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INFO OCT-01  AID-01  SS-07  NEA-07  NSCE-00  ISO-00  SSM-01
SSO-00  /020 W

------------------001538  151945Z /46
O 151700Z NOV 77
FM AMEMBASSY CAIRO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1676
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV IMMEDIATE
AMCONSUL JERUSALEM IMMEDIATE

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CODEL WRIGHT

E.O. 11652 NA
TAGS: EG IS OREP
SUBJECT: CODEL WRIGHT MEETING WITH SADAT

Summary. Sadat told Col. Wright that when Begin invitation to visit Knesset comes, he will "be ready to go". He viewed visit to Knesset as part of necessary preparations for Geneva, dismissed procedural questions as unimportant and stressed necessity of negotiating substantive questions of territorial withdrawal and Palestinian rights including self-determination. Knesset trip would also be to help overcome psychological aspect of conflict. Sadat refused to accept thesis that Palestinian homeland would be threat to Israel. Real security for Israelis can only come if Palestinian problem resolved and Arab states agree to live in peace with them. Following meeting, in response to journalist query whether he would not find himself isolated in going to Knesset, Sadat said he would not go if Israelis do not accept him as a spokesman for all Arabs. End summary.

1. CODEL WRIGHT MET WITH PRESIDENT SADAT FOR FORTY MINUTES IN SPIRITED SESSION NOVEMBER 15. VP MUBARAK ATTENDED AND CODEL ACCOMPANIED BY AMBASSADOR. LOCAL AND FOREIGN PRESS AND UNCLASSIFIED

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TV WERE PRESENT THROUGHOUT MEETING. REP WRIGHT BEGAN BY DESCRIBING INTENSE INTEREST OF THIS BIPARTISAN LEADERSHIP DELEGATION IN SADAT'S EFFORTS TOWARD PEACE. IF THERE ANY WAY CODEL COULD BE HELPFUL TO PEACE PROCESS, IT WOULD WISH TO DO SO. CODEL WOULD WELCOME ANY MESSAGES PRESIDENT MAY HAVE TO CONVEY.

2. SADAT SAID HE WISHED TO TAKE OPPORTUNITY TO EXPRESS GRATITUDE
OF EGYPTIAN PEOPLE FOR "GALLANT HELP" IT HAS RECEIVED FROM U.S. CODEL VISIT, HE SAID, IS TAKING PLACE AT CRUCIAL MOMENT. THROUGH PEACE PROCESS, WHICH BEGAN AFTER OCTOBER 1973 WAR, MOMENTUM HAS AT TIMES SLACKENED AND EVEN STOPPED. HE HOPES EFFORTS OF HIS "DEAR FRIEND PRESIDENT CARTER" AND THOSE OF PEACE LOVING NATIONS WILL KEEP MOMENTUM GOING. SADAT SAID HE HAD FULL CONFIDENCE IN PRESIDENT CARTER AND HIS SINCERITY AND THAT HE HAS SHOWN THE WORLD THE "REAL IMAGE OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE". SADAT WOULD CONTINUE TO WORK FOR A JUST PEACE IN THIS MOST DANGEROUS PART OF THE WORLD. HE DID NOT WISH TO GIVE A LECTURE, BUT PREFERRED TO ANSWER CODEL'S QUESTIONS.

3. REP WRIGHT REFERRED TO "REMARKABLE STEP" SADAT HAD TAKEN IN WILLINGNESS TO GO TO THE KNESSET TO SPEAK TO ALL ITS MEMBERS. HE UNDERSTOOD THAT PM BEGIN IS IN PROCESS OF TRANSMITTING OFFICIAL INVITATION VIA U.S. AMBASSADOR TO SADAT. THIS MAY BE LONGAWAITED BREAKTHROUGH IF PRESIDENT AND PM BEGIN TALK TOGETHER. WOULD PRESIDENT ACCEPT INVITATION? SADAT REFERRED TO THE LATEST STEPS AIMED AT CONVENING GENEVA WHERE ALL PARTIES WOULD SIT TOGETHER AND SIGN A PEACE TREATY TO ESTABLISH PEACE THROUGHOUT AREA. HE SAID THAT DURING SINAI II NEGOTIATIONS, SECRETARY KISSINGER HAS SHUTTLE BACK AND FORTH MERELY TO CHANGE ONE WORD OR COMMA. THIS IS NOT WORTH COST OFPETROL. WITH REGARD TO FIRST AMERICAN WORKING PAPER AND SECOND AMERICAN-ISRAELI WORKING PAPER, HE NOTED ISRAELI CABINET HAD MET FOR HOURS TO DISCUSS IT. THIS DOES NOT INTEREST HIM. "LET US GO TO SUBSTANCE OF THE UNCLASSIFIED

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PROBLEM." ALTHOUGH FIRST WORKING PAPER BETTER THAN SECOND, "I HAVE SAID I AM READY TO GO TO GENEVA REGARDLESS OF WHAT IS THE WORKING PAPER." WE WANT TO SOLVE PROBLEM BY A PEACE AGREEMENT. WITH REGARD TO INVITATION FROM BEGIN, SADAT SAID IT HAD BEEN HIS SUGGESTION LAST NIGHT TO WALTER CRONKITE THAT INVITATION BE DELIVERED THROUGH "OUR MUTUAL FRIEND" U.S. AMBASSADORS. "WHEN IT COMES I WILL BE READY TO GO." PARTIES SHOULD NOT, HE SAID, WASTE TIME ON PROCEDURAL MATTERS. SEVENTY PERCENT OF PROBLEM IS PSYCHOLOGICAL AND 30 PERCENT SUBSTANCE. THIS IS WHY HE WILL GO TO THE KNESSET TO OPEN A DISCUSSION AND TO GIVE THEM THE REAL FACTS IN THE AREA FROM THE ARAB POINT OF VIEW SO THEY CAN DECIDE FOR THEMSELVES.

4. REP QUILLEN SAID HE HOPED SADAT COULD ACCEPT BEGIN INVITATION AND ASKED WHETHER OR NOT USSR INVOLVEMENT AT GENEVA WOULD CREATE PROBLEM? SADAT SAID HE CONSIDERED HIS VISIT TO KNESSET AS PART OF PREPARATIONS FOR GENEVA. HE HAS, HOWEVER, SAID GOOD PREPARATIONS ARE NECESSARY BECAUSE WITHOUT THEM PARTIES WOULD ONLY SIT AND ARGUE. THEREFORE, ESSENTIAL THAT PREPARATIONS FOR GENEVA BE COMPLETE. WITH REGARD TO SOVIETS, SADAT SAID EGYPT HAD "STRAINED RELATIONS" WITH THEM. THEY HAD PUT AN ARMS EMBARGO ON EGYPT SINCE 1973 WAR, CANCELLING OLD ARMS DEALS, NOT PROVIDING SPARE
PARTS AND REFUSING TO SELL REPLACEMENTS FOR WEAPONS LOST IN 1973 WAR, WHEREAS FOR SYRIA THEY HAD REPLACED EVERYTHING AND MORE, "JUST AS U.S. HAD DONE WITH ISRAEL." PRESIDENT HOPES THAT SOVIETS WILL NOT ADOPT ATTITUDE IN GENEVA SIMILAR TO THAT WHICH THEY HAVE IN BILATERAL RELATIONS. HOWEVER, HE DOES NOT FEAR USSR OR ANY BIG POWER BECAUSE HE IS RIGHT IN WHAT HE IS DOING. ONLY COUNTRIES OF THE AREA CAN ACCEPT PEACE WITH JUSTICE THAT MEETS THEIR NATIONAL ASPIRATIONS. USSR CANNOT DO ANYTHING TO PREVENT REACHING OF AN AGREEMENT.

5. REP WRIGHT REFERRED TO PREPARATIONS FOR GENEVA, RECALLING THAT SADAT HAD PARTICULARLY STRESSED WITHDRAWAL FROM OCCUPIED TERRITORIES AND PALESTINIAN PROBLEM. DOES HE SEE ANY WAY TO ACCOMMODATE THE NEEDS OF AND ASPIRATIONS OF PALESTINIANS

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WITHOUT CREATING ON ISRAEL'S BORDER AN AUTONOMOUS STATE THAT ISRAEL WOULD PERCEIVE TO BE DEDICATED TO ITS DESTRUCTION? SADAT SAID PALESTINIAN PROBLEM MUST BE SOLVED IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE PERMANENT PEACE. PALESTINIAN PROBLEM HAS TWO MAJOR ASPECTS. THE POLITICAL ASPECT IS NOW RECOGNIZED BY UN AND EVEN BY U.S. WHICH ADMITS PALESTINIAN HOMELAND NECESSARY TO RESOLVE IT. SECOND, IS THE HUMAN ASPECT WHICH CONCERNS WELFARE OF THE REFUGEES. WITH REGARD TO FIRST. THERE IS NO QUESTION PALESTINIANS SHOULD HAVE A HOMELAND. WHOLE WORLD AGREES TO THIS INCLUDING PRESIDENT CARTER, BUT MORE UNDERSTANDING NEEDED FROM U.S. HOW TO FULFILL ASPIRATIONS OF PALESTINIANS WITHOUT GIVING THEM A STATE? PARTICULARLY SINCE WEST BANK AND GAZA CAN FULFILL THESE ASPIRATIONS. SADAT SAID HE SAW THAT A MISUNDERSTANDING.

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O 151500Z NOV 77
FM AMEMBASSY CAIRO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1677
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AMCONSUL JERUSALEM IMMEDIATE

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EXISTED THAT ISRAEL IS DELIBERATELY PLANTING. HE
SAID THAT PALESTINIAN STATE SHOULD BE CONNECTED TO JORDAN
IN SOME FORM OF FEDERATION, CONFEDERATION OR UNIFIED ARAB STATES AND
THAT THIS SHOULD BE DECLARED BEFORE GENEVA IN ORDER
MEET ISRAELI CONCERNS. HE WOULD INSIST ON THIS. HE
REFERRED AGAIN TO ALLEGED ISRAELI MISREPRESENTATION AND
ASKED “HOW COULD A PALESTINIAN STATE WHICH WOULD
NEED MANY YEARS EVEN TO GET STARTED, POSE A THREAT TO ISRAEL?”
SADAT SAID THERE HAD BEEN FOUR WARS IN THE LAST THIRTY
YEARS, THREE OF WHICH ISRAEL FOUGHT AGAINST THE ENTIRE
ARAB WORLD. “THEY ARE ALWAYS FOR EXPANSION.” HE DOES
NOT AGREE THAT THERE IS THREAT FROM PALESTINIAN STATE.
ISRAEL IS ARMED TO THE TEETH. IT IS PALESTINIAN STATE
THAT WILL BE IN DANGER. WITH MASSIVE ARMS “YOU HAVE SENT
ISRAELIS THEY ARE A THREAT TO ALL OF THE ARAB WORLD.”
JUST AS PRIOR TO 1973 THEY HAD BOASTED THAT WITH U.S.
PHANTOMS THEY COULD STRIKE ANYWHERE IN ARAB WORLD. SADAT
EMPHASIZED THAT REAL SECURITY FOR ISRAELIS CAN
ONLY COME IF ARAB STATES AGREE TO LIVE IN PEACE WITH
THEM.

6. REP WRIGHT AGREED AND WENT ON TO SAY THAT FOR PEACE
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TO BE ESTABLISHED EACH PARTY MUST TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE
PERCEPTIONS OF THE OTHER. ISRAELIS FEEL GENUINELY THAT
THEY ARE THREATENED AS DO ARABS. IS IT POSSIBLE THAT
RESIDENTS OF PALESTINIAN HOMELAND DECLARE THE RIGHT OF
ISRAEL TO EXIST IN PEACE IN EXCHANGE FOR ESTABLISHEMENT OF
HOMELAND? SADAT SAID THIS WAS ANOTHER ISRAELI EFFORT
DELIBERATELY TO MISLEAD. “WHEN WE SIT TOGETHER AT GENEVA,
ISN’T THIS RECOGNITION BY PALESTINIANS OF ISRAEL, AS WILL
BE SIGNING OF PEACE AGREEMENT?” SECONDLY, ISRAEL HAS EVERY-
THING: A STATE, RECOGNITION OF UN AND HELP OF A SUPER-
POWER. PALESTINIANS HAVE NOTHING AND BEEN DENIED
EVERYTHING FOR THIRTY YEARS. “WHY NOT MUTUAL RECOGNITION
AT THE TABLE IN GENEVA WHEN WE WILL ALL BE SIGNING PEACE
AGREEMENT.”

7. REP WAXMAN REFERRED TO REPORTED DECISION OF ARAB FONMIN’S
MEETING IN TUNIS THAT SUMMIT AGREED TO FOR FEBRUARY 1978.
IS THIS SOME KIND OF DEADLINE? SECONDLY, WHAT DOES
PRESIDENT HOPE TO ACCOMPLISH IN MEETING WITH ASAD?
SADAT SAID ACCORDING TO 1974 RABAT SUMMIT DECISION SUMMIT IS TO BE HELD ONCE A YEAR. IT HAS THEREFORE NOTHING TO DO WITH GENVEA. THE VISIT TO ASAD WAS AGREED TO BEFORE HIS KNESSET PROPOSAL SPEECH. IT IS PART OF ARAB COORDINATION SUCH AS HE RECENTLY HAS HAD WITH KINGS KHALID AND HUSSEIN. ASAD HAD CONTACTED PRESIDENT AND THEY HAD AGREED BEFORE SADAT'S PROPOSAL MADE NOV 9. PROPOSAL HAS NOTHING TO DO WITH THEIR MEETING. REP WAXMAN ASKED IF MEETING DID NOT REPRESENT CHANGE IN POLICY TOWARD ASAD SINCE PREVIOUSLY PRESIDENT WOULD NOT MEET WITH ASAD UNTIL HE CHANGED HIS POSITION ON GENEVA? SADAT DENIED THAT THERE WERE ANY CONDITIONS BETWEEN HIM AND ASAD IN THEIR DEALINGS SINCE THEY TALK LIKE BROTHERS. HE DOES NOT DREAM OF IMPOSING ANYTHING ON ASAD AND VICE-VERSA.

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8. REP BLANCHARD SAID THAT SADAT HAD A LOT TO LOSE IF PEACE PROCESS FAILS AND SO DOES PRESIDENT CARTER. HE KNEW CARTER FELT GREAT TRUST AND CONFIDENCE IN SADAT AND ALSO IN BEGIN. HOW DOES SADAT VIEW CARTER? SADAT SAID HE HAD FULL CONFIDENCE IN PRESIDENT CARTER AND TRUSTS HIM. HE ONLY HOPES THAT BEGIN HAS THE SAME TRUST. PEOPLE NOW TALK ABOUT ISRAELIS DEFYING U.S. BECUSE THEY HAVE ENOUGH WAR MATERIAL "FROM YOU" TO FIGHT FOR THREE OR FOUR MONTHS--"MUCH IMPROVED OVER 1973." IN ANY CASE, HE HAD FULL TRUST IN CARTER AS MAN OF HIS WORD. HE WAS PROUD OF THEIR PERSONAL RELATIONSHIP AND WAS SURE THAT THIS RELATIONSHIP WOULD BENEFIT MIDDLE EAST PROBLEM IN THE FUTURE.

9. REP WAXMAN ASKED IF SADAT WAS WILLING TO GO TO GENEVA ON BASIS OF WORKING PAPER THAT HAS NOW BEEN GIVEN TO ARAB GOVERNMENTS. SADAT SAID THERE SEEMS TO BE MISUNDERSTANDING ABOUT WHAT HE HAD SAID. HE SAID HE WOULD GO TO GENEVA WITH ANY PAPER. HE WANTS TO DEAL WITH THE SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES: TERRITORIAL WITHDRAWAL AND PALESTINIAN RIGHTS INCLUDED SELF-DETERMINATION. REP WAXMAN SAID WASN'T THIS SETTING CONDITIONS? SADAT SAID HE WAS NOT SETTING CONDITIONS, AND ASKED "HOW CAN WE REACH PERMANENT PEACE WITHOUT RESOLVING PALESTINIAN PROBLEM, SINCE IT IS CORE OF PROBLEM, NOT GOLAN OR SINAI. ONE SHOULD NOT ADOPT THE ATTITUDE OF BEGIN." REP WAXMAN SAID HE WAS NOT ADOPTING ISRAELI ATTITUDE, BUT IT SEEMED TO HIM THAT THERE IS A HANG-UP OVER THIS ISSUE. CAN THE PARTIES GET TOGETHER IN GENEVA ON BASIS OF 242 OR 338 TO DISCUSS ALL PROBLEMS INCLUDING PALESTINIANS? SADAT SAID "WE MUST HAVE ALL PARTIES PRESENT AND THE MAIN PARTY TO THE DISPUTE IS THE PALESTINIANS."

10. REP WRIGHT SAID PM BEGIN AGREES TO INCLUSION OF
PALESTINIANS. CAN THEY BE THERE UNDER UNIFIED ARAB DELEGATION INSTEAD OF AS INDIVIDUALLY DESIGNATED PLO DELEGATION?

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SADAT RESPONDED "MARVELOUS, MARVELOUS. VERY GOOD APPROACH." HE SAID WHEN HE HAD FIRST VISITED PRESIDENT CARTER HE WAS AGAINST UNIFIED DELEGATION AND THEY HAD DISCUSSED IT AT LENGTH. IN ORDER TO HELP MAKE BREAKTHROUGH HE HAD AGREED TO UNIFIED DELEGATION BY HAVING PALESTINIANS INCLUDED. CARTER HAS RECENTLY SENT ANOTHER PAPER WHICH HE HAD AGREED TO. REP WRIGHT'S APPROACH WAS A VERY GOOD ONE.

11. REP WRIGHT THANKED PRESIDENT FOR HIS TIME AND EXPRESSED CODEL'S GRATIFICATION FOR HIS PEACE EFFORTS. SADAT RESPONDED THAT CODEL SHOULD REMEMBER THAT WHenever "YOU IN THE STATES DECIDE TO ESTATE PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST IT WILL BE ESTABLISHED." HE HAD MADE HIS KENESSET PROPOSAL TO HELP MOVE TOWARDS PEACE. HE IS CONVINCED THAT WE CAN "AT THIS PRECISE MOMENT REACH PEACE AND WE MUST NOT LOSE THIS OPPORTUNITY." HE ASKED CODEL TO CONVEY TO AMERICAN PEOPLE AND TO PRESIDENT CARTER HIS GRATITUDE FOR ALL THAT U.S. HAS DONE TO HELP EGYPT.

12. FOLLOWING MEETING, SADAT RESPONDED TO SEVERAL QUESTIONS FROM NEWSMEN. IN RESPONSE TO ABC PETER JENNINGS ABOUT TIMING OF KENESSET VISIT, SADAT SAID THAT CERTAIN PREPARATIONS AND OTHER MATTERS WOULD HAVE TO BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT AND AVOIDED AN EXPLICIT REPLY OTHER THAN HE IS READY TO TO. IN RESPONSE JENNINGS QUERY WHETHER HE WOULD NOT FIND HIMSELF ISOLATED IN GOING TO KENESSET, SADAT SAID THAT HE WOULD NOT GO TO KENESSET IF ISRAELIS DO NOT ACCEPT HIM AS A SPOKESMAN FOR ALL THE ARABS.

13. CODEL HAS CLEARED THIS MESSAGE.

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NNN
Subject: CODEL WRIGHT MEETING WITH SADAT SUMMARY. SADAT TOLD CODEL WRIGHT THAT WHEN BEGIN INVITATION TO VISIT KNESSET COMES, HE WILL "BE READY TO GO". HE
TAGS: OREP, EG, IS, (SADAT, ANWAR), (WRIGHT, JAMES C JR)
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