UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 01  BONN 18565  01 OF 04  081136Z
ACTION INR-07

INFO OCT-01  EUR-12  NEA-10  IO-14  ISO-00  SSM-05  CIAE-00
   DODE-00  PM-05  H-02  L-03  NSAE-00  NSC-05  PA-02
   PRS-01  SP-02  SS-15  USIA-15 /099 W
   ------------------130010  081151Z /10
R 081124Z NOV 77
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2931
INFO AMEMBASSY CAIRO
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
AMEMBASSY AMMAN
AMEMBASSY BEIRUT
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 04 BONN 18565

INR/RNE FOR GRIFFIN

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PDEV, XF
SUBJ: INTERVIEW WITH EGYPTIAN FOREIGN MINISTER FAHMI

REF: GERMAN-GRIFFIN TELECON OF NOVEMBER 2

THE FOLLOWING ARE EXCERPTS FROM SEPARATE INTERVIEWS
CONDUCTED IN CAIRO WITH EGYPTIAN FOREIGN MINISTER
FAHMI (OCTOBER 27) AND STATE SECRETARY ALBAZ (OCTOBER
26). THE INTERVIEWS APPEARED TOGETHER IN THE HANNOVER
ZEITUNG ON NOVEMBER 1. THE QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS IN
PARAS 1,2,4,8,9,10,11 ARE FAHMI'S; THOSE IN PARAS
3,5,6,7 ARE ALBAZS.

BEGIN TEXT:

1. QUESTION: WILL THE GENEVA CONFERENCE BE RESUMED THIS
   YEAR AND IF YOUR ANSWER IS "YES", ON WHAT DO YOU BASE
   YOUR EXPECTATIONS?

   ANSWER: WE ARE NOT CERTAIN THAT THERE WILL BE A GENEVA
   CONFERENCE THIS YEAR NOR DO WE KNOW IF IT WILL EVER BE
   RESUMED. WE SAY ONLY THAT THERE IS A GOOD CHANCE THAT
   THE PEACE CONFERENCE WILL BE RESUMED. INTERNATIONAL
   UNDERSTANDING FOR THE PROBLEMS OF THE PALESTINIANS IS

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02  BONN 18565  01 OF 04  081136Z

YOUR EXPECTATIONS?
CONSIDERABLE AND THIS GIVES US A CERTAIN HOPE. ON THE OTHER HAND, ISRAEL HAS GREAT FEAR OF PEACE AND IS ATTEMPTING THROUGH PROCEDURAL QUESTIONS TO MAKE THE GENEVA CONFERENCE FAIL RIGHT FROM THE START. IF ISRAEL MAINTAINS ITS EXTREME POSITIONS AND CONTINUES TO PURSUE A POLICY OF TACTICAL DELAY, THEN THERE WILL BE NO GENEVA CONFERENCE THIS YEAR OR NEXT.

2. QUESTION: THE KEY PROBLEM OF THE MIDDLE EAST CONFLICT IS AND REMAINS THE QUESTION OF HOW TO REALIZE THE RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINIANS.

ANSWER: IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE A JUST AND LONG-LASTING SOLUTION TO THIS PROBLEM ONE WILL HAVE TO TALK TO THE PALESTINIANS. ONE CANNOT HANDLE THIS AS A REFUGEE PROBLEM OR AS AN ACCIDENT OF HISTORY THAT CAN BE CORRECTED THROUGH FINANCIAL COMPENSATION. THE PALESTINIANS ARE A PEOPLE WHOSE HOMELAND (“HEIMAT”) WAS FORCIBLY TAKEN FROM THEM. A PEOPLE WITHOUT A HOMELAND IS LOST. EVERY GROUP OF PEOPLE NEEDS A HOMELAND, OTHERWISE IT CANNOT EXIST. THIS MEANS THE PALESTINIANS NEED A HOMELAND THAT IS A STATE. THIS STATE CAN ONLY BE ESTABLISHED IN PALESTINE. THIS DOESN’T MEAN, HOWEVER, THAT THE PALESTINIANS OR WE, THE ARABS, WANT TO DESTROY THE STATE OF ISRAEL. NOWADAYS, NO ONE IS CLAIMING THE ENTIRE AREA OF UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03  BONN 18565  01 OF 04  081136Z

PALESTINE AS A HOMELAND FOR THE PALESTINIANS. WE

UNCLASSIFIED

NNN

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 01  BONN 18565  02 OF 04  081145Z

ACTION INR-07

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 NEA-10 IO-14 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00
PM-05 H-02 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-02 PRS-01
SP-02 SS-15 USIA-15 SSM-05 /099 W
------------------130104  081151Z /21
R 081124Z NOV 77
Want only West Jordan and the Gaza Strip. An independent Palestinian state should be established there. There is no reasonable ground to oppose the establishment of such a state. The Palestinians have at least the same right to a homeland as Israel, which up until 1948 historically did not exist as a state. The 1948 UN General Assembly Partition Plan for Palestine, by the way, foresees the establishment of two states in Palestine: one Israeli and the other Arab and this is, of course, entirely natural since an Arab state has always existed in this area. It is a joke of history to allow a Jewish state to exist, when one considers that another state, which had always existed, was extinguished. What we are now trying to do is correct an injustice against a people who, through no fault of their own, have become a plaything of history.

3. QUESTION: ARE THE PALESTINIANS, AND ALSO THE PLO, REALLY READY TO RECOGNIZE ISRAEL’S RIGHT TO EXIST AS A STATE?

ANSWER: THE PALESTINIANS IN THEIR TOTALITY, THAT IS, THE PLO AS WELL, ARE NOW PREPARED TO DO THAT. NATURALLY, THEY HAVE CERTAIN DEMANDS: THEY WANT TO RETURN TO CERTAIN PARTS OF THEIR HOMELAND, THAT IS, TO WEST JORDAN AND GAZA, AND THEY DEMAND COMPENSATION FOR THE INJUSTICES THAT WERE DONE THEM. BUT THEY NO LONGER DESIRE THE DESTRUCTION OF ISRAEL. IT IS NO LONGER THE PALESTINIANS THAT ARE DISTURBING THE PEACE PROCESS BY INTEMPERATE DEMANDS. ON THE CONTRARY, IT IS ISRAEL THAT IS DOING SO BY DECLARING THE WEST BANK OF JORDAN TO BE PART OF ISRAEL. JERUSALEM BASES THIS CLAIM ON A HISTORIC RIGHT WHICH DOES NOT AT ALL EXIST. AND WHAT ABOUT RIGHTS, THE HISTORIC RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINIANS? THE ISRAELIS CONTINUALLY DO DAMAGE TO INTERNATIONAL RIGHTS IN THAT THEY ESTABLISH
SETTLEMENTS IN ARAB TERRITORY. THIS POLICY CONTRIBUTES GREATLY TO ARAB FEARS THAT ISRAEL’S APPETITE FOR LAND WILL NEVER BE SATISFIED. WHO IS TO SAY THAT THE ISRAELIS WILL NOT ONE DAY OCCUPY THE NILE BANK AND DECLARE THIS TO BE THE HISTORIC LAND OF THEIR FATHERS? SUCH A POLICY GOES AGAINST THE ENTIRE BODY OF INTERNATIONAL LAW. SINCE THE ISRAELIS CLAIM HISTORIC RIGHTS, IT IS CERTAINLY NOT AN EXTREME DEMAND BY THE PALESTINIANS TO PROCLAIM THEIR RIGHT TO RETURN TO THEIR HOMELAND.

4. QUESTION: HOW CAN EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE PEACE CONTINUE TO MAKE PROGRESS?

ANSWER: ISRAEL CAN CREATE NEW OBSTACLES TO PEACE AT ANY TIME AND WE EXPECT THEM TO DO SO. OF COURSE, WE HAVE ALTERNATIVES. SHOULD THE GENEVA CONFERENCE FAIL, OF COURSE EVEN ITS RECONVENING DOES NOT IN ITSELF MEAN IT WILL BE SUCCESSFUL, THEN WE WILL TAKE THE QUESTION BEFORE THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL. THIS PRESENTS NO PROBLEM: ALL OF THE INVOLVED PARTIES, INCLUDING THE PLO, ARE REPRESENTED IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL. THE ISRAELIS COULD, OF COURSE, BOYCOTT THE SECURITY COUNCIL, BUT WHAT WOULD THAT BRING THEM? THEY HAVE ALREADY TRIED IT ONCE AND THEY RETURNED TO THE CONFERENCE TABLE AFTER ONLY ONE DAY OF ABSENCE. WE WOULD PRESENT OUR DEMANDS BEFORE THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND AT THE SAME TIME MAKE CLEAR THAT WE ARE PREPARED TO ACCEPT ALL THE DEMANDS OF SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338. WE WOULD NOT EXPECT ANY NEW RESOLUTIONS FROM THE SECURITY COUNCIL. WE WOULD, HOWEVER, EXPECT THE COUNCIL TO BECOME AN ORGAN CAPABLE OF ACTION, ONE THAT HAS THE CAPACITY TO TURN ITS OWN DECISIONS INTO REALITY. SINCE WE, IN CONTRAST TO ISRAEL, ARE WELL PREPARED TO TAKE PART IN EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE PEACE, WE ARE NOT AFRAID.


ANSWER: THIS IS UNDOUBTEDLY TRUE. TO THAT EXTENT THE PATH TOWARD NEW YORK WOULD BE A SECOND-BEST SOLUTION. HOWEVER, IT IS ONE OF MANY ALTERNATIVES, ONE OF WHICH IS, OF COURSE, ALWAYS A NEW WAR.
6. QUESTION: WOULD A NEW ROUND OF WAR REALLY SOLVE THE PROBLEM?

ANSWER: WAR DOES NOT SOLVE ANY PROBLEMS. WE SHOULD NOT LOOK AT THE MATTER FROM SUCH A PESSIMISTIC STANDPOINT. WE REALLY DON'T WANT WAR. WE--THAT IS THE ARABS, ARE INTERESTED IN PEACE.

7. QUESTION: HOW CAN ONE ACHIEVE PEACE WHEN EACH SIDE DEFINES IT DIFFERENTLY?

ANSWER: WE SEE A PEACEFUL SOLUTION AS CLEARLY AND UNAMBIGUOUSLY MEANING THE WITHDRAWAL OF ISRAEL FROM ALL OCCUPIED TERRITORIES AND THE REESTABLISHMENT OF THE RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE. IF THESE QUESTIONS ARE SATISFACTORILY ANSWERED, THEN ALL OTHER QUESTIONS CAN EASILY BE RESOLVED. BUT ISRAEL MUST
UNDERSTAND THAT WE ARE NOT PREPARED TO GIVE UP ONE METER OF OUR TERRITORY. WE WANT A LONG-TERM AND JUST PEACE IN THIS REGION. THE ARABS HAVE MUCH TO GAIN BY PEACE, ECONOMICALLY, POLITICALLY AND CULTURALLY. WHY SHOULD WE FIGHT ANOTHER WAR? FORTY PERCENT OF OUR NATIONAL INCOME MUST BE INVESTED IN OUR ARMY ANNUALLY. HOWEVER, WE WANT TO INVEST MUCH MORE OF OUR MONEY IN ECONOMIC CONSTRUCTION RATHER THAN IN WEAPONS. WE WANT TO EDUCATE OUR PEOPLE BETTER, WE WANT TO BUILD SCHOOLS, UNIVERSITIES, HOSPITALS, APARTMENTS AND FACTORIES. WE WANT TO IMPROVE THE QUALITY OF LIFE IN THIS REGION. IN ORDER TO DO THAT WE NEED PEACE, A TRUE PEACE WITH ALL OF OUR NEIGHBORS. A NEW WAR WOULD NOT ONLY CAUSE UNCOUNTABLE LOSS OF LIFE, IT WOULD ALSO MEAN THE USELESS EXPENDITURE OF GREAT SUMS OF MONEY. THAT WOULD ONLY MEAN PUTTING OFF THE PROBLEMS WITHOUT ATTACKING THEM AT THEIR ROOTS. OF COURSE, WAR ALWAYS REMAINS AN ALTERNATIVE, AS A CONSEQUENCE OF FAILURE IN GENEVA. IN THIS CASE, WAR WOULD NOT BE A MATTER SOLELY FOR EGYPT AND SYRIA, BUT RATHER A PAN-ARAB MATTER. HOWEVER, REGARDLESS OF HOW THINGS DEVELOP, A NEW WAR WILL NOT BE FOREMOST IN OUR DELIBERATIONS. WAR WILL BE THE LAST WAY OUT FOR US. THE MIDDLE EASTERN PROBLEM CAN ONLY BE SOLVED THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS. AFTER EVERY NEW WAR, WE ONLY HAVE TO RETURN TO THE CONFERENCE TABLE ANYWAY.

8. QUESTION: WOULD PRESSURE ON THE OPPONENTS FROM THE OUTSIDE BE A MEANS OF BRINGING ABOUT PEACE?

ANSWER: WE HOPE SO. WE HOPE MOST OF ALL THAT THE UNITED STATES WILL APPLY PRESSURE ON ISRAEL WHICH MAKES THEM REALIZE THAT PEACE WOULD BE OF BENEFIT TO UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03        BONN 18565  03 OF 04  081149Z

ALL PEOPLES OF THE REGION. ISRAEL'S EYES MUST BE OPENED AND THE EUROPEAN STATES CAN ALSO CONTRIBUTE TO THIS. ISRAEL HAS NEVER BEEN OFFERED AND PERHAPS WILL NEVER AGAIN BE OFFERED THIS UNIQUE CHANCE TO ATTAIN PEACE, RECOGNIZED BORDERS, AND NORMAL RELATIONS WITH HER ARAB NEIGHBORS FOR THE RETURN OF ARAB LAND AND THE RECOGNITION OF PALESTINIAN RIGHTS.

9. QUESTION: CAN EUROPE ALSO CONTRIBUTE TO PEACE? WHAT DOES EGYPT EXPECT FROM EUROPEAN COUNTRIES AS THEIR NEXT STEP AFTER THE MIDDLE EAST DECLARATION OF JUNE 1977?

ANSWER: FIRST OF ALL, WE ARE MOST THANKFUL TO THE EC COUNTRIES FOR THEIR CLEAR AND BALANCED MIDDLE EAST
DECLARATION OF JUNE 1977, WHICH WAS VERY HELPFUL. EUROPE CAN PLAY A VERY IMPORTANT ROLE IN THE MIDDLE EAST. AS OPPOSED TO THE TWO SUPER POWERS, THE EUROPEANS ARE INTERESTED IN TRUE NEUTRALITY AND STABILITY. WERE PEACE ACHIEVED, WE WOULD BE HAPPY TO SEE THE EUROPEANS AS GUARANTOR POWERS IN THE REGION. IN THIS CONNECTION, WE ARE THINKING OF THE DISPATCH OF EUROPEAN TROOPS TO THE BORDERS TO WATCH OVER THE DEMILITARIZED ZONES. THIS WOULD BE A HIGHLY WELCOME DEVELOPMENT.

WE ARE NOT DEMANDING THAT THE EUROPEANS MAKE OUR STANDPOINT THEIR OWN. WE DEMAND FAIRNESS AND OBJECTIVITY. WE WELCOMED THE DECLARATION OF BRITISH PRIME MINISTER CALLAGHAN, BEFORE A JEWISH ORGANIZATION, ACCORDING TO WHICH THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A HOMELAND ("HEIMATSTADT") FOR PALESTINIANS IN WEST JORDAN AND THE GAZA STRIP WOULD BE A PREREQUISITE FOR PEACE. WE

BELIEVE THE EUROPEANS ARE ON THE RIGHT PATH AND WE HOPE THEY WILL CONTINUE THEIR EFFORTS TO BRING THE MIDDLE EASTERN PARTIES TO THE CONFERENCE TABLE.
10. QUESTION: HOW DOES EGYPT JUDGE THE SOVIET/AMERICAN MIDDLE EAST DECLARATION?

ANSWER: THIS IS A VERY PosITIVE STEP. THIS IS THE FIRST TIME THAT THE TWO POWERS HAVE JOINTLY SIGNED A DOCUMENT WHICH SETS OUT ALL OF THE PROBLEMS OF THE MIDDLE EAST AND THE BASIS FOR THEIR RESOLUTION. BOTH SUPER POWERS AGREE THAT GENEVA IS THE CORRECT PLACE FOR PEACE NEGOTIATIONS AND THAT THE PEACE CONFERENCE SHOULD BE RECONVENED THIS YEAR. THIS IS VERY POSITIVE IN OUR VIEW. THE DECLARATION IS, INCIDENTALLY, THE FRUIT OF INITIATIVES TO OBTAIN PEACE BY THE EGYPTIAN GOVERNMENT. IF ALL THE POINTS IN THE COMMUNIQUE WERE FULFILLED BY ALL THE PARTIES, THEN THIS WOULD BE THE UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02  BONN 18565  04 OF 04  081148Z

BASIS FOR A VERY QUICK AND PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT.

11. QUESTION: HOW DO YOU JUDGE GERMAN/EGYPTIAN RELATIONS IN LIGHT OF CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT'S VISIT TO EGYPT IN A FEW WEEKS?

ANSWER: RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO STATES ARE EXCELLENT. WE ARE DEEPLY IMPRESSED BY THE SUPPORT WHICH THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC AND ITS ENTIRE PEOPLE HAVE GIVEN US. WE HAVE NO POLITICAL OR ECONOMIC PROBLEMS. WE UNDERSTAND AND RESPECT ONE ANOTHER. RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES COULD SERVE AS AN EXAMPLE FOR HOW CONSTRUCTIVE AND FRIENDLY DIFFERENT COUNTRIES SUCH AS EGYPT AND GERMANY CAN WORK TOGETHER.

END TEXT

STOESEL

UNCLASSIFIED

NNN