

FBIS 106

ISRAELI FOREIGN MINISTER ALLON GIVES INTERVIEW

LD 141328 BRUSSELS LE SOIR IN FRENCH [11-12 MAY 75] P 3 LD

(UNDATED MICHEL DUBUISSON BRUSSELS INTERVIEW WITH ISRAELI FOREIGN MINISTER YIGAL ALLON: "THERE WILL BE RENEWED DIPLOMATIC ACTIVITY IN THE NEAR EAST, MR ALLON TELLS US")

(TEXT) (QUESTION) DOES ISRAEL ATTRIBUTE ANY POLITICAL IMPORTANCE TO THE AGREEMENT SIGNED WITH THE EC?

(ANSWER) THE DECISION MADE BY EACH GOVERNMENT OF THE NINE TO SIGN THE AGREEMENT WITH ISRAEL IS POLITICAL, BECAUSE IT EMANATES FROM POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS. THE IMPORTANCE OF THE AGREEMENT IS ESSENTIALLY ECONOMIC. BUT, OF COURSE, ECONOMY, POLITICS AND STRATEGY ARE ALL CONNECTED TODAY. AND, FOR THE FIRST TIME, THE NINE ARE PURSUING A BALANCED POLICY IN THE NEAR EAST.

(QUESTION) ISRAEL SOMETIMES GIVES THE IMPRESSION THAT IT DOES NOT WANT A EUROPEAN INITIATIVE IN THE NEAR EAST. WHAT ROLE DO YOU EXPECT EUROPE TO PLAY?

(ANSWER) EUROPE IS THE MOTHER CONTINENT OF MANY JEWS. MILLIONS OF THEM HAVE LIVED THERE AND IT IS ALSO TRUE THAT THEY SUFFERED THEIR GREATEST TRAGEDY THERE.

WE MUST WORK TO PREVENT THIS KIND OF TRAGEDY FROM HAPPENING EVER AGAIN. EUROPE BORDERS ON THE MEDITERRANEAN, LIKE THE NEAR EAST, INCLUDING ISRAEL. SOME 50 PERCENT OF ISRAEL'S IMPORTS COME FROM THE CUMMUNITY; 30 PERCENT OF ITS EXPORTS GO TO THE NINE. THAT IS WHY EUROPE'S WELL-BEING AND SECURITY AND THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE EUROPEAN COUNTRIES ARE CLOSELY BOUND UP WITH THE OTHER MEDITERRANEAN COUNTRIES, AND AMONG THESE ISRAEL PLAYS A CONSIDERABLE ROLE.

WE THEREFORE WANT A MORE UNITED, STRONGER, STABLE EUROPE, LESS SUBJECT TO BLACKMAIL, MORE EUROPEAN. AND THEN IT COULD PLAY A PART, IF ONLY INDIRECTLY, IN THE STABILITY OF THE NEAR EAST. WE HAVE NO RESERVATIONS CONCERNING EUROPE.

PEACE IS NOT AN INSTANT COFFEE

(QUESTION) LET US PASS ON TO THE PROBLEMS OF THE NEAR EAST. AFTER THE FAILURE--OR THE SUSPENSION--OF MR KISSINGER'S LAST MISSION, IS THERE ANY PROSPECT OF RENEWED DIPLOMATIC ACTIVITY?

(ANSWER) THIS SUSPENSION IS IN NO WAY FINAL. I BELIEVE A NEW INITIATIVE WILL BE TAKEN. IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE SUSPENSION OF THE TALKS LED BY MR KISSINGER, PRIME MINISTER RABIN AND I PUBLICLY PROPOSED TO THE UNITED STATES AND EGYPT THAT THE TALKS SHOULD BE RESUMED, AS THEY WERE INTERRUPTED BEFORE OUR LATEST PROPOSALS HAD BEEN EXAMINED BY THE EGYPTIANS. FOR MY PART, I AM EXTREMELY SATISFIED WITH PRESIDENT FORD'S INVITATION TO THE EGYPTIAN AND ISRAELI LEADERS TO MEET HIM.

AFTER 27 YEARS OF BELLIGERENCY, PREPARING FOR PEACE TAKES LONGER THAN PREPARING INSTANT COFFEE. WE HAVE SOME HOPE. NEVERTHELESS, WE ALSO HAVE TO BE CAUTIOUS IN THE FACE OF THE ACCUMULATION OF ARMS SUPPLIED BY THE USSR; WE ARE SEEKING PEACE IF IT IS POSSIBLE; WE ARE PREPARING FOR WAR IF IT IS INEVITABLE. IN OTHER WORDS, WE WANT TO BE VICTORIOUS IN THE EVENT OF A SURPRISE ATTACK AND TO SEIZE ANY CHANCE OF PEACE WHICH MAY PRESENT ITSELF.

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(QUESTION) IN THE CONTEXT OF A PARTIAL AGREEMENT, WOULD IT NOT BE IMPOSSIBLE IN THE POSSIBLE CONDITION TO DEMAND FROM EGYPT A DECLARATION OF NONBELLIGERENCY, SINCE IT WOULD MEAN DEMANDING THAT THE EGYPTIANS BREAK UP ARAB SOLIDARITY?

(ANSWER) WE HAVE NOT INSISTED ON THIS. WE--AND EGYPT ALSO--HAVE ACCEPTED A "NONUSE OF FORCE" FORMULA. BUT THE EGYPTIANS WERE NOT PREPARED TO GUARANTEE THE DURATION OF SUCH AN AGREEMENT. IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO RELY ON THE SEASONAL RENEWAL OF THE UN EMERGENCY FORCES' MANDATE. IN ADDITION, THE EGYPTIANS REFUSED TO EASE THEIR ECONOMIC PRESSURE ON JEWISH CITIZENS IN EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES. THEY WANTED TOO MUCH AND WERE OFFERING TOO LITTLE.

WE DO NOT WANT TO DRIVE A WEDGE BETWEEN EGYPT AND THE REST OF THE ARAB WORLD, BUT TO NEGOTIATE WITH EACH COUNTRY IN ACCORDANCE WITH SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338. WE DECLARE THAT A SOLUTION WILL BE FOUND FOR THE PALESTINIAN IDENTITY IN A PEACEFUL CONTEXT, AND CONSTRUCTIVELY. BUT WHY MUST SOLIDARITY SHOW ITSELF ONLY IN BELLIGERENCY, NOT IN THE SEARCH FOR PEACE?

THE PROOF OF THE PUDDING

(QUESTION) KING HUSAYN RECENTLY STATED THAT HIS COUNTRY, SYRIA AND EGYPT WANTED TO MAKE PEACE BUT THAT ISRAEL WOULD HAVE TO WITHDRAW FROM THE OCCUPIED ARAB TERRITORIES AND RECOGNIZE THE PALESTINIANS' NATIONAL RIGHTS.

(ANSWER) DESPITE MY RESPECT FOR HIS MAJESTY, I DO NOT BELIEVE HE HAS BEEN AUTHORIZED TO SPEAK FOR THE ARAB WORLD. MR AS-SADAT, FOR HIM PART, HAS SAID THAT THE PRESENT GENERATION WOULD EXPERIENCE ONLY NONBELLIGERENCY AND THAT PEACE WOULD EXIST FOR THE NEXT GENERATION.

IT IS NOT WITHOUT INTEREST THAT AN ARAB LEADER SHOULD SAY THAT HE IS PREPARED TO RECOGNIZE THE EXISTENCE OF ISRAEL. BUT THE PROOF OF THE PUDDING IS IN THE EATING; GOOD INTENTIONS CAN ONLY BE TESTED AROUND A CONFERENCE TABLE, WITHOUT PRIOR CONDITIONS. EACH PARTY CAN, IN THE COURSE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS, PROPOSE ANY SOLUTION. I AM SURE THERE IS NOT A SINGLE PROBLEM BETWEEN THE ARABS AND OURSELVES WHICH CANNOT BE SOLVED BY NEGOTIATION. BUT WE MUST NEGOTIATE.

(QUESTION) HOWEVER, IS NOT ISRAEL ITSELF FORMULATING PRIOR CONDITIONS: TO REMAIN AT SHARM ASH-SHAYKH, AT CERTAIN POINTS ON THE WEST BANK OR ON THE GOLAN?

(ANSWER) WHEN WE SPEAK OF THE NECESSITY FOR SECURITY BORDERS, IN ACCORDANCE WITH RESOLUTION 242, WE ALSO SAY THAT THIS MUST BE EXPRESSED IN GEOGRAPHICAL TERMS. BUT AS FOR WHAT THESE LINES WOULD BE OR WHERE THEY WOULD BE SITUATED, WE MAKE NO PRIOR CONDITIONS. EVERYTHING IS NEGOTIABLE.

WITH THE EXCEPTION OF UNIFIED JERUSALEM, WE HAVE NEVER ENFORCED ISRAELI LAW IN THE ARAB TERRITORIES. NEITHER HAVE WE ADOPTED THE "NOT AN INCH OF TERRITORY" PRINCIPLE. IT IS THE ARABS WHO ARE ADOPTING IT. I INSIST THAT ANYTHING IS POSSIBLE IN THE NEGOTIATIONS.

(MORE)

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XXX IN THE NEGOTIATIONS.

THE PALESTINIANS: WHEN AND HOW?

(QUESTION) ONE DAY YOU WILL HAVE TO TACKLE THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM. YOU REFUSE TO RECOGNIZE THE PLO. SO WITH WHICH PALESTINIANS WILL YOU TALK?

(ANSWER) IT IS NOT ONLY IN ITS POLITICAL PROGRAM THAT THE PLO DENIES ISRAEL THE RIGHT TO EXIST, BUT IN INTERVIEWS YASIR 'ARAFAT OR ABU IYAD CLEARLY EXPLAIN THAT ONCE A PALESTINIAN STATE HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED ON THE WEST BANK OF THE JORDAN THEY WILL DEMAND THE CREATION OF WHAT THEY CALL "THE SECULAR ARAB-JEWISH STATE." AND IF THE JEWS REFUSE? THEY REPLY THAT THEY WILL ACHIEVE IT BY FORCE.

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THEY DO NOT RECOGNIZE OUR RIGHT TO EXIST AND THEY USE ALL TERRORIST MEANS TO IMPOSE THEIR POLICY. THIS IS OBVIOUSLY CONTRARY TO BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS.

HOWEVER, DESPITE THE FACT THAT A PALESTINIAN PEOPLE HAS NEVER EXISTED IN HISTORY, I ADMIT THAT AS A RESULT OF PARTICULAR HISTORICAL CONDITIONS WE ARE WITNESSING THE EVOLUTION OF A PALESTINIAN PEOPLE.

A LARGE SHARE OF ITS NATIONAL EXPRESSION HAS ALREADY BEEN REALIZED IN THE MAJOR PART OF PALESTINE--TRANSJORDAN: IT HAS THE SAME PEOPLE, THE SAME CULTURE, THE SAME RELIGION, THE SAME HISTORY. THE PROBLEM OF THE WEST BANK COMMUNITY REMAINS. IN A CONTEXT OF PEACE WITH OUR EASTERN NEIGHBOR, A CONSTRUCTIVE SOLUTION TO THE PALESTINIAN IDENTITY WILL BE REALIZED.

IN ADDITION, AS ISRAELI FOREIGN MINISTER, I WILL NEVER ADVISE MY GOVERNMENT TO SIGN A PEACE TREATY WITHOUT THE INCLUSION OF A JUST SOLUTION FOR THE IDENTITY OF THE PALESTINIAN COMMUNITY. WE ARE LIVING WITH PALESTINIANS; WE KNOW THEM BETTER THAN THOSE WHO CLAIM TO REPRESENT THEM. WHEN THE TIME COMES WE WILL HAVE TO FIND A WAY FOR THEM ALSO TO HAVE THEIR SAY IN THE FUTURE.

HOW? THAT HAS TO BE NEGOTIATED. WHEN? WHEN IT IS TIME TO NEGOTIATE THE PERMANENT EASTERN BORDERS OF ISRAEL IN A CONTEXT OF PEACE. I DO NOT BELIEVE THAT SUCH A PROBLEM CONCERNING SUCH AN IMPORTANT GROUP WILL BE SACRIFICED TO SATISFY A BAND OF GANGSTERS. I BELIEVE IT IS A MISTAKE TO CONFUSE THE GREAT MAJORITY OF PALESTINIANS WITH TERRORISM. IT IS UNFAIR. IT IS THE MOST REALISTIC COMMUNITY IN THE ARAB WORLD AND I BELIEVE THAT COOPERATION--AND NOT JUST COEXISTENCE--WILL BE ESTABLISHED.

IF BELGIANS AND GERMANS AND JEWS AND GERMANS CAN COOPERATE, COOPERATION BETWEEN ISRAELIS AND ARABS SHOULD BE EVEN EASIER. THE REST OF THE WORLD--AND THE DEMOCRATIC WORLD IN PARTICULAR-- SHOULD NOT ENCOURAGE EXTREMISM AND TERRORISM. IT SHOULD DISCOURAGE IT.

MR GROMYKO'S POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE ASPECTS

(QUESTION) WHAT DO YOU THINK OF THE RECENT PROPOSALS BY MR GROMYKO TO THE EGYPTIAN AND SYRIAN FOREIGN MINISTERS?

(ANSWER) IT IS NATURAL TO PAY GREAT ATTENTION TO THE SOVIET FOREIGN MINISTER'S REMARKS TO MR FAHMI AND MR KHADDAM. HIS STATEMENTS CONTAIN ONE OR TWO POSITIVE POINTS.

FIRST, HE EXPLAINS TO HIS GUESTS A BASIC AXIOM: THE EXISTENCE OF ISRAEL. WHEN I HEAR THAT ISRAEL HAS THE RIGHT TO EXIST I DO NOT BECOME PARTICULARLY EXCITED. BUT WHEN THIS IS SAID OFFICIALLY BY A SOVIET MINISTER TO EGYPTIAN AND SYRIAN FOREIGN MINISTERS, IT IS IMPORTANT.

THEN THERE IS ANOTHER POSITIVE POINT: WHEN MR GROMYKO SPEAKS OF THE RESUMPTION OF THE GENEVA PEACE CONFERENCE HE SAYS THAT IT SHOULD BE PREPARED THOROUGHLY. I AM VERY GLAD TO HEAR MR GROMYKO SAY THAT.

BY CONTRAST, IT IS AN ERROR ON HIS PART TO WANT TO SET DEFINITIVE BORDERS IN THE NEAR EAST. IT IS CONTRARY TO THE LETTER AND SPIRIT OF RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 383--VOTED FOR BY THE USSR--IN WHICH IT IS CLEARLY STATED THAT THE BORDERS WILL BE NEGOTIATED.

ANOTHER NEGATIVE ELEMENT: THE USSR REFUSES TO RESUME DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL. HOW CAN A COCHAIRMAN OF A PEACE CONFERENCE BE OF USE IF IT DOES NOT TRY TO BALANCE ITS RELATIONS WITH THE PARTICIPANTS?

FINALLY, THE GUARANTEES OFFERED BY THE USSR: GUARANTEES IS A FINE WORD, AND NO ONE KNOWS WHAT THEY ARE. I BELIEVE EVERYONE UNDERSTANDS THAT ALL ISRAEL IS DEMANDING IS TO BE ABLE TO DEFEND ITSELF ALONE. THE GUARANTEES CAN BE ADDED TO THIS DEMAND BUT THEY CANNOT BE A SUBSTITUTE FOR IT.

(ENDALL)