The original documents are located in Box 1, folder "Egypt - President Sadat (1)" of the National Security Adviser's Presidential Correspondence with Foreign Leaders Collection at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

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DATE 10/17/74 WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS:

NO MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS

MESSAGE:

PRIORITY
DE RUEHC #4669 2712159
P 282151Z SEP 74
FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY CAIRO PRIORITY 9123

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ STATE 214669
EXDIS
E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: EAID, EG, JO, SY
SUBJECT- LETTER FROM PRESIDENT FORD TO PRESIDENT SADAT
ON AID LEGISLATION
REF: (A) CAIRO 7505, (B) STATE 209927

1. PLEASE DELIVER FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT
FORD TO PRESIDENT SADAT.

2. QUOTE DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: IN VIEW OF RECENT
PRESS SPECULATION WHICH MAY HAVE COME TO
YOUR ATTENTION ABOUT THE STATUS OF THE FOREIGN ASSISTANCE
LEGISLATION WHICH IS NOW BEFORE OUR CONGRESS, I WANT
TO GIVE YOU MY PERSONAL ASSURANCES THAT I FULLY INTEND
TO FOLLOW THROUGH IN SUPPORT OF THE PROGRAMS WE HAVE
RECOMMENDED TO THE CONGRESS FOR EGYPT.

3. AS YOU KNOW, WE HAVE REQUESTED DOLLARS 250 MILLION
FOR ASSISTANCE TO EGYPT IN OUR CURRENT FISCAL YEAR
WHICH BEGAN JULY -1. AUTHORIZATION AND APPROPRIATION
OF MONIES TO BE EXPENDED OF COURSE REST WITH THE
CONGRESS. I AM CONFIDENT, HOWEVER, THAT WE WILL
DEFINITELY HAVE AUTHORITY FOR ASSISTANCE TO EGYPT THIS
FISCAL YEAR. NORMALLY THE FOREIGN ASSISTANCE LEGISLATION
IS ONE OF THE LAST PIECES OF LEGISLATION PASSED BEFORE
CONGRESS ADJOURNS. THIS YEAR, HOWEVER, THERE IS

FURTHER DELAY RESULTING FROM SOME DIFFERING VIEWPOINTS
ABOUT PARTS OF THE LEGISLATION WHICH DO NOT RELATE TO
THE MIDDLE EAST. WE EXPECT THE FOREIGN ASSISTANCE

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MESSAGE (CONTINUED):

LEGISLATION TO PASS CONGRESS BY THE END OF DECEMBER, BUT IF THIS IS NOT OBTAINABLE WE WOULD SEEK TO DEVELOP THROUGH ALTERNATE LEGISLATIVE STRATEGIES THE NECESSARY LEVELS OF AID FOR EGYPT.

4. I HAVE ASKED SECRETARY KISSINGER TO DISCUSS THIS MATTER FULLY WITH YOU WHEN HE VISITS CAIRO NEXT MONTH. I CONTINUE TO LOOK FORWARD TO YOUR VISIT AND THE OPPORTUNITY TO WELCOME YOU PERSONALLY IN THE UNITED STATES. STNCERELY, GERALD R. FORD. UNQUOTE.

5. THE SECRETARY WILL ALSO EXPLAIN SITUATION WITH RESPECT TO AID LEGISLATION TO FAHMY IN NEW YORK.

KISSINGER

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Department of State TELEGRAM

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TO AMEMBASSY CAIRO IMMEDIATE 9547
BT
~~S E C R E T~~ STATE 230714
NODIS CHEROKEE

E.O. 11652: XGDS
TAGS: PFOR, ME, EG
SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL MESSAGE FOR PRESIDENT SADAT

1. PLEASE CONVEY THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT SADAT FROM PREISENT FORD:

QTE. DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I AM WRITING TO TELL YOU THAT I HAVE HAD A FULL REPORT OF SECRETARY KISSINGER'S TALKS WITH YOU. YOU HAVE SET OUT A CONSTRUCTIVE COURSE OF ACTION WHICH I BELIEVE REFLECTS GREAT STATESMANSHIP AND WISDOM ON YOUR PART. THE STRATEGY YOU AND THE SECRETARY OF STATE HAVE DISCUSSED HAS MY FULL BACKING. I WANT YOU TO KNOW THAT AS YOU PURSUE THE STRATEGY WORKED OUT WITH SECRETARY KISSINGER I FEEL A SPECIAL OBLIGATION TO DO EVERYTHING FEASIBLE TO HELP ASSURE THAT THE RESULTS ACHIEVED ARE COMMENSURATE WITH THE RISKS INVOLVED. I AM CONVINED THAT THE SUCCESS OF THIS STRATEGY NOT ONLY IS IN THE MUTUAL INTEREST OF EGYPT AND THE UNITED STATES, BUT WILL SERVE THE CAUSE OF PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

SECRETARY KISSINGER WILL SOON BE RETURNING TO THE AREA IN EARLY NOVEMBER TO HAVE FURTHER TALKS WITH YOU AND OTHER LEADERS IN THE AREA. WHILE I SHALL CONTINUE TO FOLLOW CLOSELY YOUR FURTHER DISCUSSIONS WITH SECRETARY KISSINGER ON THESE CRITICAL MATTERS, I LOOK FORWARD PERSONALLY TO HAVING AN OPPORTUNITY FOR A FULL EXCHANGE OF VIEWS EARLY NEXT YEAR.

WARMEST REGARDS. GERALD R. FORD. UNQTE
KISSINGER

DRAFTED BY: P: JJSISCO
APPROVED BY: THE SECRETARY
CLEARANCES: S/S-O: L. MATTERSON NEA-MR. SAUNDERS

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S/S 7422091 5422-X

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

November 11, 1974

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MEMORANDUM FOR LIEUTENANT GENERAL BRENT SCOWCROFT
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Sadat's Response to
President Ford's Letter

Attached is the original copy of a letter from Egyptian President Sadat responding to President Ford's letter dated October 19, 1974. The text was transmitted in Cairo 8278 (NODIS/CHEROKEE) which the White House received.

No further action is required.

Peter Robert Rees for
George S. Springsteen
Executive Secretary

Attachment:

President Sadat's letter

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بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

~~SECRET~~

جمهورية مصر العربية

الرئيس

Cairo,
October 19, 1974.

Dear Mr. President,

I received with thanks your letter dated Oct. 19,1974, through which you wanted to assure me of your full backing of the strategy outlined in the course of my talks with Secretary Kissinger.

It is an added pleasure for me to note, in particular, that you feel "a special obligation to do everything feasible to help assure that the results achieved are commensurate with the risks involved". In this connection it is pertinent to expect that you will see to it, in the near future, that the growing relations between United States and Egypt will develop in such a manner that the obligations and commitments of both sides would be more publicly known and reflect more concrete and major decisions. This, I hope, you share with me. The necessity of following this course is so evident at this juncture in particular, and in the light of the recent visit of Foreign Minister Fahmy to Moscow. We are approaching a point where the leaders of the Soviet Union would like to play, at least once, the game intellegently.

Both the reception of the Foreign Minister and the immediate response of the General Secretary of the Central Committee, Brezhnev to hold a summit meeting in Cairo in January are indicative, in the sense that the Soviet leadership does not only want not to miss the bus for fear of the liquidation of their influence, but they apparently would like to frustrate, at the same time, any new developments in the U. S. Egyptian bilateral relations as well as any future moves towards a peaceful settlement of the Middle East crisis. This was crystal clear from the full and detailed report which Minister Fahmy submitted to me upon his return.

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BY [illegible], NARA, DATE 2/3/04

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

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جمهورية مصر العربية
الرئيس

Having said that, it is my fervent hope and conviction that the U. S. Egyptian relations would be bolstered by major decisions taken publicly.

I seize this opportunity to reiterate my sincere desire that we will have a full exchange of views on a variety of problems when we meet early next year.

Warmest regards.

Mohamed Anwar El-Sadat

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Department of State TELEGRAM

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~~S E C R E T~~ CAIRO 9945

NODIS/CHEROKEE

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM AMBASSADOR

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS/ PFOR EG US
SUBJECT: MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT FORD FROM
PRESIDENT SADAT

REF: CAIRO 9943

1. PRESIDENT SADAT SENT WORD THIS AFTERNOON THAT HE WISHED OG SEE ME AT 1800 LOCAL AT T BARRAGES. THE PRESIDENT LOOKED FIT AND WE HAD ABOUT AN HOUR'S CONVERSATION. HE FIRST HANDED ME A LETTER TO PRESIDENT FORD WITH THE REQUEST THAT IT BE SENT IMMEDIATELY. THE TEXT OF THE LETTER FOLLOWS:

QUOTE DECEMBER 7, 1974

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

AS WE ARE APPROACHING THE END OF THE YEAR AND CHRISTMAS IS ALMOST AT THE DOOR I SEND YOU MY GREETINGS AND THAT OF MRS SADAT TO MRS. FORD AND YOUR FAMILY WISHING YOU ALL THE BEST OF LUCK AND A NEW YEAR FULL OF GOOD HOPES AND ADDITIONAL SUCCESSES TO YOU IN CARRYING OUT THE HEAVY RESPONSIBILITIES OF YOUR HIGH OFFICE. I AM SURE THAT YOU WILL, AS YOU HAVE ALREADY DEMONSTRATED, CONTINUE TO WORK IN A STATESMANLIKE MANNER FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY AND THE WELFARE OF YOUR PEOPLE. THIS WILL BE A LANDMARK IN THE HISTORY OF YOUR COUNTRY

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PARTICULARLY IF YOU WILL CONTINUE, GOD WILLING, IN YOUR OFFICE FOR A LONG TIME TO COME.

SEIZING THIS OCCASION I FELT THAT IT MAY BE OPPORTUNE TO CONTINUE OUR CORRESPONDENCE AND EXCHANGE VIEWS ON BASIC PROBLEMS PERTAINING TO OUR RELATIONS AND TO PEACE AND TRANQUILITY IN THE MIDDLE EAST. I AM FULLY INFORMED THROUGH YOUR SECRETARY OF STATE ON BASIC PROBLEMS RELATED TO THE WORLD AT LARGE AND THE NEXT MOVES IN THE MIDDLE EAST. I AM SURE, MR. PRESIDENT, THAT DR. KISSINGER HAS BRIEFED YOU AS WELL ON MY VIEWS CONVEYED TO HIM THROUGH HIS MEETINGS WITH ME WHEN HE WAS IN THE AREA OR THROUGH HIS CORRESPONDENCE WITH FOREIGN MINISTER FAHMI.

I AM PLEASED TO SE THAT OUR APPRAISAL OF THE SITUATION IS ALMOST IDENTICAL AND THAT WE ARE FULLY AWARE OF THE VARIOUS ELEMENTS WHICH HAVE A DIRECT OR INDIRECT IMPACT ON OUR STRATEGY FOR THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE.

SO FAR AS I AM CONCERNED, MY CONSTANT PREOCCUPATION IS TO DO MY BEST TO LESSEN THE TENSION IN THE AREA OR, IF I MAY SAY SO, TO DEFUSE THE TIMEBOMB, IN ORDER TO BE ABLE TO WORK ASSIDUOUSLY FOR FURTHER PROGRESS ON THE PATH TO PEACE AND WELFARE FOR THE PEOPLES IN THE AREA.

IN THIS CONNECTION I TAKE IT THAT THE EGYPTIAN POSITION IS CRYSTAL CLEAR SO FAR AS THE NEXT STEP IS CONCERNED. I AM SURE THAT YOU SHARE WITH ME THAT THE NEXT STEP MUST BE A MOVE OF A SUBSTANTIAL CHARACTER AND COMMENSURATE WITH ALL THE RISKS INVOLVED AND AT THE SAME TIME BE FINALIZED AND SIGNED WITHIN THE COMING 4 WEEKS OR SO. I HAVE EXPLAINED WITH ALL CANDOR MY POSITION TO DR. KISSINGER AS WELL AS THE LIMITS OF THE SOLUTION WHICH I AM PREPARED TO ACCEPT. I EQUALLY EXPLAINED TO HIM THE VARIOUS ELEMENTS INVOLVED WHICH HAVE CERTAINLY SOMETHING TO DO WITH THE COMING VISITS BY THE HEADS OF STATES TO CAIRO AND THE SITUATION IN THE ARAB WORLD.

CONSEQUENTLY AS THE EGYPTIAN POSITION IS ABUNDANTLY CLEAR TO YOU AND YOUR SECRETARY OF STATE AND AS THE TIME FACTOR IN THIS CASE IS OF PARAMOUNT IMPORTANCE I HOPE THAT YOU AGREE WITH ME THAT IS NECESSARY TO SEIZE THIS MOMENTUM AND WORK HARD TO ACHIEVE CONCRETE PROGRESS, AS I HAVE SAID

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BEFORE, IT IS MY HOPE THAT YOU WILL USE YOUR INFLUENCE SO THAT THE NEXT MOVE BE SIGNED WITH THE COMMING (SIC) FEW WEEKS KNOWING THAT ITS IMPLEMENTATIUN MAY TAKE A LONGER TIME.

I HAVE NO DOUBT THAT WITH YOUR SUPPORT OF THIS VIEW AND WITH YOUR FULL BACKING OF THIS LINE, WHICH YOUR VERY ABLE SECRETARY OF STATE IS FULLY AWARE OF, IT IS POSSIBLE TO ACHIEVE NET RESULTS WITHOUT LOOSING (SIC) UNNECESSARY TIME AND EFFORT ENGAGING OR AN ENDLESS EXERCISE OF EXAMINING UNACCEPTABLE AND NOT SERIOUS PROPOSALS FROM THE OTHER SIDE, WHILE OUR SITUATION AND THE SITUATION OF THE ISRAELIS ARE BOTH WELL KNOWN TO YOU.

HAVING SAID THAT I AM FULLY CONVINCED THAT WITH YOUR SUPPORT AND BACKING AND WITH STATESMANSHIP AND VISION WE WILL BE ABLE TO MOVE AHEAD WITHOUT COMPLICATING THINGS AND WITHOUT LETTING OURSELVES BECOME ENGAGED IN A STERILE DEBATE ON MINOR SIDE ISSUES.

IT IS, THEREFORE, NECESSARY TO HAVE A REAL APPRAISAL OF ALL THESE FACTORS AND THE MOMENTUM AND THE ISSUES WHICH ARE AT STAKE.

IN CONCLUDING, MR. PRESIDENT, I AM SURE THAT WITH YOUR DETERMINATION AND CONVICTION TO WORK FOR PEACE AND TRANQUILITY YOU WILL SEE TO IT THAT IT BECOMES POSSIBLE TO ACHIEVE WITHOUT ANY HESITATION REAL PROGRESS.

SINCERELY YOURS,
MOHAMED ANWAR EL-SADAT UNQUOTE

2. THE PRESIDENT'S SUBSEQUENT ORAL ASSESSMENT OF THE CURRENT MIDDLE EAST SITUATION, AS HE SEES IT, IS BEING REPORTED IN THE SUCCEEDING TELEGRAM.
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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 8, 1974

Mr. President:

The attached letter from President Sadat to you was just received by cable.

It is obviously timed for the eve of Foreign Minister Allon's arrival in the United States. It is a significant letter and merits careful reading.

Brent Scowcroft

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December 7, 1974

Dear Mr. President:

As we are approaching the end of the year and Christmas is almost at the door I send you my greetings and that of Mrs. Sadat to Mrs. Ford and your family wishing you all the best of luck and a new year full of good hopes and additional successes to you in carrying out the heavy responsibilities of your high office. I am sure that you will, as you have already demonstrated, continue to work in a statesmanlike manner for international peace and security and the welfare of your people. This will be a landmark in the history of your country particularly if you will continue, God willing, in your office for a long time to come.

Seizing this occasion I felt that it may be opportune to continue our correspondence and exchange views on basic problems pertaining to our relations and to peace and tranquility in the Middle East. I am fully informed through your Secretary of State on basic problems related to the world at large and the next moves in the Middle East. I am sure, Mr. President, that Dr. Kissinger has briefed you as well on my views conveyed to him through his meetings with me when he was in the area or through his correspondence with Foreign Minister Fahmi.

I am pleased to see that our appraisal of the situation is almost identical and that we are fully aware of the various elements which

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have a direct or indirect impact on our strategy for the immediate future.

So far as I am concerned, my constant preoccupation is to do my best to lessen the tension in the area or, if I may say so, to defuse the timebomb, in order to be able to work assiduously for further progress on the path to peace and welfare for the peoples in the area.

In this connection I take it that the Egyptian position is crystal clear so far as the next step is concerned. I am sure that you share with me that the next step must be a move of a substantial character and commensurate with all the risks involved and at the same time be finalized and signed within the coming 4 weeks or so. I have explained with all candor my position to Dr. Kissinger as well as the limits of the solution which I am prepared to accept. I equally explained to him the various elements involved which have certainly something to do with the coming visits by the Heads of States to Cairo and the situation in the Arab world.

Consequently as the Egyptian position is abundantly clear to you and your Secretary of State and as the time factor in this case is of paramount importance I hope that you agree with me that [it] is necessary to seize this momentum and work hard to achieve concrete progress. As I have said before, it is my hope that you will use your influence

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so that the next move be signed with the comming (sic) few weeks knowing that its implementation may take a longer time.

I have no doubt that with your support of this view and with your full backing of this line, which your very able Secretary of State is fully aware of, it is possible to achieve net results without loosing (sic) unnecessary time and effort engaging or an endless exercise of examining unacceptable and not serious proposals from the other side, while our situation and the situation of the Israelis are both well know to you.

Having said that I am fully convinced that with your support and backing and with statesmanship and vision we will be able to move ahead without complicating things and without letting ourselves become engaged in a sterile debate on minor side issues.

It is, therefore, necessary to have a real appraisal of all these factors and the momentum and the issues which are at stake.

In concluding, Mr. President, I am sure that with your determination and conviction to work for peace and tranquility you will see to it that it becomes possible to achieve without any hesitation real progress.

Sincerely yours,

Mohamed Anwar El-Sadat

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E.O. 11652: XGDS-3
TAGS:PFOR, EG, US
SUBJECT: MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT SADAT FROM PRESIDENT FORD
REF: (A) CAIRO 9945; (B) CAIRO 9946

FOR AMBASSADOR FROM THE SECRETARY

1. PLEASE CONVEY FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT SADAT FROM PRESIDENT FORD.

2. BEGIN MESSAGE.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

I HAVE BEEN GIVING CAREFUL THOUGHT TO YOUR LETTER OF DECEMBER 7 AND TO THE REPORTS FROM AMBASSADOR EILTS OF HIS DISCUSSIONS WITH YOU OVER THE PAST TEN DAYS, AS WELL AS TO THE VIEWS CONVEYED TO US FROM FOREIGN MINISTER FAHMY AND MR. MARWAN. I HAVE ALSO REVIEWED AT SOME LENGTH WITH SECRETARY KISSINGER AND REFLECTED ON THE COURSE OF EVENTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND IN THE US-EGYPTIAN RELATIONSHIP OVER THE PAST YEAR.

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TWO THINGS STAND OUT IN MY MIND AS I LOOK BACK OVER THAT PERIOD.

FIRST, THIS HAS CLEARLY BEEN ONE OF THOSE TIMES IN HISTORY

WHEN HISTORIC CHANGES OCCUR IN THE COURSE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS. A SIGNIFICANT PART OF THAT HAS BEEN THE SHIFT IN THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE LEADING ARAB NATIONS.

SECOND, IT IS CLEAR THAT YOUR OWN VISION OF WHAT COULD BE ACCOMPLISHED BY A CLOSE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND EGYPT HAS PLAYED A CENTRAL HOLE IN THAT EVOLUTION. THE DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN YOU AND SECRETARY KISSINGER QUICKLY TURNED TO THE QUESTION OF WHAT COULD BE ACCOMPLISHED IF THE UNITED STATES AND EGYPT COULD MOVE ACCORDING TO A COMMON STRATEGIC CONCEPT. THE SPECIFIC STEPS THAT HAVE BEEN TAKEN DURING THIS PERIOD HAVE REFLECTED THAT COMMON APPROACH.

FOR A VARIETY OF REASONS, WE HAVE NOT BEEN ABLE TO MOVE AS QUICKLY AS EITHER OF US WOULD HAVE LIKED IN THE PAST FIVE MONTHS. THIS HAS NOT BEEN BECAUSE OF ANY CHANGE IN OUR PERCEPTION OF OUR COMMON OBJECTIVES. IT HAS RESULTED FROM CIRCUMSTANCES NOT ENTIRELY WITHIN THE CONTROL OF EITHER OF US. AFTER A CERTAIN POINT, THE DELAY HAS INCREASED THE DIFFICULTY OF MOVING AHEAD.

NOW I BELIEVE WE AGAIN HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO MOVE AHEAD PROMPTLY, AND WE ARE DETERMINED TO MOVE AS RAPIDLY AND AS FAR AS POSSIBLE. I AM FULLY MINDFUL OF HOW IMPORTANT IT IS FOR YOU -- BUT ALSO FOR US -- THAT THE STEP-BY-STEP STRATEGY OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS CHARTED TOGETHER BE SEEN TO HAVE CONCRETE AND POSITIVE RESULTS. I AM ALSO MINDFUL OF THE RISKS AND DIFFICULTIES THIS STRATEGY ENTAILS FOR YOU. I REMAIN PERSUADED, HOWEVER, THAT ANY OTHER COURSE INVOLVES EVEN GREATER DANGERS AND HOLDS OUT MUCH LESS HOPE OF ULTIMATELY ACHIEVING THE PEACE WE BOTH SEEK. FOR EXAMPLE, TO RECONVENE THE GENEVA CONFERENCE AT THIS TIME WOULD PRODUCE A STALEMATE

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AND ONLY TRANSFER TO THAT MULTILATERAL FORUM SOME OF THE DIFFICULTIES WE NOW SEE DEVELOPING.

I THEREFORE BELIEVE THAT WE MUST PROCEED CALMLY AT THIS TIME. ONE REALITY WE MUST FACE IS THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL, TO PROTECT ITS OWN DOMESTIC POSITION, CANNOT AGREE TO WITHDRAW WITHOUT SOME RECIPROCAL UNDERTAKINGS ON THE PART OF EGYPT. WE UNDERSTAND, MR. PRESIDENT, THAT YOU WILL REQUIRE A SUBSTANTIAL ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL. LET US WORK TOGETHER TO SEE IF WE CANNOT FIND A FORMULA WHICH WILL MEET YOUR NEEDS AND SERVE OUR COMMON OBJECTIVES.

HOW BEST TO PROCEED WILL, OF COURSE, BE THE SUBJECT OF

CONTINUING DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN US. SECRETARY KISSINGER WILL BE DISCUSSING SPECIFIC ISSUES WITH YOU AND WITH FOREIGN MINISTER FAHMY, BUT WHAT IS ESSENTIAL BETWEEN US IS A CONTINUING PHILOSOPHICAL RAPPORT WHICH WILL ENABLE US TO APPROACH THESE PROBLEMS IN THE SPIRIT OF STRATEGIC COOPERATION WHICH HAS CHARACTERIZED OUR RELATIONSHIP OVER THE PAST YEAR. ON OUR SIDE, I CAN ASSURE YOU THAT I FULLY RECOGNIZE THE GREAT SIGNIFICANCE OF THE FUNDAMENTAL CHANGES WHICH YOU HAVE MADE POSSIBLE IN CHARTING THE COURSE OF FUTURE EVENTS FOR THE MIDDLE EAST.

AS SECRETARY KISSINGER HAS TOLD YOU, WE REGARD OUR TALKS LAST WEEK WITH FOREIGN MINISTER ALLON AS THE BEGINNING OF INTENSIFIED EXCHANGES TO FIND A REALISTIC BASIS FOR THE FURTHER NEGOTIATION THAT IS NECESSARY IF WE ARE TO MOVE FORWARD TOWARD A PEACE SETTLEMENT. WE DO NOT REGARD THE PRESENT ISRAELI POSITION AS FINAL AND THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT IS AWARE OF OUR VIEW. AS WE PURSUE OUR DISCUSSIONS WITH THE ISRAELIS, IT IS HELPFUL TO US TO HAVE IN MIND THE CONCERNS AND IDEAS YOU HAVE CONVEYED TO US SO FRANKLY THROUGH AMBASSADOR EILTS. IT IS ONLY THROUGH THIS KIND OF FRANK GIVE-AND-TAKE EXCHANGE THAT WE CAN BEGIN TO MAKE PROGRESS AS WE DID IN THE NEGOTIATIONS LEADING TO THE DISENGAGEMENT AGREEMENTS EARLIER THIS YEAR, TOWARD THE NEXT STAGE IN THE PURSUIT OF A JUST AND LASTING PEACE IN THE MIDDLE

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EAST.

I WAS TOUCHED, MR. PRESIDENT, BY YOUR THOUGHTFUL GREETINGS AS OUR HOLIDAY SEASON APPROACHES AND BY YOUR WORDS OF ENCOURAGEMENT TO ME IN CARRYING OUT THE RESPONSIBILITIES I BEAR FOR FURTHERING PEACE AND SECURITY IN THE WORLD AND FOR ASSURING THE WELFARE OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. THESE ARE THE HIGHEST GOALS OF MY OFFICE, AND EACH WILL CONTRIBUTE TO THE OTHER IN THE INCREASINGLY INTERDEPENDENT WORLD IN WHICH WE LIVE.

MRS. FORD JOINS ME IN SENDING WARM PERSONAL BEST WISHES TO YOU AND MRS. SADAT AS YOUR OWN HOLIDAYS APPROACH. MAY THE BLESSINGS OF THIS SEASON GIVE US ALL STRENGTH.

SINCERELY,

GERALD R. FORD.

END MESSAGE. KISSINGER

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E.O. 11652: XGDS-3

TAGS: PFOR, EG, US

SUBJECT: MESSAGE FOR PRESIDENT SADAT FROM PRESIDENT FORD

REF: CAIRO 768 AND 793

FOR AMBASSADOR FROM THE SECRETARY

1. PLEASE CONVEY FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT SADAT FROM PRESIDENT FORD, INFORMING FAHMY IN WHATEVER WAY YOU CONSIDER MOST APPROPRIATE.

2. BEGIN MESSAGE:

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

AS SECRETARY KISSINGER HAS REPORTED TO YOU THROUGH AMBASSADOR EILTS, I HAD A SERIOUS TALK WITH FOREIGN MINISTER ALLON WHEN HE WAS HERE LAST WEEK ABOUT THE NEED TO MOVE DECISIVELY IN THE WEEKS IMMEDIATELY AHEAD TO A NEW AGREEMENT ON THE SINAI FRONT AND ABOUT WHAT IS REQUIRED FROM ISRAEL TO MAKE THIS POSSIBLE. AFTER OUR TALKS WITH MR. ALLON, SECRETARY KISSINGER CONSULTED CLOSELY WITH ME ON THE INSTRUCTIONS HE GAVE AMBASSADOR EILTS PRIOR TO HIS RETURN TO EGYPT.

FROM THE AMBASSADOR'S TALKS WITH YOU AND FOREIGN MINISTER FAHMY IN ASWAN, YOU THEREFORE NOW HAVE A FULL PICUTRE OF WHERE MATTERS STAND FOLLOWING OUR MEETINGS WITH MR. ALLON AS WELL AS OUR VIEWS ABOUT HOW MATTERS SHOULD PROCEED. WE HAVE NOW RECEIVED FROM AMBASSADOR EILTS A DETAILED REPORT OF HIS TALKS IN ASWAN, IN WHICH HE HAS EXPLAINED FULLY YOUR RESERVATIONS ABOUT THE TWO-STEP PROCEDURE WE HAVE PROPOSED.

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DR. KISSINGER AND I HAVE REFLECTED CAREFULLY TOGETHER ON YOUR VIEWS AND HAVE CONSIDERED THE PROS AND CONS OF TRYING TO COMPLETE EVERYTHING IN THE COURSE OF ONE TRIP BY HIM TO THE AREA. AFTER THOROUGH DELIBERATION, I HAVE CONCLUDED THAT FOR DR. KISSINGER TO ATTEMPT TO BRING MATTERS TO A CONCLUSION IN ONE STEP WOULD BE FAR TOO RISKY. HE MUST HAVE A PRELIMINARY MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTER RABIN, FOREIGN MINISTER ALLON AND DEFENSE MINISTER PERES TO WORK FURTHER ON OVERCOMING ISRAELI RESISTANCE TO WITHDRAWAL FROM THE OIL FIELDS AND THE PASSES AND ON INDUCING GREATER ISRAELI FLEXIBILITY WITH RESPECT TO THE OTHER ASPECTS OF THE AGREEMENT ON WHICH THE ISRAELIS ARE INSISTING. THE TALKS HE WILL HAVE WITH THEM WILL REQUIRE A LITTLE TIMTO HAVE THEIR EFFECT IN ISRAEL. DURING THE INTERIM PERIOD, RATHER THAN REMAINING IN THE AREA, IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT HE BE HERE TO HELP ME CO-ORDINATE THE EFFORTS THAT WILL BE NEEDED TO BRING ABOUT SUCCESS. I WOULD THEN PLAN ON SENDING DR. KISSINGER BACK TO THE AREA ABOUT MARCH 6 OR 7 FOR AN ALL-OUT EFFORT TO BRING THE NEGOTIATIONS TO A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION, AS YOU AND HE DID TOGETHER DURING THE ASWAN-JERUSALEM SHUTTLE LAST YEAR.

WITH REGARD TO THE SUBSTANCE OF A NEW AGREEMENT, WE HAVE A CLEAR UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT YOUR OBJECTIVES ARE, AND WE ARE WORKING IN THAT DIRECTION. SPECIFICALLY WE ARE URGING STRONGLY THAT ISRAEL MOVE ON BOTH THE PASSES AND THE OIL FIELDS. I MUST UNDERLINE, HOWEVER, WHAT DR. KISSINGER HAS SAID ABOUT THE PROBLEM OF RECIPROCITY IN ANY NEW AGREEMENT. IN THE END, THE AGREEMENT WILL NEED TO TAKE CONCRETE FORM AND, WHILE THE LANGUAGE AND THE WAYS IN WHICH IT IS RECORDED CAN BE WORKED OUT TO TAKE YOUR AS WELL AS ISRAEL'S POLITICAL REQUIREMENTS INTO ACCOUNT, THERE WILL NEED TO BE SOME EGYPTIAN CONTRIBUTION IF OUR EFFORTS ARE TO SUCCEED. FOREIGN MINISTER FAHMY'S DISCUSSIONS WITH AMB EILTS HAVE SUGGESTED A NUMBER OF USEFUL IDEAS IN THIS RESPECT,

AND I HAVE NO DOUBT THAT WAYS CAN BE FOUND TO WORK THESE PROBLEMS OUT. DR. KISSINGER WILL THEN NEED TIME TO DEVELOP THE NECESSARY FORMULATIONS, WHICH FURTHER REINFORCES THE DESIRABILITY OF AN INTERVAL BETWEEN HIS TWO PROPOSED TRIPS TO THE AREA.

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Department of State TELEGRAM

MR. PRESIDENT, IT IS OUR BEST AND FIRM JUDGMENT THAT A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION CAN BE ACHIEVED TO THE EFFORTS IN WHICH WE ARE NOW ENGAGED. WHILE OBVIOUSLY THERE CAN BE NO ABSOLUTE ASSURANCE OF THIS IN ADVANCE, I WOULD NOT BE COMMITTING OUR PRESTIGE BY SENDING SECRETARY KISSINGER TO THE AREA IF I DID NOT BELIEVE THERE WAS A HIGH PROBABILITY OF SUCCESS. THIS JUDGMENT, HOWEVER, IS BASED ON OUR BEING ABLE TO PROCEED AS WE HAVE SUGGESTED. I MUST ASK YOU TO HAVE CONFIDENCE IN OUR JUDGMENT OF HOW THE NEGOTIATIONS CAN MOST EFFECTIVELY BE CONDUCTED, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT NOT ONLY THE PROBLEMS I KNOW YOU FACE AND THE SITUATION IN ISRAEL, BUT ALSO THE PRESSURES WITH WHICH WE MUST DEAL HERE.

I ASSURE YOU THAT I FULLY APPRECIATE THE RISKS INVOLVED FOR YOU. THERE ARE RISKS FOR US AS WELL IN SENDING DR. KISSINGER ON THIS MISSION. TO HELP MEET YOUR CONCERNS WE WOULD BE PREPARED, IF YOU WISH, IN ANNOUNCING SECRETARY KISSINGER'S EARLY FEBRUARY VISIT, TO SAY THAT IT IS PREPARATORY AND THAT HE ANTICIPATES RETURNING TO THE AREA AGAIN IN A FEW WEEKS FOR A MORE EXTENDED STAY TO CONTINUE THE NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE INTENTION OF DOING EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO BRING THEM TO A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION AT THAT TIME. IN ADDITION, IF IT WOULD BE HELPFUL TO YOU, DURING THE INTERVAL BETWEEN TRIPS AND WHILE WE ARE WORKING ON THE SITUATION HERE, DR. KISSINGER WOULD BE PREPARED TO LEAVE A MEMBER OF HIS PARTY BEHIND TO CONTINUE THE DISCUSSIONS IN THE AREA.

FINALLY, AMBASSADOR EILTS HAS REPORTED THE IMPORTANCE YOU ATTACH TO AN AGREEMENT THAT YOU CAN DEFEND PUBLICLY AND BE PROUD OF, AS WELL AS YOUR VIEW THAT, IF WE CANNOT AGREE, IT WOULD BE BETTER AND MORE HONORABLE FOR EVERYONE TO AGREE TO GO TO GENEVA IMMEDIATELY. WE ARE OF COURSE PREPARED TO DO SO, AND DO NOT SHRINK FROM RECONVENING THE GENEVA CONFERENCE, IF THAT IS REALLY THE WISH OF THE OTHERS CONCERNED. THIS WOULD NOT SOLVE THE PROBLEM IN PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES, HOWEVER, ALTHOUGH IT WOULD HAVE THE ADVANTAGE FOR US THAT ALL PARTICIPANTS AT GENEVA WOULD SHARE THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE STALEMATE THAT WOULD INEVITABLY RESULT. IT IS PRECISELY BECAUSE A STALEMATE WOULD BE DETRIMENTAL TO THE REAL INTERESTS

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OF ALL CONCERNED, INCLUDING EGYPT, AND BECAUSE OF OUR ADMIRATION FOR ALL YOU HAVE BEEN SEEKING TO ACCOMPLISH, THAT WE HAVE PROPOSED PERSEVERING ON THE PRESENT COURSE DESPITE THE COMPLICATIONS AND DIFFICULTIES IT HOLDS- WE VALUE YOUR LEADERSHIP IN THE AREA AND RESPECT THE OBJECTIVES YOU SEEK FOR EGYPT, FOR THE MIDDLE EAST AND FOR WORLD PEACE. FOR THESE REASONS, WE ARE PREPARED TO CONTINUE OUR EFFORTS, WHICH ARE NOT WITHOUT RISK FOR US, TO HELP ACHIEVE THE OBJECTIVES OUR TWO COUNTRIES FULLY SHARE.

I WILL LOOK FORWARD TO YOUR EARLY AND, I HOPE, FAVORABLE REACTION TO THE IDEAS I HAVE SET FORTH IN THIS LETTER.

SINCERELY,

GERALD R. FORD

END MESSAGE.

3. WITH RESPECT TO FAHMY'S COMMENT ABOUT MY MESSAGE TO ASAD AS RELAYED BY FAISAL (PARA 5 REFTEL), I AM REPEATING TEXT TO CAIRO AND YOU MAY SHOW IT TO FAHMY. AS HE WILL SEE, IT WAS NON-SUBSTANTIVE AND REPRESENTED ONLY AN ATTEMPT TO KEEP SYRIA CALM DURING THIS PERIOD. YOU SHOULD TELL FAHMY THAT, AS I HAVE ASSURED HIM BEFORE, I WILL KEEP PRESIDENT SADAT AND HIM INFORMED OF ALL SIGNIFICANT EXCHANGES WE MAY HAVE WITH THE SYRIANS. YOU SHOULD ALSO TELL HIM THAT, NOW THAT YOU HAVE FULLY BRIEFED PRESIDENT SADAT AND HIM ON ALLON VISIT, I WILL BE SENDING FURTHER NON-SUBSTANTIVE MESSAGE TO ASAD AND WILL SEND YOU COPY TO SHOW FAHMY. I WILL ALSO WRITE HUSSEIN ALONG THE LINES FAHMY SUGGESTS. IN ADDITION, WHILE I REALIZE THERE IS NO NEED FOR SUBSTANTIVE MESSAGE TO KING FAISAL, I THINK IT USEFUL NOT TO LET TOO LONG A PERIOD ELAPSE WITHOUT COMMUNICATING WITH HIM, AND WE WILL THEREFORE ALSO BE SENDING A GENERAL AND NON-SUBSTANTIVE MESSAGE TO FAISAL. INGERSOLL

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S/S - JPMOFFAT

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S/S - MR. EALUM

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CHEROKEE TOSEC 781

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)
SUBJECT: LETTER FROM PRESIDENT FORD TO PRESIDENT SADAT
REFERENCE: ASWAN 235
FOR THE AMBASSADOR

1. PLEASE DELIVER FOLLOWING LETTER FROM PRESIDENT FORD TO PRESIDENT SADAT:

2. BEGIN TEXT DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

I AM GLAD YOU HAVE WRITTEN TO SHARE YOUR THOUGHTS WITH ME ABOUT THE PRESENT STAGE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS SECRETARY KISSINGER IS CONDUCTING.

DR. KISSINGER HAS KEPT ME FULLY INFORMED ON A DAILY BASIS OF THE ISSUES INVOLVED IN THE NEGOTIATIONS AND I HAVE A FULL UNDERSTANDING OF YOUR CONCERNS AND PERCEPTIONS OF THE PROBLEM. I HAVE INSTRUCTED DR. KISSINGER TO SPARE NO EFFORTS TO BRING THE NEGOTIATIONS TO A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION IF AT ALL POSSIBLE. HE HAS MY FULL CONFIDENCE, AND I AM HAPPY TO NOTE FROM YOUR LETTER THAT YOU CONTINUE TO

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Department of State

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TELEGRAM

PAGE 02 STATE 062406

SHARE MY CONFIDENCE IN HIM.

I WILL WRITE MORE FULLY AS SOON AS THE OUTCOME OF OUR PRESENT EFFORTS HAS BECOME CLEARER, BUT I WANTED TO LOSE NO TIME IN THANKING YOU FOR WRITING TO ME AND IN ASSURING YOU OF OUR DETERMINATION TO DO ALL WE CAN TO ACHIEVE A FURTHER STEP TOWARD A JUST AND DURABLE PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST. WHATEVER THE OUTCOME OF THE PRESENT NEGOTIATING EFFORT, THAT WILL REMAIN THE OVERRIDING OBJECTIVE OF MY ADMINISTRATION. SINCERELY, GERALD R. FORD. END TEXT INGERSOLL

~~SECRET~~

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...ICATION OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRE

Tab A dispatched via State channels 6:00 pm 3/19/75

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

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ACTION
March 19, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BRENT SCOWCROFT

SUBJECT: Letter from President Sadat

As you know, President Sadat has sent you a message giving you his assessment of the state of the current Middle East negotiations (Tab B).

Secretary Kissinger suggests that a substantive reply be withheld for the moment, pending the response of the Israeli Government to Sadat's most recent offers, which are being conveyed in Jerusalem today. He recommends, however, that you send an acknowledgment to President Sadat expressing appreciation for the thoughts contained in his letter, reaffirming your strong wish to bring the negotiations to a successful conclusion and making clear your full confidence in Secretary Kissinger's current effort. A draft text to this effect is at Tab A for your consideration. Subject to your approval, I will have it cabled to Cairo immediately.

RECOMMENDATION

That you authorize dispatch of the message to President Sadat at Tab A.

Approve BRF Disapprove _____

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NSC MEMO, 11/24/98, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES
BY bh, NARA, DATE 11/17/03

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Dear Mr. President:

I am glad you have written to share your thoughts with me about the present stage of the negotiations Secretary Kissinger is conducting.

Dr. Kissinger has kept me fully informed on a daily basis of the issues involved in the negotiations and I feel that I have a full understanding of your concerns and perceptions of the problem. I have instructed Dr. Kissinger to spare no efforts to bring the negotiations to a successful conclusion if at all possible. He has my full confidence, and I am happy to note from your letter that you continue to share my confidence in him.

I will write more fully as soon as the outcome of our present efforts has become clearer, but I wanted to lose no time in thanking you for writing to me and in assuring you of our determination to do all we can to achieve a further step toward a just and durable peace in the Middle East. Whatever the outcome of the present negotiating effort, that will remain the overriding objective of my Administration.

Sincerely,

Gerald R. Ford

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NSC MEMO, 11/24/98, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES
BY ____, NARA, DATE 11/17/03

His Excellency
Muhammad Ahmad Anwar al-Sadat
President
Arab Republic of Egypt
Cairo

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Dear Mr. President:

At this particular juncture I felt it may be opportune to share with you certain thoughts with respect to the present stage of contacts which are carried on with my admiration and confidence by your Secretary of State.

I am sure that Dr. Kissinger is putting you fully in the picture so far as the present contacts in the area. However, you may agree with me that the situation reached almost a deadlock as a result of the Israelis' continued intransigence, insisting that we give them in return for a very limited disengagement agreement; a statement lifting belligerency or agreeing to a formula under which all the implications of a real and final peace would ensue.

I hope you agree with me that it is impossible to continue the present contacts on that basis in the light of the persistence of the Israelis to get concessions which could not be given under any pretext except when we reach the final state of a just and durable peace, which, obviously, must include all the parties concerned and all the essentials of peace.

From your messages, I had the distinct impression that you are also aware of the position of the parties and that on that basis, you have instructed your Secretary of State to come to our area to continue with his usual dedication to the cause of peace, to try to bring the parties to agree on a further step after long and arduous efforts to prepare for

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his trip to attain these goals.

Most unfortunately, as you must have known from your Secretary of State, we have almost reached a deadlock because of the intransigence of the Israelis, which is completely out of proportion so far as the limited goal of the present exercise. And because of the Israeli position, it is abundantly clear that such an attitude on their part is completely unacceptable to us.

I am sure, Mr. President, that with your wisdom and your vigor, you will take the appropriate measures which would enable your Secretary of State to succeed in his tireless efforts.

In conclusion, I would like to assure you that, irrespective of the results of the present mission of Dr. Kissinger, it is my intention to continue to develop our relations. The purpose of my message is to draw attention to the serious repercussions on the chances of peace and tranquillity in the area and on international peace and security in general if the Israeli Government continues to follow such a defiant position, and, as such, they bear the full responsibility if the situation deteriorates because of the line they are adhering to.

With warm regards,

Mohammed Anwar al-Sadat

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MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ACTION

~~SECRET~~

March 19, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BRENT SCOWCROFT

SUBJECT: Letter from President Sadat

As you know, President Sadat has sent you a message giving you his assessment of the state of the current Middle East negotiations (Tab B)

At the conclusion of their talks on Tuesday, President Sadat prepared a letter which he asked Secretary Kissinger to transmit to you. The letter (Tab B) provides Sadat's very sober assessment of the current round of talks. He expresses the view that Israel's demand for a statement "lifting belligerency" in return for an additional step in the disengagement process is unacceptable. In Sadat's judgment it is inconceivable for Egypt to consider termination of the state of belligerency except in the context of a final peace settlement. In closing, Sadat states that the purpose of his letter is "To draw attention to the serious repercussions on the chances for peace and tranquillity in the area and on international peace and security in general if the Israeli Government continues to follow such a defiant position, and, as such, they bear the full responsibility if the situation deteriorates because of the line they are adhering to."

~~As reflected in his reports on the current positions of both sides, the outcome of the current round of talks remains uncertain.~~ Secretary Kissinger believes that a substantive reply ~~will be in order but recommends that for the moment it~~ be withheld pending the response of the Israeli Government to Sadat's most recent offers, which are being conveyed in Jerusalem today. We ~~Secretary Kissinger~~ recommends, however, that you send an acknowledgment to President Sadat expressing appreciation for the thoughts contained in his letter, reaffirming your strong wish to bring the negotiations to a successful conclusion and making clear your full confidence in Secretary Kissinger's current effort. A draft text to this effect is at Tab A for you consideration. Subject to your approval, ~~it~~ will ~~be conveyed~~ have it copied to Cairo ~~by message.~~ immediately.

RECOMMENDATION

That you authorize dispatch of the message to President Sadat at Tab A.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

for the moment,

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BY ldg NARA DATE 11/17/03

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ACTION
March 19, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BRENT SCOWCROFT

SUBJECT: Letter from President Sadat

As you know, President Sadat has sent you a message giving you his assessment of the state of the current Middle East negotiations (Tab B).

Secretary Kissinger ~~believes that~~ suggests that a substantive reply be withheld for the moment, pending the response of the Israeli Government to Sadat's most recent offers, which are being conveyed in Jerusalem today. He recommends, however, that you send an acknowledgment to President Sadat expressing appreciation for the thoughts contained in his letter, reaffirming your strong wish to bring the negotiations to a successful conclusion and making clear your full confidence in Secretary Kissinger's current effort. A draft text to this effect is at Tab A for your consideration. Subject to your approval, I will have it cabled to Cairo immediately.

RECOMMENDATION

That you authorize dispatch of the message to President Sadat at Tab A.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

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BY _____, NARA, DATE 11/17/03

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 16, 1975

Dear Mr. President:

I am taking advantage of Ambassador Eilts' return to send you this brief message together with my warmest greetings.

I want you to know that I remain strongly concerned about the impasse that has developed. As I said in my State of the World speech, the active role of the United States to move matters forward must and will be continued. I have pledged the United States to a major effort for peace in the Middle East and will not accept either stagnation or a stalemate in that effort.

As you know, we are currently conducting an intensive reassessment of our Middle East policy. This is still going on. The issues involved in the Middle East problem are sensitive and complex, and I have therefore asked Ambassador Eilts to convey to you orally our current thinking. I would, of course, welcome any views you may have. Once the reassessment is completed, I will again be in touch with you.

You discussed with Vice President Rockefeller the possibility that we might meet somewhere in Europe. I welcome that opportunity and would like to suggest a

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BY ____, NARA, DATE 3/3/04

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meeting, perhaps in early June. I have asked Ambassador Eilts to discuss details with you. I share your view that something tangible should come out of that meeting in order to further cement the relations between our two countries.

Sincerely,

Gerald R. Ford

His Excellency
Anwar al-Sadat
President of the
Arab Republic of Egypt
Cairo

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TELEGRAM

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NODIS/CHEROKEE

EO 11652: XGDS-2
TAGS: PFOR EG US
SUBJECT: LETTER FROM PRESIDENT SADAT TO PRESIDENT FORD

1. IT BEING FRIDAY, FAHMY ASKED ME TO MEET WITH HIM AT HIS APARTMENT AT NOON TODAY. THERE HE HANDED ME A LETTER, DATED MAY 2, FROM PRESIDENT SADAT TO PRESIDENT FORD. TEXT FOLLOWS:

QUOTE DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

I APPRECIATE YOUR LETTER OF APRIL 16, 1975 WHICH AMBASSADOR EILTS HANDED ME UPON HIS RETURN FROM WASHINGTON. I WELCOME, IN PARTICULAR, YOUR ASSURANCES THAT THE ACTIVE ROLE OF THE UNITED STATES TO MOVE MATTERS FORWARD MUST AND WILL BE CONTINUED AND THAT YOU WILL NOT ACCEPT EITHER STAGNATION OR A STALEMATE IN YOUR EFFORT FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST. IT IS IN THIS LIGHT THAT I AWAIT THE COMPLETION OF YOUR REASSESSMENT OF YOUR MIDDLE EASTERN POLICY WHICH, I TRUST, WILL REFLECT CLEARLY YOUR FIRM INTENT TO DO THE UTMOST TO BRING ABOUT PEACE WITH JUSTICE FOR THE PEOPLES AND COUNTRIES OF THIS REGION.

I AM LOOKING FORWARD WITH KEEN INTEREST TO OUR SALZBURG MEETING ON JUNE 1ST. IT IS MY FIRM BELIEF THAT THIS MEETING WILL BE OF CARDINAL IMPORTANCE FOR OUR TWO COUNTRIES AND THE WORLD AT LARGE. THIS IS A LOGICAL CONSEQUENCE OF THE IMPACT WHICH THE AMERICAN-EGYPTIAN

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RELATIONS HAVE ALWAYS HAD ON OUR AREA AND FAR BEYOND IT.

I HOPE THAT YOU WILL AGREE WITH ME, THEREFORE, THAT OUR MEETING SHOULD SEEK TO ATTAIN CONCRETE AND TANGIBLE RESULTS WITH RESPECT BOTH TO PEACE-MAKING AND TO OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS RATHER THAN REMAIN A MERE VISIBLE DEMONSTRATION OF THE ALREADY ESTABLISHED FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES.

UNLESS WE DO SO, OUR MEETING WILL FAIL THE EXPECTATIONS OF THE MANY WHO BELIEVED AND EXPECTED THAT THE UNITED STATES IS INTERESTED IN A STABLE AND PROGRESSING MIDDLE EAST AND IS PREPARED ACTIVELY TO ASSIST IN ACHIEVING THAT END. THIS, NO DOUBT, COULD HAVE SERIOUS REPERCUSSIONS DETRIMENTAL TO THE COMMON CAUSE WE BOTH HAVE IN MIND. YOUR LETTER AND RECENT STATEMENTS, HOWEVER, ENCOURAGE ME TO BELIEVE THAT YOU SHARE A SIMILAR CONCERN AND, HENCE, I WOULD WELCOME HEARING FROM YOU OF ANY SUBSTANTIAL NEW DEVELOPMENTS -- BILATERALLY OR OTHERWISE -- WHICH YOU IN YOUR VIEW COULD EMERGE FROM OUR MEETING.
SINCERELY, MOHAMED ANWAR

EL SADAT END QUOTE

2. FAHMY, IN CONTRAST TO HIS EDGINESS OF THE PAST FEW DAYS, WAS TODAY IN A RELAXED MOOD. HE AGAIN DISCLAIMED ALL RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE LEAKS ON THE EGYPTIAN SIDE OF THE NEWS OF THE UPCOMING SALZBURG MEETING, ASSERTING THIS HAD COME FROM THE PRESIDENCY. THE PRESIDENT HAD FELT THAT, IN VIEW OF THE LONG MARK-TIMING THAT HAS BEEN NECESSARY PENDING COMPLETION OF OUR MIDDLE EAST POLICY REASSESSMENT, IT WAS TACTICALLY IMPORTANT TO HIM DOMESTICALLY AND IN ARAB WORLD TO MAKE GENERAL REFERENCE TO AN UPCOMING MAJOR MEETING WITH AN IMPORTANT WESTERN STATESMAN IN THE COURSE OF HIS ASYIUT SPEECH OF YESTERDAY. WHILE GENERAL IN NATURE, THE REFERENCE HAD LED TO SUBSEQUENT PRESS HOUDING OF OFFICIALS WITH THE PRESIDENT'S PARTY. THEIR HINTS HAD ENABLED THE PRESS TO PIECE TWO AND TWO TOGETHER AND COME UP WITH AN ANSWER. FAHMY INSISTED THAT, AFTER OUR TELEPHONE CONVERSATION OF LAST NIGHT, HE HAD AT ONCE INSTRUCTED THE CENSORS TO STOP THE STORY FROM BEING FILED, BUT REGRETTABLY HIS EFFORT HAD NOT BEEN FOOLPROOF. HE HOPED WE WOULD UNDERSTAND.
EILTS

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NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION
Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

WITHDRAWAL ID 017573

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL . . . . National security restriction

TYPE OF MATERIAL . . . . . Telegram

CREATOR'S NAME . . . . . Ambassador Eilts
RECEIVER'S NAME . . . . . Secretary Kissinger

TITLE . . . . . President Sadat's Letter to President Ford

CREATION DATE 06/25/1975

VOLUME . . . . . 3 pages

COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 035100018
COLLECTION TITLE . . . . . NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER. PRESIDENTIAL CORRESPONDENCE WITH FOREIGN LEADERS
BOX NUMBER 1
FOLDER TITLE . . . . . Egypt - President Sadat (1)

DATE WITHDRAWN 03/12/2004
WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST . . . . GG

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NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION
Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

WITHDRAWAL ID 017574

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL . . . . National security restriction

TYPE OF MATERIAL . . . . . Telegram

CREATOR'S NAME . . . . . Secretary Kissinger
RECEIVER'S NAME . . . . . Ambassador Eilts

DESCRIPTION . . . . . President Ford's response to Sadat letter

CREATION DATE 06/27/1975

VOLUME . . . . . 2 pages

COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 035100018
COLLECTION TITLE . . . . . NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER. PRESIDENTIAL CORRESPONDENCE WITH FOREIGN LEADERS
BOX NUMBER 1
FOLDER TITLE . . . . . Egypt - President Sadat (1)

DATE WITHDRAWN 03/12/2004
WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST . . . . GG

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5
STATE DEPT, GUIDELINES, State Review 9/16/03
BY lda, NARA, DATE 3/3/04

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E.O. 11652: XGDS

TAGS: PFOR

SUBJECT: MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT FORD

FOR AMBASSADOR EILTS FROM SECRETARY KISSINGER

1. PLEASE DELIVER FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT FORD TO PRESIDENT SADAT VIA FAHMY.

BEGIN MESSAGE: DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: THANK YOU FOR YOUR LETTER OF AUGUST 14,REAFFIRMING YOUR COMMITMENT TO THE OBJECTIVE WE SHARE OF ACHIEVING A COMPREHENSIVE, JUST AND DURABLE PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

I FULLY UNDERSTAND AND AGREE WITH YOUR VIEW THAT THE AGREEMENT CURRENTLY UNDER NEGOTIATION, IMPORTANT AS IT IS FOR REDUCING TENSIONS AND RECAPTURING THE MOMENTUM TOWARD PEACE, CONSTITUTES ONLY A STEP TOWARD A FINAL SETTLEMENT. I RECOGNIZE THAT YOUR PREFERENCE WOULD HAVE BEEN TO PRO-

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CEED NOW TO A FINAL SETTLEMENT. I ALSO RECOGNIZE THAT THE SITUATION FOLLOWING ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL FROM THE PASSES AND THE OIL FIELDS WILL NOT BE AN ACCEPTABLE PERMANENT SOLUTION TO YOU OR TO THE ARAB WORLD GENERALLY. WE DISCUSSED FRANKLY AT SALZBURG WHY AN INTERIM STEP IS THE BEST WAY TO PROCEED AT THIS TIME WHILE PERMITTING THE

REALITIES IN THE AREA AND INTERNATIONALLY TO MATURE TO THE POINT WHERE AN ALL-OUT EFFORT TO ACHIEVE FINAL PEACE CAN BE MADE. IN THOSE DISCUSSIONS, W E BOTH AGREED THAT THE ISSUES OF A COMPREHENSIVE SETTLEMENT MUST BE ADDRESSED WHEN CIRCUMSTANCES SEEM MOST PROMISING FOR SUCCESS. AS I SAID TO YOU, THE UNITED STATES WILL CONTINUE TO PLAY A VITAL ROLE IN THE PEACEMAKING PROCESS AND WILL DO ITS UTMOST TO MOVE MATTERS FORWARD EXPEDITIOUSLY. WHILE RECOGNIZING THAT A FINAL PEACE AGREEMENT IS IMPORTANTLY A MATTER TO BE NEGOTIATED BY THE PARTIES, THE UNITED STATES WILL BE PREPARED TO PUT FORWARD IDEAS OF OUR OWN WHEN AND IF IT BECOMES NECESSARY TO DO SO.

I AM CERTAIN, MR. PRESIDENT, THAT THE COURSE ON WHICH WE ARE EMBARKED IS THE RIGHT ONE AND THAT, PENDING A FINAL SETTLEMENT, THE AGREEMENT NOW BEING NEGOTIATED WILL BRING MAJOR BENEFITS TO EGYPT. SECRETARY KISSINGER WILL COME TO THE MIDDLE EAST THIS WEEK WITH MY FULL SUPPORT AND DETERMINATION TO ACHIEVE THE STEP IMMEDIATELY AHEAD OF US. AS WE ENTER THIS FINAL STAGE OF THE CURRENT NEGOTIATIONS, I HOPE YOU WILL CONTINUE TO SUPPORT DR. KISSINGER'S EFFORTS WITH THE VISION YOU HAVE ALWAYS SHOWN AND WITH YOUR STATESMANLIKE ABILITY TO KEEP YOUR EYE ON THE MAIN ISSUES WITHOUT BEING DIVERTED BY PERIPHERAL MATTERS. THESE QUALITIES OF YOURS HAVE BEEN DECISIVE IN BRINGING MEASURABLE PROGRESS FOR THE FIRST TIME TOWARD THE PEACE THAT HAS ELUDED ALL PREVIOUS LEADERS IN THE AREA.

DR. KISSINGER WILL CONVEY TO YOU PERSONALLY MY STRONG CONVICTION THAT, ONCE THIS IMMEDIATE STEP IS ACCOMPLISHED, WE MUST REMAIN FIRM IN PURSUIT OF OUR COMMON STRATEGY OVER THE MONTHS AHEAD UNTIL THE TIME IS RIPE TO DEVOTE OUR FULL ATTENTION AND ENERGY TO DOING WHAT IS NECESSARY TO BRING ABOUT A FINAL PEACE SETTLEMENT. THE UNITED STATES FOR ITS

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PAGE 03 STATE 197497

PART WILL FULFILL ITS RESPONSIBILITIES IN THIS RESPECT.

FINALLY, MR. PRESIDENT, ONCE THE INTERIM AGREEMENT WE ARE DISCUSSING HAS BEEN ACHIEVED, IT IS MY STRONG HOPE AND DESIRE THAT YOU AND MRS.SADAT WILL PAY A VISIT TO OUR COUNTRY THIS YEAR AS MRS. FORD'S AND MY GUESTS.

WITH WARM REGARDS, GERALD R. FORD.

END MESSAGE. KISSINGER

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FOR THE SECRETARY FROM AMBASSADOR

EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR EG US IS
SUBJECT: MESSAGE FOR PRESIDENT SADAT FROM PRESIDENT FORD

REF: STATE 197497

SINCE FAHMY IS IN ALEXANDRIA, I DELIVERED
REFERENCE MESSAGE TODAY TO MINSTATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS MOHAMED RIAD
WITH REQUEST IT BE FORWARDED IMMEDIATELY TO PRESIDENT SADAT
THROUGH FAHMY. RIAD AT ONCE DISPATCHED THE LETTER BY
SPECIAL MESSENGER. FAHMY SHOULD HAVE IT LATE THIS
AFTERNOON AND WILL FORWARD IT IMMEDIATELY TO PRESIDENT
SADAT AT BORG AL-ARAB.
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NODIS
CHEROKEE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, EG, US

SUBJECT: MESSAGE FOR PRESIDENT SADAT

FOR THE AMBASSADOR

1. PLEASE DELIVER FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT FORD TO PRESIDENT SADAT:

QUOTE: DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I WRITE TO YOU AS A FRIEND, AS AN ADMIRER OF YOUR GREAT STATESMANSHIP, OF YOUR COURAGE AND INTEGRITY.

ABOVE ALL, MR. PRESIDENT, I AM WRITING TO YOU CONVINCED MORE THAN EVER THAT THE COURSE WE HAVE CHOSEN TOGETHER IS THE RIGHT ONE, FOR EGYPT, FOR ALL OF THE ARABS, AND FOR THE UNITED STATES.

THE SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION OF THE SECOND AGREEMENT BETWEEN EGYPT AND ISRAEL ON THE SINAI WAS, AS I HAVE SAID, A

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Department of State TELEGRAM

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HISTORIC ACHIEVEMENT. IT IS A DECISION YOU TOOK IN ORDER TO ADVANCE TOWARD A JUST AND LASTING PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST NOT ONLY, AS YOU SAID TO ME, FOR YOUR COUNTRY BUT FOR THE ENTIRE AREA. NOW THAT THIS AGREEMENT HAS BEEN CONCLUDED I

WANT TO SHARE WITH YOU MY VIEWS OF THE CURRENT SITUATION AND OF PROSPECTS FOR THE FUTURE.

THE AGREEMENT JUST CONCLUDED HAS BROUGHT TANGIBLE BENEFITS TO EGYPT. NOT ONLY WILL YOU RECOVER THE USE OF YOUR NATION'S OIL RESOURCES IN THE SINAI, BUT YOU HAVE ALSO BROUGHT ABOUT ISRAEL'S WITHDRAWAL FROM THE STRATEGIC SINAI PASSES. TO HAVE FOREGONE THESE GAINS IN ORDER TO PURSUE, WITHOUT LAYING ANY GROUNDWORK, AN ALL-OR-NOTHING NEGOTIATION AT GENEVA WOULD IN MY JUDGMENT HAVE ASSURED STALEMATE AND A RAPID DETERIORATION OF THE SITUATION TO THE THE BENEFIT OF NO ONE COUNTRY. IT WAS THIS REALITY WHICH LED US, AS IT DID YOU, TO CONCLUDE THAT A FURTHER INTERIM AGREEMENT WAS THE ONLY WAY TO MAKE EARLY PRACTICAL PROGRESS. IN SEIZING THIS OPPORTUNITY, YOU HAVE MADE POSSIBLE WHAT COULD BECOME, IN YOUR OWN WORDS, A TURNING POINT TOWARD PEACE WITH JUSTICE NOT ONLY FOR EGYPT BUT ALSO FOR THE ENTIRE ARAB WORLD TO WHICH EGYPT HAS SO LONG GIVEN LEADERSHIP. THESE REALITIES WILL SURVIVE LONG AFTER THE CRITICISM EMANATING FROM SOME QUARTERS HAS BEEN FORGOTTEN.

HERE IN THE UNITED STATES I BELIEVE THINGS ARE GOING

WELL. THE CONGRESS IS SHOWING A SYMPATHETIC UNDERSTANDING OF THE AGREEMENT AND OF THE RESPONSIBILITIES WHICH THE UNITED STATES HAS UNDERTAKEN IN CONNECTION WITH IT. I BELIEVE THAT THE CONGRESS WILL SHORTLY GIVE ITS APPROVAL TO THE U.S. PROPOSAL TO ENTRUST TO AMERICAN CIVILIAN TECHNICIANS THE EARLY WARNING SYSTEM IN THE SINAI PASSES, TO SERVE AS YOU SO APTLY PUT IT, AS WITNESSES TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PEACE AGREEMENT. THE CONGRESS ALSO APPEARS FAVORABLY DISPOSED TOWARD PROVIDING THE ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO EGYPT WHICH WE DISCUSSED IN SALZBURG AND WHICH SECRETARY KISSINGER FURTHER DISCUSSED WITH YOU IN ALEXANDRIA. I PLAN TO SUBMIT A REQUEST TO THE CONGRESS

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FOR DOLS 700 MILLION ~~IN ECONOMIC~~ ASSISTANCE FOR EGYPT.

WE HAVE ALSO BEEN IN TOUCH WITH A NUMBER OF OTHER GOVERNMENTS TO EMPHASIZE HOW IMPORTANT THIS AGREEMENT IS AS A STEP TOWARD A JUST AND LASTING PEACE. WE HAVE ENCOURAGED THEM TO GIVE BROAD SUPPORT TO YOU. DESPITE THE PREDICTABLE CRITICISMS WHICH HAVE COME FROM CERTAIN COUNTRIES, I AM CONVINCED THAT HISTORY WILL SHOW THAT YOU ARE THE ONLY ARAB LEADER WHO HAS MADE TANGIBLE PROGRESS TOWARD A JUST PEACE. THE WORLD WILL COME TO UNDERSTAND THAT YOU MADE YOUR HISTORIC DECISION NOT JUST FOR EGYPT BUT FOR ALL ARABS. WE WILL CONTINUE TO MAKE THESE POINTS WITH OTHER GOVERNMENTS AND TO URGE THEM TO TAKE CONCRETE ACTIONS TO DEMONSTRATE THEIR SUPPORT OF YOUR POLICIES.

I HAVE NOTED THE PUBLIC EXPRESSIONS OF CONCERN COMING FROM THE MIDDLE EAST THAT THE AGREEMENT NOT FREEZE THE SITUATION DIPLOMATICALLY. I SHARE THIS VIEW. WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO SYRIA, SECRETARY KISSINGER HAS TOLD PRESIDENT ASAD THAT WE WOULD MAKE A SERIOUS EFFORT TO HELP ACHIEVE PROGRESS ON THE SYRIAN FRONT, AND HE HAS ASSURED PRESIDENT ASAD THAT THE UNITED STATES COUNTS ON A UNITED ARAB WORLD TO FURTHER THE PEACE PROCESS. IN OUR VIEW, DIVISION IN THE ARAB WORLD IS THE DANGER TO FUTURE PROGRESS. AS I HAVE SAID ON NUMEROUS OCCASIONS, WE ARE COMMITTED TO THE PROPOSITION THAT A LASTING PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST MUST INVOLVE PROGRESS ON ALL FRONTS AND MUST BE BASED ON CAREFUL ATTENTION TO THE INTERESTS OF ALL ITS PEOPLE, INCLUDING THE PALESTINIANS.

WITH REGARD TO THE SOVIET UNION I WANT YOU TO KNOW THAT WE HAVE TAKEN A VERY FIRM LINE WITH GENERAL SECRETARY BREZHNEV. THE SOVIET RESPONSE, WHILE COMPLAINING OVER THE LACK OF INVOLVEMENT IN THE NEGOTIATIONS, INDICATES THAT THEY DO NOT INTEND TO PLAY AN OBSTRUCTIONIST ROLE. I HAVE REASON TO BELIEVE, BASED ON A COMMUNICATION WE RECEIVED WITHIN THE LAST TWENTY-FOUR HOURS FROM THE SOVIETS, THAT THEY WILL NOT MAKE MAJOR DIFFICULTIES. SECRETARY KISSINGER WILL BE MEETING FOREIGN MINISTER

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GROMYKO NEXT WEEK TO DISCUSS THE SITUATION, AND WE WILL KEEP YOU CURRENTLY INFORMED, AS WE HAVE THROUGHOUT, OF THESE EXCHANGES.

AN ADDITIONAL REASON FOR MY HIGH SENSE OF GRATIFICATION AT THE SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION OF THIS AGREEMENT IS THE PROSPECT THAT IT WILL NOW BE POSSIBLE FOR YOU AND MRS. SADAT TO VISIT THE UNITED STATES. YOUR VISIT IS ONE THAT MRS. FORD AND I HAVE LONG LOOKED FORWARD TO WITH GREAT PLEASURE. I WANT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TO GET TO KNOW YOU AS I DO. I AM CONFIDENT THAT SUCH A VISIT WILL REINFORCE BOTH OUR OFFICIAL AND PERSONAL TIES AND REINFORCE OUR MUTUAL EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST. I HOPE YOU WILL PLAN ON BOTH A STATE VISIT TO WASHINGTON AS WELL AS ALLOW TIME TO TRAVEL TO OTHER PARTS OF AMERICA. I WOULD LIKE TO SUGGEST THAT YOU PLAN YOUR VISIT STARTING OCTOBER 28.

WITH WARM REGARDS TO YOU, MRS. SADAT, AND YOUR FAMILY,
SINCERELY, GERALD R. FORD UNQUOTE .
END MESSAGE.

2. FYI: ONE MILLION TONS OF GRAIN UNDER PL 480 IS IN ADDITION TO DOLLARS 700 MILLION MENTIONED IN PRESIDENT'S LETTER. END FYI. KISSINGER

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, EG

SUBJECT: MESSAGE FOR PRESIDENT SADAT

FOR AMBASSADOR FROM THE SECRETARY

1. PLEASE PASS THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT SADAT THROUGH FAHMI.

2. DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

YESTERDAY I SENT A VERY BRIEF PRELIMINARY ORAL REPORT TO ISMAIL ON OUR TALKS WITH MR. GROMYKO HERE IN WASHINGTON ON THE QUESTION OF THE MIDDLE EAST. THUS FAR WE HAD ONLY TOUCHED UPON THE SUBJECT LIGHTLY. LAST NIGHT I HAD A FULLER DISCUSSION WITH HIM, AND I AGREED TO HAVING A FURTHER EXCHANGE WITH HIM AT OUR FINAL MEETING WHICH WILL TAKE PLACE SUNDAY NIGHT.

AS I REPORTED TO ISMAIL, GROMYKO HAS BEEN MODERATE IN HIS ATTITUDE, ALMOST PLAINTIVE IN HIS EXPRESSIONS OF SOVIET

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DESIRE TO PARTICIPATE IN THE PEACE PROCESS OF THE MIDDLE EAST. HE MADE CLEAR THAT THE SOVIET UNION OBJECTS TO WHAT HE HAS CHARACTERIZED THE SEPARATE AMERICAN EFFORT WHICH HAS

RESULTED IN THE EGYPTIAN-ISRAELI AGREEMENT. HOWEVER, BEARING IN MIND THAT IN MY EARLIER MEETING I HAD WARNED HIM FIRMLY AGAINST ANY UNTOWARD INTERFERENCE IN THE ON-GOING PROCESS OR THE AGREEMENT ITSELF AND THAT SUCH INTERFERENCE COULD AFFECT OUR OVERALL RELATIONS, I NOTED IN PARTICULAR AT LAST NIGHT'S MEETING HIS INDICATION THAT THE SOVIETS DO NOT INTEND TO OBSTRUCT WHAT HAS BEEN ACHIEVED BETWEEN EGYPT AND ISRAEL.

WHILE THE DISCUSSION LAST NIGHT ON THE MIDDLE EAST WAS EXTENSIVE, IT WAS, AS YOU MIGHT EXPECT, A VERY INCONCLUSIVE ONE. GROMYKO HAD NO SPECIFIC IDEAS AS TO HOW WE MIGHT PROCEED. HIS DUAL EMPHASIS WAS THAT THEY HAD BEEN LEFT OUT OF THE PEACE PROCESS AND THEY WISH TO QUOTE ACT JOINTLY UNQUOTE WITH THE US ON THE MIDDLE EAST. HE HAS NO CLEAR IDEA HOW TO DO THIS. HE SAID THAT NEITHER SYRIA NOR THE PLO ARE INTERESTED IN GOING TO A GENEVA CONFERENCE AT THIS TIME AND THAT THE SOVIETS THEREFORE WOULD NOT ATTEND A GENEVA CONFERENCE. HE SAID THAT THIS VIEW WAS BASED ON QUOTE CONTACTS WITH SYRIA UNQUOTE AND HE INSISTED ON PLO PARTICIPATION AT THE OUTSET.

MR. PRESIDENT, I EXPLAINED THE AMERICAN POSITION TO HIM IN TERMS WHICH WILL BE VERY FAMILIAR TO YOU. I TOLD HIM THAT WE HAD INFORMED THE SYRIANS, ISRAELIS, EGYPT AND OTHER ARAB STATES THAT THE US IS PREPARED TO UNDERTAKE A SERIOUS EFFORT TO GET NEGOTIATIONS STARTED BETWEEN SYRIA AND ISRAEL, EITHER IN A BILATERAL OR MULTILATERAL SETTING. I TOLD HIM THAT WE DO NOT SEE THE EGYPTIAN-ISRAEL AGREEMENT AS AN END IN ITSELF BUT AS A STEP TOWARDS AN OVERALL SETTLEMENT, AND THAT I WAS CONFIDENT THAT IT WAS NEITHER OUR DESIRE NOR YOURS TO STAND STILL AND TO DIVIDE THE ARAB WORLD. I SAID THAT WE ARE PREPARED TO WORK THROUGH DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS, CONSIDER THE RECONVENING OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE, OR CONSIDER A MIX OF SUCH CONSULTATIONS, IALSO STRESSED CANDIDLY

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THAT UNDER PRESENT CONDITIONS INSISTENCE ON PLO PARTICIPATION AT THE OUTSET WOULD LIKELY KILL THE CONFERENCE OR PRECLUDE ITS CONVENING. I SAID THAT WE WERE PREPARED TO CONSIDER WAYS TO HAVE THE CONFERENCE CONVENE IF THIS WAS THE DESIRE OF THE STATES CONCERNED, AND THAT WAYS MIGHT BE EXPLORED FOR PALESTINIAN PARTICIPATION AT SUCH A CONFERENCE AT SOME LATER PHASE. FINALLY, I ALSO SAID THAT WE WERE WILLING TO MAINTAIN CONTACT WITH THE SOVIETS AND CONTINUE OUR FURTHER EXCHANGES OF VIEWS.

MR PRESIDENT, THESE ARE THE ESSENTIAL FACTS. NOW I WANT TO GIVE YOU MY JUDGMENT ON THE SOVIET POSITION. THEY SEEM CONFUSED WITH RESPECT TO THE MIDDLE EAST AND HAVE NO CLEAR CUT STRATEGY. THE CONCERTED STRATEGY OF EGYPT AND THE US TOGETHER HAS THROWN THEM OFF BALANCE. GROMYKO WANTS THE SOVIETS IN ON THE PROCESS OF PEACE, BUT HE HAS NO CLEAR CUT IDEAS ON HOW THIS CAN BE DONE. I DETECTED CONTINUING CONCERN ON HIS PART THAT SYRIA MIGHT INDICATE TO US A WILLINGNESS TO PROCEED TO NEGOTIATIONS WITH ISRAEL UNDER US AEGIS, AS WE HAVE DONE ON THE EGYPTIAN-ISRAEL AGREEMENT, AND THAT THIS WOULD LEAVE THE SOVIETS OUT. I HAVE THE IMPRESSION ALSO HE HAS ACTUALLY BEEN DISCOURAGING THE SYRIANS FROM EITHER GOING TO GENEVA OR OF GIVING POSITIVE INDICATIONS TO US ON NEGOTIATIONS WITH SYRIA UNDER US AUSPICES. THIS IS ONLY AN IMPRESSION, AND I WOULD DEEPLY APPRECIATE YOUR JUDGMENT IN THIS REGARD. IN ORDER TO AVOID ANY MISUNDERSTANDING WITH ASSAD I WANT YOU TO KNOW THAT I INTEND TO REPORT TO HIM DIRECTLY -- THOUGH IN A MUCH MORE ABBREVIATED FORM -- JUST WHAT GROMYKO HAS SAID TO US AND WHAT OUR POSITION IS IN THIS REGARD.

I KNOW, MR PRESIDENT, THAT WE AND YOU HAVE GONE THROUGH A DIFFICULT PERIOD IN THE LAST TWO WEEKS SINCE THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THE AGREEMENT. I HAVE ADMIRED FROM AFAR HOW MAGNIFICENTLY YOU HAVE HANDLED THE VERBAL ATTACKS THAT HAVE COME FROM CERTAIN QUARTERS IN THE ARAB WORLD -- ATTACKS WHICH IN PART HAVE BEEN ENCOURAGED BY THE SOVIET UNION. BUT I AM ENCOURAGED, AND I HOPE YOU ARE,

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THAT THE WORKING GROUP IN GENEVA SEEMS TO BE CONCLUDING ITS DELIBERATIONS SUCCESSFULLY, AND I WOULD LIKE TO BELIEVE THAT OUR TIMELY INTERVENTION A FEW DAYS AGO HAS HAD A CONSTRUCTIVE IMPACT ON THE ISRAELI POSITION.

FOR THE FIRST TIME, PARTICULARLY IN THE CONTEXT OF MY TALKS WITH PERES HERE, I GET THE FEELING THAT THE ISRAELIS ARE BEGINNING TO UNDERSTAND THAT IF THEY CAN SHOW SOME GREATER UNDERSTANDING OF THE POLITICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL CURRENTS IN THE ARAB WORLD,OF YOUR POSITION IN THE AREA, OF THE WISE AND COURAGEOUS WAY IN WHICH YOU ARE LEADING BOTH EGYPT AND THE ARABS TOWARDS MODERATION AND PEACEFUL PURSUITS--THAT INDEED THE RECENT AGREEMENT MAY VERY WELL BE THE TURNING POINT WHICH YOU AND WE HAVE WANTED. WE ARE BOTH REALISTIC, MR PRESIDENT. WE KNOW THIS WILL TAKE TIME AND THE PACE OF NEGOTIATIONS, PARTICULARLY AS IT RELATES TO THE

SYRIAN-ISRAELI ASPECT OF THE PROBLEM, WILL TAKE TIME. BUT I AM MORE CONVINCED TODAY MORE THAN EVER THAT WE ARE ON THE RIGHT COURSE AND THAT MOVING TOGETHER WE CAN ACHIEVE OUR COMMON GOALS.

JUST A WORD ON THE PERES VISIT. FRANKLY, IT WAS A BETTER VISIT THAN I HAD REASON TO EXPECT. THE REASON I SAY THIS IS THAT PERES SEEMS TO BE MOVING IN THE DIRECTION OF TRYING TO GET ISRAEL TO ADOPT A REASONABLE POSITION ON THE IDEA OF NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN SYRIA AND ISRAEL. HE SAID PUBLICLY AFTER MY MEETING THAT ISRAEL IS READY FOR NEGOTIATIONS WITH SYRIA WITHOUT PRECONDITIONS.

INSOFAR AS THE ONGOING MILITARY ASSISTANCE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ISRAEL AND THE U.S., HERE ARE MAIN FACTS. DURING THE REASSESSMENT, WE HELD UP, AS YOU KNOW, ON SOME ITEMS.
WE HAVE LIFTED THE BAN ON THESE. MOREOVER, THERE WAS A LIST, LONG IN EXISTENCE, OF SOME OTHER ITEMS OF A LESS SIGNIFICANT CHARACTER WHICH WE WILL NOW RELEASE AS PART OF THE NORMAL ONGOING MILITARY ASSISTANCE RELATIONSHIP. AS TO OTHER ITEMS WHICH ISRAEL IS INTERESTED

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IN, SUCH AS THE PERSHING MISSILES, THESE REMAIN IN THE STUDY CATEGORY AND NO COMMITMENTS HAVE BEEN MADE.

FINALLY, MR PRESIDENT, I WANT TO TELL YOU HOW MUCH PRESIDENT FORD LOOKS FORWARD TO YOUR VISIT. WE HAVE BEGUN IN EARNEST THE PREPARATIONS WITH A VIEW TO ASSURING THAT IT WILL BE FRUITFUL AND PRODUCTIVE FOR BOTH OF US. I AM ANXIOUS THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE COME TO KNOW YOU AS WE DO AS A STATESMAN OF GREAT COURAGE AND VISION, AND I HOPE THAT YOU WILL GET A FEEL OF THE PULSE OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WHO SUPPORT STRONGLY THE ADMINISTRATION'S PRESENT POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST WHICH NOW IS NO LONGER ONE SIDED BUT SEEKS TO PROTECT THE OVERALL NATIONAL INTERESTS OF THE US IN THE AREA -- A POLICY THAT RETAINS THE SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ISRAEL AND THE U.S. BUT IS EQUALLY DETERMINED TO STRENGTHEN THE BOND OF FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN AMERICA AND

THE ARAB WORLD. IN ALL OF THIS YOU ARE IN INDISPENSABLE KEY.
WARMEST REGARDS.
KISSINGER

~~SECRET~~

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