# 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

PAGE 001

MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS:

NO MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS

MESSAGE:

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

TO AMEMBASSY CAIRO PRIORITY 9123

-CONFIDENTIAL 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. QUDTE 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

\*\*\*\*\*\*C G N F I D E N T I A L\*\*\*\*\*\*

6/a 3/3/04



DATE 10/17/74

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PAGE 002

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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0 1901002 OCT 74 ZFF4 CONTROL: 5 4 8 2 Q FN SECSTATE WASHDC TO AMEMBASSY CAIRO IMMEDIATE 9547 BT SECRET STATE 230714 NODIS CHEROKEE E.O. 11652: XGDS TAGS: PFUR, ME, EG SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL MESSAGE FOR PRESIDENT SADAT 1. PLEASE CONVEY THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT SADAT. FROM PREISENT FORD : GTE. 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. SECHETARY 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

XISSINGER

ALD

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

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5 STATE DEPT, GUIDELINES BY La NARA, DATE 3/3/04

s/s 7422091 5422-X



#### DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

November 11, 1974

--- SEGRET/NODIS

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.

pringsteen Executive Secretary

Attachment:

President Sadat's letter

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<u>SEGRET/NODIS</u> GDS [alg. 3]3/04

# بسراله ارتمن ارتير

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بجهورية مص**رالعربية** الرئيس<sup>ل</sup>

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 pertinet 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.



SECRET

BY\_\_\_\_\_, NARA, DATE 2/3/04

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# بسراله ارحمن ارحير

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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

COPY 8 OF 13 COPIES Lay - WH - EO Department of State TELEGRAM STATES OF SECRET N00488 PAGE 01 CAIRO 09945 0721252 02 ACTION NODS-00 INFO OCT-01 /001 W 122233 0 071915Z DEC 74 FM AMEMBASSY CAIRO TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 676 SECRET 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 PRESIDENT SADAT SENT WORD THIS AFTERNOON THAT HE WISHED 1. 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 APPRDACHING 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 SECRET In 3/3/04



Department of State

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### PAGE 02 CAIRO 09945 0721252

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 HE 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 UR 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 TIMEBUMB, 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 CANOOR 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



THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

December 8, 1974

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Mr. President:

والا المراجع وال

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.

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Brent Scowcroft

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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 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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PAGE 02 STATE 276733

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 INTERNA-TIONAL 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 DUR 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 RECONVENT THE GENEVA CONFERENCE AT THIS TIME NOULD PRODUCE A STALEMATE SECRET



Department of State TELEGRA

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#### PAGE 03 STATE 276733

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. NE UNDERSTANU, MR. PRESIDENT, THAT YOU WILL REQUIRE A SUBSTANTIAL ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL. LET US WORK TUGETHER 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 FAMMY, BUT WHAT IS ESSENTIAL BETWEEN US IS A CONTINUING PHILOSOPHICAL RAPPORT WHICH WILL ENABLE US TU 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 HINISTER 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 GUVERNMENT IS AWARE OF DUR 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 THRUNGH AMPASSADOR EILTS. IT IS ONLY THROUGH THIS KIND OF FRANK GIVE AND TAKE EXCHANGE THAT WE CAN HEGIN 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 GECHET



Department of State

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#### SECRET

#### PAGE 04 STATE 276733

EAST.

I WAS TOUCHED, MR. PRESIDENT, BY YOUR THOUGHTFUL GREETINGS AS OUR HOLIDAY SEASON APPHOACHES 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 HULIDAYS APPROACH. MAY THE BLESSINGS OF THIS SEASON GIVE US ALL STRENGTH.

SINCERELY,

GERALD R. FORD.

END MESSAGE. KISSINGER

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SECRET ENT OF Department of State STATES OF -2 - STATE 16360, 23 JAN'75 KISSINGER AND I HAVE REFLECTED CAREFULLY TOGETHER DR. 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. 1 HAVE CONCLUDED THAT FOR DR. KISSINGER TO ATTEMPT TO BRING MATTERS TO A CONCLUSION IN ONE STEP WOULD BE FAR HE MUST HAVE A PRELIMINARY MEETING WITH TOO RISKY. PRIME MINISTER RABIN. FOREIGN MINISTER ALLON AND DEFENSE MISISTER 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 TEMTO 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-CRDINATE THE EFFORTS THAT WILL BE NEEDED. TO BRING ABOUT I WOULD THEN PLAN ON SENDING DR. KISSINGER BACK SUCCESS. 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 ICLEAR 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 GAN 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 DIS-CUSSIONS WITH AMB EILTS HAVE SUGGESTED A NUMBER OF USE-FUL IDEAS IN THIS RESPECT. AND I HAVE NO DOUBT THAT NAYS CAN BE FOUND TO WORK THESE PROBLEMS OUT. OR. 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.





COPY. \_\_\_ OF 13 COP Department of State SECHET-N00412 STATES OF 062406 PAGE 01 STATE 00 ORIGIN NODS-00 INFO OCT-01 /UUI H DRAFTED BY TEXT RECEIVED FHON WHITE HOUSE APPROVED BY S - MR. BREMER SIS + MR. EALUM 0 192321Z MAR 75 ZFF6 FM SECSTATE WASHDC TO USDEL ASWAN IMMEDIATE INFO AMCONSUL JERUSALEM IMMEDIATE **Colline** SECRET STATE 062406 NODIS CHERUKEE TUSEC 781 E.O. 116521 GDS OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.). TAGS: SUBJECTI LETTER FROM PRESIDENT FURD TO PRESIDENT SADAT REFERENCE1 ASHAN 235 . FOR THE AMBASSAUUR PLEASE DELIVER FOLLOWING LETTER FROM PRESIDENT FORD TO 1. PRESIDENT SADATE BEGIN TEXT DEAR MR. PRESIDENTE 2. I AN GLAD YOU HAVE WHITTEN TO SHAKE YOUR THOUGHTS WITH ME ABOUT THE PRESENT STAGE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS SECRETARY KISSINGER IS CONDUCTING. DR. KISSINGER HAS KEPT ME FULLY INFURMED ON A DAILY BASIS OF THE ISSUESTINVULVED IN THE NEGOTIATIONS AND I HAVE A FULL UNDERSTANDING OF YOUR CONCERNS AND PERCEPTIONS OF THE PRUDLEM. I HAVE INSTRUCTED DR KISSINGER TU SPARE NO EFFORTS TO BRING THE NEGOTIATIONS TU A SUCCESSFUL CUNCLU-SION IF AT ALL POSSIBLE. HE HAS MY FULL CUNFIDENCE, AND I AM HAPPY TO NUTE FROM YOUR LETTER THAT YOU CONTINUE TO SECRET NOT TO BE REPRODUCED WITHOUT THE AUTHORIZATION OF THE EXECUTIVE SEC



MEMORANDUM

Jal a dispatched 9 una state channels 6:00 pm 3/19/15

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

> ACTION March 19, 1975

SECRET

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 Ma

Disapprove

SEGRET

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5 NSC MEMO, 11/2000, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES BY\_\_\_\_\_\_, NARA, DATE 11/11/03



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

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5 NSC MEMO, 11/24/98, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES BY\_\_\_\_\_\_, NARA, DATE \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

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



#### SECRET

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.

-2-

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



MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ACTION

SECRET

March 19, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

#### BRENT SCOWCROFT

SUBJECT:

Letter from President Sadat and your of their talks on The 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 is be withheld, pending the response of the Israeli Government to Sadat's most recent offers, which are being conveyed in Jerusalem today. 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, sit will be conveyed to Cairo by message. In mehatily, I have it ended

RECOMMENDATION

Approve

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

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Disapprove

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5 NSC MEMO, 11/24/98, STATE DEPT, GUIDELINES 

#### SECRET

# 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 which are being conveyed in Jerusalem today. More 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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DECLASSIFIED E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5 NSC MENO, 11/2009, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES BY\_\_\_\_\_\_, NARA, DATE JL/17/03

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THE WHITE HOUSE - WASHINGTON

April 16, 1975

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Dear Mr. President:

11/24/98, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5 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

CLASSIFIED BY HENRY A. CISSINGER EXEMPT FROM GENERAL DECLASSIFICATION SCHEDULE OF EXECUTIVE ORDER 11652 EXEMPTION CATEGORY 56 (3) AUTOMATICALLY DECLASSIFIED ON Type to Det. 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.

- 2 -

Sincerely,

Herald R. Ford

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



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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 SECHET



Department of State

# TELEGRAM

PAGE 02 CAIRO 04412 0213432

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

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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 COMMUN CAUSE WE BOTH HAVE IN MINU. 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 DUR MEETING.

#### EL SADAT

END QUOTE

2. FAHMY, IN CONTRAST TO HIS EDGINESS OF THE PAST FEW DAYS, WAS TUDAY IN A RELAXED MOUD, HE AGAIN DISCLAIMED ALL RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE LEAKS UN THE EGYPTIAN SIDE OF THE NEWS OF THE UPCUMING 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 UPCUMING 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 MINTS HAD ENABLED THE PHESS TO PIECE THO AND THO TOGETHER AND COME UP WITH AN ANSWER. FAHMY INSISTED THAT, AFTER OUR TELEPHONE CONVENSATION OF LAST NIGHT, HE HAD AT UNCE INSTRUCTED THE CENSORS TO STUP THE STORY FROM BEING FILED, BUT REGRETTABLY HIS EFFORT HAD NOT BEEN FOOLPROOF. HE HOPED WE WOULD UNDERSTAND. EILTS

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TOI	SECRETARY KISSINGER
FROME	AMBASSADOR EILTS
SUBJECTI	PRESIDENT SADAT'S LETTER TO PRESIDENT FORD

AFTER FAHMY AND GAMASY HAD GIVEN ME THE MAP CONTAINING 1. THE EGYPTIAN COUNTER-PROPOSAL AS REPORTED CAIRO'S 6274 (CHEROKEE) FAHMY HANDED HE A MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT SADAT TO PRESIDENT FORD TO BE DELIVERED THROUGH YOU. HE WAS PARTICULARLY CONCERNED THAT THE LETTER NOT RECEIVE ANY CIRCULATION AND THEREFORE SPECIFICALLY ASKED THAT IT BE SENT THROUGH THIS CHANNEL. TEXT OF LETTER FOLLOWS:

2. "AMBASSADOR EILTS WAS KEEN TO REPORT TO ME UPON HIS ARRIVAL LATEST ISRAELI POSITION AS CONVEYED TO YOU AND TO DR. KISSINGER BY PRIME MINISTER RABIN. AMBASSADOR EILTS ALSO COMMUNICATED TO ME YOUR OWN VIEWS AND THE VARIOUS ALTERNATIVES WHICH YOU AND DR. KISSINGER HAVE DISCUSSED TO BREAK THE PRESENT STALEMATE RESULTING FROM THE INTRANSIGENCE OF THE ISRAELIS SINCE THEIR FAILURE TO RESPOND FAVORABLY TO DR. KISSINGER'S TIRELESS EFFORTS IN MARCH WITH A VIEW TO BRING ABOUT FURTHER PROGRESS.

3. I HOPE YOU AGREE WITH ME THAT, JUDGING FROM THE LATEST VERSION OF THE ISRAELI PROPOSALS, IT IS ABUNDANTLY CLEAR, AS I HAVE TOLD YOU IN SALZBURG, THAT THE ISRAELIS ARE NEITHER WILLING NOR CAPABLE, FOR ONE REASON OR ANOTHER, TO MOVE ALONG THE LONG AND ARDUOUS ROAD TO PEACE. THEIR INTRANSIGENCE, WHICH WILL NO DOUBT LEAD TO VIRTUAL STAGNATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST, WILL, IF NOT CHECKED, RESULT IN A SERIOUS DETERIORATION IN THE PRESENT SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST FROM WHICH CERTAIN CIRCLES, TOGETHER WITH THE RADICALS IN THE AREA, WILL BENEFIT AND PROFIT.

DURING OUR TALKS IN SALZBURG AND FROM YOUR VARIOUS 4. STATEMENTS, I AM FULLY CONVINCED OF YOUR SINCERITY AND DETERMINATION NOT TO ALLOW SUCH A STATE OF AFFAIRS 10 DEVELOP IN SPITE OF THE ACROBATIC AND PERFIDUOUS METHODS WHICH THE ISRAELIS ARE RESORTING TO, BOTH IN THEIR DEALINGS

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WITH YOU, MR. PRESIDENT, AND IN RESPONDING TO THE VARIOUS POSITIVE INITIATIVES AND PROPOSALS WHICH ARE CONSTANTLY MADE TO PUT THINGS ON THE MOVE. 55 WITH ALL CANDOR, THE PRESENT ISRAELI ATTITUDE IS AN OBVIOUS RESULT OF THE CONTINUOUS UNITED STATES PAMPERING TO ISRAEL. THUS THEY TOOK YOU MR. PRESIDENT, TOGETHER WITH THE UNITED STATES, FOR GRANTED TO THE EXTENT THAT THEY FELT THAT THEY CAN MANIPULATE YOU AND DICTATE TO YOU, IN AN UNPRECEDENTED CHALLENGE, THEIR OWN VIEWS.

G. CONSEQUENTLY AND WITH ALL EARNST, I HAVE NO CHOICE BUT TO CONCLUDE THAT THE RRESENT ISRAELI POSITION IS AN INTERNAL PROBLEM BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND ISRAEL, THE KEY TO WHICH IS UNDOUBTEDLY IN YOUR MANDS, MAYING SAID THAT, YOU MAY RECALL THAT I HAVE ALREADY MADE MY POSITION ABUNDANTLY CLEAR IN SALZBURG AND I HAVE RESPONDED POSITIVELY TO YOUR EFFORTS IN SUCH A MANNER THAT, IF YOU TAKE EGYPT'S POSITION IN MARCH IN ASWAN AND SUBSEQUENTLY IN SALZBURG, I DO NOT BELIEVE THAT YOU CAN ASK ME TO DD ANYTHING MORE THAN WHAT I HAVE DONE, I TOOK THAT POSITION BECAUSE OF MY DETERMINA-TION TO WORK FOR PEACE...A GENUINE PEACE, MOREOVER, I WANTED TO EXTEND TO YOU A HELPING MAND IN YOUR ARDUOUS EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE THE SAME END, AS YOU KNOW, I HAVE TAKEN BOLD INITIATIVES WITHOUT HESITATIGN AND AGAINST ALL RISKS INVOLVED.

7. FROM THE ABOVE, IT IS QUITE CLEAR THAT THE FAILURE OF YOUR EFFORTS FALLS SQUARELY AND SOLELY ON THE ISRAELIS. THERE IS NO OTHER ALTERNATIVE FOR THEM BUT TO WITHDRAW COMPLETELY FROM THE PASSES AND RETURN THE DILFIELDS, AND, FOR MY PART, I WILL STAND BY THE OTHER DETAILS WHICH I HAVE OUTLINED TO YOU AND WHICH DEPUTY PREMIER FAHMY DID TO DR. KISSINGER.

S. FAILING TO DO THIS, THE ISRAELIS BEAR ALL THE CONSEQUENCES OF THEIR ADAMANCE. THERE IS NO ALTERNATIVE UNDER SUCH CONDITIONS - IN CASE YOU INFORM ME OF THE FAILURE OF ISRAEL TO RESPOND TO YOU -- FOR ME BUT TO REQUEST PROMPTLY THAT THE GENEVA CONFERENCE BE CONVENED FORTHWITH, TO WHICH ALL THE PARTIES SHOULD BE INVITED, INCLUDING THE P.L.O.S. PARALLEL TO THIS, I WOULD LIKE TO INFORM YOU THAT IN CASE THERE IS NO PROGRESS, I DO NOT INTEND TO RENEW THE MANDATE OF THE UNITED NATIONS EMERGENCY FORCES, BUT AT THE SAME TIME, I WILL NOT ASK THEM TO DEPART FOR THE TIME=BEING.

10. THESE DECISIONS I MUST TAKE BEFORE THE APRICAN Summit conference takes place in kampala on the 28th of July and the reconvening of the arab summit conference which was originally scheduled to convene during this

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MONTH IN MOGADISHIG WHICH WAS POSTFONED TO GIVE YOU AMPLE TIME TO ACHIEVE PROGRESS BEFORE THE ESCALATION OF DISCUSSION IN THE CONFERENCE.

I HAVE NO CHOICE BUT TO TAKE THESE DECISIONS EVEN 11. AFTER I HAVE DECIDED TO REOPEN THE SUEZ CANAL, I HAVE DONE SO WITH EVERY DETERMINATION TO DEFEND MY COUNTRY AND ITS RIGHTS AGAINST ANY ISRAELI AGGRESSIVE DESIGN OR MILITARY ACTION WHICH WOULD NO DOUBT ENDANGER INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY WITH ALL THE REPERCUSSIONS INVOLVED.

IN CONCLUDING, I REITERATE ONCE AGAIN THAT, HAVING 12. EXAMINED THE SITUATION FROM ALL ITS ANGLES, IT IS HIGH TIME FOR THE UNITED STATES, AS A WAY OUT, TO PROPOSE AN AMERICAN MAP REFLECTING ITS PROPOSALS IN ORDER TO AVOID A COMPLETE AND DRASTIC DETERIORATION OF THE SITUATION.

13. FINALLY, I STILL VIVIDLY REMEMBER OUR FRANK DISCUSSIONS IN SALZBURG AND I HAVE NO DOUBT IN YOUR DESIRE AND ABILITY TO SEE PEACE REIGN IN THIS AREA.

14. WITH WARM REGARDS AND BEST WISHES. MOHAMED ANWAR EL SADAT"A BT

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VIA: SANDY CIRCUIT

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BECRET /SENSITIVE

TO: CAIRO--ANBASSADOR EILTS--EYES ONLY FROM: WHITE HOUSE--BECRETARY KISSINGER

1. YOU SHOULD PASS THROUGH FAHMY FOLLOWING RESPONSE FROM PRESIDENT FORD TO PRESIDENT SADATIS LATEST LETTER, EM-PHASIZING THAT IT WAS SENT THROUGH SAME PRIVACY CHANNEL YOU USED IN TRANSMITTING SADAT LETTER,

2. BEGIN TEXT: DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

AMBASSADOR EILTS HAS CONVEYED YOUR PRIVATE LETTER TO ME, AND I WANT TO RESPOND IN THE SAME SPIRIT OF PERSONAL TRUST AND COMPLETE CANDOR.

YOU KNOW FROM THE AMBASSADOR OF MY DISAPPOINTMENT WITH THE ISRAELI POSITION, WHICH I NEVERTHELESS FELT WE HAD TO RELAY TO YOU IN ORDER TO GIVE YOU THE OPPORTUNITY TO FORM YOUR OWN JUDGMENT.

AFTER REVIEWING CAREFULLY THE CONTERPROPOSAL WHICH DEPUTY PRIME MINISTERS FAHMY AND GAMASY OUTLINED ON YOUR BEHALF TO AMBASSADOR EILTS, I HAVE COME TO THE JUDGMENT THAT THE BEST WAY TO PROCEED IS AS FOLLOWS,

I BELIEVE THAT TO PASS YOUR PROPOSAL FORMALLY TO ISRAEL AT THIS TIME WOULD IN ALL PROBABILITY LEAD TO A TERM MINATION OF NEGOTIATIONS. AS A NEXT STEP, I AM THEREFORE SENDING A FORMAL MESSAGE TO PRIME MINISTER RABIN REQUESTING ISRAEL TO RECONSIDER ITS POSITION. I WILL INFORM YOU AS SOON AS I HAVE RECEIVED ISRAEL'S REPLY, AND WE CAN THEN DETERMINE TOGETHER HOW BEST TO PROCEED.

\* +WHSR COMMENT \*

EGRET

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MEANWHILE, I AM PROCEEDING ON YOUR ASSURANCE THAT YOUR SALZBURG FORMULATIONS STAND, PROVIDED YOUR FUNDAMENTAL REQUIREMENTS OF ISRAELT WITHDRAWAL FROM THE PASSES AND THE OIL FIELDS ARE MET'. I APPRECIATE YOUR EXPRESSIONS OF CONFIDENCE, MR. PRESIDENT, AND WANT TO REITERATE MY DETERMINATION TO ACHIEVE EARLY PROGRESS, IN WHATEVER WAY PROVES MOST PEASIBLE, TOWARD PEACE IN YOUR AREA. WITH WARM REGARDS AND PERSONAL GOOD WISHES, GERALD R' FORD END TEXT.

FYIL IN CONVEYING FOREGOING, IF YOU BELIEVE IT WOULD BE HELPFUL, YOU MAY MAKE THE POINT AS YOUR PERSONAL VIEW THAT THERE IS A HIGH PROBABILITY THAT EGYPTIAN MAP WOULD BE LEAKED ONCE IT WAS GIVEN TO ISRAELIS, GIVEN LEAKS THAT HAVE ALREADY OCCURRED FROM ISRAEL WITH RESPECT TO THE ISRAELI PROPOSAL, THIS WOULD REVEAL GRAPHICALLY THE PRESENT IRRECONCILABILITY OF ISRAELI AND EGYPTIAN POSITIONS AND MAKE MATTERS MUCH MORE DIFFICULT SHOULD WE SUBSEQUENTLY PUT FORWARD OUR OWN PROPOSAL BASED ON WHAT WE KNOW THE EGYPTIAN POSITION IS FROM SALZBURG TALKS AND SADATIS LATEST LETTER' END FYI. BT

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E.O. 11652: XGDS

TAGS: PFOR

SUBJECT: MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT FORD

FOR AMBASSADOR EILTS FROM SECRETARY KISSINGER

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

BEGIN MESSAGE: DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: THANK YOU FOR YOUR LETTER OF AUGUST 14, REAFFIRMING YOUR COMMITMENT TO THE OB-JECTIVE WE SHARE OF ACHIEVING A CUMPREHENSIVE, 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 HOULD HAVE BEEN TO PRO-SECRET



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Department of State TELEGRAM

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CEED NOW TO A FINAL SETTLEMENT. I ALSO RECOGNIZE THAT THE SITUATION FOLLOWING ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL FROM THE PASSES AND THE UIL FIELDS WILL NOT BE AN ACCEPTABLE PER-MANENT 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, WE 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 STATES= MANLIKE 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 TUWARD THE PEACE THAT HAS ELUDED ALL PREVIOUS LEADERS IN THE AREA.

DR. KISSINGER WILL CONVEY TO YOU PERSONALLY MY STRONG CON-VICTION THAT, ONCE THIS IMMEDIATE STEP IS ACCOMPLISHED, WE MUST REMAIN FIRM IN PURSUIT OF OUR CUMMON 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 SECRET



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Department of State TELEGRAM

### SECRET

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

ED 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. EILTS

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COPY 9 OF 13 COPIES STMENT OF 002292 0) 00 artment of State ELEGRAM N0n281 SEARE T TATES OF STATE 214854 PAGE 01 63 ORIGIN NODS-00 INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 R DRAFTED BY NEA; ALATHERTON APPROVED BY THE SECRETARY P - MR. SISCO S/S:CABORG 034550 0-1002287 SEP 75 ZFF4 FM SECSTATE WASHDC TO AMEMBASSY CAIRO IMMEDIATE SECRET STATE 214854 NODIS CHEROKEE E.O. 11652: GDS PFOR, EG, US TAGS: MESSAGE FOR PRESIDENT SADAT SUBJECT: 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 SECRET-61/3/3/04



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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 RENEFIT 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 FOR-GOTTEN.

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 GOVERN-MENTS TO EMPHASIZE HOW IMPORTANT THIS AGREEMENT IS AS A STEP TOWARD & 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

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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 WURLD 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 BREZHNEY. 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 SECRET

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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 SFNSE 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 PRESTDENT SADAT

FOR AMBASSADOR FROM THE SECRETARY

PLEASE PASS THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT SADAT THROUGH FAHMI.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: 2.

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 SECRET

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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 DN-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 INCON-CLUSIVE 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 GUOTE CONTACTS WITH SYRIA UNGUOTE 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 PRE-PARED 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 PAR-TICIPATION AT THE OUTSET WOULD LIKELY KILL THE CON-FERENCE OR PRECLUDE ITS CONVENING. I SAID THAT WE WERE PREPARED TO CONSIDER WAYS TO HAVE THE CONFERENCE CON-VENE IF THIS WAS THE DESIRE OF THE STATES CONCERNED, AND THAT WAYS MIGHT BE EXPLORED FOR PALESTINIAN PAR-TICIPATION 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 EX-CHANGES 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 IN-DICATIONS 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 CONCLUD-ING 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 POSI= TION 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 DUR 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 REASON-ABLE 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 RELATION SHIP 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 RE-LATIONSHIP, 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 ASSUR-ING 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 ADMIN-ISTRATION'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

SEARES