

Top Copy : Egypt, May 19,
Visits of Vice President Mubarak

ראש הממשלה
THE PRIME MINISTER

Jerusalem, August 4, 1980

Dear President Sadat,

I thank you for your letter dated August 2, 1980, which I studied carefully yesterday evening.

Thank God, my health is good. May I tell you something of my thoughts during the illness which suddenly befell me. My good doctors put me under a machine, made in Israel, unique in its sophistication, which you saw in Haifa, and which we even export to the United States. After nearly two hours of ordeal they had a photo of my heart. The Professor decided to show it to me.

So what is the human heart? Simply, it is a pump. And I thought, God Almighty, as long as this pump is working, a human being feels, thinks, speaks, writes, loves his family, smiles, weeps, enjoys life, gets angry,

His Excellency
Mohamed Anwar El Sadat
President of the Arab Republic of Egypt
Cairo

gives friendship, wins friendship, prays, dreams, remembers, forgets, forgives, influences other people, is influenced by other people - lives. But when this pump stops - no more! What a wonder in the Cosmos is this frailty of the human body, without which the mind, too, becomes still, helpless or hapless.

Therefore, it is the clear duty of every man who is called upon to serve his people, his country, humanity, a just cause - he is duty-bound to do his best as long as the heart pumps.

I agree with you wholeheartedly that there is no nobler task than to work for peace, yes indeed, a comprehensive peace between all nations and, notably, between our nations which originate from and live in our region, known as the Middle East.

You will, I hope, forgive me for this quasi-philosophical introduction. It is relevant. Both our nations yearn for peace. I believe that both of us, too, want peace.

It is in this spirit that for the sake of sincerity and clarity, I must make several remarks concerning your detailed letter. Because, whenever you mention our meetings at Camp David, in Alexandria, in Aswan, etc., you always remind me of what you told me; but what about my response? You will agree with me that in none of our meetings was there a monologue either by you or by me. We conducted always a dialogue. You spoke; I responded. I spoke; you answered. Let us, therefore, refresh our memories.

1. You write in your paragraph 14:

"You would also recall that I offered (in El-Arish) to provide you with water that could reach Jerusalem, passing through the Negev ... You misunderstood the idea behind my offer when you said that the national aspirations of your people are not for sale."

I believe, Mr. President, that when you recreate by memory our short dialogue in El-Arish, you will agree with me that:

a) You suggested to me bringing water from the Nile to the Negev; in that conversation you never mentioned bringing the water to Jerusalem.

b) I never said that the national aspirations of my people are not for sale. That would be gross language and I never used such language in our talks. You took the initiative and made to me a double proposal. You said: We must act with vision. I am prepared to let you have water from the Nile to irrigate the Negev; and let us solve the problem of Jerusalem, because if we solve this problem, we will have solved everything.

I then responded:

"Mr. President, water from the Nile to the Negev - a good idea, indeed a great vision, but we must always distinguish between moral historical values, and such is Jerusalem, and material achievements. Let us separate the two issues: Jerusalem on the one hand, and water from the Nile to the Negev on the other hand."

2. I will, of course, come back to the issue of Jerusalem, but I would like now to respond to another point in your letter, on which you dwell rather extensively: good faith, goodwill, mutual understanding, promoting peace and cooperation.

These are the facts:

a) Your Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Dr. Boutrus Ghali, pays visits to African countries and repeatedly influences their governments not to renew diplomatic relations with Israel. Is not this unilateral action a clear breach of the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty, annex III, article 5, section 3, which stipulates:

"The parties shall seek to foster mutual understanding and tolerance and will, accordingly, abstain from hostile propaganda against each other."

This, certainly, is hostile propaganda in third countries which used to say that they cannot renew diplomatic relations with Israel as long as there is a state of war between it and an African state (Egypt). But now there is peace between

Egypt and Israel. A peace treaty was signed between us and duly ratified. Why, then, this unilateral act of hostility towards Israel?

b) If the Egyptian delegate to the United Nations Emergency General Assembly votes for the most hostile anti-Israel resolution since that other abominable resolution was adopted in the Assembly equating Zionism - one of the most humane, national liberation movements in history - with racism, (of which we, the Jews, have been and are the first victims), is not this a unilateral act of hostility contrary to our peace treaty?

c) The Egyptian delegate voted for a resolution demanding that by November 15, Israel withdraws from Judea, Samaria, (my language), the Gaza District, the Golan Heights and Jerusalem. Is not this a flagrant contradiction of the Camp David agreement? There it is written: "A withdrawal of Israeli armed forces will take place and there will be a redeployment of the remaining Israeli forces into specified security locations" - this, following the election of the self-

governing authority (administrative council). It is also written in the Camp David agreement: "All necessary measures will be taken and provisions made to assure the security of Israel and its neighbours during the transitional period and beyond."

"The transitional period," as agreed between Egypt, the United States and Israel, is five years; "beyond" is indefinite. "The remaining forces" mean army units which remain (in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza District). Yet your delegate voted in the United Nations in favour of an "ultimatum" to Israel to commence evacuation of these territories in less than five months.

d) The Egyptian delegate made a speech at the United Nations in which he said, inter alia:

i) Israel should withdraw to the pre-June 5, 1967 lines, whether on the West Bank, including East Jerusalem, and the Gaza Strip. Where, Mr. President, is this written in the Camp David agreement? The quotations mentioned above tell us of stipulations that are completely different.

ii) Israeli withdrawal should be complete including that of the military forces, settlements should be dismantled and settlers removed. Where is this passage mentioned in the Camp David agreement? Are settlements mentioned at all in the Camp David accord?

iii) "The Palestinian people should exercise, without any external interference, the inalienable and fundamental right to self-determination, including the right to establish an independent state on the West Bank and Gaza."

Thus, the Egyptian delegate to the United Nations.

However, not one word about self-determination (which, of course, means a state), or about an independent (Palestinian) state appears in any one of the pages, paragraphs, sections, subsections etc. of the Camp David agreement. Dr. Ghali, speaking on behalf of Egypt, committed almost incomprehensible deviations from, and total contradictions to, the Camp David accord which you and I signed and which our friend President Carter signed as witness, and which all of us are obligated to carry out in good faith in accordance with the old golden rule: Pacta sunt servanda.

It is not Israel, Mr. President, which commits a breach of our peace treaty or of the other, not yet fulfilled, part of the Camp David agreement; spokesmen of Egypt, of various levels, do.

3. In this conjunction it is also my duty to turn your attention again to the fact that one of your official newspapers likened me to the "embodiment of all evil in mankind," (to use a Churchillian description), Adolph Hitler. I would not refer back to this shame, were it not for the fact that this "hostile propaganda," which Egypt undertook to abstain from conducting still goes on and on in a press which is not free of Government influence. Again I was called, by one of the Egyptian newspapers, "Shylock," an epithet hurled at the Jew by all his haters and detractors who originally, in Germany, were termed "Anti-Semites." (Of course, we Arabs and Jews are all Semites). I will refrain from listing other names, or articles, or curses. But, Mr. President, is this the way "to foster mutual understanding"?

4. On Jerusalem: With this letter I attach three documents: a) my letter to President Carter of September 17, 1978; b) the Law of the Holy Places adopted by the Knesset in June 1967; and c) the Basic Law: Jerusalem, Capital of Israel, adopted by the Knesset last week.

I am aware that you wrote a letter about Jerusalem to President Carter, who also wrote to me a letter after having withdrawn his first draft. About that draft we said to our American friends that should it become official we shall not sign the Camp David agreement which was already completed on that Sunday, September 17, 1978.

I put to you a simple, logical question: By what letter should we, Israel, stand? By yours? By President Carter's? Or by the letter of Israel's Prime Minister who, on this matter, speaks for ninety-five per cent of the Israeli people, without distinction of party affiliation?

I have never misled you, nor anybody else.

Time and again I repeated that Jerusalem, in its entirety, is the capital of Israel, a city re-united and indivisible for all generations.

Yes, indeed, there are in Jerusalem places holy to Christians and Moslems. We respect them. It was not so under Jordanian occupation as far as the Jewish Holy Places were concerned. Israel assures men and women of all religions absolutely free access to the places sacred to them, guaranteed by the Basic Law forever. We know that from the point of view of religious faith Jerusalem is holy to Christians and Moslems. To the Jewish people Jerusalem is not only holy; it is their history for three millenia, their heart, their dream, the visible symbol of their national redemption.

You assure me, Mr. President, that you are for the unity of Jerusalem, but in your speech at the National Press Club in Washington, a few months ago, you demanded that "Eastern Jerusalem" be put under Arab sovereignty. This is a contradiction in terms. Two sovereignties over one city mean its re-partition. Impossible.

Jerusalem is and will be one, under Israel's sovereignty, its indivisible capital in which Jews and Arabs will dwell together in peace and in human dignity. Whosoever declares that the sovereign acts of our democratic Parliament are null and void makes a declaration which is null and void.

The same applies to our settlements in Judea, Samaria, the Gaza District and the Golan Heights. They are legal and legitimate and they are an integral part of our national security. None of them will ever be removed. I made a statement to this effect in Aswan, in your presence, in public, before the press and media of the world. I said the same, of course, to President Carter time and again since July, 1977.

5. You mentioned Resolution 242. As you will recall, that Resolution refers to withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories - not the territories - and the Resolution's authors have consistently affirmed that it does not command Israel to withdraw to the pre-June 5, 1967 lines.

Mr. President, we travelled a long road towards peace. There were discussions, nocturnal sessions, crises, renewed efforts - and let us never forget those of President Carter - until our labours bore fruit. Let us continue. We would like to have representatives of the Arab inhabitants of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza District (not the PLO) around the table. But, incited and intimidated by the inflammatory and terrorist actions of the PLO they don't come ab initio. We cannot force them. Can Egypt bring them to the table? You know the facts as well as I do. All of us invited King Hussein; he recently declared that he will never join negotiations under the Camp David agreement. Can anyone of us change his attitude? I read your speeches on this subject.

Israel showed its good faith. We could have said: let us rather wait with the autonomy negotiations until Jordan and representatives of the Palestinian Arabs join the talks. We did not say so. You were willing to go ahead with these negotiations; we accepted and we negotiate with you.

However, four times Egypt unilaterally suspended the autonomy talks. Do these repeated suspensions contribute to the urgent need of solving the problems under the Camp David accord?

Let us, therefore, dispense with further unilateral suspensions. Let us renew our negotiations. We have differences of opinion. They do not, they should not, exclude another agreement on full autonomy for the inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza (Judea, Samaria and the Gaza District) as written in the Camp David agreement.

Let us negotiate. Let us determine together the date for the renewal of the talks. Let us, as the past proves, reason together until we reach the agreement and pave the way for peace in this region, the cradle of human civilization.

With my best wishes to you and Mrs. Sadat,


Menachem Begin

Encl.

September 17, 1978.

Dear Mr. President,

I have the honor to inform you, Mr. President, that on 28 June 1967 - Israel's Parliament (the Knesset) promulgated and adopted a law to the effect: "The Government is empowered by a decree to apply the law, the jurisdiction and administration of the state to any part of Eretz Israel (Land of Israel - Palestine), as stated in that decree."

On the basis of this law, the Government of Israel decreed in July 1967 that Jerusalem is one city indivisible, the capital of the State of Israel.

Sincerely,

(SIGNED)

MENACHEM BEGIN

PROTECTION OF HOLY PLACES LAW, 5727-1967

1. The Holy Places shall be protected from desecration and any other violation and from anything likely to violate the freedom of access of the members of the different religions to the places sacred to them or their feelings with regard to those places.

2. (a) Whosoever desecrates or otherwise violates a Holy Place shall be liable to imprisonment for a term of seven years.

(b) Whosoever does anything likely to violate the freedom of access of the members of the different religions to the places sacred to them or their feelings with regard to those places shall be liable to imprisonment for a term of five years.

3. This Law shall add to, and not derogate from, any other law.

4. The Minister of Religious Affairs is charged with the implementation of this Law, and he may, after consultation with, or upon the proposal of, representatives of the religions concerned and with the consent of the Minister of Justice make regulations as to any matter relating to such implementation.

5. This Law shall come into force on the date of its adoption by the Knesset.

LEVI ESHKOL
Prime Minister

ZERACH WARHAFTIG
Minister of Religious Affairs

SHNEUR ZALMAN SHAZAR
President of the State

June 27, 1967

BASIC LAW: JERUSALEM, CAPITAL OF ISRAEL

1. Jerusalem united in its entirety is the capital of Israel.
2. Jerusalem is the seat of the President of the State, the Knesset, the Government and the Supreme Court.
3. The Holy Places shall be protected from desecration and any other violation and from anything likely to violate the freedom of access of the members of the different religions to the places sacred to them or their feelings with regard to those places.
4. (a) The Government shall diligently persist in the development and prosperity of Jerusalem and the welfare of its inhabitants, by the appropriation of special resources, including a special annual grant to the Jerusalem Municipality (Capital City Grant) with the approval of the Finance Committee of the Knesset.

(b) Jerusalem shall be given particular priority in the activities of the State's authorities for the development of the city in the financial and economic spheres and in other areas.

(c) The Government shall constitute a special body or bodies for the implementation of this Section.

July 30, 1980.