

جونسون الى إشكول  
يحضه على عدم اتخاذ إجراء عسكري استباقي  
27 مايو 1967

واشنطن في 27 مايو 1967، الساعة التاسعة و9 دقائق مساء

عزيزى السيد رئيس الوزراء،

لقد تلقيت للتو بعد ظهر اليوم من الاتحاد السوفيتى رسالة خاصة على أعلى مستوى من الأهمية. وسوف أشاطركم فحواها على أساس شخصى وحميم، ولا ينبغى تحت أى ظرف من الظروف نشرها على العلن.

أخبرنى السوفييت أن لديهم معلومات أنكم تتأهبون لشن هجوم عسكري ضد جيرانكم العرب، وإثارة نزاع تحفه عواقب جسيمة. وهم يؤكدون التزامهم بضبط النفس على كافة الجوانب، وتتلخص وجهة النظر السوفيتية فى ضرورة التوصل الى حلول دون اللجوء الى نزاع مسلح. وأطلعونا أنهم على علم بأن العرب لا يرغبون فى وقوع نزاع مسلح. ولكن الرسالة تضيف أن اسرائيل إذا بدأت بشن الأعمال العسكرية فإن السوفييت سوف يهبون لمساعدة البلدان التى تتعرض لهجوم. وتعتبر هذه الرسالة بكل وضوح أيضا عن وجهة النظر السوفيتية؛ التى مفادها أن الاتحاد السوفيتى والشعوب العربية وشعب اسرائيل ليسوا راغبين فى نشوب نزاع.

وبناشدنا الاتحاد السوفيتى، اتخاذ كافة التدابير لضمان عدم نشوب أى نزاع، ويذكر أنه سوف يشرع فى اتخاذ تدابير فى سبيل تحقيق تلك الغاية.

وسوف يحيطكم السيد إيبان علما بالكامل بما دار بينى وبينه، وبحرصنا على سلامة اسرائيل وعلى مصالحها الحيوية.

وأكرر وبقوة أكثر ما قلته بالأمس للسيد إيبان: إن اسرائيل لا ينبغى لها اتخاذ أى إجراء عسكري استباقي، يجعلها من ثم مسؤولة عن المبادأة بالأعمال العدائية.

وسوف أثير بالطبع فى ردى على السوفييت وجهات نظركم ووجهات النظر المشتركة بيننا؛ بشأن الطابع الدولى لخليج العقبة ومضيق تيران.

مع أطيب تحياتى،

ليندون جونسون

**86. Telegram From the Department of State to the Embassy in Israel**<sup>1</sup>[Source: National Archives and Records Administration, RG 59, Central Files 1967–69, POL ARAB–ISR. Top Secret; Flash; Nodis; Literally Eyes Only for Ambassadors. Drafted by Eugene Rostow, cleared by Walt Rostow, and approved by Secretary Rusk. Repeated to London and USUN.](#)

Washington, May 27, 1967, 9:09 p.m.  
203943. You are instructed to proceed at once whatever the hour or the circumstances to deliver the following message from the President to the Prime Minister<sup>2</sup>[Walt Rostow sent the draft message to the President at the](#)

LBJ Ranch in CAP 67455, May 27,  
noting that it had been cleared by Rusk  
and McNamara. Johnson's revisions are  
indicated in an attached note by  
Assistant to the President Jim Jones,  
who informed Walt Rostow. (Johnson  
Library, National Security File, Country  
File, Middle East Crisis, Vol. II) Rostow  
relayed them to Rusk by telephone.  
(Notes of telephone conversation, May  
27, 7:40 p.m.; National Archives and  
Records Administration, RG 59, Rusk  
Files: Lot 72 D 192, Telephone  
Calls) even if the Cabinet is  
sitting.<sup>3</sup>Barbour reported in telegram  
3822 from Tel Aviv, May 28, that he had  
delivered the message at 6 a.m. He also  
reported that the atmosphere prevailing  
the day before, that a decision on a  
military initiative was only hours away,  
had been dispelled. (Johnson Library,  
National Security File, Country File,  
Middle East Crisis, Vol. II)

“Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

I have just this afternoon received a most important and private message from the Soviet Union. I am sharing its contents with you on a personal and intimate basis. It should under no circumstances become public.

The Soviets tell me that they have information that you are preparing to take military action against your Arab neighbors, and provoke a conflict which would be fraught with great consequences. They emphasize their commitment to restraint on all sides and the Soviet view that solutions must be found without a military conflict. They tell us that they know the Arabs do not wish a military conflict. The message adds, however, that if Israel begins military action, the Soviets will give aid to the countries attacked. This message also makes clear the Soviet view that the Soviet Union, the Arab peoples and the

people of Israel are not interested in a conflict.<sup>4</sup>This is a slightly revised version of a sentence added by the President. The Soviet Union appeals to us to take all measures to insure that there be no military conflict. They state that they will undertake measures in the same direction.

Mr. Eban will be reporting to you fully on my talk with him, and on our interest in the safety and vital concerns of Israel.

As your friend, I repeat even more strongly what I said yesterday to Mr. Eban. Israel just must not take any preemptive military action<sup>5</sup>In the draft, the first part of this sentence read: “It is essential that Israel not take any preemptive military action”. and thereby make itself responsible for the initiation of hostilities.<sup>6</sup>The President eliminated a sentence at this point in the draft that read: “Preemptive actions by Israel would make it impossible for the friends

of Israel to stand at your side.” Jim Jones' note states that if Walt Rostow and Rusk felt something like this was necessary, the President suggested, “Without exception our Congressional leaders have made it clear that preemptive actions would find no support here.” Jones stated that if something like that was used, the President wanted to talk about it first.

In my reply to the Soviets I shall of course take up your and our common views about the international character of the Gulf of Aqaba and the Strait of Tiran.

Yours faithfully,  
Lyndon B. Johnson”

If any explanation is necessary, you should add that the British and we are proceeding urgently to prepare the military aspects of the international naval escort plan, and that other nations are responding vigorously to the idea.

The Dutch and Canadians have already joined, even before a text was presented to them. With that assurance of international determination to make every effort to keep the straits open to the flags of all nations, unilateral action on the part of Israel would be irresponsible and catastrophic.

Rusk

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<sup>1</sup> Source: National Archives and Records Administration, RG 59, Central Files 1967–69, POL ARAB–ISR. Top Secret; Flash; Nodis; Literally Eyes Only for Ambassadors. Drafted by Eugene Rostow, cleared by Walt Rostow, and approved by Secretary Rusk. Repeated to London and USUN.

<sup>2</sup> Walt Rostow sent the draft message to the President at the LBJ Ranch in CAP 67455, May 27, noting that it had been cleared by Rusk and McNamara. Johnson's revisions are indicated in an

attached note by Assistant to the President Jim Jones, who informed Walt Rostow. (Johnson Library, National Security File, Country File, Middle East Crisis, Vol. II) Rostow relayed them to Rusk by telephone. (Notes of telephone conversation, May 27, 7:40 p.m.; National Archives and Records Administration, RG 59, Rusk Files: Lot 72 D 192, Telephone Calls)

<sup>3</sup> Barbour reported in telegram 3822 from Tel Aviv, May 28, that he had delivered the message at 6 a.m. He also reported that the atmosphere prevailing the day before, that a decision on a military initiative was only hours away, had been dispelled. (Johnson Library, National Security File, Country File, Middle East Crisis, Vol. II)

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