

**July 11, 1968**

**Minutes of Conversation between Yugoslav  
President Josip Broz Tito and UAR President Gamal  
Abdel Nasser in Brijuni, Croatia**

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**Summary:**

Minutes of conversation between Yugoslav President Josip Broz Tito and UAR President Gamal Abdel Nasser with occasional input from advisors. Nasser describes the situation in the Middle East, including Egypt's relations with the United States and fighting along the Suez Canal. The two leaders also discuss UN Special Envoy Gunnar Jarring's recent activities. Tito closes with a recount of his visit to Japan, Mongolia, Iran, and Moscow and an update of the Yugoslav economy.

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POSETA PRESEDNKA GAMAL ABDEL HASERA

## Z A B E L E Š K A

o razgovorima predsednika SFRJ Josipa Broza Tita i predsednika UAR Gamala Abdela Nasera na Brionima, 11. jula 1968.

Razgovori su počeli u 10,40 časova.

Sa jugoslovenske strane u razgovorima su učestvovali Edvard Kardelj, Milentije Popović, Mika Špiljak, Vladimir Bakarić, Vladimir Popović, Ali Šukrija, Marko Nikezić, Salko Fejić, Danilo Lekić i Dragomir Petrović, a sa egipatske strane predsednik Narodne Skupštine Anwar EL-Sadatt, ministar inostranih poslova Mahmoud Riad i ambasador UAR u Beogradu Hamdi M. Abouzeid.

Predsednik Tito: Mislim da bi najprije predsednik Naser mogao izložiti, u opštim crtama, svoje poglede na sadašnju situaciju, a poslije podne mogli bismo nastaviti razgovore na Vangi i rasmotriti još neke detalje, s tim što bismo tada i mi dali informaciju o našoj aktiynosti.

Predsednik Naser: Gospodine Predsedniče, veoma mi je drago da Vas ponovo vidim, kao i Vaše saradnike, Vi znate koliko je meni drago da vidim svoje prijatelje u Jugoslaviji.

Juče ste rekli da je ovo naš dvadeseti susret, a to je, mislim, vrlo redak slučaj medju šefovima država. Smatram da je naša dužnost da uložimo sve napore da bismo što više produbili ove odnose medju našim narodima, pored ostalog i na taj način što bi se medjusobno upoznavao širi krug rukovodilaca.

Odnosi izmedju naše dve zemlje vrlo dobar su primer kakvi bi trebalo da budu odnosi medju zemljama uopšte.

Još jednom bih hteo da kažem koliko sam srećan što ponovo mogu da Vas sretnem.

Sada bih kazao nekoliko reči o sadašnjoj situaciji na Bliskom istoku. Počeo bih sa pitanjem mogućnosti miroljubivog rešenja, o čemu smo već razgovarali.

Vama je poznato stanovište arapskih zemalja u pogledu miroljubivog rešenja i Rezolucije Saveta bezbednosti. Samo smo mi i Jordan prihvatili Rezoluciju Saveta bezbednosti, dok druge arapske zemlje neće da preuzmu obaveze. Ove druge zemlje smatraju da, s gledišta njihove unutrašnje situacije, ne bi bilo korisno da prihvate sve ono što se nalazi u Rezoluciji Saveta bezbednosti, to jest prestanak stanja zaraćenosti, pravo svake zemlje na egzistenciju, itd.

Predsednik sirijske vlade, prilikom svoje posete, rekao je da će, ako nastavimo ovakvu politiku, to imati uticaja na moj položaj u arapskim zemljama. Ja sam mu odgovorio da to nije važno, da je u pitanju poštenje, koje je najpotrebnije.

Mi smo pristali na Rezoluciju Ujedinjenih nacija, i izneli smo Jaringu naša gledišta o svakoj tački te Rezolucije. Onda smo zamolili Jaringa da nam iznese gledišta Izraela, ali odgovor iz Izraela nije stigao. Jaring nas je zatim zamolio da se sa njim sretnemo u jednom drugom mestu. Mi smo pristali na sastanak u Njujorku. Medjutim, tada je izraelska vlada dala izjavu da ne prihvata primenu Rezolucije UN.

Želeo bih da kažem nešto i o Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama. Od samog početka SAD su pomagale Izrael, davale mu podršku, a to čine i danas, kao što je vama naravno poznato, i u Ujedinjenim nacijama, i u Savjetu bezbjednosti, i u Generalnoj skupštini. Dale su Izraelu i avione, i lovce i bombardere, a prošle sedmice dali su im čak i rakete. Osim toga, Izrael je dobio i novac, a za novac se dobija i naoružanje, i hrana i sve ostalo.

Uticaj Velike Britanije danas više nema težinu kao ranije. Oni kažu da žele da doprinesu rešenju problema, ali dobili smo pismo od predsednika vlade Vilsona u kome postavlja pitanje zašto ne prihvatimo argumente Jaringa, što znači da imaju pogrešne informacije.

Francuska je zauzela fer stav. Ona bi želela da dodje do sastanka predstavnika četiri velike sile, na kome bi se diskutovalo o situaciji i donela rešenja.

Sovjetski Savez nam pomaže i njihova stanovišta su takodje u prilog iznalaženja miroljubivog rešenja. Ali, Amerikanci stalno nešto manevrišu, razgovaraju sa Sovjetima o pojedinim pitanjima, o čemu nas Sovjetski Savez obaveštava. No kada mi ovima kažemo da pristajemo, Amerikanci već u medjuvremenu promene stav.

Izraelci su arogantni i žele, izmedju ostalog, da Jerusalem prisajedine Izraelu, što je pre moguće, da isteraju Arape iz njihovih kuća, itd.

Smatramo da se sada, godinu dana posle poraza, nalazimo u povoljnijem položaju. Kada ste nas posetili,

avgusta prošle godine, nalazili smo se u veoma teškoj situaciji: nije bilo armije, nije bilo ničega; i ja sam Vam tada sve to i izneo.

Sada imamo odbrambenu liniju i u stanju smo da je dalje izgradjujemo. Mi smo, kao što znate, tražili da nam dodju sovjetski stručnjaci, i njih ima dosta kod nas. Medjutim, nemamo ofanzivnog oružja. Rekao sam sovjet-  
skim rukovodiocima "Zašto bi se Izraelci povukli, zašto bi napustili okupirane teritorije kada vrlo dobro znaju da mi nemamo ofanzivno oružje". Izrael nije bio u stanju da postigne svoj politički cilj, da nametne rešenje kakvo je hteo, tj. završetak rata sa potpisivanjem mirovnog ugovora. Rat su dobili, ali mi nismo bili spremni da potpišemo mirovni ugovor jer bi to značilo kapitulaciju.

Dakle, zašto bi Izrael napustio okupirane teritorije? Oni očekuju obrte u unutrašnjoj situaciji koji bi mogli da dovedu do promene režima, jer su ljudi ogorčeni zbog toga što se okupacija nastavlja, i žele da mi sada idemo u rat, jer okupacija teško opterećuje našu privredu. Prema tome, ponavljam, po koju cenu bi Izraelci napustili okupirane teritorije? Kao što je Dajan rekao, oni se ne slažu sa Rezolucijom UN.

U ovoj situaciji Sovjetski Savez je za miroljubivo rešenje, ali bez kapitulacije. Mi smo im rekli da ni po koju cenu ne možemo da ustupimo ni jedan pedalj naše teritorije. Obećali su nam da će nas pomoći da ojačamo oružane snage, da bi se naša armija iz defanzivne

pretvorila u ofanzivnu. Mislim da samo na taj način možemo rešavati pitanje mira ili rata, jer sve dok Izraelci budu smatrali da nismo dovoljno jaki da im se suprotstavimo, oni će ostati ovakvi kakvi jesu. O svim ovim detaljima mi svakodnevno obaveštavamo vašeg ambasadora u UAR.

A sada nekoliko reči o SAD. Od februara meseca oni izražavaju želju za ponovnim uspostavljanjem diplomatskih odnosa sa nama. Mi smo im odgovorili - kako možemo da ponovo uspostavimo diplomatske odnose s obzirom na stav SAD prema Izraelu. SAD treba da daju izjavu o povlačenju izraelskih trupa na liniju od 5. juna prošle godine i onda ćemo obnoviti diplomatske odnose. Ja sam se sreo sa mnogim Amerikancima. Prekosutra ću videti Maknamaru. Sa Bandijem sam razgovarao prošle nedelje, a pre toga sa Andersonom, Maklojem i mnogim drugim. Svi insistiraju samo na jednoj stvari - na diplomatskim odnosima.

Sada, ukoliko ima nekih pitanja, veoma ću rado odgovoriti na njih.

Predsednik Tito: Da li ima izgleda da dobijete ofanzivno oružje?

Predsednik Naser: Mi već sada imamo ofanzivnog oružja, ali je problem naše armije mobilnost. Imamo dovoljno topova, tenkova, ali za hitne potrebe armija nije dovoljno mobilna. Zatim, nije samo problem u mobilnosti, nego takodje i u obučavanju armije.

Predsednik Tito: Prekjuče je došlo do napada na Suec. Tom prilikom ubijeno je preko 40 civila. Izrael je u mogućnosti da pogadja sve gradove na vašoj teritoriji.

Mogao bi jednog dana napasti i Kairo. S druge strane, distanca je takva da je sredstvima kojima su do sada raspolagale oružane snage UAR bilo nemoguće dosegnuti njihove osetljive oblasti. Da li u tom pogledu imate nešto i perspektivi?

Ofanzivnim oružjem smatram ono koje može dosegnuti udaljene neprijateljske centre, koji su značajni sa vojnog stanovišta. Kada bi protivnik znao da se sa takvim oružjem raspolaže, ne bi pravio ovakve ispade kao što sada čini. Oni ruše čitav niz gradova iza Sueckog kanala. Sada je glavna meta Suec.

Posedovanje ofanzivnog oružja ne znači pripremu za napad, već upozorenje protivniku da može da strada, odnosno da se mogu dosegnuti njegova osetljiva mesta. Ja sam već iznio predsedniku Naseru svoje mišljenje da se naoružavanjem, pored ostalog, stavlja protivniku do znanja da mu se ne isplati dugo čekati, jer ga to može skupo koštati. Znači, posjedovanje takvih ofanzivnih sredstava mora da urazumi protivnika i da dovede do povlačenja sa okupiranih teritorija. Na kraju krajeva ako protivnik to ne uradi, odgovornost pada na njega. A do vojne akcije dolazi onda kada je sve spremno.

Tačno je što kaže predsednik Naser, da Izrael vrlo dobro zna sa kakvim snagama raspolaže vlada u Kairu, pogotovu u pogledu vojnog potencijala.

Predsednik Naser: Hteo bih da primetim da nedavni napad na grad Suec nije prvi, da su gradovi Suec i

Ismailija vrlo slabe tačke, da su izloženi artiljerijskoj vatri, jer se nalaze u blizini položaja izraelske artiljerije. Prošle godine, svakoga dana bombardovali su naizmenično Ismailiju i Suec, i ubijali dnevno po 30-40 civilnih lica. Tada je vlada donela odluku da evakuiše stanovništvo ovih gradova, tako da smo iz njih iselili oko 200.000 ljudi. Ostavili smo samo one čije je prisustvo zaista neophodno. Onda se postavilo pitanje odmazde u vezi sa čim postoje i određeni planovi. Kao što znate, kada smo potopili njihov razarač "Ejlat" Izraelci su bombardovali naše rafinerije nafte. Generalštab naše armije, ministar odbrane i mnogi drugi smatrali su da na to treba odgovoriti bombardovanjem Haife. Kada sam bio upoznat sa tom odlukom rekao sam da mi nismo spremni za odmazdu, jer je u to vreme izraelska avijacija bila jača.

Predsednik Tito: Mislím da bi bilo besmisleno da se bombarderima napada Haifa ili neko drugo područje u Izraelu, kada je poznato da Izrael raspolaže snažnom odbranom, avijacijom i protivavionskim naoružanjem. Na taj način se, po mom mišljenju, ništa ne bi dobilo. Ja sam mislio da se to čini na drugi način, raketama, a osim toga, ne bi trebalo da cilj bude Haifa već vojni centri i objekti.

Predsednik Naser: Sada razmišljamo o partizanskom ratovanju. Dobro saradjujemo sa partizanima, pomažemo ih, obučavamo i dajemo im svu podršku, a oni pojačavaju svoje akcije. Izraelcima nanose dosta ljudskih žrtava.

Izraelcima nije toliko stalo ako izgube nešto od svoje vojne tehnike, nego ih više pogadja gubitak u ljudstvu.

Predsednik Tito: Postavio bih još jedno pitanje.

Ja sam gospodinu Predsjedniku uputio poruku u kojoj sam ga detaljno obavijestio o svom razgovoru sa Goldmanom. Vjerovatno je da sam Goldman misli iskreno, ali koliko sam do sada mogao da se uvjerim, on nema dovoljno uticaja u Izraelu da bi se gledišta koja iznosi shvatila tamo kao nešto o čemu bi se moralo voditi računa.

Na nedavnoj skupštini Svjetskog jevrejskog kongresa, na kojoj je ponovo izabran za predsjednika, on je govorio da bi poslije toliko vremena Izrael trebalo da realističnije gleda na stvari.

Nisam detaljnije upoznat kakvo je Vaše mišljenje o tome.

Predsednik Naser: Kada sam se upoznao sa gledištima Goldmana, bio sam iznenadjen. Jer, mi pratimo izraelsku štampu, znamo šta se tamo dešava i kakvi su njihovi unutrašnji konflikti. U izraelskoj štampi bilo je napada na Goldmana, optuživali su ga da se meša u spoljnu politiku Izraela. Takvu izjavu dala je i izraelska vlada posle posete Ebana skandinavskim zemljama. Slične izjave davali su Dajan i drugi.

Nisam mogao da verujem u ono što govori Goldman. Mislim da je on inteligentan čovek koji vidi daleko, koji naravno zna da, ako Izrael želi da živi mora da ima dobre odnose sa svojim susedima. Slažem se sa svim onim što Vam je rekao Goldman. On želi najbolje, ali je pitanje kako da se to sprovede u život.

Predsednik Tito: Za mene je Vaše mišljenje važno i radi toga što Goldman insistira da ponovo dodje. Ne bih želio da ga primim, ako to nema neke svrhe.

Predsednik Naser: Ja mislim da bi to bilo korisno. Ne može se reći da Goldman nema uticaja, jer čovek koji ima takav položaj mora da ima i uticaja. Ali taj uticaj nije moćan, jer Izraelci rade jedno, a govore mu drugo, pošto žele da od njega dobiju pare.

Predsednik Tito: Goldman je i rekao: "Ako ovi u Izraelu neće da se urazume, imamo i druga sredstva kojim ćemo im dokazati da se moraju malo zamisliti". Jevrejska organizacija sakuplja značajna sredstva i materijalnim faktorom može da utiče. Tačno je da oni imaju velike mogućnosti, ali je pitanje da li svi jednako misle. Ipak su to sve kapitalisti.

Predsednik Naser: Goldman je imao posebne sastanke sa svakim izraelskim ministrom, a to je ipak nešto drukčije nego kada bi imao sastanak sa celim kabinetom. Ovako, svaki od njih sluša, razgovara sa njim, slaže se, bez obzira kakvo je njegovo stvarno gledište.

Predsednik Tito: Izgleda da se sada ponovo došlo u ćorsokak u pogledu primjene Rezolucije Savjeta bezbjednosti. Prema nekim informacijama, Jaring ide u London radi ponovnog pokretanje nekih akcija. S obzirom da Izrael prati sve što se događa, izraelska vlada uputila je u London svog predstavnika da bi bili u toku eventualnih razgovora. Majkl Stjuart je takodje dao neke izjave. Ali, pošto predsjednik Naser kaže da su Englezi

slabo informisani, ne znam da li će od toga biti neke koristi. Da li Englezi mogu da budu medijatori, da li mogu nešto da učine? Ja mislim da Englezi bez Amerikanaca ne mogu ništa uraditi.

Predsednik Naser: Moralo bi da dodje do sporazuma izmedju SAD i Sovjetskog Saveza.

Predsednik Tito: Iz posljednjih informacija vidi se da Amerika daje Izraelu rakete, a to nije slučajno. Čuli smo da je Izrael dobio i bombardere. Kako Sovjeti gledaju na to? Da li su nešto preduzeli kod Amerikanaca, jer sa njima održavaju dijalog, imaju čak i stalnu telefonsku vezu.

Predsednik Naser: Što se tiče raketa, vest nam je stigla suviše kasno, nakon naših razgovora u SSSR. Mi smo uglavnom vodili razgovore prva dva dana posete. Sovjetski rukovodioci su nam rekli da je za vreme prošlogodišnje krize korišćena direktna telefonska linija sa Vašingtonom i da kritične noći nisu ni spavali. Kazali su takodje da im stoje na raspolaganju i druga sredstva uticaja na SAD, i da zbog toga mi ne treba da napustimo ideju iznalaženja miroljubivog rešenja. Rekli su nam isto tako da postoji niz pitanja i mnogo stvari u čitavom svijetu za koje su SAD zainteresovane. /Predsednik Tito: To nije slučajno./ Ja sam im rekao - ono što je uzeto silom, mora silom i da se oduzme. Na to su mi oni potvrdno odgovorili - ali su dodali da kada se kaže "silom", to može značiti i političkom silom.

Predsednik Tito: Ja se potpuno slažem sa Vašim stanovištem da treba što je moguće više koristiti sva politička sredstva, a takodje u isto vrijeme <sup>jačati</sup> svoje snage. Ako se problem ne mogne nikako riješiti političkim sredstvima, ostaje da se jednog dana rješava silom. Šta se drugo može? Ako se zatvaraju oči pred stvarnošću i ne preduzmu efikasne mjere, Izrael nikada neće napustiti zauzete teritorije.

Predsednik Naser: To bi značilo da uzalud trošimo naš novac.

Predsednik Tito: Stvar je u tome što se i danas upotrebljava sila tamo gdje se nema nikakvih prava. Medjutim, kod vas je situacija drugačija i ako se rješenje ne može postići na drugi način onda je opravdana i upotreba sile.

Prošla je godina dana od izraelske agresije. Za to vrijeme raspoloženje javnog mnjenja promijenilo se u velikoj mjeri u korist arapskih zemalja. Ovo što Izrael čini, odbacujući primjenu Rezolucije Savjeta bezbjednosti, samo ide na njegovu štetu, jer izaziva ogorčenje u svijetu. I, ako jednog dana arapske zemlje, u prvom redu UAR, budu smatrale da su dovoljno snažne i da mogu da upotrebe silu, a uvidi se da se rešenje na drugi način ne može postići, onda upotreba sile neće tako iritirati svijet. Jer, vidjeće se da je to opravdana borba arapskog naroda za odbranu svog teritorijalnog integriteta. Samo, u pitanju je vrijeme, tj. da li se može tako dugo čekati i izdržati, dok se izvrše sve pripreme, a treba imati na umu da će i druga strane i dalje dobijati pomoć, koju uostalom, i sada primaju od Amerikanaca.

Partizansko ratovanje na okupiranim teritorijama može, po mom mišljenju, imati veliki značaj. Jer, kada se razviju partizanske akcije, kada dodje do oštećenja važnih komunikacija, onda to može da bude veoma opasno za tako malu zemlju kao što je Izrael. Rasplamsavanje partizanskog rata slabilo bi izraelske snage.

Na kraju bih rekao da se slažem sa izlaganjem predsjednika Nasera o tome da će UAR i dalje pokušavati da nadje rješenje političkim sredstvima, da prihvata Rezoluciju koja je donijeta u Savjetu bezbjednosti i pored njene nepotpunosti, a da, s druge strane, priprema svoje vojne snage kako bi se, ako jednog dana bude potrebno, poslužili i tim sredstvom.

U vezi s tim smatram da je isto tako potrebno objasniti širokim masama, kao i armiji, da je momentano nemoguće, odnosno da je vrlo riskantno preduzimanje nekih vojnih poduhvata koji ne bi doveli do uspjeha. Jer, neuspjesi u tom slučaju imali bi mnogo opasnije posljedice nego poraz u junu prošle godine.

Ja sam želio da postavim samo ova dva pitanja. Možda bi ostali drugovi mogli još nešto da kažu?

Edvard Kardelj: Hteo bih da nešto upitam.

U vezi razgovora sa Jaringom i njegovim odlaskom u London, u štampi se piše o nekim novim inicijativama predstavnika UN, pa čak i vlade UAR. Da li u tome ima nečeg realnog ili se više radi o tome da se da jedna injekcija?

Predsednik Naser: Ministar inostranih poslova Rijad jutros je pročitao depeše u kojima se govori o Jaringovoj misiji, pa bi on mogao o tome da kaže.

Mahmud Rijad: Ja sam se sastao s Jaringom u Štokholmu, a posle toga on je razgovarao sa Ebanom u Kopenhagenu, a sada ponovo sa Rifajem. Sastao se takodje i sa predstavnikom Izraela koji je stigao u London.

Danas sam primio telegram od ministra Rifaja u kojem govori o rezultatima razgovora sa Jaringom. Jaring je rekao Rifaju da je UAR zauzela veoma konstruktivan stav, sa kojim je on veoma zadovoljan, kao i sa našim razgovorima u Štokholmu. Za njega problem još uvek predstavlja Izrael, koji uporno i nepopustljivo ostaje pri svome. Jaring smatra da nije bilo korisno što je otišao sa Kipra u Njujork. Pomišlja na ponovni povratak na Kipar odakle bi, kao i ranije, obilazio prestonice zemalja Bliskog istoka.

Jedina nova stvar je britanski komentar da je Jaring sada pošao novim putem. On nastoji da se sastane sa rukovodećim ličnostima velikih sila. Naime, već je razgovarao sa Sovjetima, a sada u Londonu održava sastanke sa predstavnicima britanske vlade. Ovi komentari ohrabruju Jaringa da nastavi tim putem, jer se smatra da će se na taj način izvršiti novi pritisak. Medjutim, on nema nikakvih novih predloga. Jaring je rekao da ne može da dodje do nekih predloga dok se Izraelci ne izjasne da li prihvataju primenu rezolucije Saveta bezbednosti, i dok ne daju svoje tumačenje termina "sigurne granice".

Predsednik Naser: Naš ministar inostranih poslova nije, kao što ste čuli, mogao da nam kaže ništa novo.

Predsednik Tito: Moramo biti strpljivi.

Edvard Kardelj: I mi smo tu stvar tako ocenili, posebno nakon razgovora našeg ambasadora u Vašingtonu sa ministrom Raskom. Din Rask mu je rekao da je sada nešto veći optimist nego ranije. Ali nakon toga ništa novo nije učinjeno. To je, očigledno, više igra.

Mahmud Rijad: Rask je takodje rekao ministrima inostranih poslova zemalja NATO-a, prilikom njihovog poslednjeg sastanka na Islandu, da SAD ne mogu vršiti nikakav pritisak na Izrael.

Predsednik Tito: Govore da ne mogu da vrše pritisak, a šalju rakete Izraelu. To je nepošteno.

Mogli bismo sada da nastavimo razgovor i o drugim pitanjima.

Ja mogu ukratko da informišem o posjetama Japanu, Mongoliji i Iranu, a zatim o razgovorima u Sovjetskom Savezu. Pored toga, kod nas je bio u posjeti predsjednik Indije Zakir Husein.

Posjeta Japanu uslijedila je na osnovu poziva koji nam je uputila japanska vlada još prije dvije godine. Ja sam prošle godine odgodio tu posjetu, a ove godine smo tu obavezu izvršili. Interesantno je da su oni vrlo uporno insistirali da dodje do posjete. To je bila prva posjeta predsjednika jedne socijalističke zemlje Japanu.

Po našem mišljenju, razlog za to insistiranje leži u tome što se Jugoslavija nalazi medju nesvrstanim zemljama.

Oni su veoma zainteresovani za politiku nesvrstanih zemalja, jer/sami nalaze u prilično izolovanoj situaciji usled svoje vezanosti za SAD. Njima su očigledno potrebne mogućnosti za prevazilaženje te izolacije.

Za vrijeme razgovora sa predsjednikom i ministrima japanske vlade oni su nam kazali da sa Amerikancima imaju pakt uzajamne pomoći i odbrane, da im taj pakt donekle i koristi, ali da ipak žele da vode drukčiju spoljnu politiku. Oni su u svoj Ustav unijeli odredbu koja zabranjuje rat kao sredstvo politike i zalažu se za mirno rešavanje spornih pitanja. A da bi mogli da realizuju svoje političke i ekonomske ciljeve potreban im je širi prostor, naime oni žele da istupaju na međunarodnom planu kao zemlja koja nije vezana samo za SAD već koja ima slobodne ruke. Kažu nam da pošto su odbacili rat kao politiku i sredstvo osvajanja, žele da svojom proizvodnjom i što kvalitetnijim proizvodima osvajaju tržišta u čitavom svijetu.

Njima je prilično simpatična naša aktivnost u vezi sa predstojećom konferencijom nesvrstanih. Kažu da se potpuno slažu sa principima kojima se rukovodi naša zemlja i da to odgovara njihovim gledanjima na zbivanja u svijetu.

Ja sam u Tokiu primio predstavnika Socijalističke partije, koja je brojčano i po svome uticaju druga u Japanu. Oni su u vrlo oštroj opoziciji protiv sadašnje vlade.

Vode veliku borbu i ne znam kako će na sledećim izborima proći predsjednik Sato. Oni su takodje veoma povoljno ocijenili ulogu nesvrstanih i izrazili želju da njihov predstavnik, u bilo kom svojstvu, učestvuje na predstojećoj konferenciji šefova država i vlada nesvrstanih zemalja.

Moram da kažem da smo stekli veoma pozitivan utisak o Japanu kao zemlji koja se vrlo brzo tehnički razvija. Oni imaju ogromne vrlo moderne fabrike. U toku boravka posjetio sam sa drugovima dvije fabrike. Jednu u Jokohami, koja proizvodi tankere kapaciteta do 270.000 tona, i fabriku elektronike u Osaki, u kojoj je zaposleno 40.000 radnika, od čega 5.000 inženjera i 8.000 tehničara. Interesantno je da u Japanu postoje dvije velike fabrike elektronike koje proizvode televizore u boji i razne druge elektronske uređaje. Između tih fabrika je vrlo oštra konkurencija na unutrašnjem tržištu, ali na tržištima van zemlje zajednički nastupaju. Na tome im treba pozavidjeti. To, na primjer, nije slučaj u Jugoslaviji.

Stekli smo utisak da je to zemlja sa ogromnim potencijalnim mogućnostima, iako uvoze 85% sirovina, i to naročito ugalj, petrolej, rude itd. Mislim da Japan ima veliku budućnost. Ne mislim da se tamo mogu otkriti neka veća nalazišta ruda. Medjutim, oni brzo napreduju, zahvaljujući visokom tehničkom obrazovanju ljudi, velikom broju inženjera i tehničkog kadra uopšte, tako da već sada prodaju inostranstvu rad i znanje.

Paš zbog tolikog uvoza većina njihovih fabrika nalazi se na obali mora, jer se time smanjuju troškovi transporta.

Nas je također impresionirala visoka radna disciplina kakvu nekada nisu imali ni Nijemci.

Predsednik Naser: Da li je cela zemlja tako disciplinovana?

Predsednik Tito: Svi su disciplinovani, i u preduzećima i na svakom drugom mjestu.

Također su veoma povoljan utisak ostavile i komunikacije. Na primjer, Tokio je prenaseljen grad, ali većina komunikacija izgrađena je iznad krovova, preko kojih vrlo brzo jure vozovi, automobili itd. Uopšte, uzev, prevoz je zaista dobro organizovan.

U Tokiu ima deset miliona stanovnika, Osaka sa okolinom ima 6 miliona stanovnika, a i svi ostali gradovi su vrlo razvijeni, sa najmodernijim komunikacijama.

Osim Japana posjetili smo i Mongoliju. Ulan Bator, koji je nekada bio selo, danas je već prilično moderan grad sa 250.000 stanovnika, što predstavlja oko jednu četvrtinu ukupnog stanovništva.

Predsednik Naser: Da li ste leteli preko Kine?

Predsednik Tito: Nismo, morali smo ići okolo.

Predsednik Naser: Jeste li ranije bili u Mongoliji?

Predsednik Tito: Nisam

Predsednik Naser: Ja sam u Mongoliji bio pre dve godine.

Predsednik Tito: Mi smo se prilično iznenadili kada smo saznali da Mongolija raspolaže velikim rudnim bogatstvima. Sada grade, uz pomoć SSSR-a, čitav novi grad, Darhan, u kome će biti velika valjaonica čelika. U blizini toga grada su nalazišta visokokaloričnog uglja i željezne rude.

Mongolija raspolaže i velikim količinama drugih ruda: baktom, cinkom, zlatom itd. Sada je počela da se industrijski razvija, a Sovjetski Savez i druge socijalističke zemlje učestvuju u njenoj izgradnji.

Mongolija ima nekoliko hiljada kilometara granice sa Kinom, ali nema dovoljno vojske da bi održavala pograničnu službu, tako da su sada tamo prisutne sovjetske trupe, mada ne na samoj granici. Naime, postoji stalna prijetnja Kine da jednog dana mora pripojiti Mongoliju, što Kinezi i danas propagiraju.

Razgovarao sam sa Cedenbalom i drugim rukovodiocima. Vama možda nije poznato da je konflikt između Sovjetskog Saveza i Kine starijeg datuma. O tome mi je Cedenbal detaljno govorio. Još 1947. godine, za vrijeme Staljina, kada je Mikojan posjetio Kinu, Mao Ce Tung mu je rekao da Mongolija treba da se prisajedini Kini. Mao Ce Tung tada još nije ni bio na vlasti, već Čang Kaj Šek. Staljin je to tada odlučno odbio, i čini mi se da je on više cijenio Čang Kaj Šeka nego Mao Ce Tunga, baš zbog toga što se sa Čang Kaj Šekom mogao lakše sporazumjeti u pogledu Mongolije. Kao što sam rekao, tada je Staljin odgovorio da nema ni govora o tome da bi se Mongolija mogla pripojiti Kini.

Kasnije, negdje 1952. godine, kada je jedan od sovjetskih rukovodilaca bio u Pekingu, Mao Ce Tung je u prilično energičnoj formi tražio da se već jedno riješi pitanje pripajanja Mongolije Kini, jer da je to kineska teritorija. Ovaj sovjetski rukovodilac je, međutim, rekao da nema nikakva prava da daje obećanja nego da to mora javiti u Moskvu. Staljin je vrlo oštro odgovorio: izbijte to iz glave, jer ne dolazi u obzir, Mongolija je nezavisna zemlja i narod te zemlje treba sam da odlučuje. A ni u kom slučaju ne može se reći da je to kineska zemlja i da je treba pripojiti Kini.

Međutim, Kinezi se ni do danas nisu odrekli tog zahtjeva, i prema riječima Cedenbala, u svojim geografskim kartama ucrtavaju Mongoliju u okviru Kineskih granica. Po mom mišljenju, to je jedan od vrlo važnih elemenata u sukobu između Kine i Sovjetskog Saveza.

Pored toga, Kinezi ispoljavaju ekspanzionističke tendencije za pripajanjem velikog dijela dalekoistočnih teritorija Sovjetskog Saveza. Znači, sukob nije ograničen na ideološko područje, već se preneo i na međudržavne odnose.

Zbog toga svega, u Mongoliji je situacija stalno napeta. Da u Kini nije došlo do kulturne revolucije i međusobnog ubijanja, možda bi situacija na granici danas bila još i teža. Mongoli se, naravno, potpuno oslanjaju na Sovjetski Savez, jer nikako ne bi htjeli da padnu pod Kinu.

Iz tzv. unutrašnje Mongolije, gdje je pretežan dio stanovništva mongolski, Kinezi, prema riječima Cedenbala i drugih iseljavaju Mongole u Tibet i drugdje. Oni infiltriraju Kineze u to područje i u svaku porodicu gdje ima mladih žena stavljaju po jednog Kineza da bi na taj način promijenili strukturu stanovništva. To što rade Kinezi zaista je nemoguće. Inače, na toj granici dolazi stalno do sukoba. Na primjer, Kinezi upadaju na mongolsku teritoriju. Hvataju i odvođe stoku.

Kada čovjek ima u vidu ogromno prostranstvo Mongolije na čijoj se granici nalazi takva sila kao što je Kina, perspektiva je dosta teška.

Poslije Mongolije posjetili smo Iran, čime smo uzvratili posjetu Šaha Jugoslaviji. Iran je sada počeo prilično brzo da se razvija. Oni dobijaju za naftu 800 miliona dolara godišnje. Imaju takodje i ogromne količine gasa. Sada su sa Sovjetskim Savezom sklopili sporazum o izgradnji plinovoda i prodavaće im u velikim količinama gas. Kod Isfahana su otkrivena nalazišta ogromnih količina željezne rude, kao i uglja visoke kalorične vrijednosti. Sada uz pomoć Rusa grade jednu veliku čeličanu, koja će započeti proizvodnju sa 2 miliona tona, a u drugoj fazi će proizvoditi do 5 miliona tona čelika. Uslovi za proizvodnju biće vrlo povoljni, jer tamo protiče dosta velika rijeka, jer inače vode u Iranu ima malo. Šah je nacionalizovao vodu, jer je ona ranije bila u vlasništvu bogataša koji su je prodavali seljacima.

Agrarnom reformom Šah je oduzeo dio zemlje od bogataša, jer je skoro sva zemlja bila u rukama veleposjednika, pa i samog Šaha, u čijem je vlasništvu bilo oko 2.000 sela. Seljaci su radili u napolicu. Ukupno je oko 20.000 sela bilo u veleposjedničkim rukama. Šah je svoju zemlju dao seljacima pod određenim uslovima, tj. da se postepeno otplaćuje. Uzimajući zemlju bogatašima, Šah je namjeravao da sela proglasi slobodnim. Bilo je zbog toga i pokušaja atentata na njeta. Poslije toga vlada je odlučila da otplaćuje zemlju bogatašima koja se daje seljacima. To je bila njihova agrarna reforma - prelazak iz srednjeg vijeka, davanje zemlje seljacima koji je obrađuju pod određenim povoljnim uslovima.

Inače, moram da kažem, da je tamo dosta učinjeno posljednjih nekoliko godina. Mi imamo u Iranu priličan broj naših stručnjaka koji rade na raznim sektorima, u oblasti istraživanja, kao savjetnici u poljoprivredi, itd. Šah je sada riješio da ide na stvaranje velikih farmi. Na tome su angažovani i neki naši stručnjaci.

Šah inače govori da CENTO-pakt sa vojnog stanovišta nema više nikakvog značaja - da je to zamrla stvar. Ovako nam je Šah objasnio politiku Irana: Prije II svjetskog rata Iran se nalazio pod uticajem Engleza, za vrijeme II svjetskog rata pod uticajem Engleza i Rusa. Nakon rata orijentisali su se pretežno na Zapad, koji ih je izložio stalnom pritisku. Sada, kada su nešto ojačali ekonomski, riješili su da se ne vezuju ni za Zapad ni za Istok, već žele saradnju sa svim zemljama i nastoje da vode nezavisnu politiku. Unapredjuju saradnju sa

Sovjetskim Savezom, a zadržavaju saradnju sa Zapadom. Po svemu sudeći, njima bi odgovarala politika nesvrstavanja.

#### Toliko o Iranu.

U toku našeg puta, iz Moskve su nam predložili da se na povratku iz Irana zadržimo u SSSR i da razgovaramo. Mi smo se složili. Imali smo vrlo opširne razgovore sa sovjetskim rukovodiocima. Po spoljnopolitičkim pitanjima imali smo uglavnom identična gledišta. O pitanjima Bliskog istoka, Vijetnama i sadašnje međunarodne situacije uopšte nije bilo razlike. Nakon toga smo govorili o unutrašnjim pitanjima. Brežnjev je izložio njihovu unutrašnju situaciju, zatim koliko daju za pomoć Vijetnamu. To su svakako ogromna sredstva. /Vladimir Popović: Dve milijarde rubalja/. Dakle, oko 2,5 milijarde dolara. Brežnjev je takodje rekao da će SSSR i dalje pomagati UAR i arapske zemlje, da to smatraju svojom obavezom itd.

Kada su govorili o unutrašnjem razvitku SSSR, naglasili su da je kod njih sve u najboljem redu. Jasno je da oni imaju velikih rezultata i u Sibiru i drugdje, ali nisu ništa govorili o teškoćama, a svi znamo da ih imaju.

U isto vrijeme oni su kritikovali naš unutrašnji razvoj, govoreći da otvaramo vrata stranom kapitalu, da imamo besposlenih radnika, da kod nas privreda ne napreduje itd.itd.

Razumije se, mi smo razgovarali onako kako razgovaraju braća, tj. prilično oštro. Ja sam rekao da oni pogrešno ocenjuju naš unutrašnji razvitak, jer teškoće koje imamo mi ćemo sami razriješiti i o tome oni ne treba da vode brigu. Brežnjev, na primjer, kaže da njihovim ljudima teško pada kada vide da kod nas ne ide sve kako treba. Ja sam mu odgovorio - to je zato što vaši ljudi ne znaju kako je kod nas, jer ih vi nedovoljno obavještavate. Podsjetio sam ih i na 1948. godinu, kada je Staljin prekinuo sve ugovore sa nama ostavljajući nas takoreći na cjedilu. Mi smo se tada morali obratiti tamo gdje smo mogli dobiti pomoć, ali se nikada nismo prodali. Mi smo znali da sačuvamo svoju nezavisnost.

Smatramo da je bilo dobro što smo tako otvoreno porazgovarali, jer je ovo, čini mi se, prvi put bio vrlo otvoren dijalog. Mi smo vrlo odlučno kazali - ne, kad se radi o našim unutrašnjim pitanjima. Mi ih sami rješavamo i sami ćemo ih riješiti. Direktno smo istakli da ne treba da se miješaju u naše unutrašnje stvari i, na kraju, sve se dobro završilo. I oni su bili zadovoljni što smo tako otvoreno razgovarali.

Ja sam rekao da mi imamo izvjesnih teškoća, da smo preduzeli privrednu reformu i da činimo sve što je moguće da je sprovedemo. Brežnjev je dodao da nam ne ide kako treba. Kazali smo da to znamo, ali da će ipak ići i da ćemo sve teškoće sami riješiti.

Oni su zatim pomenuli pad proizvodnje kod nas. Niz godina naša proizvodnja imala je stopu rasta od 11-17%, ali su tada postojale i inflacionističke tendencije. Sa privrednom reformom mi smo te pojave likvidirali. Sada već jasno dolaze do izražaja preorijentacija i reorganizacija u našim preduzećima. Sigurno je da su u ovom periodu mnoga preduzeća došla u vrlo težak položaj. No mi smo i znali da će doći u težak položaj i da će proizvodnja u početku opasti. Prošle godine porast proizvodnje iznosio je svega 3%.

Mika Špiljak: Prve dve godine posle privredne reforme, proizvodnja je rasla za 6% godišnje, a prošle godine za 3%.

Predsednik Tito: Ove godine, pošto su izvršene veće promjene u strukturi proizvodnje, pošto se naša industrija već malo reorganizovala - proizvodnja je ponovo počela brže da raste.

Mika Špiljak: Za prvih pet meseci porast proizvodnje iznosi 3,6%, a predviđa se da će u ovoj godini porasti za 5%.

Predsednik Tito: Samo, taj porast proizvodnje nije ravnomjeran u cijeloj zemlji; u Sloveniji, na primjer, postignut je porast od 10%. Uglavnom, sve ukazuje, da nam proizvodnja sada ponovo raste.

Sovjetski rukovodioci sigurno vide ono što se kod nas dešava, ali ne razumiju u čemu je suština. Naša odlučnost im je pokazala da niko ne može da se miješa u naše unutrašnje stvari. Jer, mi se ne miješamo u njihove,

pa ne treba ni oni da se miješaju u naše. Rastali smo se vrlo prijateljski.

Poslije razgovora o pitanjima unutrašnjeg razvitka govorili smo o zbivanjima u Čehoslovačkoj. U tom pogledu nismo se odmah mogli složiti, jer ja sam rekao da su događaji u Čehoslovačkoj stvar te zemlje i da su oni dovoljno snažni i složni da pitanja svoga razvitka sami rješavaju. Međutim, oni su kazali da postoji opasnost da se u Čehoslovačkoj ponovo vrati kapitalizam ili da dodje neka prozapadna ekipa.

Predložio bih da sada prekinemo razgovore i da ih nastavimo poslije podne.

Razgovori su prekinuti u 12,45 časova.

Dostavljeno: Edvardu Kardelju  
Milentiju Popoviću  
Mijalku Todoroviću  
Miki Špiljaku  
Koči Popoviću  
Marku Nikeziću /2 primerka/  
Str. pov arhivi GSPR

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## VISIT OF THE PRESIDENT GAMAL ABDEL NASSER

### NOTES

About the talks of the President of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Josip Broz Tito and the President of the United Arab Republic Gamal Abdel Nasser in Brioni, July 11th, 1968.

Talks started at 10:40 am.

Those participating in the talks on the Yugoslav side are: Edvard Kardelj, Mika ?pilja, Vladimir Bakaric, Vladimir Popovic, Ali ?ukrija, Marko Nikezic, Salko Fejic, Danilo Lekic and Dragomir Petrovic. On the Egyptian side were the President of the National Assembly Anwar El Sadat, Minister of Foreign Affairs Mahmoud Riad and the Ambassador of the United Arab Republic in Belgrade Hamdi M. Abuzeid.

President Tito: I think that President Nasser could present first in a general sense his views on the current situation, and in the afternoon we could continue the talks on Vanga and consider some other details, and we would also then give information on our activities.

President Nasser: Mr. President, I am really glad to see you again as well as your associates. You know how glad I am to see my Yugoslav friends.

Yesterday you said that this is our twentieth meeting, and that I think is very rare among heads of states. I think it is our duty to put our efforts into deepening the relations between our peoples, and additionally to widen the circle of the leaders meeting.

Relations between our two states are a very good example of how relations between other states should be in general. [end page]

I would just like to say one more time how happy I am to be able to see you again.

Now I would like to say a few words about the current situation in the Middle East. I would like to start with the question of a possible peaceful solution, which is something we already talked about.

You are familiar with the view of the Arab states regarding a peaceful solution and the Security Council Resolution. Only Jordan and we have accepted the Security Council Resolution, while the other Arab states are not willing to accept their obligations. These other states believe that from the point of view of their internal situation, it would not be useful to them to accept all that is in the Security Council Resolution, which is the end of the war-like state, the right to existence of all states, etc.

The President of the Syrian government has said during his visit that if we continue with such politics, it will have an impact on my position in the Arab states. I responded to him by saying that this does not matter to me, and that this is a question of respect which is most needed.

We agreed to the United Nations Resolution and told Yaring our views about every single point in that Resolution. Then we politely asked Yaring to tell us the views of Israel, but the answer never arrived from Israel. Yaring then asked us to meet him in some other place. We agreed to meet in New York. However, that is when the Israeli government gave a statement that they will not accept the implementation of the UN Resolution.

[end page]

I also wanted to say something about the United States of America. From the very beginning, the United States of America has been helping Israel, has been supporting it, and they are still doing that today. This is well known to you, to the United Nations, to the Security Council and to the General Assembly. They have given Israel the airplanes, the hunters and the bombers, and last week they even gave them the rockets. Besides that, Israel has received money and with the money one gets armaments, food and everything else.

The influence of Great Britain today no longer has the weight it did earlier. They say that they would like to contribute to the solution of the problems, but we have received a letter from head of state Wilson in which he asks why we are not accepting Yaring's arguments. This means that they have wrong information.

France has taken a fair stand. They would like to see the meeting with the representatives of the four great powers where the situation would be discussed and a solution would be found.

The Soviet Union is helping us and they are also willing to find a peaceful solution. But the Americans are constantly maneuvering something, talking to the Soviets about certain questions, and the Soviets are telling us about them. Yet when we tell them that we accept, the Americans in the meantime change their views.

The Israelis are arrogant and want, among other things, to make Jerusalem part of Israel as soon as possible and to kick the Arabs out of their own homes, etc.

We think that now, a year after the defeat, we find ourselves in a better position. When you visited us [end page]

in August of last year, we were in a very difficult situation; there was no army, there was nothing, and I told you all of that.

Now we have a defensive line and we are capable of continuing further its construction. As you know, we have asked to have Soviet experts come to Egypt and we have many of them. However, we do not have offensive weapons. I told the Soviet leadership: "Why would the Israelis withdraw, why would they leave the occupied territories when they know very well that we do not have offensive weapons?" Israel was not able to reach its political goal, to impose the solution that it wanted, i.e. the end of the war with the signing of the peace agreement. They won the war, but we were not ready to sign the peace agreement because that would signify a capitulation.

Therefore, why would Israel leave the occupied territories? They expect the changes in the internal situation to lead to a regime change, because people are bitter due to the continuation of the occupation and because they want us to go to war since the occupation is heavily burdening our economy. Therefore, I repeat, at what price would the Israelis leave the occupied territories? As Dajan said, they do not agree with the UN Resolution.

The Soviet Union is for a peaceful resolution but without a capitulation in this situation. We told them that we are not going to give up even a foot of our territory at any price. They promised to help us strengthen our armed forces so that our army would change from a defensive into an offensive army.

[end page]

I think that this way we can solve the question of peace or war, because as long as the Israelis are thinking that we are not strong enough to confront them, they will remain the way they are. We are informing your ambassador in the UAR about these details on a daily basis.

And now a few words about the USA. Since the month of February, they have been expressing their wish to reestablish diplomatic relations with us. We have told them ? how can we establish diplomatic relation again considering the position of the USA regarding Israel. The USA needs to view a statement about the withdrawal of the Israeli forces to the border of June 5th of last year and then we can reestablish diplomatic relations. I met with many Americans. The day after tomorrow, I will see McNamara. I talked with (McGeorge) Bundy last Sunday, and before that with Anderson, McCloy, and many others. They all insist on the same thing ? diplomatic relations.

Now, if there are any questions, I would gladly answer them.

President Tito: Are there any chances that you will receive offensive weapons?

President Nasser: We already now have offensive weapons, but the problem of our army is its mobility. We have enough cannons, tanks, but for the urgent needs, the army is not mobile enough. Then, it is not only a problem of mobility, but also the training of the army.

President Tito: The day before yesterday there were attacks at the Suez. During that incident there were over 40 civilians killed. Israel now has the capability to hit all cities on your territory.

[end page]

One day they could even attack Cairo. On the other hand, the distance is such that with the weapons that the UAR had at its disposal before, it will be impossible to reach their sensitive areas. Do you have any possibilities regarding that?

I am thinking of offensive weapons which can reach the distant enemy center which are important to them from a military stand point. If the enemy knew that you had such weapons, they would not be causing incidents such as these. They are destroying the whole set of cities behind the Suez Canal. The main target is Suez right now.

Possession of the offensive weapons does not mean preparation for an attack, but a warning to the enemy that it can be hurt, that you can reach its sensitive targets. I have already voiced my opinion to President Nasser that with weapons, among all, you are letting your enemy know that it will not pay off to wait a long time because it will cost them a lot. That means that being in possession of such offensive means must bring the enemy to reason and lead it to withdraw from the occupied territories. At the end of all ends, if the enemy does not do that, then the responsibility falls on it. And the military action happens when it is all ready.

What President Nasser was saying is correct. Israel knows very well what sorts of forces the government in Cairo has at its disposal, especially in terms of its military

potential.

President Nasser: I would just like to point out that the recent attack on the city of Suez is not the first one, and that the cities of Suez and [end page]

Ismalia are very weak points, and that they are exposed to enemy fire because they are very close to the positions of the Israeli artillery. Last year, every day they alternated their bombings of Ismalia and Suez, and daily killed 30 to 40 civilians. That is when the government made the decision to evacuate the population of these cities, and we have moved 200,000 people. We have left only those whose presence is really necessary. Then the question of revenge was posed and certain plans regarding that exist. As you know,, when we sank their destroyer ?Eilat?, the Israelis bombed our oil refineries. The headquarters of our military, Minister of Defense and many others thought that we should respond by bombing Haifa. When I was told about that decision, I told them that we are not ready for revenge because at that time Israeli aviation was stronger.

President Tito: I think that it would make no sense to attack Haifa with bombers or any other region in Israel when it is well known that Israel has a much better defense, aviation and antiaircraft weapons. In my opinion, nothing would have been gained that way. I was thinking that this should be done in a different way ? with rockets - and besides that, Haifa should not be your target, but military centers and objects.

President Nasser: Now we are thinking about guerrilla (partisan) fighting. We are working well with the guerrillas; we help them, train them and give them support and they are ramping up their actions. They are causing a lot of casualties among Israelis.

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Israel does not care so much if it loses its military technology, but the loss of life is what hurts them the most.

President Tito: I would like to ask one question. I have sent a message to Mr. President in which I informed him in detail about my talks with Goldman. It is possible that even Goldman himself thinks honestly, but as far as I could gather, he does not have enough influence in Israel for his views to be taken as something that they should pay attention to.

At the recent Assembly of the World Jewish Congress, where he was once again elected president, he said that after such a long time Israel should look at things a bit

more realistically.

I am not familiar in any detail with your opinion regarding this.

President Nasser: I was surprised when I learned of Goldman's views. Because, we follow the Israeli press, we know what is going on there and what internal conflicts they have. There were attacks in the Israeli press on Goldman and they accused him of interfering in the foreign affairs of Israel. Such a statement was even given by the Israeli government after Eban's visit to the Scandinavian states. Similar statements were given by Dajan and others.

I could not believe what Goldman was saying. I think he is such an intelligent man who sees far, and clearly knows that if Israel wants to live, it has to have good relations with its neighbors. I agree with everything that Goldman has said. What he is saying is the best, but the question is how to make it happen. [end page]

President Tito: Your opinion stands for me, and also because Goldman is insisting on coming again. I would not want to receive him if there is no point to it.

President Nasser: I think it would be useful. It cannot be said that Goldman does not have influence, because a man that has such a position must have influence. But that influence is not powerful, because Israelis are doing one thing, and saying the other thing because they want to get money from him.

President Tito: Goldman also said: ?If those in Israel are not brought to reason, we will have other means that will make them realize that they have to think a little?. The Jewish organization is collecting significant means and material factor can influence. It is correct that they have big possibilities, but the question is: do they all think alike? After all, they are all capitalists.

President Nasser: Goldman had special meeting sessions with each Israeli minister, and that is quite different from having a meeting with the whole cabinet. This way, each of them will listen, will talk to him, and agree, regardless of what their real standpoint is.

President Tito: It seems that a dead end has been reached again regarding the implementation of the Security Council Resolution. According to some information, Yaring is going to London because of the new movement of some actions. Considering Israel is following what is going on, the Israeli government has sent its representative to London so that they would be informed of eventual talks. Michael Stuart has also given some statements. But because President Nasser says that the British are  
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poorly informed, I do not know if there is any use of that. Would the British be able to be mediators and would they be able to do something? I think that the British cannot do anything without the Americans.

President Nasser: There must be some agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union first.

President Tito: It is clear from the latest information that America is giving rockets to Israel, and that is not by mistake. We heard that Israel has received bombers. How are the Soviets viewing that? Are they doing something regarding the Americans, because they are holding a dialogue with them, and even have a constant phone line.

President Nasser: As far as the rockets are concerned, we received the news far too late after our talks in the USSR. We were mostly holding talks for the first two days of the visit. The Soviet leadership told us that during the time of last year's crisis the direct phone line with Washington was used and that on the critical night they did not even sleep. They also told us that they have other ways of influencing the United States and that is why we should not abandon the idea of finding a peaceful solution. They also told us that there is an array of questions and many things in the whole world in which the USA is interested. (President Tito: That is not by chance.) I responded to that by saying that what was taken by force must be returned by force. They agreed with that ? but they added that when one says ?force,? that could also mean political force.

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President Tito: I completely agree with your view that there is a need to use political means as much as possible, as well as strengthen your forces at the same time. If the problem cannot be solved using political means, then one day it must be solved by force. What else can be done? If eyes are closed to the reality and no effective measures are taken, Israel will never leave the occupied territories.

President Nasser: That would mean that we are wasting our money.

President Tito: The fact is that force is being used today in other places where there is no right to use it. However, with you the situation is different and if a solution cannot be reached any other way, then the use of force is justified.

It has been a year since the Israeli aggression. During that time public opinion has changed a great deal in favor of the Arab states. What Israel is doing by refusing the implementation of the Security Council Resolution is only damaging it and causing bitterness in the world. And, if one day the Arab states, and primarily the UAR, think they are strong enough to use force and see that the solution cannot be reached any other way, then the use of force will not antagonize the world. Because then it will be clear that it is a justified fight of the Arab people for the defense of its own territorial

integrity. The only question is the time, i.e. can you wait that long and sustain yourself while all the preparations are been completed? It should also be remembered that the other side is continuing to receive help, which they are receiving anyway from Americans right now.

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Guerrilla fighting in the occupied territories can, in my opinion, be very significant. When there are guerrilla actions developing, then important communications are damaged, and that can be very dangerous for a small country like Israel. The heating up of guerrilla fighting would weaken Israeli forces.

At the end I would say that I agree with President Nasser that the UAR should continue to try to find a solution using political means and to accept the Resolution adopted in the Security Council even though it is incomplete; and to, on the other hand, prepare its military forces in the event they are needed one day.

Concerning this, I also think that it is necessary to explain to the wider masses, as well as to the army, that it is momentarily impossible, or rather very risky to make any military moves which would not lead to success. Because, in that case the failure would have much more dangerous consequences than the defeat in June last year.

I would like to ask only these two questions. Maybe other comrades would like to say something.

Edvard Kardelj: I would like to ask something. Regarding the talks with Yaring and his arrival in London, the press wrote about some new initiatives of the UN representative and even of the UAR government. Is there anything real about that or is it just speculation?

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President Nasser: Minister of Foreign Affairs Riad read a dispatch which talked about Yaring's mission this morning, so he might be able to say something about that.

Mahmoud Riad: I met with Yaring in Stockholm, and after that he spoke with Abba Eban in Copenhagen, and now again with Abdul Munim Rifai. He also met with the representative of Israel who came to London.

Today I received a telegram from Minister Rifai in which he talks about the results of the meeting with Yaring. Yaring told Rifai that the UAR has taken a very constructive stand and he is very happy with it and with our talks in Stockholm. Israel still presents a problem for him because the Israelis are stubbornly and relentlessly sticking to their views. Yaring thinks that it was not useful that we went back to New York from

Cyprus. He is thinking of returning to Cyprus, from where he would visit the capitals of the Middle Eastern states, just as he did previously.

The only new thing is the British comment that Yaring is now going down a new path. He seeks to meet with the leading people of the great powers. He has already spoken to the Soviets, and now in London he is holding meetings with the representatives of the British government. Such comments encourage Yaring to continue down this path because he thinks that he is able to exert more pressure that way. However, he does not have any new suggestions. Yaring said that he cannot have any new suggestions until the Israelis clear up whether they are accepting the implementation of the Security Council Resolution and explain the meaning of the term ? secure borders?.

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President Nasser: Our Minister of Foreign Affairs, as you have heard, could not tell us anything new.

President Tito: We have to be patient.

Edvard Kardelj: We have also assessed that thing similarly especially after the meeting of our Ambassador in Washington with Secretary Rusk. Dean Rusk has told him that he is somewhat of a bigger optimist than he was before. But after that, nothing new was done. That is obviously more of a game.

Mahmoud Riad: Rusk has also told the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the NATO member states that the US cannot exert any more pressure on Israel during their last meeting in Iceland.

President Tito: They are talking about not being able to exert any more pressure on Israel yet they are sending missiles to Israel. That is unfair.

We could now move on and address other questions.

I would like to briefly inform you about our visits to Japan, Mongolia and Iran, and then discuss conversations with the Soviet Union. Besides that, President of India Zakir Hussain paid a visit to us.

The visit to Japan took place based on the invitation that the Japanese government sent us already two years ago. Last year I postponed that visit and this year we completed that duty. It was interesting because they persistently insisted that this visit happen. That was the first visit of a socialist country president to Japan.

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In our opinion, the reason behind that insistence was the fact that Yugoslavia is a non-aligned country. They are very interested in the politics of the non-aligned states because they find themselves in a pretty isolated situation because of their connection to the United States. They are clearly looking for ways to overcome that isolation.

During the talks with the Prime Minister and other Ministers of the Japanese government, they told us that they have a mutual help and defense pact with the Americans and that such a pact serves them to a certain extent, but that they would still like to have a different foreign policy. As a part of their constitution they have passed legislation that prohibits the war as a political means and they stand for the peaceful resolution of the conflict questions. In order to realize their political and economic goals, they need a bigger space and therefore would like to act on the international stage as a country that is not only connected to the United States but that also has free hands. They say that because they have rejected war as politics and a means of conquest, they would like to conquer the markets of the whole world with their production and high-quality goods.

They are pretty sympathetic to our activity regarding the upcoming non-aligned conference. They said that they completely agree with the principles that lead our country and that this really agrees with their views on the world events.

I met the representative of the Socialist party in Tokyo, which is by its numbers and by influence the second party of Japan. They are very harsh regarding their opposition to the current government.

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They are mounting a big fight and I do not know what will happen to Prime Minister Sato at the next election. They are also very positively assessing the role of the non-aligned and expressed their wish to have their representative participate at the upcoming conference of the heads of states and governments of the non-aligned states in whatever form.

I have to say that we gained a very positive view of Japan as a state that is technologically developing very fast. They have huge and very modern factories. During the visit, comrades and I visited two factories. One was in Yokohama and produces tankers that have a capacity of 270,000 tons; and an electronics factory in Osaka where 40,000 people work, including 5,000 engineers and 8,000 technicians. It is interesting that Japan has two large electronics factories that produce color television sets and other electronic equipment. There is a very strong rivalry between these two factories in their domestic market, yet they act together in foreign markets. We need to envy them on that. That, for example, is not the case in Yugoslavia.

We also learned that this is a country with huge possibilities, even though they import 85 per cent of all raw materials, especially coal, petroleum, ore, etc. I think Japan has a big future. I do not think they will find much ore there. However, they are

developing fast thanks to the high levels of technical education of their people, a large number of engineers and technical cadre in general, and they are already selling their work and knowledge to others abroad.

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Because of their importing, most of their factories are along the sea shores, so that the cost of transportation can be reduced.

We were also impressed by the exceptional work discipline that even Germans have never had.

President Nasser: Is the whole state that disciplined?

President Tito: They are all disciplined, in companies and in any other place.

We also liked their communications. For example, Tokyo is an overly populated city, but most of the communications have been built above the roofs, and above which trains, cars etc, zoom very fast across. In general, their transportation is very well organized.

Tokyo has 10 million people. Osaka with its surroundings has 6 million people, and all other cities are very well developed with the most modern communications.

Besides Japan, we visited also Mongolia. Ulaan Baatar used to be a village once, and now it is a pretty modern city of 250,000 people, which represents approximately one quarter of the whole population.

President Nasser: Did you fly over China?

President Tito: No, we had to go around.

President Nasser: Have you been to Mongolia before?

President Tito: No, I have not.

President Nasser: I went to Mongolia two years ago.

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President Tito: We were especially surprised to learn that Mongolia has such a rich mineral/ore wealth. Now with the Soviets' help, they are building a whole new city, Darhan, where they are going to have a large steel mill. Near that town there are big deposits of high-calorie coal and iron ore.

Mongolia also has other ores: copper, zinc, gold, etc. Mongolia is starting to develop now, and the Soviet Union and other socialist states are helping it in its construction.

Mongolia has a border with China that is a few thousand miles long, but it does not have enough soldiers to maintain its border patrols, so now they have Soviet troops present there ? but not directly on the border. Namely, China is constantly threatening to seize Mongolia and the Chinese are propagating that even today.

I spoke to Cedenbal and other leaders. Maybe you are not familiar with the fact that the Sino-Soviet conflict is old. Cedenbal told me about this in some detail. Since 1947, during the Stalin period, when Anastas Mikoian visited China, Mao Tse-tung told him that Mongolia should be part of China. Mao Tse-tung was not in power yet, but Chiang Kai-shek. Stalin firmly rejected this and it seems that he respected Chiang Kai-shek more than Mao Tse-tung, specifically because he could agree better with Chiang Kai-shek on the question of Mongolia. As I said, Stalin did not even want to discuss the possibility of Mongolia becoming a part of China.

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Later, sometime in 1952, when one of the Soviet leaders went to Peking, Mao Tse-tung was pretty enthusiastically seeking to solve the question of appropriation of Mongolia by China because that was Chinese territory. This Soviet leader has however told him that he does not have any authority to give such promises, and has to consult Moscow. Stalin answered very swiftly: Get that out of your head. No way, because Mongolia is an independent state and the people of that country decide. And in no way can you say that it is Chinese soil and that you need to attach it to China.

However, the Chinese have not given up on that demand even today, and according to Cedenbal's account, on their geographic maps they are showing Mongolia within Chinese borders. In my opinion, that is one of the very important components of the conflict between China and the Soviet Union.

Besides that, the Chinese are expressing expansionist tendencies by appropriating a large part of the Soviet Union's Far East territories. That means that the conflict is not limited to ideological differences, but it has become part of the inter-state conflict.

Because of this, the situation in Mongolia is always tense. Had China not had the Cultural Revolution and if the mutual killings did not take place, maybe the situation on the border would have been even more difficult. Of course, Mongolians are completely relying on the Soviet Union because they would not like to fall under China.

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According to Cedenbal and others, the Chinese are uprooting Mongolians and moving them to Tibet and other locations from the so-called inner Mongolia where most of

the population is ethnic Mongolians. The Chinese are infiltrating in that region and they are putting one Chinese in every family that has young women so that they can change the population structure that way. What the Chinese are doing is absolutely impossible. There are conflicts all the time on that border. For example, the Chinese are getting into Mongolian territory, catching and taking livestock.

When one realizes how big the Mongolian area is and it shares a border with a power such as China, the possibilities are limited.

After Mongolia we visited Iran and that way we returned the favor to the Shah, who has previously visited Yugoslavia. Iran has started to develop pretty fast. They receive 800 million dollars a year for their petroleum. They also have huge amounts of natural gas. They have now signed an agreement with the Soviet Union regarding the construction of gas pipelines and they will sell them large amounts of gas. They have found huge deposits of iron ore near Isfahan, as well as large amounts of high-calorie coal. With the help of the Soviets, now they are building a large steel mill which will start the production of 2 million tons, and in the second phase it will produce up to 5 million tons of steel. The conditions for production are very good, because there are lots of rivers round there whereas generally in Iran there is little water available. The Shah has nationalized water because previously it was owned by the rich people, who sold it to the villagers.

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The Shah took away part of the land owned by the rich with his agrarian reform, because almost the entire country was in the hands of the landowners. The Shah was among them because owned approximately 2,000 villages. The villagers worked for tips. A total of 20,000 villages were in the hands of the landowners. The Shah gave his land to the villagers, i.e. they have to gradually pay it off. By taking the land from the rich, the Shah planned to proclaim these villages free. That is why there were attempts on his life. After that the government decided to pay the landlords for the land that was given to the villagers. That was his agrarian reform ? a move from the Middle Ages and giving the land to the villagers who can work on it under certain conditions.

Yet, I have to say, a lot has been done in the past few years. We have a pretty large number of experts in Iran that work in a number of different sectors, in the field of exploration, as agricultural advisors, etc. The Shah has decided to start creating large farms. Some of our experts are working on that.

The Shah was also saying that from a military point of view, the CENTO pact does not have any significance and that the thing is dying out. This is how the Shah explained the politics of Iran to us: before World War II Iran was under the influence of the British, and during World War II under the influence of the British and the Russians. After the war, they have primarily aligned themselves with the West, which was pressuring them all the time. Now that they are somewhat stronger economically, they have decided to be connected to either the West or the East, but they would like to cooperate with all the states that are conducting independent politics. They are improving their cooperation with

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the Soviet Union, and continuing to maintain their cooperation with the West. Judging by all of this, the politics of non-alignment would be appropriate for Iran. That much about Iran.

While we were traveling, Moscow suggested that we should stop in the USSR on our way back from Iran so that we can talk. We agreed. We had very general talks with the Soviet leadership. We had mostly identical views regarding foreign policy questions. On questions of the Middle East, Vietnam and the current international situation, there were no differences. After that we spoke about domestic political questions. Brezhnev presented their domestic situation, then spoke about the help they are giving to Vietnam. We are surely talking about huge means. (Vladimir Popovic: Two billion rubles.) Therefore, about 2.5 billion dollars. Brezhnev also said that the USSR will continue to help the UAR and other Arab states, and that they consider that their duty, etc.

When they spoke about the domestic development of the USSR, they pointed out that everything is excellent. It is clear that they are achieving big results in Siberia and in other places, but they did not speak of any difficulties, and we all know they have them.

At the same time they were criticizing our internal development by saying that we are closing doors to foreign capital, that we have high unemployment and that the economy is not improving etc, etc.

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It is understood that we talked the way brothers talk, i.e. pretty tough. I told them that they are wrong in their assessment of our internal development, because the difficulties we are having we will sort out ourselves and they need not worry about that. For example, Brezhnev said that their people hurt when they see that not everything is going well for us. I answered him ? that is because your people do not know how it is in our country, because you are not informing them well. I reminded them of 1948 when Stalin stopped all the agreements with us, and left us, so to speak, between a rock and a hard place. We had to ask for help where we could, but we never sold out. We knew how to preserve our independence.

We think that it was good to speak to them openly because it seems that this was the first very open dialogue. We very firmly said, No, you are wrong when it comes to our internal questions. We are solving them on our own, and we will solve them. We directly pointed out that they should not interfere in our internal issues and by the end it was all well. They are content that we were speaking openly.

I told them that we have certain difficulties, that we passed the economic reform and that we are doing everything to implement it. Brezhnev added that it is not going the way it should. We told him that we know that, but that it will all go and we will solve

all of those difficulties.

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Then they mentioned the fall in productions rates at home. For a number of years our production experienced growth of 11 to 17 per cent, but we also had inflationary tendencies during that period. With the economic reform, we had to liquidate such tendencies. Now there is reorientation and reorganization of our companies. It is certain that many companies have got themselves into a very difficult position in this period. But, we knew that there will be difficult positions and that production will be in danger. Last year our production growth was only 3 per cent.

Mika Spiljak: In the first two years after the economic reform the production grew 6 per cent annually, and last year 3 per cent.

President Tito: This year, after bigger changes in the structure of production were implemented, and after our industry has reorganized a bit, production has started to rise again.

Mika Spiljak: In the first five months the production growth is 3.5 per cent, and we are anticipating that this year it will grow by 5 per cent.

President Tito: The only thing is that this production growth is not balanced across the country; in Slovenia, for example, the production growth has reached 10 per cent. Mainly, everything is displaying the fact that production is growing again.

The Soviet leaders certainly see what is going on here, but they do not understand the gist of it. Our determination has shown that nobody can interfere in our internal affairs. Because we are not interfering in theirs, they should not be interfering in ours. We parted ways in a very friendly manner.

After the talks regarding the questions of internal development, we spoke about the events in Czechoslovakia. We could not agree in that regard, because I said that the events in Czechoslovakia are matters of that country and that they are strong enough and united enough to deal with the questions of their development themselves. However, they said that there is a danger of capitalism's return to Czechoslovakia or that some pro-western group comes to power.

I would suggest to end our talk now and continue them in the afternoon.

Talks ended at 12:45 pm.

Submitted to:

Edvard Kardelj  
Milentije Popovic  
Mijalko Todorovic  
Mika ?pilja  
Koca Popovic  
Marko Nikezic (two copies)  
Highly classified archives of the President of the Republic

## JOINT STATEMENT OF THE SOCIALIST FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA AND THE UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC

Invited by President of Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Josip Broz Tito, President of the United Arab Republic Gamal Abdel Nasser made a friendly visit to Yugoslavia from July 10th through 12th, 1968.

During the talks that were held in Brioni, two Presidents and their associates exchanged their opinions regarding the most important international problems and questions of the bilateral relations and cooperation between Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the United Arab Republic.

Two Presidents agreed with pleasure that the bilateral cooperation is successfully developing in the spirit of traditional friendship and that both are exerting efforts to continue its improvement, which was confirmed by the recent meeting of the Mixed Committee on Economic Cooperation as well as talks on the cultural and educational cooperation.

During the talks on the international problems, Presidents Tito and Nasser especially paid attention to the current situation in the Middle East created by the Israeli aggression on the Arab states. Israel's refusal to implement the Security Council Resolution and to withdraw the forces from the occupied territories represents a constant violation of the United Nations principles and its resolutions. This does not only prevent the political solution but also widens the crisis in the Middle East. President of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has pointed out that Yugoslavia will continue to support Arab states, the victims of aggression in their efforts to gain their legitimate rights along with other peace-loving and progressive states and forces.

By reaffirming their solidarity of their peoples with the heroic fight of the people of Vietnam, the two Presidents expressed their full support

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for independence and feel that the bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam needs to be brought to a halt urgently as a precondition for the peaceful solution.

Two Presidents also considered other current international questions such as the situation in Africa and problems of the developing states, and they exchanged thoroughly their opinions regarding the mutual efforts of the non-aligned and other states to end the current and disturbing developments of the international situation and contribute to the creation of the favorable conditions in order to secure independence, peace and economic development.

Presidents Tito and Nasser pointed out again the particular significance of the politics of the non-aligned to reach the aforementioned goals. They contend with satisfaction that up-to-date consultations concerning the organization of the conference of the non-aligned states have yielded positive results.

The two parties have unanimously expressed their belief that the visit of the President of the United Arab Republic to the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and the talks that were held during this occasion, will contribute to further strengthening of the friendship and cooperation in the interest of people of both states, peace and progress in the world.

These talks were held in cordial and friendly atmosphere and the identical points of view were expressed regarding all questions considered.

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