

SECRET

x Peace Negotiations

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TELEGRAM

0 062115Z NOV 73
FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0422
BT
SECRET SECTION 1 OF 2 TEL AVIV 8996

CONTROL: 1 6 8 2Q
RECD: 06 NOV 73 6:39PM

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DEPT PASS TO THE SECRETARY

Meir - Keating

Nov. 6, 1973

E O 11652: XGDS
TAGS: PFOR, US, IS
SUBJECT: MEETING WITH MRS MEIR

Israel: Position

1. AT HER REQUEST I CALLED ON PRIMIN MEIR AT 1700 TODAY. ALSO PRESNT WERE MORDECHAI GAZIT, DIRGEN PRIMIN'S OFFICE AND DCM.
2. MRS MEIR SAID SHE HAD ASKED ME TO CALL IN ORDER TO DISCUSS RESULTS OF HER VISIT TO WASHINGTON AND SUBSEQUENT DEVELOPMENTS. HER FIRST QUESTION WAS WHETHER I HAD HEARD ANYTHING FROM THE SECREHARY. I WAS GLAD TO BE ABLE TO TELL HER I HAD JUST RECEIVED A CABLE FROM RABAT AND TOOK OCCASION TO PASS ON TO HER SECRETARY'S REGARDS AND INFO RE MEETINGS IN RABAT. MRS MEIR WAS MOST APPRECIATIVE OF GESTURE BY SECRETARY.
3. MRS MEIR THEN DESCRIBED IN CONSIDERABLE DETAIL HER DISCUSSIONS IN WASHINGTON EXPRESSING APPRECIATION FOR GREAT AMOUNT OF TIME THAT PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY SPENT WITH HER DURING HER VISIT. SHE STATED HAT SECRETARY MADE A CANDID AND HONEST PRESENTATION OF SITUATION CONFRONTING ISRAEL AND SHE HAD TO ADMIT IT WAS A PRETTY FRIGHTENING PROSPECT. IN BRIEF, THE ARABS HAVE THE RUSSIANS PREPARED TO BACK THEM 100 PERCENT, PARTICULARLY AS CONCERNS ANYTHING THE ARABS MAY WISH TO RJECT. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE US, ISRAEL'S ONLY FRIEND, IS BESIEGED BY WESTERN EUROPEANS AND JAPANESE WHOSE PRIMARY CONCERN IS UNINTERRUPTED AND UNLIMITED ACCESS TO ARAB OIL. AS THE SECRETARY PUT IT, THE "GLOBALIZATION" OF THE CURRENT WAR THREATENS TO ALLOW ARABS TO WIN POLITICALLY WHAT THEY WERE UNABLE TO WIN MILITARILY. SHE WAS NOT CRITICISING US FOR SITUATION BUT RATHER DESCRIBING WHAT APPEARED TO BE A RATHER BLEAK PICTURE.
4. MRS MEIR NOTED THAT LAST NIGHT SHE WAS ABLE TO OBTAIN CABINET APPROVAL OF THE ISRAELI POSITION SHE HAD DISCUSSED WITH SECRETARY ON NOV 3 AND WHICH SECRETARY WOULD PRESENT TO SADAT IN CAIRO. SHE NOTED THIS HAD ALREADY BEEN COMMUNICATED TO

S E C R E T

SECRET

SECRET

Department of State

TELEGRAM



-2- TEL AVIV 8996, SECTION 1 OF 2, 06 NOV'73

SECRETARY THROUGH AMB DINIIZ. (DURING THIS DISCUSSION SHE PASSED ME A COPY OF THE PAPER USED IN THE CONVERSATION WITH THE SECRETARY, THE SUBSTANCE OF WHICH WAS APPROVED BY THE CABINET. (SEE SEPTTEL). MRS MEIR EMPHASIZED THAT CABINET APPROVED POSITION REPRESENTED LIMIT BEYOND WHICH GOI CANNOT GO. IN THIS RESPECT, GOI COULD NOT AGREE - EVEN IN PRINCIPLE - TO GO BACK TO OCT 22 LINE (WHEREVER THAT MAY BE). SHE STATED THAT IN ORDER NOT MAKE SECRETARY'S TASK IN CAIRO ANY MORE DIFFICULT AND DESPITE LACK OF EGYPTIAN COMPLIANCE WITH PREVIOUS AGREEMENTS ON POWS, GOI HAD AGREED TO ALLOW ADDITIONAL 50 RESUPPLY TRUCKS TO REACH THIRD ARMY. AS CGCCERNS THIRD ARMY, MRS MEIR STATED EGYPTIANS OBVIOUSLY WISH TO BE ABLE RESUPPLY IT FREELY AND ISRAEL CANNOT TAKE CHANCE THAT WITH TIME THIS TRAPPED FORCE MIGHT THROUGH RESUPPLY BECOME AN OFFENSIVE THREAT ON EAST BANK. IT IS FOR THIS REASON, SHE SAID, THAT ISRAEL DOES NOT BELIEVE IT CAN TRUST UN TO BE RESPONSIBLE FOR ROAD OVER WHICH SUPPLIES WILL REACH THIRD ARMY. IF SADAT REALLY WANTS PEACE SHE SAID HE SHOULD BE WILLING ACCEPT INITIAL DEAL WHICH WOULD TIE RESUPPLY OF THIRD ARMY TO EARLY EXCHANGE OF POWS AND LIFTING OF BLOCKADE OF BAB-EL-MANDEB. SHE MADE PARTICULAR POINT OF EMPHASIZING NECESSITY OF ENSURING THAT, ONCE OTHER AGREEMENTS WERE MADE, EGYPTIANS WITH RUSSIAN SUPPORT COULD NOT JUST BLOCKADE THE STRAITS WHENEVER THEY THOUGHT IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO WIN CONCESSIONS FROM ISRAEL.

5. DURING OUR CONVERSATION ON POWS, MRS MEIR STATED THAT THE EGYPTIANS HAD AGREED IN THE MEETINGS WITH GENERAL YARIV TO AN EXCHANGE OF POWS. WITH YARIV IN THE US, YARIV REPLACEMENT IN THE NEXT SESSION WAS TOLD BY THE EGYPTIAN GENERAL THAT, ALTHOUGH THERE HAD BEEN AN AGREEMENT, "THERE WERE NOW POLITICAL CONDITIONS" THE EGYPTIANS THEN PROPOSED THE EXCHANGE OF POWS FOR AN ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL FROM THE WEST BANK AND BACK TO A LINE RUNNING NORTH TO SOUTH THROUGH THE MITLA PASS. MRS MEIR THEN ELABORATED ON THE ISRAELI PROPOSAL WHICH, AFTER AN EXCHANGE OF POWS AND LIFTING OF THE BLOCKADE, RESPECTIVE FORCES WOULD WITHDRAW TO THEIR PRE-OCTOBER 6 POSITIONS, WITH A SUBSEQUENT 10 KM WITHDRAWAL ON BOTH SIDES OF THE CANAL AND UNEF FORCES INSERTED IN THE DEMILITARIZED AREAS. I ASKED WHO WOULD RUN THE CANAL AND SHE SAID SO FAR AS SHE WAS CONCERNED, THE EGYPTIANS COULD (COMMENT. WHILE I DID NOT DISCUSS SUCH A PROPOSAL, I WONDER IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS WHETHER ISRAEL MIGHT NOT BE WILLING TO MAKE A FURTHER CONCESSION AND AGREE TO HAVE THE UN BUFFER ONLY ON THEIR SIDE OF THE CANAL).

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TELEGRAM



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 FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0423-
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 S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 TEL AVIV 8996

CONTROL: 1 7 1 2Q
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6. SHE EMPHASIZED THAT SHE MET WITH CABINET FOR HOURS YESTERDAY PRIOR TO SENDING SECRETARY INFO REFERRED TO ABOVE RE ISRAEL'S POSITION. SHE ALSO NOTED HER LONG MEETING TODAY WITH THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND SECURITY COMMITTEE OF KNESSET DURING WHICH, I INFERRED FROM HER LATER COMMENTS ON THE KNESSET, LIKUD LEADER BEGIN LED AN OPPOSITION ATTACK ON GOVERNMENT'S POLICY SINCE OCT 22. (I DID NOT ASK HER FOR DETAILS OF MEETING BUT SUBSEQUENTLY LEARNED FROM GAZIT THAT AT LEAST GENERAL OUTLINES OF CABINE APPROVED POSITION WAS AIRED WITH COMMITTEE TODAY.)

7. MRS MEIR NOTED SHE WAS SCHEDULED TO ADDRESS KNESSET TOMORROW MORNING AS KICKOFF TO FULL-SCALE DEBATE ON FOREIGN POLICY WHICH WAS DEMANDED BY OPPOSITION LIKUD. SHE HAD REQUESTED SESSION BE POSTPONED UNTIL NEXT MONDAY. IN ANY EVENT, IF THIS WERE NOT ACCEPTABLE TO OPPOSITION, SHE WOULD LET THEM TALK BUT GOVT WOULD NOT DEBATE SUBSTANCE OF MILITARY AND DIPLOMATIC SITUATION WHILE SECRETARY WAS TRAVELING THROUGH ARAB CAPITALS ON SUCH AN IMPORTANT MISSION. I THANKED HER FOR THIS RESTRAINT. (WE HAVE JUST BEEN INFORMED THAT KNESSET SESSION HAS BEEN POSTPONED UNTIL MONDAY NOV 12.)

8. RETURNING TO PROBLEM OF "GLOBALIZATION" OF CONFLICT, MRS MEIR SAID SHE AND SECRETARY AGREED IT COULD BE USEFUL FOR HER TO DISCUSS MID EAST SITUATION IN THE FORUM OF THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL. SHE NOTED THERE WERE EIGHT SOCIALIST EUROPEAN PRIMINS PLUS LEADERS OF THE POWERFUL ITALIAN, FRENCH AND BRITISH SOCIALIST PARTIES WHO COULD BE EXPECTED TO ATTEND SUCH A MEETING. SHE SAID SHE HAD SPOKEN TO FRG CHANCELLOR BRANDT TODAY AND HE PROMISED TO GET BUSY TO CALL MEETING WITHIN NEXT WEEK. BRANDT'S FIRST CONTACT WILL BE DANISH PRIMIN. SHE CLAIMED BRANDT TOLD HER THAT FRG HAD BEEN UNHAPPY WITH "MODALITIES" OF SOME OF US ARMS DELIVERIES FROM STOCKS IN FRG; THIS WAS IN PAST, HE SAID, AND ASSURED HER FRG NOT PRESSURING US OVER OIL.

9. MRS MEIR EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT UNCONFIRMED PRESS REPORTS THAT SYRIANS DID NOT WISH ASST SECRETARY SISCO TO VISIT DAMASCUS. SHE EXPRESSED APPREHENSION THAT SYRIANS COULD TALK THEMSELVES

SECRET



Department of State

TELEGRAM

-2- TEL AVIV 8996, SECTION 2 OF 2, 06 NOV'73

INTO AN ATTACK AND NOTED IN THIS RESPECT THAT THERE WERE REPORTS THAT IRAQI TROOPS WERE RETURNING TO THEIR COMBAT POSITIONS PRESUMABLY AS RESULT OF BAGHDAD'S BEING REASSURED BY DAMASCUS THAT SYRIA WANTED WAR TO GO ON. SHE ALSO EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT POSSIBLE FATE OF APPROXIMATELY 120 SOLDIERS WHO ARE PRESUMED TO BE POWS IN SYRIANDS. SHE SAID SHE INSISTED ON SEEING PICTURES OF MURDERED ISRAELI BLINDFOLDED SOLDIERS WITH HANDS TIED BEHIND THEIR BACKS SINCE SHE FELT SHE MUST KNOW THE BITTER TRUTH.

SHE NOTED THE SYRIANS HAD PASSED ON OFFER OF FULL PRISONER EXCHANGE IF ISRAEL WERE TO ALLOW 15,000 FORMER CIVILIAN INHABITANTS OF GOLAN HEIGHTS TO RETURN TO THEIR VILLAGES AND TURN OVER ALL THREE OUTPOSTS ON MT. HERMON TO SYRIAN ARMY. SHE SAYS ISRAELIS HAVE INFORMED SYVUANS THEY WOULD BE PREPARED TO ALLOW CIVILIANS TO RETURN TO GOLAN HEIGHTS AND WOULD ALLOW THE TWO OUTPOSTS FORMERLY IN SYRIAN HANDS TO BE TURNED OVER TO UN, I.E., NOT FOR SUBSEQUENT RETURN TO SYRIA BUT THEIR EVENTUAL STATUS TO BE DETERMINED AS PART OF SETTLEMENT. SYRIANS HAVE NOT REPLIED OFFICIALLY BUT ARE SIGNALLING UNOFFICIALLY THEY WILL NOT ACCEPT COUNTER PROPOSAL.

10. MRS MEIR CONFIRMED THAT FEDAYEEN ACTIVITY HAS DIED DOWN AND LEBANESE BORDER HAS BEEN QUIET FOR ABOUT PAST TEN DAYS. AS CONCERNS POSSIBLE ROLE FOR PALESTINIANS IN ANY EVENTUAL NEGOTIATIONS, MRS MEIR WAS TOTALLY NEGATIVE ON ANY INDEPENDENT PALESTINIAN ROLE. SHE REITERATED GOI POSITION THAT PALESTINIANS COULD BE INCLUDED IN JORDANIAN DELEGATION AND NEGOTIATE AS JORDANIANS.

11. COMMENT: DURING COURSE OF OUR HOUR AND A HALF MEETING, MRS MEIR WAS CALM AND CONTROLLED IF VISIBLY TIRED AND GAVE THE APPEARANCE OF WANTING TO POUR OUT HER HEART TO A FRIENDLY LISTENER WITHOUT HOLDING ANYTHING BACK. SHE IS OBVIOUSLY CONCERNED ABOUT ISRAEL'S DIPLOMATIC POSITION AND APPREHENSIVE ABOUT POSSIBILITY THAT MAJOR HOSTILITIES MAY AGAIN BREAK OUT. ALTHOUGH PESSIMISTIC ABOUT CHANCES SECRETARY'S CURRENT EFFORTS WILL LEAD TO MEANINGFUL STEPS AWAY FROM WAR AND TOWARDS PEACE NEGOTIATIONS, SHE OBVIOUSLY HOPING FOR BEST. TO THE EXTENT POSSIBLE, I BELIEVE SHE AND GOI ARE TRYING TO AVOID PUBLIC DEVELOPMENTS IN ISRAEL WHICH COULD COMPLICATE FURTHER SECRETARY'S DIFFICULT AND DELICATE TASK. E.G. FEW LEAKS TO PRESS, POSTPONEMENT OF KNESSET SESSION. NEVERTHELESS, SHE MADE CLEAR THAT IF ARABS TAKE MILITARY STEPS WHICH WOULD ENABLE THEM TO BACK UP THE MILITANT RHETORIC COMING OUT OF CAIRO AND DAMASCUS, WHICH MIGHT TAKE PLACE TONIGHT, TOMORROW OR ANY TIME, GOI WILL HAVE TO ACT IN ISRAEL'S SELF-DEFENSE. SHE SAID ISRAEL COULD NOT AFFORD TO REPEAT ITS MISTAKE OF MISJUDGING ARAB INTENTIONS. SHE



Department of State

TELEGRAM

-3- TEL AVIV 8996, SECTION 2 OF 2, 06 NOV'73

WAS PARTICULARLY CONCERNED ABOUT EGYPT IN THE SHORT RUN AND, ALTHOUGH SHE DID NOT EXPECT EGYPTIANS TO INITIATE LARGE-SCALE HOSTILITIES DURING SECRETARY'S VISIT, SHE NOTED HE WOULD LEAVE CAIRO WITHIN FEW DAYS AND ISRAEL WASN'T SURE WHAT WOULD HAPPEN THEN. I HOPE WE CAN IMPRESS UPON EGYPTIANS NECESSITY FOR THEM NOT TO DO ANYTHING FOOLISH WHICH WOULD RESULT IN LOSS OF CURRENT OPPORTUNITY FOR POSSIBLE MOVEMENT TOWARDS PEACE AS WE LL AS RESULT IN LOSS OF EGYPTIAN ARMED FORCES.

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