For the Israelis There Are Some Border Problems
By SYDNEY GRUSON Special to The New York Times
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TEL AVIV, June 8—Israel's military victory over the Arab armies appears to be so complete on the fourth day of fighting that discussion, so far unofficial and guarded, has already begun on the future frontiers being shaped on the battlefield.

On one thing all Western diplomats and Israelis seem to agree: Too much blood has been spilled—more perhaps than is yet realized in the great flush of victory—to expect that Israel would willingly return the frontiers to what they were before the war began Monday.

No Israeli official is willing to talk for quotation on the subject except to say, as one did this morning, that "we are after peace—a real peace this time, with full recognition of the State of Israel."

"Let us first achieve this objective," he added, "and everything else can then be managed."

Previously, the principal leaders, including Premier Levi Eshkol and Foreign Minister Abba Eban, had insisted that Israel had no territorial ambitions and was seeking only to preserve herself against "aggression."

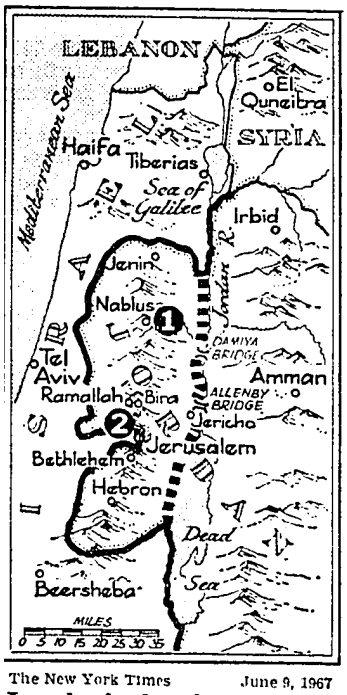
Four Major Questions

Even if the cease-fire ordered by the Security Council were to be implemented quickly, four major questions involving boundaries and territory have been posed by the battlefield results so far.

The first on everyone's mind at the moment is the future of Jerusalem, and the Israelis, in their present or any foreseeable mood, are not willing to bargain or compromise on the Holy City.

In the Old City of Jerusalem, which had been part of Jordan since the 1948 Palestine war, Maj. Gen. Moshe Dayan declared yesterday after its capture: "We have returned to the holiest of our holy places, never to depart from it again."

The Defense Minister, who was speaking at the Wailing Wall, was echoing the sentiments of every Israeli. Partly at least out of a desire to preserve the historical shrines of three faiths in the Old City, Israelis did not use the big guns available to them in their assault on it. They paid for this in casualties, as they knew they would, and, having accepted the sacrifices, they are not willing to put Jerusalem on the bargain table.



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Israel seized region between present border (heavy line) and Jordan River (dotted line). Possible compromise frontier would give Israel high ground from Nablus (1) south to Jerusalem (2).

The future of the Old City and the future of Israel's 329-mile frontier with Jordan—assuming that Jordan survives the aftermath of the war as a separate entity—are inevitably linked.

Israeli forces now roam the entire west bank of the River Jordan, military masters of a relatively vast stretch of land that, in the view of many Israelis, should have been part of their country from its birth.

As for the eventual frontier with Jordan, there is an attitude rather than a policy at this time, and the attitude seems to be that while the west bank of the Jordan would be the natural and rightful frontier, a compromise involving the territory now held on the west bank may have to be accepted for the sake of the larger issue of peace.

Some of the talk being heard here concerns the possibility of joint Israeli-Jordanian control of the west bank of the river and of its waters, but no one was clear about how this might work.

It was thought more likely that Israel would be pressed to withdraw. But only superior armed force could move the Israelis back to the borders that existed before the fighting, and that force is not available to the Arab nations.

At the most, the observers here believe, the Israelis may be persuaded—in a peace settlement but in nothing less—to accept a line running south from Jenin to Nablus to Jerusalem. This would give them the heights that ought to dominate the surrounding area militarily—heights that had no effect, however, on the Jordanian Army's ability to stand up to the Israelis' ground and air superiority this week.

Eliminating a Salient

Either line—the west bank of the Jordan or the hills from Nablus south—would eliminate the Jordanian salient that made Israel a 12-mile-wide corridor at a point only a few miles north of Tel Aviv. Either line would eliminate what had been an Israeli nightmare since 1948: that somehow the Arabs would gather enough strength to cut the country in two.

With regard to the border with Egypt the Israelis do not consider the Gaza Strip, occupied in the first day of fighting just as it was in 1956, to have been part of Egypt.

The fact that the narrow, 25-mile-long strip, which lies beside the Mediterranean south of Tel Aviv, was returned to the Egyptians in 1956 was, in Israeli eyes, an unavoidable error imposed by the United Nations. The Israelis do not intend to repeat the error.

As for Sharm el Sheik, the height on the southern tip of the Sinai Peninsula that dominates the Strait of Tiran, entry to the Gulf of Aqaba, the Israelis are in no mood to let go of it again unless unrestricted access from the Red Sea to Israel's southernmost port, Elath, and Sharm el Sheik's future are part of a general settlement.

These are the border and territorial problems that the few days of fighting have produced. If the Syrians continue to insist on fighting, new ones will arise, assuming, as everyone here now does, that the Syrians will be decisively defeated.

For the moment, at least, the Suez Canal is not in the category of problems. General Dayan said yesterday, "We were not fighting to use Suez." But, as he pointed out, Israeli forces are in a position to go right up to the canal. If this happens — and it depends on the military developments in the Sinai Peninsula over the next day or two—the Israelis' access to Suez, heretofore prohibited by Cairo, could become a problem.

The Israelis are aware that difficult diplomatic battles lie just beyond the military achievements. They are not fooling themselves about how hard those battles are likely to become, but they have never been more confident in their 19-year history of their ability to achieve something more lasting in the way of peace.

As one Israeli put it: "These could be great days for the Middle East despite everything that has happened. If the Arabs finally realize they are never going to beat us, perhaps they now will take advantage of what we have to offer to the Middle East and which we are very willing to offer."

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