muslim population. While we are concerned about the sacred character of the City, we believe that this housing is sufficiently removed from the holy places to avoid the charge of diminishing the sanctity of the City."

In addition to housing projects carried out by the authorities, Arab private building as well is proceeding on a considerable scale. Thus it is estimated that since 1967 more than 300 housing units have been constructed by private Arab builders without assistance from the authorities. There could be no better evidence of the fact that housing construction is taking place in accordance with the natural needs of growth and development in the city.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Abba Eban declared in the Knesset on 30 June 1971:

"...the city's development will be planned with an eye to all the inhabitants and taking into consideration the urgent requirements of a lively, variegated and increasing population which is absorbing additional residents in a city whose rate of natural increase is among the highest in the world, and particularly high among the Arab residents. The city is open to the constructive initiative of Jews, Christians and Moslems the world over in the furtherance of its development, especially of its cultural and spiritual assets, and in increasing the number of institutions and enterprises testifying to the city's historical uniqueness and special mission of promoting faith, progress and peace.

"Should Christian and Moslem circles, to whom Jerusalem is dear, manifest initiative of their own, it will be welcome and they will benefit from Government support, just as they have been benefitting up to now."

The Government of Israel addresses itself with special respect and consideration to the universal religious interests in Jerusalem.

This could have hardly been said of the Jordanian authorities which, in addition to their infamous destruction of Jewish sacred places, have left behind a record of anti-Christian actions. In fact so callous had their disregard been for religious and historic values that even venerated Moslem sites have not escaped desecration.

On 27 June 1967, the Knesset passed a law for the protection of the Holy Places. On the same day, the Prime Minister made the following declaration to the religious leaders in Jerusalem: "All the Holy Places in Jerusalem are now open to all who wish to pray in them and to the faithful of all religions without discrimination. It is our intention to place the internal management and arrangements for the Holy Places in the hands of the religious leaders of the communities to which these places belong."

In pursuance of this policy the Waqf is responsible for the management of El-Aqsa, the Dome of the Rock, and all the Moslem institutions, cemeteries and mosques. The Chief Rabbinate has jurisdiction over the Western Wall and other Jewish Holy Places, synagogues and Jewish cemeteries. The various Christian communities maintain jurisdiction over their respective Holy Places and religious institutions, according to the accepted tradition.

Israel has concluded and carried out compensation agreements for war damage with all church institutions. This refers to damage sustained from 1948 to 1967 as a result of the wars initiated by the Government of

Jordan and other Arab Governments. Such compensation has been paid to seventeen Christian institutions (to the amount of six million Israeli pounds). The Government also encourages pilgrimage by the faithful of all denominations to the Holy Places. This welcome movement takes place in an atmosphere of peace, freedom and safety. Christian and Moslem pilgrimage grows from year to year. Many religious leaders, have borne positive witness to this policy.

In addition, the Israeli authorities and the municipality of Jerusalem have aided churches and Christian institutions in the furthering of spiritual activities, art and culture, and for the promotion of strong and efficient construction. Institutions benefitting from administrative, material or technical assistance include: the Armenian Patriarchate, St. Peter in Gallicantu of the Assumptionist Fathers, the Sisters of Zion, the Franciscan Order, the Greek Catholic Patriarchate, the White Sisters, the Knights of Malta, the Evangelic Lutheran Church of Reformation at Beit Jolla, Notre Dame de Sion and St. John's Monastery in Ein Karem, a new Roman Catholic Church and community centre in Beit Hanina, and the American Institute of Holy Land Studies.

A Roman Catholic Ecumenical Research Institute, the first of its kind in the world, is about to be completed on a hill near Jerusalem, following an idea put forward by Pope Paul VI. Father Hesburgh, President of the University of Notre Dame in Indiana and Chairman of the World Union of Catholic Universities is in charge of the project. Professor Charles Moeller of the University of Louvain, Belgium will be the first

dean of the Institute. As envisaged by the Pope, the Institute will bring together the great theologians of all Christian churches and persuasions in researching the history of schisms in Christianity.

A Greek Orthodox Church just outside the Old City walls, which had stood unfinished for several years under Jordanian rule has now been completed by the community. Half a million Israeli pounds have also been set aside for repair work on the Rockefeller Museum.

Since the reunification of the city repairs and renovation work have been carried on the Armenian Church on Mount Zion, on the Monastery of the Cross, and on the Armenian Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The foundation stone has been laid for a new Armenian Theological Seminary in the Old City. Christian churches benefit from reductions in matters of taxation.

The right of every religious community to maintain its own schools and, unlike the situation under Jordan's rule, to set its own curricula is also guaranteed and preserved.

The Moslem Holy Places, houses of worship and religious institutions enjoy similar conditions. The situation since 1967 was described as follows by Mr. Ghazi Alam El-Ain in an article published in the Arabic daily of east Jerusalem Al-Anba on 8 August 1969:

"The Islamic Waqf Bureau continued to supervise all Islamic places of worship in the Holy City, and especially the Haram e-Sharif compound (which includes the Dome of the Rock and El-Aqsa), remaining in charge of the preservation of its holiness and cleanliness.

"The Waqf Bureau carried out repairs and renovations necessary to maintain the buildings of the holy Haram compound. It also undertook the repair of all Islamic holy places which were damaged as a result of the June war. All this was financed by the Islamic Waqf funds and with no outside help. Among the places which the Bureau repaired was the minaret. Bab al-Asbat (The Tribes' Gate), which was damaged during the fighting. It also repaired the Dome of the Rock, which was then slightly damaged. The Bureau also repaired the main gate of the blessed Aqsa mosque, restoring it to its previous condition. The Bureau carried out and supervised all these repairs.

"Entrance to the venerable Holy Place is controlled by guards appointed by the Bureau. These guards stand at all gates leading to the courtyard of the Holy Place except at Al-Maghariba Gate. The Bureau pays salaries to all the guards appointed by it from the Islamic Waqf treasury. The Islamic Waqf Bureau levies entrance fees from tourists visiting the venerable Haram compound at all the gates leading to the courtyard of the Holy Place. It is forbidden for non-Moslems to enter the venerable Haram e-Sharif on Fridays, and the regulations regarding this are applied. With the help of Arab and Jewish police, the guards appointed by the Waqf

Bureau enforce the regulations and orders prohibiting non-Moslems from entering the holy compound. Posters which set out rules concerning behaviour in holy places are displayed at conspicuous places.

"The Egyptian architect, Abdel Munim Abdel Wahab, supervised the repair works of the noble Rock and its Dome. Repairs have been carried out in the galleries of the domes, the minarets and all areas of the Holy Places damaged as a result of the war. The damage at the blessed El-Aqsa mosque itself principally affected the main gate and some of the windows, including the artistic colored glass, the Waqf Bureau believes that it is necessary that the same architectural office undertake this repair work. The Waqf Bureau did not hesitate to work on repairing the central gallery of El-Aqsa mosque straightway after the war, thus avoiding the dangers that might have threatened the building itself as a result of the penetration of rain-water. As a result, every Moslem can enter the Haram Sharif and freely perform his religious rites. Moslem circles in Jerusalem believe that it is the duty of every Moslem to obey the call of the blessed El-Aqsa mosque, so that it is filled with worshippers at the five daily prayer times, at the Friday noon service and on other blessed Islamic religious occasions.

"There are a large number of mosques and Moslem places of worship in Jerusalem. The number of mosques, in addition to the Dome of the Rock and El-Aqsa, is 34; 27 of them are within the wall in the Old City, and

seven are outside the wall, in the modern part of the city; a small number of these mosques are no longer in use. There are also eleven small mosques (prayer rooms) in Jerusalem, into which the pious, the strangers on Moslem pilgrimage and the orthodox belonging to different sects may retire.

"Moslems have many cemeteries in Jerusalem, of which some were used in the past and, with time, have become obsolete; others are still in use. There are twenty such Islamic cemeteries.

"In Jerusalem there are not a few Islamic public fountains, built by Moslem kings and sultans hundreds of years ago. Owing to their great age, they have suffered some damage. However, the Waqf Bureau renovated them, at its own expense, after the June War. The Waqf Bureau took heavy costs upon itself in rebuilding and repairing these public fountains, because of meticulous and lengthy technical work which was required as is the case with any archaeological monument.

"The Waqf Bureau carried out repairs at other buildings owned by the Waqf, which were damaged as a result of the June War, especially the buildings on Salah ed-Din Street.

"No radical change has occurred in the administration of the Holy Places during the period of Israeli rule as compared with the situation under Jordanian rule.

"As to the Islamic Museum adjacent to the blessed El-Aqsa mosque, it is still as it has been. Foreign tourists and other visitors frequent this

museum and view its collection of Islamic antiquities. The museum receives visitors throughout the week, except Fridays, against an entrance fee."

It is to be noted that the damage caused in 1969 to the El-Aqsa mosque by fire is being repaired by the Moslem authorities. A new mosque was built earlier this year on the Mount of Olives. Another was dedicated recently in the Silwan district of the city.

Particular regard for Jerusalem's spiritual attributes is reflected also in the archaeological excavations which aim at revealing the ancient history of the city. These excavations center today in the area to the south and west of the monumental wall built by King Herod the Great in the latter part of the first century B.C. They are conducted in an area in which there are no cultural or historic monuments.

Captain Warren, of the Palestine Exploration Fund, commenced these excavations some one hundred years ago. They were continued under Jordanian rule by the British archaeologist, Miss K. Kenyon and by the French scholar and archaeologist, Pere R. De Vaux.

Not only has there been no damage to Moslem cultural property but these excavations have unearthed, inter alia, interesting Moslem Umayyad remains. Arab workers are employed in the excavations, Arab students join the volunteer workers who assist the archaeologists and Arab visitors to the excavations include members of the Moslem Council in Jerusalem.

The excavations present no danger whatsoever to Moslem religious buildings. Subsequent to the Six Days War some dilapidated houses near the excavations' site were pulled down, for safety reasons, but they included not one historical or cultural building. No demolition of any Moslem cultural building or monument has been, or is being, contemplated. The excavations are conducted in a most scientific and careful manner and will undoubtedly contribute much to our knowledge concerning Jewish, Christian and Moslem culture of many centuries.

Similar care is also undertaken in the clearing of refuse and debris which have accumulated through the centuries under the arches built by King Herod to support the bridge connecting the Temple Mount to the Western Hill. The clearing of the refuse stops at the level of the pavement in front of the Wailing Wall. Already Charles Wilson of the Royal Engineers discovered over a hundred years ago the original construction which today bears his name -- "Wilson's Arch". Scholars have been anxious for years to continue the exploration of this monument and, as late as 1966, Professor William F. Stinespring of Duke University Divinity School, conducted archaeological excavations in the area. No danger whatsoever exists neither to this monument nor to the buildings above it.

UNESCO's Commissioner General for Cultural Property, Dr. Karl Brunner in a letter addressed to Mr. R. Maheu, Director General, UNESCO on 6 October 1970 stated inter-alia:

"The excavation of Professor Mazar has not threatened the safety of the temple-area and he is now working in a direction further away from the mosque complex".

Dr. H. J. Reinink, UNESCO's Special Representative entrusted with reporting on the compliance with the Hague Convention on the Protection of Cultural Property in Armed Conflict, declared in a letter addressed to the Director-General of UNESCO on 13 April 1971:

"It is important that you should know the exact character of the work done by the Ministry of Religions in subterranean Jerusalem. There is no question of excavating in the ordinary sense of the word. No new tunnels are being made that could threaten the safety of the buildings above, but constructions that were built hundreds and thousands of years ago are being cleared of ancient debris and cleaned. Every precaution is taken to protect the subterranean areas and the streets and buildings above.

"Everyone who hears of the extensive works that are being done under an important part of the Old Jerusalem must think that great risks are taken; that many buildings, streets, market places, and especially the monuments, must be threatened. This is therefore, the place to remind everybody concerned that already a hundred years ago archaeologists, especially the renowned Charles Wilson in circumstances very much more difficult than exist today, uncovered part of the original construction, particularly the celebrated Wilson Arch. As late as 1963 and 1965 and 1966, Professor William F. Stinespring of Duke University Divinity School conducted archaeological excavations in the area.

"The present clearance is being done in close collaboration with the Israel Institute of Technology and the University of Haifa, by an expert engineer, Dipl. Eng. Josef Schonberger (Darmstadt). Furthermore, the Ministry of Religions is not being allowed to engage in any form of archaeological exploration and excavation. The engineer-Architect of the British School of Archaeology, Mr. Archibald Walls, I.R.I.R.A., A.R.I.A.S., M. Sc., declared in the presence of the Director of the School, Mrs. Christal Benett and of the famous archaeologist Pere Roland de Vaux of the Dominican Ecole Biblique de Jerusalem, that in his opinion, this part of the work done in the center of Jerusalem does not bring with it any risks of damage for the buildings above."

Information disseminated by certain elements, according to which there has been in the last four years a diminution of the Christian and Moslem populations of Jerusalem is not in accordance with, and is even opposed to facts. On the other hand there is also no truth whatever in the allegations contained in the Jordanian complaint that Israel contemplates the extension of the city's municipal boundaries to include neighbouring Arab towns and villages.

The phenomenon of Christian emigration from the Middle East has existed for over one hundred years. This process, with regard to Jerusalem, intensified during the 19 years of Jordanian occupation. Since 1967, however, it has ceased. What is actually occurring is the normal process of exit and entry in conjunction with the disappearance of the tendency to emigrate from Jerusalem.

The best illustration of the situation of the Christian and Moslem communities in Jerusalem is to be found in the statistics relating to the growth of the population. There was a sharp decrease in the number of Christians in Jerusalem under Jordanian rule which followed the Jordan occupation in 1948.

The figures are as follows:

YEAR	JEWS	CHRISTIANS	MOSLEMS
1948	100,000	25,000	45,000
1967	195,000	10,800	54,963
1970	215,000	11,500	61,600

It appears then that the heavy emigration of Christians during the Jordanian occupation -- about 14,000 left during this period -- ceased as of 1967. It also appears that the Moslem population has actually increased since 1967.

The gratuitous and malicious nature of Jordan's assault on Jerusalem's right to lead a normal life, to grow and to develop is illustrated by the charge that the city's character is being changed, that Jerusalem is being "Judaized". The significance of the charge is clear. Jerusalem may be the center of the Jewish people's existence, civilization, unity. Jews may have constituted the majority of the city's population for generations, but Jews, according to Jordan, should not be allowed to supply the town's municipal services, Jews must not beautify the city, Jews must not build, Jews must not multiply.

There is a sinister echo in this attitude. We still remember Hitler's maniacal campaign against the so-called "Judaization" of German life. We have not forgotten how this campaign developed into the genocide of six million of our brethren.

Does the Jordanian Government, or for that matter any other Government, believe that it is possible to revive the spirit of the anti-Jewish laws and to establish a "numerus clausus" against Jews, in Jerusalem of all places? Does anyone expect the Jewish state to become party to anti-Jewish prejudices and pronouncements?

The Israeli authorities can be expected to, and will ensure that the universal religious interests in Jerusalem are meticulously respected and that the city's life and development are carried on in an orderly manner. They cannot be expected to lend themselves to Arab belligerency and to impose anti-Jewish restrictions on the city that has throughout history been the heart of the Jewish people's existence.

On what does Jordan base its claims and charges? From what does it derive its pretensions? Jordan's association with Jerusalem was of one kind only -- through its invasion of 1948, in violation of the Charter and of United Nations resolutions, and through the subsequent illegal occupation of the city's eastern sector. This occupation does not accord Jordan any rights, especially now that it has been terminated. It had never been recognized by any of the States Members of the United Nations. It cannot serve as a basis for invoking international conventions and instruments. Obviously it cannot be used as a lever to oppose Jerusalem's integrity and development.

While firmly rejecting any claims, based on aggression against Jerusalem and the city's former illegal division, Israel will continue to be guided by the legitimate rights and interests of Jerusalem's citizens irrespective of nationality and faith and will scrupulously ensure the sanctity of the Holy Places, freedom of access to them and the jurisdiction of the various religious communities over them. In pursuance of this objective Israel maintains a constructive and detailed dialogue with representatives of universal religious interests.

The United Nations' inability to deal impartially with the Middle East situation by means of public debate and resolution is a matter of record. This is due primarily to the structure and voting procedures of United Nations organs. The world is aware of the fact that Israel's case cannot receive a fair hearing in our organization or be judged here on its merits.

Israel, however, cannot forego its rights simply because the Security Council, the General Assembly or other organs are inherently weighted against it. The merits of its position cannot be affected by the fact that it is a small nation, solitary in its Jewish civilization and Hebrew heritage, a nation that does not belong to the power blocs which dominate the outcome of voting, and that consequently it is outvoted time and again. Being a minority is not new to Jewish experience. The Jewish people's strength seems to lie in its success to preserve through the ages, its values, ideals and traditions despite the hostility of others.



PERMANENT
REPRESENTATIVE OF ISRAEL
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

800 SECOND AVENUE
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017
OXFORD 7-5500

From the P.R. of Israel.

*May
15/9/71*

15 September 1971

*Action taken
15/9/71*

Excellency,

I have the honour to address myself to you on the eve of Rosh Hashana, the Jewish New Year. The Holiday will usher in the year 5732 of the Jewish calendar. It will be celebrated in all parts of the world by a people whose millennial history is marked by ancient glory, then foreign conquest, oppression and martyrdom and today by redemption and restoration.

During the ages of dispersion and struggle for survival no force animated and inspired Jews more profoundly than the desire to remain one people, the aspiration to guard the unity of the Jewish family. Wars and persecutions, have time and again torn Jewish families asunder and separated entire groups from their people. Yet we have always strived to come back to each other, to live together again, fathers and sons, brothers and sisters.

At no time during Jewish history has as grave a tragedy befallen us as during World War II when six million Jews were annihilated and hundreds of thousands of Jewish families were rent apart and separated from their dear ones.

At no time of the year is the longing, the prayer, the hope to be at home, with one's own family and one's people stronger than at this period of Rosh Hashana, the Ten Days of Penitence which follow it, and Yom Kippur, the Day of Atonement, which culminates it. This is a time of solemn and profound reflection and rededication to the highest moral values and to humanity's loftiest goals. This is a period which Jews pray and hope to spend in the warmth of the family hearth and in the light and fraternity of the Jewish community.

His Excellency
U Thant
The Secretary-General

It is in the spirit of the values for which Rosh Hashana and Yom Kippur stand that I address myself to you and draw your attention again to those of our Jewish brethren, especially in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and in certain Arab states who are still separated, against their wishes, from their families and their people.

The scores of thousands of Jews in the Soviet Union who have applied for permits to join their kin and kith in Israel have made it clear in their appeals to you and to the Soviet authorities that they bear no ill toward the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics but cannot live away from their families and their people in Israel. In particular, the 41 Jewish political prisoners incarcerated in the course of the past year in a number of Soviet cities find themselves at this High Holiday season away from home only because of their faith in and attachment to their Jewish home, their Jewish family, their Jewish people.

Rosh Hashana and Yom Kippur are a time of compassion, understanding and forgiveness. We appeal to you and through you to the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to deal understandingly and compassionately with the prisoners and with the multitudes who wish to leave.

It is gratifying that in the past year a small number of Soviet Jews have been permitted to depart for Israel. It would be an act of highest justice and compassion if the Soviet authorities were to pursue this course by freeing the prisoners and allowing all Jews who desire to join their families and their people in Israel to do so.

Three years ago, on the eve of Yom Kippur, a group of Jews gathered at Babi Yar in Kiev to commemorate the tens of thousands of Jews murdered there by the Nazis in 1941. They were addressed by a young man, Boris Kochubiyevsky who was soon thereafter arrested, tried and imprisoned. He is still in a prison camp. He was the first of the Soviet Jewish political prisoners in recent years.

In November 1968, shortly before his arrest he wrote to the Soviet authorities:

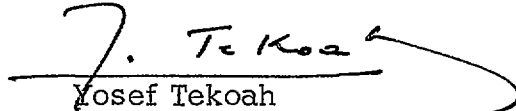
"I am a Jew. I want to live in the Jewish State. This is my right... This is my dream, this is the goal not only of my life but also of the lives of hundreds of generations which preceded me...

"I want my children to study in a school in the Hebrew language. I want to read Jewish papers. I want to attend a Jewish theatre. What's wrong with that? What is my crime?...

"Let me go! As long as I am capable of feeling, I shall devote all my strength to obtain an exit permit for Israel. And even if you should find it possible to sentence me for this -- I shall anyway, if I live long enough to be freed, be prepared even then to make my way even on foot to the homeland of my ancestors."

It cannot be too much to hope that the Soviet authorities would respond to the passion of Boris Kochubiyevsky and his brethren for their family and people with commensurate compassion.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Y. Tekoah", with a long, sweeping horizontal line extending to the right.

Yosef Tekoah
Permanent Representative of Israel
to the United Nations

NY155 SS JERUSALEM 2079 201354Z =

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UNATIONS

NEWYORK =

UNTSO 1928 GUYER/URQUHART FROM SIILASVUO. IN TODAYS, 20
AUGUST 1971, JERUSALEM POST, APPEARS TRANSLATION OF
ADDRESS BY DEFENCE MINISTER MOSHE DAYAN AT ARMY COMMAND
AND STAFF COLLEGE YESTERDAY, 19 AUGUST: QUOTE. OUR CON-
FLICT WITH THE ARABS FOCUSES OUR THINKING ON TWO =

P2 =

QUESTIONS: HOW TO FIGHT AND HOW TO ACHIEVE PEACE. BUT
THERE IS A THIRD QUESTION WHICH WE HAVE HARDLY DEEMED
WORTHY OF SERIOUS STUDY, NAMELY, WHAT CAN WE DO TO FURTHER
OUR AIMS WITHOUT EITHER WAR OR A PEACE AGREEMENT. WE TEND
TO SEE THE =

P3 =

PRESENT SITUATION OF NO PEACE AND NO WAR IN PASSIVE TERMS, AS
THOUGH WE WERE RUNNING IN NEUTRAL GEAR. IT IS NATURAL THAT
THE MATTERS IN DISPUTE SHOULD BE SETTLED JOINTLY BY OUR
NEIGHBOURS AND OURSELVES: AND, INDEED, BOTH PEACE AND WAR
WOULD SEEM TO =

P4 =

BE COOPERATIVE ENTERPRISES. I SAY SUBQUOTE WOULD SEEM
UNSUBQUOTE BECAUSE IT IS NOT REALLY SO. THERE IS NO
GENERAL RULE HERE THAT APPLIES EITHER TO NATIONS OR TO
ACTIONS. ONE NATION (OURSELVES) DOES NOT WANT WAR, WHILE
ANOTHER NATION (THE ARAB) DOES NOT WANT PEACE. =

P5 =

BUT WHEN THE ARABS WISH TO MAKE WAR, IT IS OF NO AVAIL
FOR US TO REFUSE: WE HAVE TO SUBQUOTE COOPERATE UNSUBQUOTE

~~WITH THEM, AND WHEN THEY REFUSE TO MAKE PEACE, AGAIN OUR~~

OWN WISHES ARE OF NO AVAIL, AND WE HAVE TO SUBQUOTE
COOPERATE =

P6 =

UNSUBQUOTE IN THEIR REFUSAL. BOTH PEACE AND WAR ARE MADE
TOGETHER, EXCEPT THAT ONE SIDE CAN FORCE WAR UPON THE OTHER

~~WITH THEM, AND WHEN THEY REFUSE TO MAKE PEACE, AGAIN OUR~~

OWN WISHES ARE OF NO AVAIL, AND WE HAVE TO SUBQUOTE
COOPERATE =

P6 =

UNSUBQUOTE IN THEIR REFUSAL. BOTH PEACE AND WAR ARE MADE
TOGETHER, EXCEPT THAT ONE SIDE CAN FORCE WAR UPON THE OTHER,
BUT NOT PEACE. THERE IS THUS NO JUSTIFICATION FOR OUR
CONTINUING TO SPEND 99 PER CENT OF OUR ENERGY, RESOURCES,
THOUGHT AND ATTENTION

ONLY =

P7 =

WITHIN THE GREEN LINE (THE 1949 ARMISTICE LINES). THE FACT
IS THAT THIS LINE DETERMINES THE AREA OF OUR ACTIVITIES
ONLY BECAUSE WE HAVE LAID THIS DOWN FOR OURSELVES. BUT
IN CONFINING OURSELVES IN THIS WAY, WE ARE EVADING REALITY
RATHER THAN ADJUSTING TO IT. =

P8 =

WE SHOULD REGARD OUR ROLE ALSO IN THE ADMINISTERED TERRITORIES
AS THAT OF THE ESTABLISHED GOVERNMENT TO PLAN AND IMPLE-
MENT WHATEVER CAN BE DONE WITHOUT LEAVING SUBQUOTE OPTIONS
OPEN UNSUBQUOTE FOR THE DAY OF PEACE WHICH MAY BE DISTANT.
IN OTHER WORDS, THE EMPHASIS SHOULD BE PUT =

P9 =

ON OUR TAKING UNILATERAL AND IMMEDIATE MEASURES, WITHOUT
RELYING ON COOPERATION FROM OUR NEIGHBOURS OR WAITING
UNTIL THEY ARE READY FOR IT. WE MUST NATURALLY HOPE THAT
THE SITUATION WILL CHANGE IN THE COURSE OF TIME: BUT
MEANWHILE WE SHOULD SEE THE REALITIES FOR WHAT THEY ARE. =

P10 =

FROM THE BEGINNING, OUR NATIONAL MOVEMENT HAS MADE NUMEROUS
ATTEMPTS TO TALK TO THE ARABS, TO GAIN THEIR UNDERSTANDING,
TO REACH ARRANGEMENTS AND AGREEMENTS. BUT ALL THAT HAS
BEEN GAINED FROM THEM DURING THIS TIME HAS BEEN SOME

~~ACCEPTANCE AFTER THE EVENT OF FACTS CREATED =~~

P11 =

BY US AGAINST THEIR WILL. AND EVEN SUCH SUBQUOTE ACCEPTANCE
UNSUBQUOTE HAS BEEN GIVEN IN HALF-HEARTED TONES, WITHOUT
CONVICTION, WITH BUILT-IN RESERVATIONS, AND WITH THE RIGHT
OF REPUDIATION WHENEVER THEY THINK FIT. THIS WAS THE CASE
DURING THE MANDATORY PERIOD, AND THIS WAS THE =

P12 =

~~ACCEPTANCE AFTER THE EVENT OF FACTS CREATED~~ - - - - -

P11 =

BY US AGAINST THEIR WILL. AND EVEN SUCH SUBQUOTE ACCEPTANCE UNSUBQUOTE HAS BEEN GIVEN IN HALF-HEARTED TONES, WITHOUT CONVICTION, WITH BUILT-IN RESERVATIONS, AND WITH THE RIGHT OF REPUDIATION WHENEVER THEY THINK FIT. THIS WAS THE CASE DURING THE MANDATORY PERIOD, AND THIS WAS THE =

P12 =

CASE AFTER THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE STATE, FROM THE 1949 ARMISTICE AGREEMENT UP TO THE KHARTOUM RESOLUTIONS. SO IT WAS IN NASSERS TIME AND SO IT IS WITH SADATS PEACE PROPOSALS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR A PARTIAL AGREEMENT. IN THIS CONTEXT/ THERE WAS IN FACT A WORSENING RATHER =

P13 =

THAN AN IMPROVEMENT IN THE ARAB APPROACH AT THE END OF THE SIX DAY WAR, COMPARED WITH THAT AT THE END OF THE 1948/49 WAR OF INDEPENDENCE. ALTHOUGH THE 1949 AGREEMENTS WERE ONLY FOR AN ARMISTICE, THE ARAB STATES WHICH SIGNED THEM RECOGNIZED THAT THEY HAD TO =

P14 =

ACQUIESCE IN THE EXISTENCE OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL. THE DEMARCATION LINES WERE DETERMINED MORE OR LESS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE RESULTS OF THE WAR AND THERE WAS NO ARAB DEMAND AND NO ISRAEL UNDERTAKING TO ENABLE THE ARAB REFUGEES TO RETURN TO ISRAEL. NOW WHEN THE ARAB =

P15 =

ST

P15 =

STATES ANNOUNCE THEIR READINESS TO MAKE PEACE WITH ISRAEL, THEY SEE IT AS A TACTICAL STEP TO ENSURE THE REMOVAL OF ISRAEL FROM THE AREAS SHE OCCUPIED. SADATS PEACE PROPOSAL ~~IS NOT A MOVE TOWARDS RAPPROCHMENT WITH US, BUT A LEVER~~ - - - - - TO GET RID OF US. =

P17 =

THE BASIC ARAB FEELING TOWARDS US IS EXPRESSED IN THE KHARTOUM SUBQUOTE NOES UNSUBQUOTE NO NEGOTIATION, NO RECOGNITION, NO PEACE AND THE RESTORATION OF THE SUBQUOTE LEGITIMATE RIGHTS UNSUBQUOTE OF THE PALESTINIANS. WHEN I SPEAK OF UNILATERAL MEASURES, I DO NOT MEAN TAKING A =

~~IS NOT A MOVE TOWARDS APPROACHMENT WITH US, BUT A LEVER~~

TO GET RID OF US. =

P17 =

THE BASIC ARAB FEELING TOWARDS US IS EXPRESSED IN THE
KHARTOUM SUBQUOTE NOES UNSUBQUOTE NO NEGOTIATION, NO
RECOGNITION, NO PEACE AND THE RESTORATION OF THE SUBQUOTE
LEGITIMATE RIGHTS UNSUBQUOTE OF THE PALESTINIANS. WHEN
I SPEAK OF UNILATERAL MEASURES, I DO NOT MEAN TAKING A =

P18 =

ONE-SIDED VIEW. EVEN IF WE CREATE FACTS WITHOUT MAKING
OUR ACTIONS CONTINGENT ON THE CONSENT OF THE OTHER SIDE,
WE MUST TAKE THEIR POINT OF VIEW INTO ACCOUNT. WE MUST
DEVISE A PATTERN OF LIVING AND OF SITUATIONS WHICH CAN BE
TOLERATED BY THE ARABS. BY =

P19 =

THIS I DO NOT MEAN ARRANGEMENTS WHICH ARE TO THEIR LIKING,
BUT THOSE THEY CAN LIVE WITH, IF THEY SO WISH. ON THIS
MATTER OF ARAB ACQUIESCENCE, WE SHOULD DISTINGUISH BETWEEN
THREE CRITERIA: THE NEEDS OF ARABS, AS INDIVIDUALS, WHO
WANT WHAT EVERYONE WANTS =

P20 =

AN UNTROUBLED LIFE: THE CURRENT POLICY OF THEIR GOVERNMENTS
AND THEIR NATIONAL ASPIRATIONS. WE ARE ABLE TO SATISFY
THE DAILY NEEDS OF THE ARABS WHO COME UNDER OUR ADMINIS-
TRATION. THIS IS BORNE OUT BY THE PALESTINIANS WHO
EMIGRATED BEFORE THE SIX DAY WAR TO KUWAIT, =

P21 =

AM

P21 =

AMMAN, SAUDI ARABIA AND LIBYA, FOUND WORK AND TOOK UP PER-
~~MANENT RESIDENCE THERE. NOW, AFTER VISITS TO THE WEST~~
BANK, THEY WISH TO COME BACK AND LIVE HERE. THEY WOULD
NOT WANT TO RETURN IF CONDITIONS WERE STILL THE SAME AS
THOSE THEY LEFT =

P22 =

EVEN THOUGH THERE WAS THEN AN ARAB REGIME AND SO-CALLED
POLITICAL RIGHTS, WHILE TODAY THE WEST BANK IS UNDER
ISRAEL ADMINISTRATION. BEHIND THE PUBLIC DECLARATIONS
THERE ARE CERTAIN REALITIES, AND IT SEEMS THAT LIFE AT

P21 =

AMMAN, SAUDI ARABIA AND LIBYA, FOUND WORK AND TOOK UP PER-
~~MANENT RESIDENCE THERE. NOW, AFTER VISITS TO THE WEST~~
BANK, THEY WISH TO COME BACK AND LIVE HERE. THEY WOULD
NOT WANT TO RETURN IF CONDITIONS WERE STILL THE SAME AS
THOSE THEY LEFT =

P22 =

EVEN THOUGH THERE WAS THEN AN ARAB REGIME AND SO-CALLED
POLITICAL RIGHTS, WHILE TODAY THE WEST BANK IS UNDER
ISRAEL ADMINISTRATION. BEHIND THE PUBLIC DECLARATIONS
THERE ARE CERTAIN REALITIES, AND IT SEEMS THAT LIFE AT
PRESENT IN NABLUS, JENIN, HEBRON AND JERUSALEM IS FELT BY =

P23 =

THEM TO BE BETTER THAN IT WAS DURING THE JORDANIAN ADMI-
NISTRATION, AND EVEN PREFERABLE TO LIFE IN THE ARAB COUN-
TRIES TO WHICH THEY HAD EMIGRATED. I DO NOT THINK THAT
THE PRESENT POLITICAL STATUS OF THE RESIDENTS OF THE WEST
BANK AND THE GAZA STRIP CAN CONTINUE PERMANENTLY, BUT
NEITHER DO I SEE IT AS INTOLERABLE FOR =

P24 =

A TRANSITIONAL PERIOD, EVEN A LONG ONE. IN SPITE OF
THEIR NATIONAL AIMS, IT MAY BE THAT SOME OR ALL OF THE
ARAB GOVERNMENTS WILL NOT FIND IT POSSIBLE TO RENEW THE
WAR AGAINST US. HOWEVER, THIS DOES NOT MEAN THAT THEY
ACCEPT THE PRESENT SITUATION. =

P25 =

I DO NOT EXPECT THAT SYRIA, JORDAN AND EGYPT WILL BE
RECONCILED IN THE CURRENT PERIOD TO OUR MAINTENANCE OF
ARMED FORCES IN THE GOLAN HEIGHTS, ON THE JORDAN AND IN
SINAI. IF THE ARAB STATES DO NOT RENEW THE WAR, IT IS
BECAUSE THEY KNOW WHAT =

P36 =

TO EXPECT. THEIR LEADERS ARE AWARE THAT ISRAEL HAS THE
MILITARY MEANS TO STRIKE ACROSS THE FRONTIERS, AND THAT
ANY ATTEMPT TO ASSAULT ISRAEL IS LIKELY TO BRING DISASTER
~~UPON THEM. IN FORTIFYING OUR LINES, THEREFORE, WE SHOULD~~
NOT ASSUME THAT THIS WILL BRING ABOUT =

P37 =

ARAB RECONCILIATION. THE REAL CHOICE IS BETWEEN ABANDONING
FRONTIERS WHICH WE CONSIDER TO BE ESSENTIAL AND BETWEEN

ANY ATTEMPT TO ASSAULT ISRAEL IS LIKELY TO BRING DISASTER

~~UPON THEM. IN FORTIFYING OUR LINES, THEREFORE, WE SHOULD~~

NOT ASSUME THAT THIS WILL BRING ABOUT =

P37 =

ARAB RECONCILIATION. THE REAL CHOICE IS BETWEEN ABANDONING FRONTIERS WHICH WE CONSIDER TO BE ESSENTIAL AND BETWEEN HOLDING ON TO THEM DISPUTE ARAB OPPOSITION.

TO COMPLETE THE PICTURE, LET ME ADD THAT, EVEN IN ONE SECTOR WHERE WE HAVE AN AGREED FRONTIER WITH LEBANON =

P38 =

MATTERS DO NOT ALWAYS RUN SMOOTHLY. THE ISRAEL- LEBANESE BORDER IS AN AGREED BORDER: THERE IS NO STATE OF WAR BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES: AND WE CERTAINLY WANT TO MAINTAIN SCRUPULOUS RESPECT FOR LEBANESE SOVEREIGNTY AND NOT ENTER ITS TERRITORY. BUT WHEN THE LEBANESE AUTHORITIES ALLOW THE =

P39 =

TERRORISTS TO OPERATE AGAINST US FROM THEIR SOIL, WE HAVE NO ALTERNATIVE BUT TO CROSS THE FRONTIER. IT APPEARS THAT JUST AS THE ABSENCE OF AGREEMENT OVER A COMMON FRONTIER DOES NOT AUTOMATICALLY SPELL WAR, SO THE EXISTENCE OF SUCH AN AGREEMENT DOES NOT AUTOMATICALLY GUARANTEE PEACE. P40 =

IT HAS NOT BEEN MY INTENTION IN THIS TALK TO SET OUT IN DETAIL WHAT WE SHOULD DO ON EVERY SPECIFIC MATTER. I HAVE SOUGHT ONLY TO EXPRESS MY VIEW ON THE BROAD CONSIDERATIONS WHICH SHOULD GOVERN OUR ACTIONS TODAY, FOUR YEARS AFTER THE SIX DAY WAR=

P41 =

WITH THE ARABS STILL REFUSING TO MAKE PEACE WITH US.

I AM AFRAID WE MUST RECOGNIZE THE FACT THAT, IN THE SHORT RUN, THE FRONTIERS WHICH SEEM TO US TO BE VITAL WILL NOT BE AGREED, AND WITHOUT AGREED FRONTIERS, WE WILL NOT GAIN PEACE AGREEMENTS. A PEACE AGREEMENT IS OF SUPREME IM-

~~PORTANCE TO US, =~~

P42/29 =

BUT IF THE ARABS REFUSE TO MAKE PEACE, WE CANNOT STAND STILL. IF WE ARE DENIED THEIR COOPERATION, LET US ACT ON OUR OWN. UNQUOTE +



PERMANENT
REPRESENTATIVE OF ISRAEL
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

15 EAST 70TH STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10021

TRAFALGAR 9-3611

The Permanent Representative Of Israel to the United Nations presents his compliments to the Secretary General of the United Nations and has the honour, on instructions from his Government, to refer to the Secretary General's note of 12 April 1971.

The Government of Israel has examined with great care the above note and while reserving its position as recorded in the exchange of letters of 4 July 1967 and 22 August 1967 between the Permanent Representative of Israel and the Secretary General contained in document S/7930/Add. 29, wishes to inform the Secretary General that no changes are contemplated with regard to the situation which has ensued from the above exchange of letters in 1967.

The Permanent Representative of Israel to the United Nations avails himself of this opportunity to renew to the Secretary-General of the United Nations the assurances of his highest consideration.

18 August 1971
New York



Yosef Tekoah
Ambassador of Israel
Permanent Representative to the United Nations



ISRAEL

PERMANENT MISSION OF ISRAEL
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

המשלחת הקבועה
של ישראל לאומות המאוחדות

15 EAST 70TH STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10021

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PRESS RELEASE

PRESS CONFERENCE HELD BY

MR. ABBA EBAN, MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF ISRAEL

7 MARCH 1971

SPOKESMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I give you the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Israel, Mr. Abba Eban.

MR. EBAN: The date being what it is, March the 7th, I thought that I ought to come and sum up our position, especially on two problems, the question of the cease-fire and the problem of the jarring talks at their present stage.

Now on the cease-fire, Israel's position is that the resolutions adopted in June 1967 by the Security Council have binding and continuing force, that no Party has a right for unilateral cancellation or fixing deadlines for them and, accordingly, we have proceeded on the basis of a cease-fire conditioned only by reciprocity.

That is our position and we thought it worth stating this morning, not because we recognize the March 7th date, but because significance has been given to that date by others.

Well I've noticed the statement made by the President of the United Arab Republic. It was of course not an unexpected statement and I think the Israeli position and the Egyptian position, as they stand, illustrate what the future will be.

Our attitude to the cease-fire is anchored in the very different doctrinal and juridical basis. But for us, the operative factor is whether or not fire is opened upon us, whether fire is threatened. So that the Israeli statement of this morning continues to cover the situation, even after President Sadat's statement on the cease-fire.

I want to say something in introduction of your questioning period of the present stage in the Jarring mission. First of all, I'd like to remind you of a certain historic development. It's now about nine months, the 4th of August 1970, since Israel decided, in accepting the United States' initiative, to embark upon those discussions according to the decision that the Israeli Cabinet adopted on that day.

That statement remains valid in all its parts, that is to say, Israel's attitude on the implementation of the Security Council resolution 242 and on withdrawal to secure and recognized and agreed boundaries to be determined in the peace agreement. That policy remains as it was stated then. We never make any secret of the fact that we believe that a direct negotiation would be most effective and in the long run indispensable. But in response to the American initiative we accepted the idea of an indirect procedure in its first phase. Nevertheless it was clear to us that what was involved was going to be a serious negotiating procedure and many statements by the author of that initiative stand on the record to show that that was meant.

In December 1970 Israel decided to renew its participation in the Jarring talks notwithstanding the violation by the United Arab Republic of the cease-fire standstill agreement.

Therefore, to enter these talks we overcame very serious obstacles, both on procedure and on substance, and you will remember that early in January we invited Ambassador Jarring to come to Jerusalem, where we opened the current talks by presenting a formulation of principles of peace by which we meant those obligations without which no peace agreement is really a peace agreement, the indispensable elements of any condition of peace.

We also decided then that we would make an effort in the interests of efficacy and in order to promote peace, to conduct these talks by what was called "quiet diplomacy". Well, how far this "quiet diplomacy" has been fulfilled, you are just as well as I able to conclude.

This has probably been the noisiest diplomacy in the entire history of international relations. One of the elements of it has been that the United Arab Republic has had the habit of making selective and prejudicial publication of our documents accompanied by a very strident criticism at every stage in violation of the normal procedure of negotiation. This has happened consistently over the past two months on at least two occasions. The United Arab Republic has not wished to take Israeli documents into its hands until there were eliminated from them any hint that Israel was communicating even indirectly with the United Arab Republic.

This is another surrealistic aspect of this process. In other words, they don't agree that we should communicate with them directly, they don't agree that we should communicate with them indirectly -- there must not be a document that indicates that there is any kind of communication whatever between Israel and the United Arab Republic.

Now there has recently been selected publication of Israel's positions as laid down in an aide memoire of the 26th of February and a certain amount of comment and criticism has developed on the basis of what we are assumed to have said and since no complete publication has yet been made, we have now decided -- very much against our grain but as a result of these compulsions -- to publish our document in full.

I would like to point out that this is a reasoned reaction both to Ambassador Jarring's aide memoire of the 8th of February and also to the Egyptian aide memoire which was submitted to us on the 17th of February. As you can see from the very first paragraph, it is not true to say that Israel did not react at all to what was communicated to it by Ambassador Jarring on February 8th. The February 8th discussion was taken up entirely with a discussion of Ambassador Jarring's aide memoire which was submitted on that date. Now what have we done in this document? Faced with the positions and the demands for preconditions formulated by the United Arab Republic Israel formulated its basic positions. We did not ask the United Arab Republic to accept them as preconditions. We have said these are Israel's positions and we are now ready to enter into meaningful negotiations on all subjects relevant to a peace agreement between the two countries, and having laid down what we thought should be the correct formulation of the principles of the peace agreement and since some of these principles obviously have to be spelled out and are not self-executing, we added in the operative paragraph that now that both Parties have presented their basic positions, they should now pursue their negotiations in a detailed and concrete manner without prior conditions so as to cover all the points listed in their respective documents with a view to concluding a peace agreement. I draw attention to the words, all the points in the Egyptian and in the Israeli documents. This means, amongst other things, that we offered on the 26th of February a discussion on withdrawal and on boundaries, if that was one of the matters that they wanted to be taken up early. So, if there has not been since the 26th of February a concrete and detailed discussion on the issue of withdrawal and boundaries, then this is in spite of and not because of the Israel position.

Much has been written about the question of withdrawal but I would like to point out that on the other matters referred to in the documents about the nature of peace, peace obligations, the prevention of terrorism, navigation -- on those matters too the formulation in the documents presented by Dr. Jarring and by the United Arab Republic, would in our view require in some cases modification and in other cases clarification and we would not be able to sign on the dotted line on those formulations without a prior negotiating process. It is our central position and without this the Israel policy cannot be understood. Our central position is that the peace settlement must be negotiated and agreed in all its parts by the two Governments. It would neither be imposed on the Parties from outside, nor dictated by one Party to the other in advance of negotiations. This is recognized in the Security Council resolution 242 which calls for the promotion of agreement, so that all the points have to be subjected to detailed scrutiny, negotiation and agreement. But that of course is particularly the case in relationship to the question of withdrawal and our position is and remains as stated on the 26th of February 1971 in paragraph 4 of that document.

Now, that is not of course a new position -- this is and has been our position -- it is our position today. But the distinction between this and the Egyptian document is important. The United Arab Republic said that the acceptance of the Egyptian position on withdrawal is inexorable, it is a condition -- without it there cannot be negotiation. Israel said we are stating our position, we are not asking the United Arab Republic to accept any of our positions, including our territorial position in advance of the negotiation. The point is therefore that the places, the boundary to which Israel forces would withdraw must be the subject of negotiation and agreement as is the case with other problems intimately connected with it.

The paragraphs of a peace agreement cannot be presented to Israel readymade, so that Israel should be called upon only to contribute its signature. Commitments must be the result of negotiations and not their prior condition.

Well, that is the chief difference between the Egyptian and the Israeli documents namely, that the United Arab Republic presents its formulation in a conditional and ultimative way while Israel presents its positions without requiring their acceptance without or before negotiation. Why on earth this Israeli position should be regarded as less positive than the more ultimative and rigid Egyptian positions, utterly escapes our understanding. There is no foundation whatever for saying that a positive reply has been received from the United Arab Republic in comparison with a non-positive position received from Israel. The United Arab Republic seems to ask us for unconditional surrender whereas we ask for unconditional negotiation. I would say that there is a very large difference between those positions.

So, let me then sum up what are the guiding principles which determine our approach to the problem of withdrawal and boundaries. The task is to ensure security and peace and to reconstruct situations which have previously led to war. Israel accepted the resolution of the Security Council and cooperated with Ambassador Jarring on clear understanding and assurance that that resolution did not call for the evacuation of all the territories -- that the omission of the words "all the territories" was deliberate. It was in fact as I recall, the result of many days of negotiation. In other words, there is room for a process of negotiation and agreement on the withdrawal problem and on the boundary problem as well.

You can therefore understand the situation created when Israel is presented with documents and asked to sign them on the dotted line. There is a misunderstanding. Israel must be an active partner and not a passive object of the negotiating process. The position is not that the United Arab Republic or international representatives have a monopoly of the right to suggest formulations, and that Israel has only one solitary right, which is to put its signature blindly on one or other of the documents presented to it. Our lives, our future, our survival are at stake in this peace agreement and we must insist on an equal status as the architects of the agreement. Therefore we do not present texts to others and say that unless you sign precisely what we put to you, you will not have peace with us. If we were to do this, then I think criticism of that attitude as non-positive would be justified. We have not done that. We have taken the normal course of stating our basic positions on the main points at issue, we have noted the basic positions of the United Arab Republic, we have not asked the United Arab Republic to commit itself in advance to any of the Israeli positions and we do not commit ourselves obviously in advance to the United Arab Republic position. In our view, the binding commitments which are necessary in a peace agreement must be the result of negotiation and not their prior condition.

Let us be frank. Never in history has an international agreement been achieved by this method in which there is no human contact whatever, in which there is not even a freedom of communicating proposals and ideas in which at every stage the documents presented as confidential communications are published, in which at every stage a few hours after the submission of documents there arises a kind of universal Greek chorus, a comment on the tactical step just taken by one Party or the other on a world-wide scale with goals as it were being awarded. Israel invited Jarring and gave him principles for peace -- Israel leads nil. The United Arab Republic will have a peace agreement provided that Israel accepts everything that Egypt writes into the agreement -- the score is one all.

Now and again some of the spectators, the more eminent amongst them begin shooting the ball into our goal. I have even seen in a London weekly newspaper on the cover the whole business described as a chess game and the statement "It is now Israel's move".

Well we make rules from time to time but my question is whether by this gladiatorial kind of international presentation any thoughtful, quiet, concrete, active, precise negotiation has ever taken place. Should we not try to get away from the atmosphere of scoring goals against each other in alternate weeks or alternate months and get into a position where with pencil and paper and maps we discuss how to build this peace in which we and they must live?

We will continue to work within the limitations which are imposed and try to get the best possible even out of this form of dialogue. But I hope that I will have a chance of discussing with Ambassador Jarring soon the experience of the past few weeks and ask him and ourselves whether we cannot really get into a concrete and detailed and pragmatic discussion.

That then is a reference to Ambassador Jarring's document, the United Arab Republic document and the Secretary-General's report. The crux of it is that we do not for a single moment accept the idea that an ultimative conditional demand to accept the United Arab Republic's view is somehow more deserving of international sympathy than a clear statement of position accompanied by a willingness to bring all matters under negotiation. There is some sort of optical illusion here. First of all the United Arab Republic should have accepted the idea of a peace agreement with Israel twenty years ago, or at least three and a half years ago and therefore our acceptance of it in our February 26th document was not a matter of international sensation.

Now let there be no mistake. We do give full weight to the fact that the United Arab Republic has now been willing to use a term which it had not used before. This is a matter of importance and we went out of our way to give it full weight. But we didn't think that this statement of good will on our part should be exploited in order for others to say to us "Well since you think that they have done something positive then accept every line that they want to write into the peace agreement. All you now have to do is to shut your eyes and to have your hand put on the place reserved for signature of documents produced by others".

Therefore that is our judgment on this path but much more important than that, although relevant to it, is the question of the future. Where do we go from here? Point one, we hope that the situation created by the statements today mean that there will be a cease-fire, although if anybody says that there has been a more positive response by President Sadat to the cease-fire than by Israel then I think the time will have come for all sanity to be renounced. We accept the cease-fire positively based on the Security Council resolution as a continuing commitment. The United Arab Republic at best has said that it doesn't acknowledge the cease-fire, it will not recognize it by prolonging it, but it might do the kindness of not shooting. I suggest that these two approaches to the cease-fire ought to be examined. But as I have said, the crux of the matter of the cease-fire is whether fire will be opened or not. That is the first question.

If the total result of what has been published today means that there will be abstention from fire in the future, then the question arises: how should the next step be taken in the Jarring report? And here we have no doubt on what ought to be done. We believe that there should be a response to our expressed readiness for detailed and concrete negotiations on all the matters and that now means on all the matters mentioned in the Secretary-General's report -- our own document, Dr. Jarring's document and the United Arab Republic document.

That leaves open the discussion on any and all of the problems including the problem of withdrawing to secure, recognized and agreed boundaries. I express the hope expressed on the United Arab Republic side so that a peace making effort can go forward without delay.

There is nothing in the Israel position which prevents a concrete detailed discussion on any of the matters being taken up immediately.

(Replying to a question Mr. Eban continued:)

I think I'm going to get into a position when I won't even tell anybody whether we're going to reply or not because this is, I think, a very good example of what's happening. Every tactical documentary phase is discussed in advance and post factum.

It's as though in our Governments we were to have a national referendum on every executive step taken by any ministry every day. But we have looked at our memorandum again and in the light of all the comment we've submitted it to the judgment of world opinion and we point out that its operative phase is the expression of readiness to negotiate on any and all of the subjects mentioned in the two documents.

Now therefore this opens the door very wide to the United Arab Republic and we'll see what the desire of the Parties is in the next phase of the Jarring talks.

But I have laid much more stress of course on the United Arab Republic position than on the other documents because although we read the international documents we think we are negotiating with the United Arab Republic and not with international agencies. We're negotiating through international agencies but with the United Arab Republic.

QUESTION: I am going to ask a question about the cease-fire and the reason for publishing this document.

MR. EBAN: I am somewhat pressed since I am invited to a dinner by our distinguished guest Foreign Minister Aldo Moro. I might be late by a few minutes so that I cannot set myself up as a translation bureau. But I should like to say in summing up that insofar as the cease-fire is concerned, Israel continues to be faithful to the resolution adopted by the Security Council in June 1967 which laid down the conditions for the cease-fire without any limitation of time and without any conditions except for the condition of reciprocity. We reconfirmed this attitude this morning here. I have taken note of the speech given by the President of the United Arab Republic. According to the generally accepted interpretation it expresses a refusal to recognize the cease-fire officially but at the same time there exists the possibility that the absence of fire will continue. In any case, the declaration made by Israel this morning is not influenced by this speech.

As for our attitude towards the Jarring negotiations, we have just published our documents. Because of the practice adopted by the United Arab Republic which published in a selective and tendentious way all our documents, I refer specifically to the document issued by Israel on 26 February which without having been published in toto has been the object of several commentaries by other Governments and by international organizations.

So what is the essential difference between the two documents? Egypt says Israel must accept in advance all the conditions demanded by Egypt and Israel says "we shall formulate our conditions; we have taken note of yours. Let us negotiate so as to arrive at an understanding on all points including the withdrawal of troops and the drawing of frontiers". It is inconceivable that an objective person should consider the ultimative document presented by Egypt as being more positive than the normal practice adopted by Israel. What is at stake is our lives, our destinies, our vital interests so that Israel must be an active partner in fashioning the peace. We are not the passive object of this process.

QUESTION: Does the Israeli Government consider the document submitted today as the reply to Jarring?

MR. EBAN: The document and especially what I have said today is an Israeli reaction to all the events of the last few days, namely the speech by the President of the United Arab Republic, the report by U Thant, the problems arising from the cease-fire and perhaps I should add the discussion of the four permanent members of the Security Council who through certain deadlocks within their midst have not intervened in the present situation. Well we think that this non-intervention, whatever the causes of it, is salutary. We think the Parties must be given elbow-room and not have multitudes jogging their elbows and breathing down their necks at every single stage. As I have said these are the most extraordinary conditions in which an attempt to reach a peace agreement has ever been made.

It is an attempt to test what the approach of the United Arab Republic really is. It indicates that the Sharm-el-Sheikh problem is, of course, not exhausted by the doctrines of any state concerning freedom of passage. This is a very vital Israeli interest indeed and the assumption that everything depends on what Egypt's view is on the problem that, as you know, is not one that we share.

Why did the 1967 war break out? It broke out because it was in Egypt's power to decide whether or not Israel should have egress to two-thirds of the world, whether Israel's fuel supply should be brought in, whether the whole of the Negev development, two-thirds of our country, had any meaning at all. Now what we would try to do in a peace agreement would be to create a situation in which Egypt didn't have that arbitrary power because an Israeli vital interest is here at stake. But nevertheless we in any case know what the United Arab Republic position is on both navigation problems. The best that can be said about it is that it is obscure. The worst that can be said about it is that it is negative because the United Arab Republic adds, as in the case of the Suez Canal, the qualifying phrase in accordance with the Constantinople Convention. That phrase has been used for twenty-two years as the basis for refusing the passage of a single Israeli ship or cargo.

On the question of the Straits of Tiran, Egypt adds the doctrine of free passage in accordance with international law. Well every country has its own international law and Egypt's international law has been that these are not international waters or waters in which Israel has any right. For ten years as a de facto recognition they didn't interfere with passage and they symbolized that non-interference by allowing the stationing of the United Nations Force. And they imposed the blockade. So this bears out what I have said before.

Quite apart from the withdrawal matter does anyone think that we should sign formulations about navigation which in the past have meant no navigation? So therefore the idea that we should sign on the dotted line seems to me extremely eccentric not only in relation to the very crucial withdrawal problem. We've got to get down to a detailed, precise negotiating and formulating process. We must get into a position where we want to find out for example what they mean by this qualifying reference to the Suez Canal.

In regard to other questions the answer is yes, of course we don't imagine that we would be at the Suez Canal because we would have withdrawn under the peace agreement from the Canal. We would have withdrawn to the secure and recognized boundary to be determined in the peace agreement.

QUESTION: Would you tell us what you are now looking forward to now, more precisely whether from Egypt or from Dr. Jarring? And in view of the fact that President Sadat said tonight not only that he was not renewing the cease-fire but also that he was not renewing the understanding of the last month that there should be no shooting. In other words, he left the impression that shooting might start at any moment. How do you think that might affect this peace making process?

MR. EBAN: Well I think that his is the most parsimonious and negative approach to the cease-fire that one could possibly imagine. Let's hope that the world will not encourage this kind of approach. If his idea was to intimidate us I think that the few who are in residence here can see that we are quite unimpressed. We really don't think that he is in the position to appear as the author of a formidable threat. But we shall, of course, examine the situation having made our critical and negative appraisal of his remarks and there ought to be a negative and critical comment on what he has said about the cease-fire. I think there will be no meaning to international integrity if there is not a broad volume of criticism of that kind of attitude to the cease-fire agreement into which he entered unconditionally three and a half years ago.

One reason incidentally why we must be very precise about the peace terms including the boundary terms, is our experience on agreements with the United Arab Republic. There was an armistice agreement which pledged them not to do anything like the Fedayeen, but this was violated. That agreement implied a complete absence of belligerency, it was violated, and the violation was adjudicated by the Security Council in 1951.

There was a cease-fire agreement in 1967. It was unilaterally repudiated by the late President Nasser in March 1969. There was a cease-fire standstill agreement in August 1967. It was violated in the next twenty-four or forty-eight hours. And therefore although I continue to say that it is important to have their agreement to the principle of a peace agreement, it would be naive to think that an agreement itself could be effective unless it were accompanied by concrete and physical conditions for ensuring its observance and for reducing the possibility that it could be violated with impunity.

Now about what you said on the next step -- I think an obvious course to be taken would be for the United Arab Republic through Ambassador Jarring to take note of our readiness to negotiate each and all or any of these problems as stated in both the documents and to indicate what are the problems on which he would like to begin this concrete and detailed negotiation. And mark this well, we are committed to make a detailed and concrete negotiation on any or all of these issues and the Prime Minister has indicated that within a very short time of the decision to take up the territorial problem we would have concrete proposals on the table. I hope that not everybody will insist on honouring the twenty-four hour business but this was the desire to indicate the promptitude with which we would go into a detailed and concrete negotiation on the territorial and withdrawal problem if it were decided to negotiate on it as distinct from simply saying, "there is no negotiation. There is nothing to discuss. Everything has been decided. You simply have to go back to what has been fixed."

This matter has not been already decided. It is one of the matters in the Security Council resolution awaiting discussion, negotiation and agreement.

I took part in many discussions in 1967 and I would simply like to endorse somebody else who took just as detailed a part in that discussion. I quote Assistant Secretary Sisco on the 12th of July 1970. That resolution did not say withdrawal to the pre-June 5 lines. The resolution said that the Parties must negotiate to achieve agreement on the so-called final, secure and recognized borders.

In other words the question of the final borders is a matter of negotiation between the Parties. This is an accurate statement of what was understood. We had discussions with the original sponsors and supporters of the resolution.

There was a discussion with the British Government about the definite article and it was pointed out that if the definite article and if the word "all" was put in this would affect Israel's acceptance which was a condition for the nomination of Dr. Jarring. And it was agreed that no word of that kind would be put in, that it would be substantive and in December 1969 Foreign Minister Stewart said that the omission of these words was deliberate and there have been other statements including statements of the utmost clarity made on this point.

For example, Mr. George Brown who was the British Secretary of State at the time the resolution was formulated made the following remark which I think is characteristic. "I wish the BBC and other people would stop re-writing the United Nations resolution. I have been asked over and over again to clarify or modify or improve the wording but I do not intend to do that. The phrasing of that resolution was very carefully worked out". He went on, "I formulated the Security Council resolution. Before we submitted it to the Council we showed it to Arab leaders. The proposal said Israel will withdraw from territories that were occupied and not from the territories which means that Israel would not withdraw from all the territories". So that's another item of evidence and this was written up very much. The best description of the process is by Mr. Arthur Lall in his book -- The United Nations and the 1967 War -- and with all my reluctance to advocate the purchase of other people's books I recommend that to your attention.

QUESTION: Mr. Foreign Minister would Israel agree to opening up the Suez Canal only for commercial vessels before real peace talks would start?

MR. EBAN: This is an interesting point. There was a phase a few weeks ago in which the following occurred: The Egyptian President made a public proposal according to which the opening of the Suez Canal could be taken up before and independently of the negotiation of other matters.

The Israeli Prime Minister responded a few days later. Although she didn't accept all the conditions and terms that President Sadat formulated there was a common element in her statement and in the United Arab Republic statement. Both statements did contain the possibility of a separate prior agreement on the opening of the Suez Canal ahead of the negotiation and conclusion of other issues.

Well since then there was not any continuation of it but the positive attitude that we expressed to the idea of seeing if that could be done hasn't changed.

QUESTION: Mr. Eban you criticized the press, Sadat's decision to make a de facto cease-fire, but don't you think that this is preferable to the Egyptian President calling for another cease-fire for a limited period? Don't you think that that's a healthier situation?

MR. EBAN: Yes I said it would be preferable if he were to accept the cease-fire in the proper way, namely to honour the agreement that was reached with us in June 1967 and to stop all this business of brandishing revolvers. However contingent I can't possibly praise the statement, I can't possibly praise a statement which contains any brandishing of guns, either as military threats or as political pressures. But I do agree that for every position there is a possibly worse position standing behind it. But this shouldn't blind us to the fact that this is not what the world community wanted from the Parties on the cease-fire question. What it wanted from the Parties is a formal and enduring engagement to stop shooting. If I may quote Secretary of State Rogers, "To stop shooting and to start talking". Instead of which the United Arab Republic has said we may or we may not stop shooting. We won't tell you for how long we'll stop shooting and we'll talk as long as nobody thinks we're talking to the Israelis directly or indirectly.

So that I don't say that there could not have been a worse decision or several worse decisions, but really it's impossible to take a eulogistic view of an attitude and a doctrine such as this.

QUESTION: Mr. Eban you said you intend to talk to Mr. Jarring soon. Does that mean you intend to go to New York. Do you expect Jarring to come here or do you expect to meet in some other place?

MR. EBAN: I have some other plans some of which have been published, some have not been published, which would involve my being in the United States shortly so that would be an occasion. Or we might ask it be taken up in advance by Ambassador Tekoah. But I really think that it is important to summarize not only the political issue but the method that I call the technology of peace making. I haven't said procedure because that's supposed to be a trivial word.

Now we didn't make an issue of what are called our procedural positions. We have views about the place and the method and the degree of directness and the level of responsibility. But we accepted the virtual vetoing imposed by the Arab Governments on all of these.

Now I think that to say that procedural matters are not important is really not an intelligent thing to say. If you go for a brain operation you don't say it doesn't matter whether you do this properly or not properly by normal procedure or any way you like. Or when an aircraft is on the ground and is being inspected before it flies nobody says well it doesn't matter, any old thing will do. You can't carry out any systematic procedure, procedure is not important.

Where we come to the most important thing that human beings can do -- to erect a structure of peaceful relations and we're told that whether this is done with precision, with craftsmanship, with a sense of detailed rationality is not important.

Well I think it is important. But as I said we were so anxious to get some kind of dialogue going that we did not make this an obstacle. I'm still not making this an obstacle but I think it would be reasonable to ask whether this is the proper and best way of using international machinery to promote peace.

I mean this utter absence of contact, this excessive publication and this constant pushing and jostling by Parties outside the Parties directly concerned. We have this experience behind us together with this constant appeal to constituencies, I've said this is very similar to a Government holding a referendum every time it wants to do something even of tactical importance.

I think it would be rational together with an effort to grapple with the political problems, to go into the question of methodology. At any rate I'm certain that we will raise this either through Ambassador Tekoah or any encounter that I may soon have with Ambassador Jarring.

SPOKESMAN: I really regret I am sure there are many more questions to be asked but the Minister has a very important appointment. Thank you very much.



PERMANENT
REPRESENTATIVE OF ISRAEL
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

15 EAST 70TH STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10021

TRAFALGAR 9-3611

R 1/3/71
5:00 p.m.

1/3/71

1 March 1971

Excellency,

On instructions from my Government, I have the honour to refer to the letter addressed to you on 22 February 1971 by the Permanent Representatives of Jordan and the United Arab Republic (A/8286, S/10130) concerning Jerusalem.

That letter contains many distortions and falsifications. For example, the statistics which appear on page 4 of the letter do not refer to the city of Jerusalem but to the entire district. They are taken from the "Survey of Palestine", where they are entitled "The Total Population of the Sub-District of Jerusalem including the Rural Population of the Sub-District". This same source confirms that Jews constituted the majority of the urban population of Jerusalem in each of the years 1922, 1931 and 1944 -- the first two figures being census returns, and the third an official projection prepared by the Statistical Services of the Mandatory Government (in 1922, 33,971 Jews of the total 62,578; in 1931, 51,222 Jews of the total 90,503 and in 1944, 97,000 Jews of the total 157,080).

In this connection it may be noted that the Jewish majority in the City of Jerusalem existed many decades before the British Mandate. Thus we find in Baedeker's Palestine and Syria (Leipzig, 2nd ed. 1894), pp. 53-54, that according to statistics for the year 1887 there lived in Jerusalem 28,000 Jews out of 43,000 citizens. The accurate statistics for the year 1905 is 40,000 Jews out of 60,000 (Encyclopedia Britannica, 13th ed., vol. 15, p. 335).

It is a gross distortion to state that a confiscation of lands took place in Jerusalem and it is in contradiction to details contained in Annex 2 of the Arab letter. The truth is that Jewish and Arab lands were expropriated without any punitive element or discrimination, for purposes of public

His Excellency
U Thant
The Secretary-General

development and housing. Some of the owners of the lands in question, Jews and Arabs alike, have already received full compensation, and negotiations with the remainder over the compensation to be paid are continuing. Acquisition of land for such purposes is a common feature of public administration all over the world. In Jerusalem, resort was frequently had to it by the Jordanian authorities when they were in usurped control of part of the city.

Similarly, the preparation of a master plan for any city is the customary procedure of modern urban development throughout the world. In Jerusalem, the municipal authorities are doing their best in this direction through consultations with world-renowned experts.

The passages in the letter of the two Arab representatives adverting to the evacuation of the Old City are another instance of factual distortion. They in fact refer to the reconstruction of the Old Jewish Quarter which had been destroyed with premeditation by the Jordanian authorities during their 1948 aggression and misrule. That destruction had encompassed 39 synagogues and places of learning, apart from residences and other Jewish public buildings. The Jews have inhabited the Old City of Jerusalem from its earliest recorded history. However, between 1948 and 1967 the Jordanian Government uprooted and expelled all the Jewish citizens, and transformed this quarter and with it the whole of the Old City into an area utterly clear of Jews (Judenrein). Moreover, the Jordanian Government prevented free access to the Jewish Holy Places, in flagrant violation of its international obligations.

It is a matter of record that the two States whose representatives signed the letter of 22 February 1971 are the only States in modern history which exerted maximum efforts to destroy the City of Jerusalem by armed force. In 1948 the two Governments attempted to conquer Jerusalem and in the process resorted to heavy bombardment and shelling of the besieged city. I have already described Jordan's policy in the occupied part of the city in my letter to the Secretary-General of 5 March 1968 (A/7064, S/8439). Later, in June 1967, the Government of Jordan resumed its aggression against Jerusalem and turned it into a battlefield after rejecting an Israeli appeal through General Odd Bull, head of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization, expressing Israel's desire to remain at peace with Jordan.

Letter taken
I have the honour to request circulation of this letter as an official document of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Y. Tekoah
Yosef Tekoah

Permanent Representative of Israel
to the United Nations

R 3/3/71

10:00 a.m.



PERMANENT
REPRESENTATIVE OF ISRAEL
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

15 EAST 70TH STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10021

TRAFALGAR 9-3611

3/3/71

3 March 1971

Excellency,

On instructions from my Government I have the honour to refer to the letter addressed to you by the Permanent Representative of Jordan on 26 February 1971 (A/8287, S/10133).

The charges in the Jordanian letter constitute a distortion of the facts and are misleading.

There has been no confiscation nor any expropriation of lands in the villages mentioned in the discussed letter, neither is there any intention on the part of the Government of Israel to take such steps in the future.

I have the honour to request circulation of this letter as an official document of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Action
Taken
ps.

Y. Tekoa
Yosef Tekoah
Permanent Representative of Israel
to the United Nations

His Excellency
U Thant
The Secretary General

cc

SG

Mr. B. Urquhart

*Original sent to
Mr. J. Bayan*

*recd. 12 02 67
5/3/71
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PERMANENT
REPRESENTATIVE OF ISRAEL
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

15 EAST 70TH STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10021

TRAFALGAR 9-3611

5/13
5 March 1971

Excellency,

On instructions from my Government I have the honour to refer to the letter addressed to you on 2 March 1971 by the Permanent Representative of Jordan (A/8290, S/10139), and to state the following.

This letter is another step in the time-worn campaign of distortions and political incitement conducted by the representative of Jordan. In previous letters I have pinpointed some of his serious misrepresentations of fact.

The facts concerning the Electricity Company are as follows:

In view of the situation in Jerusalem it was found necessary, in order to ensure the continuity and operation of electrical services to the people of Jerusalem, to introduce requisite changes in the status of certain elements of the public ownership of these services.

It must however be stressed that no change whatsoever has taken place in the ownership status of private persons, Arab or other, or of other public bodies, who in fact comprise the overwhelming majority of shareholders in the Jerusalem Electric Corporation.

It should also be noted that the Corporation continues to function with the help, including the financial help, of the Government of Israel in the whole area included in its concession and that its operations have continued intact and unimpaired.

action taken
I have the honour to request circulation of this letter as an official document of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

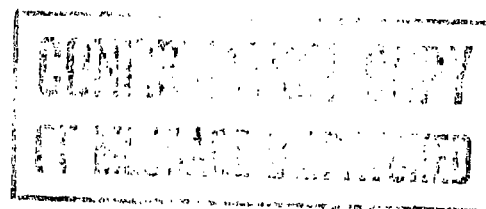
J. Tekoa
Yosef Tekoah
Permanent Representative of Israel
to the United Nations

His Excellency
U Thant
The Secretary-General

*cc SC
Mr. B. Uggulho*

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ETAIPRIORITE

H.E. MRS. GOLDA MEIR

PRIME MINISTER OF ISRAEL

JERUSALEM =

WITH REFERENCE TO YOUR EXCELLENCY'S MESSAGE OF 23 DECEMBER, I FULLY UNDERSTAND YOUR ANXIETIES OVER THE MATTER YOU RAISED DURING OUR RECENT TELEPHONE CONVERSATION. I AM SURE THAT YOUR EXCELLENCY IS AWARE OF THE FACT THAT I PROMPTLY =

P2/46 =

TOOK UP THE MATTER WITH THE AUTHORITIES FOLLOWING OUR CONVERSATION. I WISH TO ASSURE YOUR EXCELLENCY THAT I SHALL CONTINUE TO EXERCISE MY GOOD OFFICES IN THE MATTER AND DO EVERYTHING THAT I CONSIDER HELPFUL. HIGHEST CONSIDERATION AND WITH VERY BEST WISHES =

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ETATPRIORITE

SECRETARY GENERAL U THANT UNITED NATIONS HEADQUARTERS
NEW YORK, N.Y9

DEAR MR. SECRETARY-GENERAL,

I AM CONFIDENT THAT FOLLOWING OUR TELEPHONE CONVERSATION
YOU HAVE EXERTED YOUR BEST EFFORTS TO OBTAIN SATISFACTORY
RESULTS IN THE MATTER I RAISED.

AS OUR ANXIETIES ARE INCREASING FROM DAY TO DAY I WOULD BE
OBLIGED IF YOU COULD LET ME KNOW THE REACTIONS, IF ANY,
YOU HAVE RECEIVED AND WHAT IN YOUR JUDGEMENT THE PROSPECTS ARE.
THANKING YOU FOR YOUR EFFORTS.

WITH VERY BEST WISHES

GOLDA MEIR

COL IMMEDIATE CKD

301, 400 E-G.
4 January 1971

Dear Mr. Ambassador,

I would be grateful if you would kindly transmit the
..... attached message from me to Her Excellency, the Prime Minister
of Israel.

Yours sincerely,

U Thant

His Excellency
Mr. Shabtai Rosenne
Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary
Deputy Permanent Representative of Israel
to the United Nations
11 East 70th Street
New York, N.Y. 10021

Message from the Secretary-General of the United Nations to
Her Excellency Mrs. Golda Meir, Prime Minister of Israel

4 January 1971

Excellency,

I acknowledge receipt of your message sent on 1 January 1971 through the Israeli Mission to the United Nations. I sincerely appreciate Your Excellency's very kind sentiments expressed towards me and I am grateful for your best wishes. Let me reciprocate these sentiments and join Your Excellency in wishing that 1971 will be a year of peace and justice.

I very well understand your deep concern regarding the four wounded prisoners and your anxiety at their continued detention in the United Arab Republic. It was my appreciation of your anxiety and my conviction in the sacredness of all human life which prompted me to attempt the exercise of my good offices in this case. I deeply regret that so far these good offices have been unavailing. Despite the various approaches made by me, the Government of the United Arab Republic continues firmly to maintain its position and to assure me that these prisoners are receiving the best medical attention, and that, in view of the circumstances in which they became prisoners, the Government of the United Arab Republic cannot consider releasing them.

In view of this attitude expressed on numerous occasions by the Government of the United Arab Republic, I do not believe that a visit to Cairo by me at this time would produce any useful result.

I wish to assure you that I shall continue to exercise my good offices in this case in spite of all the obvious difficulties. I have in mind also to enter into contact once again with the International Committee of the Red Cross in the hope that our efforts may complement each other in securing the repatriation of these prisoners. I need hardly say that I share your earnest hope that these approaches may in the end produce results.

Accept, Excellency, the expressions of my highest consideration and warmest regards.

U Thant
Secretary-General

THE FOLLOWING CABLE FOR THE SECRETARY-GENERAL HAS BEEN
TRANSMITTED THROUGH THE ISRAELI MISSION OWING TO THE HOLIDAY:

HIS EXCELLENCY U THANT
SECRETARY GENERAL
UNITED NATIONS

I AM SORRY THAT I HAVE TO TROUBLE YOU ON THE HOLIDAY AND WOULD LIKE TO TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY AND WISH YOU VERY HAPPY NEW YEAR, A YEAR OF PEACE FOR THE WHOLE WORLD. BUT EVEN ON A HOLIDAY I CANNOT REFRAIN FROM REFERRING TO THE NEGATIVE AND CRUEL ANSWER WHICH YOU RECEIVED FROM THE EGYPTIAN DELEGATION CONCERNING OUR WOUNDED PRISONERS, A REPLY WHICH WAS IN RESPONSE TO YOUR ACTION WHICH I DEEPLY APPRECIATE.

I WOULD LIKE TO ASK FROM YOU AN EXTRAORDINARY ACT WHICH DEMANDS A GREAT EFFORT ON YOUR PART BUT AS IT IS WRITTEN "WHOSOEVER SAVES A SINGLE HUMAN SOUL IS AS IF HE HAS SAVED A WHOLE WORLD".

KNOWING YOUR AIMS AND EFFORTS TO BRING PEACE TO THE WORLD AND KNOWING THAT EACH AND EVERY LIFE IS IMPORTANT IN YOUR EYES I WOULD LIKE TO EMPHASIZE ANEW THAT FOUR HUMAN BEINGS ARE IN GRAVE DANGER AND NONE OF US CAN KNOW WHAT MIGHT HAPPEN WITHIN THE COMING DAYS.

TAKING ALL THIS INTO ACCOUNT I WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU TO GO TO EGYPT AND TRY AND IMPRESS UPON EGYPT'S LEADERS THE FACT THAT THEIR ACTIONS ARE CONTRARY TO THE LAW, THAT THEY VIOLATE THE GENEVA CONVENTION AND THAT THEY ARE AGAINST THE HUMAN SPIRIT. I AM ASKING YOU THAT YOU INSIST TO VISIT THE PRISONERS PERSONALLY WHICH WILL ENABLE YOU TO CONCLUDE FOR YOURSELF THAT IT IS PLAIN CRUELTY TO KEEP THEM IN CAPTIVITY SINCE THEY CANNOT RETURN TO ANY MILITARY DUTY.

I ASK YOU TO UNDERSTAND THAT WE CANNOT, ON ANY ACCOUNT, ACCEPT THE EGYPTIAN ANSWER AND CONTENT OURSELVES WITH IT. WE ARE IN THE MEANTIME NOT GIVING ANY PUBLICITY TO THE PROBLEM OUT OF A DESIRE NOT TO RAISE QUESTIONS OF PRESTIGE WHEN HUMAN LIFE IS AT STAKE. I AM ASKING YOU TO FULFILL OUR REQUEST AND ON OUR PART WE SHALL NOT MAKE THIS PUBLIC.

I AM TURNING TO YOU NOT ONLY AS PRIME MINISTER BUT ALSO PERSONALLY BASED UPON MY ACQUAINTANCE WITH YOU FOR MANY YEARS AND KNOWING FULL WELL YOUR DEEP SENSITIVITY TO HUMAN LIVES. I HAVE NO DOUBT THAT IF YOU WILL UNDERTAKE TO ACT YOUR ACTION WILL BE CROWNED BY SUCCESS. IN THIS SPIRIT I ASK AGAIN OF YOU TO UNDERTAKE THIS REQUEST.

GOLDA MEIR

1 JANUARY 1971



PERMANENT
REPRESENTATIVE OF ISRAEL
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

15 EAST 70TH STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10021

TRAFALGAR 9-3611

4 January 1971

Dear Mr. Secretary-General,

I have today transmitted your message of
4 January 1971 to Her Excellency, the Prime Minister
of Israel.

Yours sincerely,

Shabtai Rosenne
Acting Permanent Representative of Israel
to the United Nations

His Excellency
U Thant
The Secretary-General

J
51.171

cc: Dr. Baunche

59;

Mr Tekoah did not speak to reporters other than Reuters; this is a copy of the story Littlejohns sent Beavan.

ZCZC NYU491

YY LJP LHD

1048 :NIGHTLEAD MIDEAST:

BY MICHAEL LITTLEJOHNS

NEW YORK, JAN. 6, REUTER--THE RESUMED MIDDLE EAST PEACE TALKS WENT INTO A SECOND ROUND, TODAY WITH ISRAELI AMBASSADOR JOSEF TEKOAH AGAIN THE FIRST CALLER OF THE DAY ON THE U.N. INTERMEDIARY, DR. JUNNAR V. JARRING.

JORDANIAN AMBASSADOR MUHAMMAD H. EL-FARRA AND EGYPTIAN AMBASSADOR MOHAMMED H. EL-ZAYYAT HAD LATER APPOINTMENTS WITH DR. JARRING.

MR. TEKOAH WAS WITH THE INTERMEDIARY FOR ABOUT HALF AN HOUR, HE DECLINED TO TELL REPORTERS WHETHER ANY MATTERS OF SUBSTANCE WERE DISCUSSED.

BUT THE ISRAELI ENVOY DID DENY A REPORT WIDELY CIRCULATED AT THE U.N. YESTERDAY THAT HE HAD SAID TALKS ABOUT PROCEDURE MIGHT TAKE THREE OR FOUR MONTHS.

:: MORE ML/OQ BBB

NNNN

ZCZC NYU495

YY LJP LHD

1059 :NIGHTLEAD MIDEAST 2 NEW YORK:

HE SAID THAT THE REPORT APPEARS TO HAVE DEVELOPED OUT OF A MISUNDERSTANDING OF REMARKS HE MADE AT LYDDA AIRPORT BEFORE RETURNING TO NEW YORK.

THE ISRAELI DELEGATE SAID HE HAD BEEN ASKED THERE WHAT THE SITUATION WOULD BE IN THREE OR FOUR MONTHS TIME AND HAD REPLIED THAT HE HOPED

BY THEN "WE WOULD HAVE MADE SOME PROGRESS."

QUESTIONED ABOUT A STATEMENT MADE HERE LAST NIGHT BY DR. EL-ZAYYAT THERE WAS NO SERIOUS ISRAELI INTENTION TO BEGIN TALKING, MR. TEKOAH SAID HE DID NOT WANT TO COMMENT ON THE EGYPTIAN'S REMARKS, EXCEPT TO REAFFIRM THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT'S POSITION WHICH WAS "THAT WE HAVE RESUMED THE TALKS."

HE SAID HE WOULD REMAIN IN "CONSTANT TOUCH" WITH DR. JARRING AND THAT MEETINGS WOULD BE ARRANGED BETWEEN THEM AT EITHER'S INITIATIVE.

:: MORE ML/OQ AAA

NNNN

ZCZC NYU496

YY LJP LHD

1103 :NIGHTLEAD MIDEAST 3 NEW YORK:

BEFORE HE WENT IN TO SEE DR. JARRING YESTERDAY, MR. TEKOAH DECLINED TO CONFIRM THAT THE MEETING REPRESENTED THE FORMAL RESUMPTION OF PEACE TALKS AFTER THE LONG HIATUS.

TODAY HE HAD NO RESERVATIONS ON THIS POINT. "THE TALKS HAVE NOW RESUMED," HE SAID.

LATER TODAY THE U.N. REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES, RUSSIA, FRANCE AND BRITAIN WERE DUE TO HAVE A FURTHER PRIVATE MEETING IN THEIR CONTINUING EFFORTS TO FORMULATE MIDDLE EAST PEACE TERMS.

NO MAJOR DEVELOPMENT WAS EXPECTED. U.S. SECRETARY OF STATE WILLIAM P. ROGERS SAID HERE ON MONDAY THAT THE RESUMPTION OF THE TALKS WITH DR. JARRING NOW PUT THE EMPHASIS ON THE PRINCIPALS IN THE CONFLICT RATHER THAN THE BIG FOUR.

:: REUTER ML/OQ AAA

NNNN

*Original sent to
Mr. J. Dayarian*



PERMANENT
REPRESENTATIVE OF ISRAEL
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

15 EAST 70TH STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10021

TRAFALGAR 9-3611

18 February 1971

Excellency,

On instructions of my Government I have the honour to refer to the letter addressed to you on 17 February 1971 by the Permanent Representative of Jordan (A/8281, S/10123), and to inform you as follows:

The United Nations headquarters in Jerusalem have in no way been affected by development activities now being undertaken in the city to meet urgent housing needs of the population.

I have the honour to request that this letter be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Y. Tekoa
Yosef Tekoah
Permanent Representative of Israel
to the United Nations

His Excellency
U Thant
The Secretary-General

*cc SG
Mr. B. Unguist*

*Original sent to
Mr. J. Bayarian*



PERMANENT
REPRESENTATIVE OF ISRAEL
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

15 EAST 70TH STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10021

TRAFALGAR 9-3611

8/19/71

19 February 1971

Excellency,

I have the honour, on instructions of my Government, further to my letter to you of 18 February 1971 (A/8283, S/10126) concerning the letter addressed to you on 17 February 1971 by the Permanent Representative of Jordan (A/8281, S/10123) to state the following:

It is a matter of public record that on 5 June 1967, when the Jordanian Government initiated its full scale attack on Israel in Jerusalem in spite of Israel's call to them, transmitted through United Nations channels, to refrain from doing so, they violated and occupied the compound of the United Nations Headquarters in Jerusalem.

The Secretary-General reported on this at the time, notably in the 1347th meeting of the Security Council on 5 June 1967.

It will not be overlooked that it is precisely the Government of Jordan which is now advancing spurious charges in relation to an area which was the object of its own deliberate and unprovoked aggression.

I have the honour to request circulation of this letter as an official document of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

*Pls comply -
Action 19/2
Faher*

J. Tekoa
Yosef Tekoah
Permanent Representative of Israel
to the United Nations

His Excellency
U Thant
The Secretary-General

cc SG
Mr. B. Ungkuhart

*Original sent to
Mr. J. Bazarian*



PERMANENT
REPRESENTATIVE OF ISRAEL
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

*Pl. comply.
Done
19/2/71*

15 EAST 70TH STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10021

TRAFALGAR 9-3611

19 February 1971

Excellency,

On instructions of my Government I have the honour to refer to the letter addressed to you on 12 February 1971 by the Permanent Representatives of Jordan and Lebanon (A/8280, S/10119) concerning the situation in the Gaza area, and to state as follows.

In my letter of 9 February 1971 addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/10107), I stressed that the Arab Governments bear direct and full responsibility for the acts of terror and murder carried out in the Gaza area, and consequently for disturbing the conditions of peace and order in that area.

The responsibility of Jordan and Lebanon is particularly heavy since the bases from which terror operations are conducted and from which arms and equipment are dispatched to the Gaza area, are located on Jordanian or Lebanese territory. Many terror squads captured by the Israel authorities while attempting to penetrate into the area by land or by sea have expressly admitted that they had been sent from Jordan or Lebanon. In the face of such a situation, the Israel Government had no choice but to take measures to ensure the safety, welfare and security of the population of the Gaza area and to maintain public order there.

In pursuance of its consistent policy of presenting the facts as they are, the Government has published information concerning irregularities which may have occurred in the course of these actions, and announced the conclusions drawn therefrom.

It would be a matter of interest to know if any of the Arab Governments are capable of making inquiries and publishing findings in connection with questions arising from security measures, let alone of taking measures in the light of such findings.

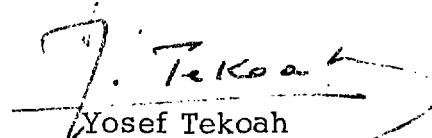
His Excellency
U Thant
The Secretary-General

*cc SG
Mr. B. Urquhart*

It is characteristic that not a single Arab Government has thus far raised its voice to condemn acts of murder and terror perpetrated by Arab terrorists against the local population of Gaza and resulting in hundreds of victims, including women and children. A recent example of these acts of bloodshed is the mining of a civilian truck in the area of Khan-Yunis on 6 February 1971. One Arab girl was killed in this murderous act and the wounded included five Arab children and one adult.

I have the honour to request circulation of this letter as an official document of the General Assembly and the Security Council. 11 (2)

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Y. Tekoah", with a large, sweeping flourish extending to the right.

Yosef Tekoah
Permanent Representative of Israel
to the United Nations



ISRAEL



PERMANENT MISSION OF ISRAEL
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

המשלחת הקבועה
של ישראל לאומות המאוחדות

15 EAST 70TH STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10021

TRAFALGAR 9-3611

PRESS RELEASE

Commenting on the Secretary-General's report
(A/8282, S/10124), the Permanent Representative of Israel,
Ambassador Yosef Tekoah declared:

Since Jerusalem's reunification in 1967, after nineteen
years of tragic bisection, the city's development has made
great strides. Development has taken place in various realms
of life and benefited all residents of the city. This is true
also of construction activities that are being carried on with
a view to meeting the urgent housing needs of the population.
These activities have in no way affected the United Nations
headquarters in Jerusalem.

19 February 1971

26/2

26 February 1971

SG from Keith Beavan:

Tekoah said on leaving:

"I transmitted the Israeli position which will make it possible for Israel and Egypt to get down to work on the details of the peace agreement. The talks can now enter into the most serious and constructive stage since the inception of the Jarring talks. Whether this happens depends on Egypt."

He did not reply to any questions.

ksn