

FBIS 66

ISRAEL: HARIF COMMENTS ON GENEVA TALKS, BRZEZINSKI STATEMENT

TAI21601Y TEL AVIV MA'ARIV IN HEBREW 11 NOV 77 P 15 TA

(YOSEF HARIF COMMENTARY: "WHEN AS-SADAT EXPRESSES WILLINGNESS TO COME TO JERUSALEM FOR NEGOTIATIONS, BRZEZINSKI SPEAKS ABOUT A U.S. MILITARY PRESENCE IN SHARM ASH SHAYKH")

(EXCERPTS) ON WEDNESDAY MORNING THIS WEEK AFTER THE RESULTS OF THE AIR FORCE OPERATION IN LEBANON WERE KNOWN, THE PRIME MINISTER SAID: "NOW THERE WILL BE POSITIVE DEVELOPMENTS."

PRIME MINISTER BEGIN SAID THIS BUT HE DID NOT ELABORATE. IT IS EASY TO GUESS THE FOLLOWING: THE BITTER LESSON TAUGHT THE TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS BY THE AIR ARM OF THE IDF WILL HAVE TO BE LEARNED NOT ONLY BY THE PALESTINIANS AND THEIR COMMANDERS, NOT ONLY BY SYRIA WHERE THE TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS ENJOY THE REGIME'S FAVORS, NOT ONLY BY THE PALESTINIANS IN THE TERRORISTS' ENCLAVE BUT ALSO BY WHOEVER IS NOW TRYING TO ACCOMPANY THE POLITICAL STRUGGLE WITH THREATS OF WAR, BE IT EGYPT OR DAMASCUS. THE INTENSITY OF THE ISRAELI REACTION, THE DECISION TO TAKE THIS ACTION DESPITE THE U.S. ~~WANTS TO CONTINUE TO BE PATIENT~~ 59 9, 58, 73 59 73 7-583, 5-- ALL THIS IS AIMED AT TEACHING A LESSON TO ALL THOSE SECRETLY ENTERTAINING WAR GAMES, EITHER IN ORDER TO PRESSURE ISRAEL OR IN ORDER TO MAKE IT CLEAR TO THE UNITED STATES THAT IF IT DOES NOT SOFTEN UP ISRAEL, WAR IS INEVITABLE, WITH ALL THE ATTENDANT IMPLICATIONS FOR THE UNITED STATES AS WELL (OIL EMBARGO?), OR OUT OF THE ILLUSION THAT IT WILL AGAIN BE POSSIBLE TO SURPRISE ISRAEL AND FORCE IT TO GIVE UP WITHOUT PEACE. AT ANY RATE, THESE ARE NOT MERE ASSUMPTIONS WHEN TAKING INTO CONSIDERATION THE FACT THAT CLEAR SIGNS IN THE FIELD INDICATE A REAL PREPAREDNESS ON EGYPT'S PART, FOR INSTANCE.

IF THERE ARE INDEED POSITIVE DEVELOPMENTS NOW, AS ASSESSED BY THE PRIME MINISTER, THEN THIS DEPENDS ON THE ABILITY OF CAIRO AND DAMASCUS, AND NOT ONLY OF "THE INTRANSIGENT ELEMENTS" AMONG THE TERRORISTS, TO DRAW THE REALISTIC CONCLUSION FROM THE AIR OPERATION ON WEDNESDAY OF THIS WEEK.

IT IS REASONABLE TO ASSUME THAT THE ONE WHO MADE THE DECISION TO PERMIT THE IDF TO ACT TOOK THE FOLLOWING INTO ACCOUNT: FIRST, OF COURSE, TO REMIND WHOEVER NEEDED THIS REMINDER THAT WHATEVER THE CALCULATIONS OF THOSE DECIDING TO SWELL NAHARIYYA, ISRAEL WILL NOT SETTLE FOR WARNINGS ALONE; SECOND, ASSUMING THAT THE TERRORISTS IN SOUTHERN LEBANON CANNOT ACT UNLESS THE SYRIANS WISH IT, DAMASCUS MUST DECIDE: EITHER DIPLOMACY OR WAR. ISRAEL WILL BE READY FOR EITHER, BUT IT WILL NOT GIVE UP AN ORDERLY POLITICAL PROCESS SIMPLY BECAUSE OF OPEN THREATS ON THE PART OF DAMASCUS OR CAIRO, OR BECAUSE OF THREATS WHICH ARE HINTED AT THROUGH TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS.

HOWEVER, THE POSITIVE DEVELOPMENT AS A RESULT OF THE AIR OPERATION THIS WEEK MAY ALSO ARISE FROM WHAT MOSCOW ON THE ONE HAND AND WASHINGTON ON THE OTHER WILL CONCLUDE, IN LIGHT OF THE MASSIVE BLOW ISRAEL DEALT SOUTHERN LEBANON THIS WEEK-- THAT THE PRESSURES FOR THE SAKE OF REALISTIC NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD NOT BE APPLIED ONLY TO ISRAEL BUT ALSO, AND PERHAPS PRIMARILY, TO THE ARAB COUNTRIES. HOWEVER, 2 WEEKS AGO THE PRIME MINISTER SAW A NEED TO PUBLICLY REACT TO AS-SADAT'S WAR THREATS, PROMISING THAT EVERY ACTION OF WAR WILL BE MET WITH A COUNTERATTACK ON THE PART OF ISRAEL. SOME INTERPRETED HIS REMARKS AS POSSIBLY MEANING AN ISRAELI PREEMPTIVE ATTACK. WHAT HAPPENED THIS WEEK--DESPITE THE FACT THAT THE AIR FORCE ATTACK WAS A REACTION TO THE SHELLINGS OF NAHARIYYA, SHELLINGS THAT CAUSED THE DEATHS OF THREE INNOCENT, PEACEFUL CIVILIANS-- WAS A PREEMPTIVE ATTACK NO LESS THAN IT WAS A COUNTERATTACK. IT WAS AN ATTACK WHOSE REPERCUSSIONS WILL BE HEARD AND PROBABLY ALSO BE LEARNED IN THE ARAB CAPITALS.

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IT SEEMS THAT IF ANYONE ANTICIPATED SUCH A DEVELOPMENT IT WAS WASHINGTON. IT WAS NOT BY CHANCE THAT IT HAS BEGUN TO REALIZE THAT THE SOLUTION WILL NOT BE FOUND IN THE CONVENTIONAL WAYS TO WHICH U.S. POLICY HAS BECOME ACCUSTOMED. THE VERSION OF THE SOLUTION PROPOSED BY THE BROOKINGS INSTITUTE (THE CHIEF AUTHORS OF WHICH WERE SECRETARY OF STATE VANCE AND THE PRESIDENT'S ADVISER, PRZEZINSKI), IS THE EMPITOME OF THIS CONVENTIONAL CONCEPTION, THE GIST OF WHICH IS: PEACE IN RETURN FOR AN ALMOST TOTAL WITHDRAWAL TO THE 1967 LINES ON ALL THREE FRONTS, IN ADDITION TO APPLICATIONS OF THE PRINCIPLE OF SOVEREIGNTY OF THE PALESTINIANS OVER THE WEST BANK, EITHER IN THE FRAMEWORK OF AN INDEPENDENT ENTITY OR BY ESTABLISHING A LINK WITH JORDAN.

IT IS PRECISELY THE EVENTS OF THIS WEEK THAT MAY ALL THE MORE REINFORCE THIS POLICY TREND, THAT BEGIN WITH THE AWARENESS OF THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION THAT IT HAD GONE MUCH MORE THAN HALF WAY TOWARD THE ARABS, ALMOST TO THE EXTENT OF DISREGARDING THE BASIC INTERESTS OF ISRAEL. IN THIS RESPECT, THE U.S.-SOVIET DOCUMENT CONSTITUTED AN IMPORTANT MILESTONE. THE FIERCE ASSAULT ON THE ADMINISTRATION FROM VARIOUS DIRECTIONS, NOT PARTICULARLY JEWISH CIRCLES, MADE IT CLEAR TO THE ADMINISTRATION THAT PUSHING ISRAEL INTO A CORNER FROM WHICH THERE IS NO ESCAPE WILL BRING WAR CLOSER AND KEEP PEACE FURTHER AWAY.

THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION REALIZED--MAYBE A BIT LATER-- THAT THE ARABS DO NOT SUFFICIENTLY APPRECIATE ITS DEEDS INVOLVING CLASHES WITH ISRAEL. EVEN AFTER CARTER HAD PUBLICLY EXPRESSED HIS OPINION IN FAVOR OF AN ALMOST TOTAL ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL, IN FAVOR OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A HOMELAND FOR THE PALESTINIANS, THE ARAB LEADERS WERE STILL NOT SATISFIED. THEY DID NOT SETTLE FOR ANYTHING LESS THAN PLO REPRESENTATION IN GENEVA AS AN INDEPENDENT ELEMENT, THEY DID NOT SETTLE FOR ANYTHING LESS THAN AN EARLY AGREEMENT ON WHAT WILL BE DISCUSSED AT THE CONFERENCE, OR TO BE MORE PRECISE, ON WHAT WILL BE AGREED ON AT THE CONFERENCE.

IT IS ALREADY CLEAR TO EVERYONE: IF EGYPT OR ANY OTHER ARAB COUNTRY WANTS TO COME TO GENEVA IT CAN DO SO ON THE BASIS OF THE WORKING PAPER. IF IT REJECTS IT--DAYAN CLEARLY AND DECISIVELY STATES--THIS MEANS THAT IT DOES NOT WANT GENEVA: NAMELY, IT DOES NOT WANT NEGOTIATIONS AIMED AT MAKING A PEACE TREATY WITH ISRAEL.

(MORE)

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FIRST ADD 66 (HARIF MA'ARIV COMMENTARY)

XXX TREATY WITH ISRAEL.

(EXCERPTS): THIS NOTWITHSTANDING, DAYAN MANAGED TO "INFILTRATE" THIS WEEK SEEMINGLY NEW IDEAS, SINCE NEITHER HE NOR THE PRIME MINISTER HAVE EVER SAID "ALL OR NOTHING"--NAMESLY, UNLESS FULL PEACE WILL BE DISCUSSED, THERE IS NOTHING TO TALK ABOUT. THIS HAS BEEN IMMEDIATELY INTERPRETED AS AN ISRAELI WILLINGNESS TO DISCUSS AN INTERIM SETTLEMENT OR A SETTLEMENT BASED ON A "CANCELLATION OF THE STATE OF WAR" AND NOT NECESSARILY ON A FULL PEACE.

IT IS CONTENDED THAT THIS WAS NOT DAYAN'S INTENTION. ISRAEL IS STILL CLAIMING THAT ONE SHOULD GO TO THE GENEVA CONFERENCE IN ORDER TO REACH A FULL WRITTEN AND SIGNED PEACE AGREEMENT: IF, HOWEVER, (( THE ARAB STATES DO NOT DESIRE THIS, IT IS UP TO THEM TO STATE WHAT THEY DESIRE, APART FROM AN ABSOLUTE ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A PALESTINIAN STATE.

WHAT IS, NONETHELESS, THIS TIME HIDING BEHIND THE CONCEPT OF AN "INTERIM SETTLEMENT" WHICH ISRAEL IS READY TO DISCUSS ACCORDING TO THE FOREIGN MINISTER'S HINTS? IS THE IDEA ALONG THE LINES OF INTERIM SETTLEMENTS LIKE THOSE THE FORMER CABINETS ENTERED INTO?

IT MAY BE CONCLUDED FROM WHAT IS BEING SAID BEHIND THE SCENES THAT A SETTLEMENT IS NOW BEING SOUGHT WHICH, EVEN IF IT IS NOT A FULL PEACE, MAY NEVERTHELESS SATISFY THE PARTIES. ALL THAT STRIVING FOR SOLUTIONS TESTIFIES THAT A CONVENED GENEVA CONFERENCE DOES NOT HAVE MUCH OF A CHANCE, EVEN IF THEY MANAGE TO CONVENE THE CONFERENCE SOMEHOW, FOR IT IS ALMOST CERTAIN TO BREAK UP SOONER OR LATER, WITH NO RESULTS WHATSOEVER.

FOREIGN MINISTER MOSHE DAYAN ESTIMATED THIS WEEK THAT THE FATE OF THE WORKING PAPER "WILL BECOME OFFICIALLY KNOWN WITHIN 2 WEEKS." THE MEETING OF ARAB FOREIGN MINISTERS HAD BEEN SCHEDULED FOR 12 NOVEMBER AND DAYAN SURMISED THAT ON THAT DATE THE MATTER OF THE WORKING PAPER WOULD BE DECIDED, SINCE IN ANTICIPATION OF THIS EVENT DAMASCUS HAD ENDEAVORED TO REACH A UNITED ARAB POSITION ON THE ISSUE. IT APPEARS AT THE MOMENT THAT EGYPT AND JORDAN, ALBEIT UNWILLINGLY, WERE INCLINED TOWARD THE SYRIAN POSITION, WHICH VIGOROUSLY REJECTS THE WORKING PAPER.

CIRCUMSTANCES BEING WHAT THEY ARE, CIRCLES IN WASHINGTON HAVE STARTED WITH PRACTICAL SOLUTIONS, DISTINGUISHABLE FROM A MERE BARREN ACTIVITY PERTAINING TO MATTERS OF PROCEDURE. IT IS AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND THAT ONE HAS TO EXAMINE WHAT HAS BEEN TERMED THE "BRZEZINSKI PLAN," WHICH TOUCHED THE HEART OF THE MATTER-- THE PALESTINIAN ISSUE.

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I S R A E L

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## MATERIALS ON EGYPTIAN PRESIDENT AS-SADAT'S VISIT

## Report on Arrival

TA191729 [Editorial Report TA] Jerusalem Domestic Television Service in Hebrew from 1700 to 1830 GMT on 19 November carries live coverage of President as-Sadat's arrival in Israel. After As-Sadat is met in the plane by the Israeli chief of protocol and descends the steps to be greeted by President Qazir and Prime Minister Begin, the television commentator says he has just learned that the first question President as-Sadat asked is if Minister Ari'el Sharon is present. The answer, the commentator says, was in the affirmative. As As-Sadat shakes hands with those present to greet him, a correspondent describes in Arabic the events of the past 15 minutes.

As President as-Sadat is being greeted by West Bank notables, the commentator notes that not all agreed to come to greet President as-Sadat.

At 1855 GMT the broadcast is transferred to Jerusalem where the correspondent reports that thousands of Jerusalem residents are out in the streets waiting to greet President as-Sadat when he arrives in the city. The correspondent interviews several people in the street, all of whom express their optimism and excitement over President as-Sadat's visit.

The broadcast is returned to the studio where the announcer reports that, apart from unsuccessful attempts by PLO sympathizers in the West Bank to incite merchants to close their shops, the West Bank was very peaceful and calm.

The announcer goes on to say that President as-Sadat requested that he be allowed to pray at Al-Aqsa mosque tomorrow morning despite the security risks and that, at the request of the Egyptian television service, Israeli television will cover the event live.

At 1906 GMT the first police cars can be seen entering Jerusalem. Describing the crowds patiently awaiting the arrival of President as-Sadat, the correspondent estimates that at least 20,000 people are in the streets.

At 1924 GMT two cars carrying members of the Egyptian entourage enter Jerusalem, and the occupants of the car wave to the crowds. Three helicopters can be seen approaching Jerusalem. At 1929 GMT the car carrying President as-Sadat and President Qazir enters Jerusalem, followed by several dozen cars carrying Israeli cabinet ministers, Egyptian officials and other dignitaries.

The broadcast is then transferred to the King David Hotel, and the correspondent describes the scene there. The red carpet is laid out and the senior hotel staff can be seen in the hotel lobby waiting to greet President as-Sadat. While waiting for As-Sadat's arrival at the hotel, a correspondent describes in Arabic the scene for the benefit of Arabic-speaking viewers.

At 1940 GMT the motorcade reaches the hotel, and President as-Sadat enters. As-Sadat is handed a certificate attesting that 100 trees have been planted in the peace forest in President as-Sadat's name. Prime Minister Begin enters the hotel with President as-Sadat and is followed by Israeli cabinet ministers and other officials. President as-Sadat is greeted with loud applause. Without elaborating, the correspondent says that not everything is going according to plan, and there is much spontaneity in the proceedings.

At 1945 GMT the broadcast is returned to the studio where a short news bulletin is delivered. The announcer then says that special television coverage has ended.

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## Dayan Denies Report

NC200724Y Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 0700 GMT 20 Nov 77 NC

[Text] A special cabinet session is scheduled to start at any moment. All the ministers have entered the meeting hall of the cabinet at Qiryat Ben-Gurion. Our correspondent Shalom Qital reports: [begin live relay]

[Qital] Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan is standing next to me, Mr Dayan, we are on the air. You have asked to react to a report...

[Dayan] Not to react. You have not yet heard what I want to say.

[Qital] Please do.

[Dayan] Thank you very much. I heard last night that you are reporting that a high-level source at the Foreign Ministry allegedly said that there are prospects within the next few days, during Egyptian President Anwar as-Sadat's visit, that an agreement to end the state of belligerency between Israel and Egypt will be signed or concluded. There is no truth to this report. I do not believe any high-level source authorized by the Foreign Ministry uttered such nonsense. I simply wanted to tell you this.

[Qital] That is to say, there are still no...

[Dayan] That is to say, this report of yours is unfounded. No authorized Foreign Ministry source could have said such a thing. I am sorry you broadcast such an unfounded report. Thank you.

[Qital] Thank you, Mr Dayan. For the moment, I return you to the studio. [end relay]

## 20 Nov Cabinet Meeting

TA200938Y Tel Aviv IDF Radio in Hebrew 0905 GMT 20 Nov 77 TA

[Report by IDF radio political correspondent Yosi La'or on 20 November cabinet meeting--live from outside the cabinet room]

[Text] As we have reported, the cabinet meeting ended about half an hour ago. I have the first report about what was said at the meeting over and above what was said publicly by ministers after the meeting.

The impression at the cabinet meeting was that it is still too early to talk about agreements--either a peace agreement or about a nonbelligerency agreement. At this stage the talks with President as-Sadat are feelers. The parties are checking out what the other side wants and what we are able to give the other side. It is still difficult to talk about the signing of agreements, and if agreements are signed it will certainly not be today or tomorrow.

At any rate we must speak with reservations. This is the picture at this moment. This is the picture that appeared at the cabinet meeting. However, it is possible that in the working talk, in private, if I can call it that, Prime Minister Menahem Begin is now conducting with President as-Sadat, apparently in their car on the way to the Yad Vashem memorial, if my timing is right--in this short meeting or talk, it is possible that President as-Sadat is raising proposals that he did not raise yesterday. However, as far as I know, and as far as has been learned from the cabinet meeting, these are still feeler talks and not agreements.

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Most of the meeting was devoted to Prime Minister Menadhem Begin's report on his talk yesterday with President as-Sadat and also to defining the lines of his speech in the Knesset. There was general agreement by all cabinet ministers on the lines presented by the prime minister. It was also said that the prime minister would improvise--that is to say, he would add reactions to President as-Sadat's remarks prior to his speech. It has also been pointed out that Mr Begin will speak without notes.

All or most of the ministers added remarks to those of the prime minister and suggested ideas for feelers about possibilities to advance the talks with President as-Sadat.

Another issue that was not dealt with at the cabinet meeting but which has caused interest was the issue of whether the Labor Party would join the government, thus establishing a national unity government. However, differing opinions were stated. There were opinions in support of this, for example in the MAFDAL; there were opinions opposing this, for example in the Likud, but the consensus was that we have to wait and see what the Labor Party wants, whether it is at all interested. At any rate on a busy day like today there is no chance of serious contacts on this issue.

To conclude this report, it appears that today or tomorrow there will be another cabinet meeting in order to hear a report on the serious and more substantive talks with President as-Sadat and in order to make additional decisions should these be required.

#### Begin on Cabinet Session

NC200906Y Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 0843 GMT 20 Nov 77 NC

[Correspondent Shalom Quital interview with Prime Minister Begin--live]

[Text] [Question] The cabinet session has just ended. The ministers are emerging one after the other. Prime Minister Menahem Begin himself accompanied by the cabinet secretary has also emerged from the meeting room. Mr Prime Minister, what can you tell us after this cabinet session?

[Answer] There was a serious and concrete discussion in the session. I will present the details to the Knesset. This was the purpose of the discussion. I am happy to say that the government reached full agreement on the things which I plan to say after President as-Sadat's speech in the Knesset.

[Question] You are talking about the things which you will say. Has the government crystalized its positions in anticipation of the secret talks which it will conduct?

[Answer] The government always formulates positions and in this session also positions were formulated. But deciding on the contents of such a speech is a very important matter. First, I believe in the joint responsibility of the government, and I see no (?point) in expressing just my own opinion. Second, the agreement in the cabinet is of much political importance.

[Question] Is there anything new in the Israeli position?

[Answer] There is always something new. We innovate daily.

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[Question] Mr Begin, is it true that President as-Sadat said during his tete-a-tete meeting with you: "Mr Begin, no more wars." Is that true?

[Answer] I do not think he said it like that. As I recall, he said that he is planning to announce this in his speech in the Knesset. I, of course, congratulated him on this because I said in my speech to the Egyptian people: "No more wars, no more bloodshed, no more threats."

[Quital] Mr Prime Minister, thank you very much.

#### Begin Praises U.S. Role

TA181651Y Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1505 GMT 18 Nov 77 TA

[From special afternoon newsreel]

[Excerpt] Prime Minister Menahem Begin has met with the Foreign Affairs and Security Committee of the Knesset and reported to them on the preparations for the Egyptian president's visit. After the meeting, the prime minister reviewed the meetings with the Egyptian preparatory delegation. [begin recording]

[Begin] I want to tell you about a telephone conversation I had yesterday with the U.S. president, Mr Carter. It was a very friendly conversation. I asked him to receive for a personal conversation our Ambassador Simha Dinitz, who would submit my message of thanks to the President for his contribution to this meeting, to the development which brought about the meeting between the Egyptian president and me in Jerusalem. Today I received a message from our ambassador. The President did receive him at my request, and the President and his aides were very enthusiastic. I think that today there is a good understanding between Israel and the United States, also against the background of this visit. The U.S. ambassador in Israel did more than he was expected to do to help. The same is true for the U.S. ambassador to Cairo. So there is good will on all sides.

#### As-Sadat at Al-Aqsa, Holy Sepulcher

NC200618 [Editorial Report NC] Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew, carrying running reportage on the prayer service at Al-Aqsa-Mosque which President as-Sadat and a large crowd of worshippers are attending, at 0530 GMT on 20 November gives a summary of what the shaykh of the mosque said in his sermon.

The reporter says that the sermon was devoted mainly to 'Id al-Adha and greetings to President as-Sadat. However, according to the reporter, the sermon contained "very serious political elements. For the first time since As-Sadat arrived in the country, he was approached publicly to deal with the Palestine issue. The sermon was accompanied by much emotion." The shaykh mentioned "the link of the Palestinian people to the land of Israel. The shaykh called on As-Sadat to urge the Israeli authorities to release Palestinian Arab political detainees held in Israeli jails in the occupied territories, as he put it. When he spoke about the Palestinian people, he used the term, 'the suppressed Palestinian people.' When President as-Sadat left the mosque, the masses were really inflamed; they proceeded from the mosque to the Dome of the Rock."

The prayers ended at 0535 GMT.

Another reporter says that As-Sadat also visited the Dome of the Rock mosque. After being shown around, he proceeded at 0547 GMT to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher.

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Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew at 0640 GMT on 20 November, in a live report by correspondent Shim'on Shiffer from near the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, says: "At this moment a demonstration by several hundred youths against President as-Sadat is being dispersed. The demonstrators were shouting: 'As-Sadat, As-Sadat, traitor. Don't sell us for money.' At this moment the security forces are removing the demonstrators, who had arrived shortly after President as-Sadat had already left the Church of the Holy Sepulcher."

Jerusalem, Cairo Relays

[Jerusalem Domestic Service in linkup with other Jerusalem services and Cairo Domestic Service in linkup with other Cairo services carried the speeches below by President Anwar as-Sadat, Prime Minister Menahem Begin and opposition leader Shi'mon Peres.]

As-Sadat Knesset Speech

JN201432Y Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1405 GMT 20 Nov 77 JN/NC

[Speech by Egyptian President Anwar as-Sadat before Israeli Knesset--live, in Arabic]

[Text] In the name of God. Mr Speaker of the Knesset, ladies and gentlemen: Allow me first to extend my sincere thanks to the speaker of the Knesset for providing me with the opportunity to talk to you. When I begin my talk I say: God's peace and mercy be with you, and peace for all of us, God willing. Peace for all of us on the Arab land and in Israel and in every place of the land of this big world--this world which is complicated through its bloody disputes, confused with its acute contradictions, threatened every now and then with destructive wars which are made by man to destroy his fellow man. Finally, amid the debris which man has built and amid the bodies of victims of men, there is no victor or vanquished, but the one who is always really vanquished is man, who is the most supreme creature God has created, the man whom God has created, as Gandhi, the saint of peace, says, to walk on his feet to build life and worship God.

I have come to you today on two firm feet to build a new life and to establish peace. All of us on this land, the land of God, Moslems, Christians and Jews, worship God and worship no other God. The teachings and commandments of God are love, honesty, purity and peace.

I beg the pardon of all those who have received my decision to come to your assembly with surprise and astonishment when I announced it to the whole world. Some people were so rudely shocked that they even interpreted my decision as no more than rhetoric for local consumption before the world public. Others described it as a political tactic to conceal my intentions to wage a new war. I do not conceal to you that one of my aides at the president's office contacted me at a late hour on the night after I returned home from the People's Assembly to ask me with concern: What would you do if Israel actually extends the invitation to you? I answered him very quietly: I will immediately accept it. I have announced that I am ready to go to the end of the world. I will go to Israel because I want to submit all the facts to the people of Israel.

I beg the pardon of all those who were surprised by the decision or doubted the intentions behind the announcement of the decision.

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I pardon all those who were astounded by the decision or doubted the intentions behind its enunciation. No one imagined that the president of the biggest Arab country, which bears the greatest burden and primary responsibility in the question of war and peace in the Middle East area, could take a decision to be ready to go to the land of the adversary while we are still in a state of war, and even while you and ourselves are still suffering from the effects of four difficult wars during 30 years. All of this at a time when the families of the victims of the October 1973 war are still living through the tragedies of widowhood, loss of sons and the martyrdom of fathers and sisters.

As I have already said, I did not discuss this decision with any of my colleagues and brothers, the presidents of the Arab countries or the confrontation states. Those of them who contacted me after I declared my decision opposed it because the state of complete suspicion and complete lack of confidence between the Arab countries, including the Palestinian people, on the one hand, and Israel, on the other, still exists completely. It is sufficient that several long months during which peace could have been established have been wasted in vain in differences and discussions over procedures for convening the Geneva conference. All of these express complete suspicion and lack of confidence. I tell you frankly and in all truth that I took this decision after much thought, and I knew it was a great risk. This is because as God Almighty willed that I shoulder responsibility for the Egyptian people and participate in the responsibility for the future of all the Arab people. The first task of this responsibility, in my view, is to exhaust all means in order to save the Egyptian Arab people and all the Arab people from the ordeals of other tragic and destructive wars, of which only God knows their extent.

After much thought I became convinced that the trust of responsibility before God and the people dictated that I go to the end of the world and even to come to Jerusalem to address the Knesset members, who represent the Israeli people, on all the facts I have in mind and to let you afterward decide for yourselves. Then let God Almighty do for us what He will afterward.

Ladies and gentlemen, in the lives of nations and peoples there are moments in which those who are characterized by wisdom and insight must look into the past with its complexities and vestiges in order to embark upon a bold takeoff toward new horizons. Those who shoulder such responsibility like ourselves are the first who must have courage to take fateful decisions commensurate with the seriousness of the situation. We all must rise above all forms of fanaticism and self-deception.

We must all rise above all forms of chauvinism, self-deception and outmoded theories of superiority. It is important that we never forget that superiority belongs to God alone. When I say that I want to make it possible for the entire Arab people to avoid the sufferings of new tragic wars, I announce before you in all truthfulness that I have the same feelings and responsibility toward every person in the world, particularly toward the Israeli people.

The soul which is killed in war is the soul of a human being, be he an Arab or an Israeli. The wife who becomes a widow is a human being who has the right to live in a happy family, be she an Arab or an Israeli. The innocent children who lose the care and love of their fathers are equally the children of all of us, be they in the land of the Arabs or in Israel. We should shoulder the great responsibility toward them of providing them with a peaceful present and a beautiful future.

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For the sake of all this and for the sake of protecting the lives of all our children and sisters, for the sake of making our societies productive as they enjoy and peace and security, for the sake of the development and happiness of man and giving him his right to a good life, for the sake of our responsibilities toward the future generations, for the sake of the smile of every child born in our land--for the sake of all this--I made my decision to come to you, despite all the risks, to speak my words directly to you.

I have shouldered and I still shoulder historic responsibility. For the sake of this, I previously announced a few years ago, and specifically on 4 February 1971, that I was prepared to sign a peace agreement with Israel. This was the first time an Arab official had made such a declaration since the beginning of the Arab-Israeli dispute.

With all motives dictated by the responsibility of leadership, I announced on 16 October 1973 before the Egyptian People's Assembly the call for an international conference to establish a just and lasting peace. I was not at that time in the position of one who was begging for peace or asking for a cease-fire. With all motives dictated by the historic responsibility of leadership, we signed the first disengagement agreement and then began knocking at open and closed doors to find a specific way toward a lasting, just peace.

We have opened our hearts to all the peoples of the world so that they may understand our intentions and objectives and be truly persuaded that we are advocates of justice and makers of peace. With all these motives also, I decided to come to you with an open mind and with an open heart and a conscientious will to establish a lasting peace based on justice.

Destiny has willed that my journey to you--the journey of peace--coincides with a great Islamic holiday--the blessed Al-Adha holiday, the holiday of sacrifice and redemption when our father Abraham--peace be upon him, the great grandfather of the Arabs and Jews--resigned himself to the will of God and turned to him with all his feelings, not out of weakness but out of a great spiritual strength and willingness to sacrifice his own son out of his firm, unshaken conviction that supreme ideals provide a profound meaning to life.

Perhaps this coincidence carries a new meaning for us. Perhaps there is real hope in harbingers of safety, security and peace.

Ladies and gentlemen, let us be frank by using direct words and clear ideas which cannot be twisted. Let us be frank today when the whole world in the East and the West is following this unique moment, which might be a basic turning point in the march of history in this part of the world, if not in the whole world. Let us be frank while answering the great question: How can we achieve a just and permanent peace?

At the outset I come to you carrying my clear and frank answer for this great question in order that the people in Israel might hear it, in order that the whole world and those whose earnest calls are reaching my ears might hear it, hoping that eventually the results which are expected by millions over this historic meeting might be realized.

Before I announce my answer I would like to assure you that in this answer, which is frank and clear, I depend on a number of facts which nobody can avoid admitting.

The first fact is that nobody can be happy as a result of oppressing others.

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The second fact is that I have not and will not speak with two tongues and have not and will not doubledeal in policies. I do not deal with anyone other than with one tongue, one policy and with one face.

The third fact is that a face-to-face meeting and a straight path are the shortest and most successful ways to reach a clear goal.

The fourth fact is that the call for a permanent and just peace built on respect for the UN resolutions today has become the call of the whole world and has become a clear expression of the will of the international community, whether in the official capitals which make the decisions or on the level of world public opinion, which affects policy and decisionmaking.

The fifth, and perhaps the most prominent and clear fact, is that in its moves for a just and permanent peace, the Arab nation is not doing so from a position of weakness or from a shaky stand. On the contrary, the Arab nation possesses sufficient factors of power and stability to make its word stem from a sincere will for peace and from a cultural realization that in order to avoid an inevitable disaster for us, for you and for the whole world, there can be no alternative to the establishment of a just, permanent peace, which cannot be shaken by storms, flouted by doubts or be shaken by ill will or distorted intentions.

From these facts, which I wanted you to grasp in the same way I do, I would also like to warn you in all sincerity. I warn you of some conclusions you might reach. The duty of frankness requires me to state to the following:

First, I have not come to you to forge a unilateral agreement between Egypt and Israel. This is not Egypt's policy. The problem is not between Egypt and Israel.

The problem is not Egypt and Israel. Any separate reconciliation [sulh] between Egypt and Israel, or between any frontline country and Israel, will not establish a lasting and just peace in the entire area. Furthermore, even if peace should be achieved between the frontline countries on the one hand and Israel on the other, without a just solution of the Palestinian problem, it would never achieve the just and lasting peace urgently sought by the entire world.

Second, I did not come to you in order to try to achieve a separate reconciliation--in other words, to end the state of war at this stage and to postpone the entire problem to another stage. This is not the radical solution that would lead us to lasting peace. Linked with this is the fact that I did not come to you to agree on a third disengagement in Sinai--in Sinai, the Golan or the West Bank. This would only mean that we postpone the ignition of the fuse to another time. May, it would mean also that we lack the courage to face peace and that we are too weak to bear the burdens and responsibilities of lasting and just peace.

I came to you so that we may build a lasting and just peace to avoid bloodshed on either side. For this, I announced that I was prepared to go to the end of the world.

Here I go back to the answer of the big question: How can we achieve a lasting and just peace? In my opinion, and I declare it from this rostrum to the entire world, that the answer is neither impossible nor hard. Despite the years of revenge, of hatred and of bringing up generations on alienation and deep-rooted enmity, the answer is neither impossible nor hard if we pursue the course of a straight line with all sincerity and faith.

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ISRAEL

You want to live with us in this area of the world. I tell you sincerely that we welcome you among us, with all security and safety. This constitutes a major turning point, marking a decisive, historic transformation.

We used to reject you and we had our causes. Yes, we used to refuse to meet with you any place. Yes, we used to refer to the so-called Israel. Yes, we used to meet in conferences or in international organizations where our representatives refused and still refuse to exchange greetings. Yes, this happened and is still happening. We used to set conditions to the effect that at any discussion a mediator should meet with each side separately. Yes, this is how the talks for the first disengagement took place. This is also how the talks for the second disengagement took place. Our representatives met at the first Geneva conference without exchanging words directly. Yes, all this took place.

However, I tell you today and I announce it to the entire world that we accept living with you in a lasting and just peace in which we do not surround you, or you surround us, with destructive missiles or with the shells of hatred and enmity.

I have announced more than once that Israel has become a fact recognized by the world and that the two superpowers have shouldered the responsibility for its security and protection of its existence. Since we actually want peace, we welcome your living among us in security and peace in the full sense of the word.

There was a huge and high wall between us which you tried to build over a quarter of a century but it was destroyed in 1973. It was a wall of a continuously inflammable and escalating psychological warfare. It was a wall of fear of the force that could sweep the entire Arab nation. It was a wall of propaganda that we were a nation reduced to a lifeless corpse. Some of you had gone as far as to say that even for 50 years to come, the Arabs would not regain their strength.

It was a wall that always threatened with a long arm that could reach any place and any depth. It was a wall that warned us against extermination and annihilation if we tried to use our legitimate right to liberate the occupied territories. Together we have to admit that that wall fell and collapsed in 1973. Yet, there remains another wall. This wall constitutes a complicated psychological barrier between us--a barrier of suspicion, a barrier of rejection, a barrier of fear of deception, a barrier of hallucinations around any action, deed or decision, a barrier of cautious and erroneous interpretation of all and every event or statement.

It is this psychological barrier I described in official statements as constituting, in my view, 70 percent of the problem.

Today, through my visit to you, I ask you: Why don't we stretch out our hands with honesty, faith and sincerity so that together we might destroy this barrier? Why shouldn't our wills meet with honesty, faith and sincerity so that together we might remove all suspicion of fear, betrayal and ill intentions?

Why don't we stand together with the bravery of men and the boldness of heroes who dedicate themselves to a sublime objective?

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ISRAEL

Why don't we stand together with the same courage and daring to erect a huge edifice of peace--an edifice that builds and does not destroy, an edifice that beams for our generations to come the human message for construction, development and the dignity of man.

Why should we bequeath to the coming generations the plight of bloodshed, death, orphans, widowhood, family disintegration and the wailing of victims.

Why don't we believe in the wisdom of God conveyed to us by the proverbs of Solomon: Deceit is in the heart of those who imagine evil, but to the counselors of peace is joy; better is a morsel and quietness therewith than an house full of sacrifices with strife.

Why don't we repeat together, why don't we repeat together from the Psalms of David: Hear the voice of my supplications when I cry unto thee, when I lift up my hands toward thy holy oracle. Throw me not away with the wicked and with the workers of iniquity who speak peace to their neighbors but mischief is in their hearts. Give them according to their deeds and according to the wickedness of their endeavors. I demand peace and seek it.

Ladies and gentlemen, to tell you the truth peace cannot be worth its name unless it is based on justice and not on the occupation of the land of others.

It would not be appropriate for you to demand for yourselves what you deny others. With all frankness and with the spirit that has prompted me to come to you today, I tell you: You have to give up once and for all the dreams of conquest and give up the belief that force is the best method for dealing with the Arabs.

You should clearly understand and assimilate the lesson of confrontation between you and us--expansion does not pay. To speak frankly, our land does not yield itself to bargaining. It is not even open to argument. To us, the national soil is equal to the holy valley where God spoke to Moses, peace be upon him. None of us can or will agree to yield one inch of it or accept the principle of debating or bargaining over it.

I sincerely tell you also that before us today lies the appropriate chance for peace, if we are really serious in our endeavor for peace. It is a chance that time cannot afford once again. It is a chance that if lost or wasted, the plotter against it will bear the curse of humanity and the curse of history.

What is peace for Israel? If it means that Israel lives in the region with its Arab neighbors in security and safety, to such logic I say yes. If it means that Israel lives within its borders secure against any aggression, to such logic I say yes. If it means that Israel obtain all kinds of guarantees that insure those two factors, to this demand I say yes.

More than that, we declare that we accept all the international guarantees you envisage and accept. We declare that we accept all the guarantees you want from the two super-powers or from either of them, or from the big five, or from some of them.

Once again, I declare very clearly and unequivocally that we agree to any guarantees you accept because in return we shall obtain the same guarantees.

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In short, then, when we ask what is peace for Israel, the answer would be: It is that Israel live within its borders with its Arab neighbors in safety and security within the framework of all the guarantees it accepts and which are offered the other party. But how can this be achieved? How can we reach this conclusion which would lead us to permanent peace based on justice?

There are facts that should be faced with all courage and clarity. There are Arab territories Israel has occupied and still occupies by armed force. We insist on complete withdrawal from these territories, including Arab Jerusalem. I have come to Jerusalem as the city of peace, which was and will always remain as a living embodiment of coexistence among believers of the three religions.

It is inadmissible that anyone should conceive the special status of the City of Jerusalem within the framework of annexation or expansionism. But it should be a free and open city for all believers. Above all, this city should not be severed from those who have made it their abode for centuries.

Instead of awakening the prejudices of the Crusades, we should revive the spirit of 'Umar ibn al-Khattab and Saladin, namely, the spirit of tolerance and respect for rights.

Islamic and Christian places of worship are not only places of performing religious duties and rites, but a living testimony of our uninterrupted presence here politically, spiritually and intellectually.

Here, let nobody make a mistake about the importance and reverence we Christians and Moslems attach to Jerusalem. Let me tell you without the slightest hesitation that I have not come to you under this dome to make a request that your troops evacuate the occupied territories. Complete withdrawal from the Arab territories occupied after 1967 is a basic and undisputed fact. Nobody should plead for that. Any talk about permanent peace based on justice and any move to insure our coexistence in peace and security in this part of the world would become meaningless while you occupy Arab territories by force of arms. For there is no peace that could be in consonance with or be built on the occupation of the land of others. Otherwise, it would not be a serious peace. Yet, this is a foregone conclusion which is not open to discussion or debate if intentions are sincere and if endeavors to establish a just and durable peace for our and the generations to come are genuine.

As for the Palestinian cause, nobody could deny that it is the crux of the entire problem. Nobody in the world could accept today slogans propagated here in Israel ignoring the existence of the Palestinian people and questioning even their whereabouts.

The Palestinian people's question and their legitimate rights are no longer ignored or denied today by anybody. Rather, nobody who has the ability of judgment can deny or ignore it. It is an acknowledged fact received by the world community, both in the East and in the West, with support and recognition in international documents and official statements. It is of no use to anybody to turn a deaf ear to its resounding voice which is being heard day and night or to overlook its historical reality.

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Even the United States, your primary ally, which is absolutely committed to safeguard Israel's security and existence and which offered and still offers Israel every moral, material and military support--I say even the United States has opted to face up to reality and facts and admit that the Palestinian people are entitled to legitimate rights and that the Palestinian problem is the core and essence of the conflict and that so long as it continues to be unresolved, the conflict will continue to aggravate, reaching new dimensions.

In all sincerity I tell you that there can be no peace without the Palestinians. It is a great error of unpredictable consequences to overlook or brush aside this cause.

I shall not indulge in past events since the Balfour Declaration 60 years ago. You are well acquainted with the relevant facts. If you had found the legal and moral justification to set up a national home on the land that did not all belong to you, it is incumbent upon you to show understanding of the insistence of the people of Palestine on establishing once again a state on their homeland. When some diehards and extremists ask the Palestinians to give up this sublime objective, this in fact means asking them to renounce their identity and every hope for the future. I hail the Israeli voices that have called for the recognition of the Palestinian people's right to achieve and safeguard peace.

Here I tell, you, ladies and gentlemen, therefore, that it is no use to refrain from recognizing the Palestinian people and their rights to set up their state and return to their homes. We, the Arabs, have faced this experience before with you and with the reality of Israeli existence. The struggle took us from war to war, from victims to more victims, until you and we have today reached the edge of a horrifying abyss and a terrifying disaster, unless together we today seize this opportunity of a durable peace based on justice.

You have to face reality bravely as I have done. There can never be any solution to a problem by evading it or turning a deaf ear to it. Peace cannot last if attempts are made to impose fantasy concepts on which the world has turned its back and announced its unanimous call for the respect of rights and realities. There is no need to enter a vicious circle as to Palestinian rights. It is useless to create obstacles; otherwise the march of peace will be impeded or peace will be blown up.

As I have told you, there is no happiness to the detriment of others. Direct confrontation and straightforwardness are the short cuts and the most successful way to reach a clear objective. Direct confrontation concerning the Palestinian problem and tackling it in one single language with a view to achieving a durable peace lie in the establishment of their state. With all the guarantees you demand there should be no fear of a newly born state that needs the assistance of all countries of the world. When the bells of peace ring, there will be no hands to beat the drums of war. Even if they existed, they would make no sound.

Conceive with me a peace agreement in Geneva that we would herald to a world thirsty for peace. A peace agreement based on the following points:

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Ending the Israeli occupation of the territories occupied in 1967; achievement of the fundamental rights of the Palestinian people and their right to self-determination, including their right to establish their own state; third, the right of all states in the area to live in peace within their boundaries, which will be secured and guaranteed through procedures to be agreed upon, which provide appropriate security to international boundaries in addition to appropriate international guarantees; fourth, commitment of all states in the region to administer the relations among them in accordance with the objectives and principles of the UN Charter, particularly the principles concerning not resorting to force and to solving differences among them by peaceful means; fifth, ending the state of belligerency in the region.

Ladies and gentlemen, peace is not a mere endorsement of written lines. Rather, it is a rewriting of history. Peace is not a game of calling for peace to defend certain whims or hide certain ambitions. Peace, in essence, is the giant struggle against all and every ambition and whim. Perhaps the examples taken and experienced, taken from ancient and modern history, teach us all that missiles, warships and nuclear weapons cannot establish security. Rather, they destroy what security builds.

For the sake of our peoples, and for the sake of civilization made by man, we have to defend man everywhere against the rule of the force of arms. We must endow the rule of humanity with all the power of the values and principles that promote the positions of mankind.

Allow me to address my call from this rostrum to the people of Israel. I address myself with honest and sincere words to every man, woman and child in Israel. I tell them: From the Egyptian people who bless this sacred mission of peace, I convey to you the message of peace, the message of the Egyptian people who do not know fanaticism and whose sons--Moslems, Christians and Jews--live together in a state of cordiality, love and tolerance. This is Egypt, whose people have entrusted me with this sacred message, the message of security, safety and peace.

To every man, woman and child in Israel, I say encourage your leadership to struggle for peace. Let all endeavors be channeled toward building a huge edifice for peace instead of strongholds and hideouts defended by destructive rockets. Introduce to the entire world the image of the new man in this area so that he might set an example to the man of our age, the man of peace everywhere.

Be the heralds to your sons. Tell them that past wars were the last of wars and the end of sorrows. Tell them that we are in for a new beginning, a new life, the life of love, prosperity, freedom and peace.

You bemoaning mother, you widowed wife, you the son who lost a brother and a father, you all victims of wars, fill the earth and space with recitals of peace. Fill bosoms and hearts with the aspirations of peace. Turn the song into a reality that blossoms and lives. Make hope a code of conduct and endeavor. The will of people is part of the will of God.

Ladies and gentlemen, before I came to this place, with every beat in my heart and with every sentiment, I prayed to God Almighty while performing the 'Id prayers at Al-Aqsa Mosque and while visiting the Holy Sepulcher. I asked God Almighty to give me strength and to confirm my belief that this visit may achieve the objective I look forward to for a happy present and a happier future.

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I have chosen to set aside all precedents and traditions known by warring countries in spite of the fact that occupation of Arab territories is still there. In fact, the declaration of my readiness to proceed to Israel came as a great surprise that stirred many feelings and astounded many minds. Some opinions even doubted its intent.

Despite all of that, my decision was inspired by all the clarity and purity of belief and with all the true expression of my people's will and intentions. I have chosen this difficult road which is considered by many to be the most difficult road.

I have chosen to come to you with an open heart and open mind. I have chosen to give this great impetus to all international efforts exerted for peace. I have chosen to present to you and in your own home the realities devoid of any scheme or whim, not to maneuver or to win a round but for us to win together the most dangerous of rounds and battles of modern history, the battle of permanent peace based on justice.

It is not my battle alone nor is it the battle of the leadership in Israel alone. It is the battle of all and every citizen in all our territories whose right it is to live in peace. It is the commitment of conscience and responsibility in the hearts of millions.

When I put forward this initiative, many asked what is it that I conceived as possible to achieve during this visit and what my expectations were. And, as I answered the questioners I announce before you that I have not thought of carrying out this initiative from the concept of what could be achieved during this visit, but that I have come here to deliver a message.

I have delivered the message and may God be my witness. I repeat with Zachariah: Love right and justice.

From the Holy Koran I quote the following verses: We believe in God and in what has been revealed to us, and what was revealed to Abraham, Ismail, Isaac, Jacob and the tribes, and in the books given to Moses, Jesus and the Prophets from their lords. We make no distinction between one and another among them, and to God we submit.

Peace be upon you.

#### Begin Knesset Speech

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[Prime Minister Menahem Begin's speech to the Knesset in Jerusalem--live]

[Text] Mr Speaker, Mr President of the State of Israel, Mr President of the Arab Republic of Egypt, ladies and gentlemen, members of the Knesset: We send our greetings to the president, to all the people of the Islamic religion in our country, and wherever they may be, on this occasion of the feast of the festival of the sacrifice 'Id al-Adha. This feast reminds us of the binding of Isaac. This was the way in which the Creator of the World tested our forefather, Abraham, our common forefather, to test his faith, and Abraham passed this test. However, from the moral aspect and the advancement of humanity, it was forbidden to sacrifice human beings. Our two peoples in their ancient traditions know and taught what the Lord, blessed be He, taught while peoples around us still sacrificed human beings to their gods. Thus, we contributed, the people of Israel and the Arab people, to the progress of mankind, and thus we are continuing to contribute to human culture to this day.

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ISRAEL

I greet and welcome the president of Egypt for coming to our country and on his participating in the Knesset session. The flight time between Cairo and Jerusalem is short, but the distance between Cairo and Jerusalem was until last night almost endless. President as-Sadat crossed this distance courageously. We, the Jews, know how to appreciate such courage, and we know how to appreciate it in our guest, because it is with courage that we are here, and this is how we continue to exist, and we shall continue to exist.

Mr Speaker, this small nation, the remaining refuge of the Jewish people who returned to their historic homeland, has always wanted peace, and since the dawn of our independence, on 14 May 1948, 5 Iyar Tashah, in the declaration of independence in the founding scroll of our national freedom, David Ben-Gurion said: We extend a hand of peace and neighborliness to all the neighboring countries and their peoples. We call upon them to cooperate, to help each other, with the Hebrew people independent in their own country. One year earlier, even from the underground, when we are in the midst of the fateful struggle for the liberation of the country and the redemption of the people, we called in our neighbors in these terms: In this country we will live together and we will advance together and we will live lives of freedom and happiness. Our Arab neighbors, do not reject the hand stretched out to you in peace.

But it is my bounden duty, Mr Speaker, and not only my right, not to pass over the truth that our hand outstretched for peace was not grasped and 1 day after we had renewed our independence, as was our right, our eternal right, which cannot be disputed, we were attacked on three fronts, and we stood almost without arms, the few against many, the weak against the strong, while an attempt was made, 1 day after the declaration of independence, to strangle it at birth, to put an end to the last hope of the Jewish people, the yearning renewed after the years of destruction and holocaust. No, we do not believe in might and we have never based our attitude toward the Arab people on might. Quite the contrary, force was used against us. Over all the years of this generation we have never stopped being attacked by might, of the strong arm stretched out to exterminate our people, to destroy our independence, to deny our rights. We defended ourselves, it is true. We defended our rights, our existence, our honor, our women and our children, against these repeated and recurring attempts to crush us through the force of arms, and not only on one front. That, too, is true. With the help of God Almighty, we overcame the forces of aggression, and we have guaranteed existence for our nation. Not only for this generation, but for the coming generations, too. We do not believe in might. We believe in right, only in right. And therefore our aspiration, from the bottom of our hearts, has always been, to this very day, for peace.

Mr President, Mr President of Egypt, the commanders of all the underground Hebrew fighting organizations are sitting in this democratic house. They had to conduct a campaign of the few against the many, against a huge, a world power. Here are sitting the veteran commanders and captains who had to go forth into battle because it was forced upon them and forward to victory, which was unavoidable because they were defending their rights. They belong to different parties. They have different views, but I am sure, Mr President, that I am expressing the views of everyone, with no exceptions, that we have one aspiration in our hearts, one desire in our souls, and all of us are united in all these aspirations and desires--to bring peace, peace for our nation, which has not known peace for even 1 day since we started returning to Zion, and peace for our neighbors, whom we wish all the best, and we believe that if we make peace, real peace, we will be able to help our neighbors, in all walks of life, and a new era will open in the Middle East, an era of blossoming and growth, development and expansion of the economy, its growth as it was in the past.

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Therefore, permit me today to set forth the peace program as we understand it. We want full, real peace with complete reconciliation between the Jewish and the Arab peoples. I do not wish to dwell on the memories of the past, but there have been wars; there has been blood split; wonderful young people have been killed on both sides. We will live all our life with the memories of our heroes who gave their lives so this day would arrive, this day, too, would come, and we respect the bravery of a rival and we honor all the members of the younger generation among the Arab people who also fell.

I do not wish to dwell on memories of the past, although they be bitter memories. We will bury them; we will worry about the future, about our people, our children, our joint and common future. For it is true indeed that we will have to live in this area, all of us together will live here, for generations upon generations: The great Arab people in their various states and countries, and the Jewish people in their country, Eretz Yisra'el. Therefore, we must determine what peace means.

Let us conduct negotiations, Mr President, as free negotiating partners for a peace treaty, and, with the aid of the Lord, we fully believe the day will come when we can sign it with mutual respect, and we will then know that the era of wars is over, that hands have been extended between friends, that each has shaken the hand of his brother and the future will be shining for all the peoples of this area. The beginning of wisdom in a peace treaty is the abolition of the state of war. I agree, Mr President, that you did not come here, we did not invite you to our country in order, as has been said in recent days, to divide the Arab peoples. Somebody quoted an ancient Roman, saying: Divide and rule. Israel does not want to rule and therefore does not need to divide. We want peace with all our neighbors: with Egypt, with Jordan, with Syria and with Lebanon. We would like to negotiate peace treaties [at this point MK Tawfiq Toubi interrupts Begin. Toubi's words indistinct. Begin continues in English] Mr President, my parliamentary colleague of the Communist Party has interrupted me but I am glad at this price, he didn't interrupt you. [laughter from hall followed by applause; Begin returns to Hebrew]

And there is no need to distinguish between a peace treaty and an abolition of the state of war. Quite the contrary, we are not proposing this nor are we asking for it. The first clause of a peace treaty is cessation of the state of war, forever. We want to establish normal relations between us, as they exist between all nations, even after wars. We have learned from history, Mr President, that war is avoidable, peace is unavoidable. Many nations have waged war among themselves, and sometimes they used the tragic term perennial enemy. There are no perennial enemies. And after all the wars the inevitable comes--peace. And so we want to establish, in a peace treaty, diplomatic relations as is the custom among civilized nations.

Today two flags are flying over Jerusalem: the Egyptian flag and the Israeli flag. And we saw together, Mr President, little children waving both the flags. Let us sign a peace treaty and let us establish this situation forever, both in Jerusalem and in Cairo, and I hope the day will come when the Egyptian children wave the Israeli flag and the Egyptian flag, just as the children of Israel waved both these flags in Jerusalem.

And you, Mr President, will have a loyal ambassador in Jerusalem, and we will have an ambassador in Cairo. And even if differences of opinion arise between us, we will clarify them like civilized peoples through our authorized envoys.

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We are proposing economic cooperation for the development of our countries. There are wonderful countries in the Middle East. The Lord created it thus: oases in the desert, but there are deserts as well and we can make them flourish. Let us cooperate in this field. Let us develop our countries. Let us eliminate poverty, hunger, the lack of shelter. Let us raise our peoples to the level of developed countries and let them not call us "developing countries."

And with all due respect, I am willing to confirm the words of his majesty the king of Morocco, who said--in public too--that if peace arises in the Middle East, the combination of Arab genius and Jewish genius together can turn this area into a paradise on earth.

Let us open our countries to free traffic. You come to our country and we will visit yours. I am ready to announce, Mr Speaker, this day that our country is open to the citizens of Egypt and I make no conditions on our part. I think it is only proper and just that there should be a joint announcement on this matter. But, just as there are Egyptian flags in our streets, and there is also an honored delegation from Egypt in our capital and in our country, let the number of visitors increase; our border will be open to you, and also all the other borders.

And as I pointed out, we want this in the south and in the north and in the east. And so I am renewing my invitation to the president of Syria to follow in your footsteps, Mr President, and come to us to open negotiations for achieving peace between Israel and Syria and to sign a peace treaty between us. I am sorry to say but there is no justification for the mourning they have declared beyond our northern border. Quite the contrary, such visits, such links, such clarifications can and must be days of joy, days of lifting spirits for all the peoples. I invite King Husayn to come to us to discuss all the problems which need to be discussed between us. Also genuine representatives of the Arabs of Eretz Yisra'el, I invite them to come and hold talks with us to clarify our common future, to guarantee the freedom of man, social justice, peace, mutual respect. And if they invite us to go to their capitals, we will accept their invitations. If they invite us to open negotiations in Damascus, in Amman or in Beirut, we will go to those capitals in order to hold negotiations with them there. We do not want to divide. We want real peace with all our neighbors, to be expressed in peace treaties whose contents I have already made clear. [interruptions indistinct from the audience]

Mr Speaker, it is my duty today to tell our guest and the peoples watching us and listening to our words about the link between our people and this country. The president recalled the Balfour Declaration. No, sir, we did not take over any strange land; we returned to our homeland. The link between our people and this country is eternal. It arose in the earliest days of the history of humanity and has never been disrupted. In this country we developed our civilization, we had our prophets here, and their sacred words stand to this day. Here the kings of Judah and Israel knelt before their gods. This is where we became a people; here we established our kingdom. And when we were expelled from our land because of force which was used against us, the farther we went from our land, we never forgot this country for even a single day. We prayed for it, we longed for it, we believed in our return to it from the day the words were spoken: When the Lord restores the fortunes of Zion, we will be like dreamers. Our mouths will be filled with laughter, and our tongues will speak with shouts of joy. These verses apply to all our exiles and all our sufferings, giving the consolation that the return to Zion would come.

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This, our right, was recognized. The Balfour Declaration was included in the mandate laid down by the nations of the world, including the United States, and the preface to this recognized international document says: [speaks in English] "Whereas recognition has the Bible given to the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and to the grounds for reconstituting their national home in that country," [ends English]--the historic connection between the Jewish people and Palestine [in English]--or, in Hebrew, Eretz Yisra'el, was given reconfirmation--reconfirmation--as the national homeland in that country, that is, in Eretz Yisra'el.

In 1919 we also won recognition of this right by the spokesman of the Arab people and the agreement of 3 January 1919, which was signed by Emir Faysal and Hayyim Weizmann. It reads: [speaks in English] Mindful of the racial kinship and ancient bonds existing between the Arabs and the Jewish people and realizing that the surest means of working out the consummation of the national aspirations in the closest possible collaboration in the development of the Arab state and of Palestine. [ends English] And afterward come all the clauses about cooperation between the Arab state and Eretz Yisra'el. This is our right. The existence--truthful existence.

What happened to us when our homeland was taken from us? I accompanied you this morning, Mr President, to Yad Vashem. With your own eyes you saw the fate of our people when this homeland was taken from it. It cannot be told. Both of us agreed, Mr President, that anyone who has not seen with his own eyes everything there is in Yad Vashem cannot understand what happened to this people when it was without a homeland, when its own homeland was taken from it. And both of us read a document dated 30 January 1939, where the word "Vernichtung"--annihilation--appears. If war breaks out, the Jewish race in Europe will be exterminated. Then, too, we were told that we should not pay attention to the racists. The whole world heard. Nobody came to save us. Not during the 9 fateful, decisive months after the announcement was made, the like of which had not been seen since the Lord created man and man created the Devil.

And during those 6 years, too, when millions of our people, among them 1 and 1/2 million of the little children of Israel who were burned on all the strange beds [as heard], nobody came to save them, not from the East nor from the West. And because of this, we took a solemn oath, this entire generation, the generation of extermination and revival, that we would never again put our people in danger, that we would never again put our women and our children, whom it is our duty to defend--if there is a need for this, even at the cost of our lives--in the hell of the exterminating fire of an enemy. Since then, it has been our duty for generations to come to remember that certain things said about our people must be taken with complete seriousness. And we must not, heaven forbid, for the sake of the future of our people, take any advice whatsoever against taking these things seriously.

President as-Sadat knows, and he knew from us before he came to Jerusalem, that we have a different position from his with regard to the permanent borders between us and our neighbors. However, I say to the president of Egypt and to all our neighbors: Do not say, there is not negotiation, there will not be negotiations about any particular issue. I propose, with the agreement of the decisive majority of this parliament, that everything be open to negotiation. Anyone who says, with reference to relations between the Arab people, or the Arab peoples around us, and the State of Israel, that there are things which should be omitted from negotiations is taking upon himself a grave responsibility. Everything can be negotiated.

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No side will say the contrary. No side will present prior conditions. We will conduct the negotiations honorably. If there are differences of opinion between us, this is not unusual. Anyone who has studied the histories of wars and the signing of peace treaties knows that all negotiations over a peace treaty began with differences of opinion between the sides. And in the course of the negotiations they reached an agreement which permitted the signing of peace treaties and agreements. And this is the road which we propose to take.

And we will conduct the negotiations as equals. There are no vanquished and there are no victors. All the peoples of the area are equal and all them should treat each other with due respect. In this spirit of openness, of willingness to listen to each other, to hear the facts and the reasoning and the explanations, accepting all the experience of human persuasion, let us conduct the negotiations as I have asked and am proposing, open them and carry them out, carry them on constantly until we reach the longed-for hour of the signing of a peace treaty between us.

We are not only ready to sit with the representatives of Egypt, and also with the representatives of Jordan and Syria and Lebanon, if it is ready, we are ready to sit together at a peace conference in Geneva. We propose that the Geneva conference be renewed, on the basis of the two Security Council resolutions: 242 and 338. If there are problems between us by convening the Geneva conference, we will be able to clarify them. And if the president of Egypt wants to continue clarifying them in Cairo, I am for it. If in a neutral place, there is no objection. Let us clarify anywhere, even before the Geneva conference convenes, the problems which should be clarified before it is convened. And our eyes will be open and our ears will listen to all proposals.

Permit me to say a word about Jerusalem. Mr President, you prayed today in the house of prayer sacred to the Islamic religion, and from there you went to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. You realized, as those coming from all over the world have realized, that ever since this city was unified, there has been completely free access, without interference and without any obstacle, for the members of every religion to the places sacred to them. This positive phenomenon did not exist for 19 years. It has existed for about 11 years, and we can promise the Moslem world and the Christian world, all the peoples, that there will always be free access to the sacred places of every religion. We will defend this right to free access, for we believe in it. We believe in equal rights for all men and citizens and respect for every faith.

Mr Speaker, this is a special day for our legislative chamber, and certainly this day will be remembered for many years in the history of our nation, and perhaps also in the history of the Egyptian nation, maybe in the history of all nations. And this day, with your agreement, ladies and gentlemen, members of the Knesset, let us pray that the God of our fathers, our common fathers, will give us the wisdom needed to overcome difficulties and obstacles, calumnies and slander, incitement and attacks. And with the help of God, may we arrive at the longed-for day for which all our people pray--peace. For it is indeed true that the sweet singer of Israel [King David] said: "Righteousness and peace will kiss each other," and the Prophet Zachariah said: "Love, truth and peace." [applause]

Wilner Interjection at Knesset

TA201945 [Editorial Report TA] Jerusalem Domestic Television Service in Hebrew at 1543 GMT on 20 November, during its live coverage of the Knesset session called to hear President as-Sadat, shows the Knesset speaker calling on MK Shim'on Peres to deliver his speech. MK Wilner of the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality raises a point of order from the floor before Peres begins.

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His first words are indistinct but he can be heard to say: "... to propose to the Knesset that it accept the proposals brought by President as-Sadat to the people of Israel, to go to Geneva and, on this basis, to sign a peace treaty for the benefit of all peoples so that once and for all we will put and end to the wars and bloodshed."

The speaker replies: "Thank you, MK Wilner. This session was convened in accordance with Clause 56A of the rules. At such a meeting there are no conclusions, nor are there votes. The agenda has been decided by the Knesset committee and, therefore, I have no choice but to reject your proposal."

The speaker then again calls on MK Peres to make his speech.

Peres Knesset Speech

TA201910Y Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1545 GMT 20 Nov 77 TA

[Speech by opposition leader Shim'on Peres to Knesset on 20 November in Jerusalem--live]

[Text] Mr Speaker, Mr President of the Arab Republic of Egypt, Mr President of the State of Israel, members of Knesset, guests: I am not speaking today in the name of the opposition but on behalf of what unites our people. Among our people there is no opposition to peace, and even though there are differences about a possible and desirable settlement, there are no differences about the urgent need for a peace settlement. Mr President, as you could feel wherever you went, our people are united in their desire for peace at last, a full peace, a real peace.

We are also united in welcoming your visit to Jerusalem--the city of faith, peace and unity, a city of hope and prayer. Your coming here is something new, a move by a leader of vision. The leader of Egypt is mapping out a path for the Arabs; he is the representative of a long and illustrious history. Mainly, it is a move that must not be wasted. You have manifested courage in taking the risk of abandoning old habits and inflexible ways for a new opening and a new way of approach. In war one also takes risks, but the opportunities it provides are always bitter. In wars even the winners pay a high price. If we take a risk to bring about peace, losses may also be involved.

Your coming signifies a new beginning. I promise you that all of us will try to free ourselves from preconceptions in order to see things in a new light and against a new background. We will support any move that the Israeli Government adopts for the sake of a peace settlement, and we will continue to contribute as much as we can so that your visit here is a real success for the sake of our peoples and for the sake of peace.

Mr President, I listened very attentively to your remarks. I could not agree with some of what you said, not in regard to peace--we have a different view--and not in regard to a settlement. However, all negotiations begin with disagreement. We will listen to you and you will listen to us.

We can find either a compromise on a third path that we have not thought about--neither you nor we. Therefore, there is great importance in this dialog from this podium.

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In your standing here on the podium of our Knesset, together with the prime minister of Israel, before the elected representatives of our people--its Jewish, Moslem, Christian and Druze residents--we can feel that a moment of breathtaking opportunity in the process of history has been created as hundreds of millions of peace-loving people are watching us now and following every moment of this visit. Millions of viewers and thousands of years of history are directed toward this podium--Egyptian history and Jewish history. You and we are advancing the oldest histories of mankind--a history that has known conflict and cooperation, a history full of suffering, a history that knows hope. From the heights of the most famous of man's buildings--the Pyramids--from the pages of the oldest of man's writing--the Bible--the piercing question of whether or not we will be able to reach the real heights in the goals of life is being posed so that we will be able to escape the distress of war into the wide open spaces of peace, as we have been released from the burden of slavery to the nadir of liberty.

It is not only a long past that binds us but also a great future. The eyes of millions of anxious Egyptian, Syrian, Jordanian, Palestinian and Jewish mothers are upon this podium to learn if we can tell them and their children that there will no longer be war, no more threats, no more bereavement, destruction and refugees and that, beginning now, there is a chance for the youth of our peoples to be able to grow up in an atmosphere free from fear, enmity and the threat of catastrophe. We are all awaiting the message that wisdom has overcome enmity and that political art has overcome military doctrine.

Your coming here is a part of this job. You and we exist and are talking with each other, without even solving the differences of opinion between us. Your coming has created a possibility that did not exist before--a possibility for which, if we know how to invest even part of the effort in peace that we invested in the army, your visit will be remembered forever as the beginning for which we waited.

Members of the Knesset, we have waited for this moment--for this visit--for 30 years. We have always believed that face-to-face meetings between leaders of peoples would create the conditions for fruitful dialog and momentum that will bring peace. Peace, Mr President, is not only in the treetops but also at the grassroots; it is for politicians, poets, workers, academicians, children, adults--for all of us, in life, in books and in work.

The prime minister spoke of this, as all previous prime ministers have spoken of and developed such an approach. David Ben-Gurion said that there is no conflict between us and the Egyptian people. We do not want to continue the anarchy that exists in relations with Egypt. We are ready to negotiate a comprehensive peace, cooperation and neighborly relations under the condition that there be direct negotiations without prior conditions, without imposition by any side. Sharett and Eshkol repeated the hope that the days of glory when Jews and Arabs together contributed to the culture of mankind can be renewed. Mrs Meir, may she have a long life, said: "I am appealing to the Egyptian president as the president of a great people with a proposal that we meet as equals and make a joint supreme effort to achieve a solution to all the disputed problems." Mr Yizhaq Rabin declared a readiness to meet with any Arab head of government at any time and at any place for the sake of peace talks.

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Ever since 1973, we have found solutions which none of us had expected in advance. Through the mediation of our friends the Americans, we agreed to sign--and you mentioned this--an agreement, the interim agreement of 1974, and a settlement on the way to a settlement in 1975. These agreements were criticized at the time. It was claimed that Israel was giving up very concrete things, withdrawing from territories that appeared to it to be essential while Egypt and Syria agreed to things which were basically political--a promise of calm in the field, renewal of life in the region and a striving toward peace. We would not have been able to do this had we not decided to believe that Egypt, the Egyptian president and the Egyptian people were headed in the direction of peace.

Peace requires attempts to conduct dialog. It also calls for patience: we must not deny this. It requires a response to the expectations of many citizens in both countries. You must also take some risks, even at the price of security and the danger of war, for the benefit of man, the improvement of society, the development of agriculture, the expansion of industry, the advance of science and the raising of the standard of living of every citizen. We preferred, as did you, the U.S. proposals, which were shuttled back and forth by plane, to the menacing intervention of the USSR, which could have contributed to peace but instead prepared for war.

Your visit here cuts across precedent and the ways of yesterday. [Peres is interrupted at this point and his next remark is addressed to the individual who interrupted.] I admit that you are an expert in falseness, but you do not have to interrupt all the time. [Peres returns to his speech]

Your promise that everything is open to discussion gives your visit real, strong and immediate content. The desire to discuss your proposals with good will and to take a proper step forward brings the horizon closer. Everyone, we and you, will express his opinions and we will find a common path.

I am speaking on behalf of the Israeli labor movement, a movement which, from the day of its inception to the present, has not ceased to believe in peace and good human relations between the workers at home and the peoples abroad. I am convinced that the socialist movements of the world, including the Egyptian socialist movement, are not simply trade union class movements but peoples' movements which believe that the worker cannot do well unless his country is doing well. They are not only national but also universal movements. They support humane and democratic socialism to liberate man from oppression, exploitation and discrimination, and to liberate the peoples from tyranny and enmity. All efforts must be synchronized for this purpose which includes the dignity of man, the justice of his society and world peace.

On this podium we must say to each other, directly and without deceit, what things must be done and what moves must be made for the sake of peace, over and above listening to the opinions of each and every one of us, and without rejecting any system or means that might lead to peace. Whether we use a gradual approach or a step-by-step policy--country by country, or one country side by side with another--or whether we take one big comprehensive step, the aim must be a permanent peace, a full peace, a real peace with all and among all. This must include the exchange of ambassadors and political, economic and commercial relations, as is the case with peoples living in peace. Peace must be founded on direct relations between the Arab peoples and the Jewish people, without any external barriers, without dependence on fronts or without barriers imported from outside. We must be a country living next to our neighbors as a citizen lives next to his friend, similar to the situation between the peoples of Europe today, for example, between the Scandinavian countries which long knew enmity but have achieved a high level of dialog without blurring the identity of each.

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Each and every people, Mr President, will determine its own identity and will have the ability to manifest its identity, to pray to its God, to educate its children in the spirit of its heritage, to express its own opinion, to move freely, and to be in contact with members of other peoples, respecting the equality between people, honoring the differences between groups of people and avoiding turning equality into privilege and difference into violence. There is no choice but for peace to be based on mutual compromise as opposed to war which is built on one-sided decisions.

We will support an honorable and real compromise and we will not demand that any of the parties make compromises in one sphere--in its self-defense capability. We have announced that we are willing to make compromises with each of the Arab countries--territorial compromises--as long as this does not endanger our security, just as our neighbors would not want their own security to be endangered. What we gain in the sphere of peace we will be able to save in the sphere of security, but peace will exist between us while security will exist for each of us.

What is important is that we are not seeking the involvement of foreign forces in our region. We have rejected them during periods that were difficult for us and we are not seeking them in a period in which the changes for peace, I believe, have increased. Peace must create permanent and recognized borders and must provide an answer to the refugee problem. There are refugees on both sides. A third of Israel's residents came from Arab countries. They are not refugees; they are residents in all respects. About half of the Palestinians live between the Jordan River and the sea. Most of them are residents, but some of them are refugees. With joint efforts we will be able to raise them all to a new standard of living, to a new life in which there is no refugee nor reject but residents living normally in all respects.

We are prepared to advance toward peace in any settlement that is desirable for all of us--with every country separately or with all countries in parallel. We recognize that Egypt has a senior leadership status in the Arab world and in the whole region, and in the final analysis peace can be based on a progressive unity between the peoples so that they will not be stuck with a wedge dividing them. We have to replace the unities that created enmity with a new unity that will create peace.

As far as can be seen, Mr President, there is no reason between us and Egypt, no shadow of a reason, to continue any sort of dispute. We are convinced that we have the strength to straighten out the things in dispute, or those apparently in dispute, within the foreseeable future. The enmity between us was an extended mistake, and an arrangement between us is within reach.

There is no reason for a dispute between us and Jordan. We have had a taste of the Jordanian shells, but we have also had a taste of open bridges. We regret those shells, but we are also convinced that over the open bridges can come a real campaign of peace, with no obstacles.

We are prepared to conduct negotiations for a lasting peace with the Syrians. It is possible to reach a speedy peace agreement with Lebanon. And let us not hide it, let us not disregard it; we are aware of the existence of the Palestinian identity. Every people has the right to decide its own identity and this does not depend on the authorization of another nation. But the granting of expression to the Palestinian identity must be done without endangering Israel's security.

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I can also say that Jordan--no, that is not my affair. We have already seen how civilized nations found ways and solutions to the problem of different identities on one piece of land near another piece of land without having bitterness dictate the solution, a way of existing side by side in peace, every unit under its own leadership, running its own affairs, within existing political frameworks, which make it possible to live. The holy places, economic needs and the security circumstances demand extra openheartedness. No border whatsoever must prevent an approach to the holy places. The drawing up of a political map should not distort an economic map, and security needs must not interfere with the spiritual legacy of each one of our nations.

Negotiations for peace can be held anywhere, any time, in any way. They can be held at Geneva, in Cairo, in Jerusalem. They can be open; they can be secret; they can be direct; they can be intermingled with the participation of countries which will be called to them. They can be intensive; they can be gradual. The only thing which must not be is for them to fail.

Mr President, we are very proud of our enterprise in Israel. History has been kind to the Egyptian people. They were never exiled from their country. History was not kind to us, and we knew suffering, insult and holocaust. We continued to exist by the strength of prayer and the longing for and the love of Zion.

Today, you are an honored and majestic guest on the soil of our country. We very much respect the new renaissance, in fact, the revolution of the great independence which you and your generation have brought to the Egyptian people and to the Arab world. This renaissance and revival aroused hidden energies which we thought had already been lost and forgotten in our long history. But much energy was also wasted in the tragic conflict between the two peoples. Let us put an end to it. Let us reunite our strengths while we remain faithful, each of us to his own way, his own belief, his own dream. We should cooperate and together turn the area into the most fruitful area in the world, into the most flourishing society which this area has ever known. As the Prophet Jeremiah said 2,500 years ago: "You shall not see the sword, nor shall you have famine, but I will give you assured peace in this place."

You covered the distance from Ismailia to Lod in less than an hour. We did not know how our meeting would turn out. As you know, it is hard to remember a single hour like that, when, in the eyes of almost the whole world, a great distance almost disappeared. It was a beautiful hour in all our lives. We feel that this is a great moment which must be a moment of truth. We will have to concede things we want and you, Mr President, will have to concede things you want and we will meet anywhere that it is possible to build peace.

The long and bitter years of enmity have united us all. There is no issue between Israel and Egypt that cannot be resolved peacefully. We must all work so that your dramatic, brave mission of peace, a mission we have long hoped for, will bear fruit and history will record this moment as a moment of creation of a new wisdom, the time when we began to make peace. There must be a will that a beautiful time will now begin, common to all of us in the Middle East. We will establish unity for peace, because peace unites all of us.

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## W. Bankers Praise As-Sadat

TA201955Y Jerusalem Domestic Television Service in Hebrew 1900 GMT 20 Nov 77 TA

[Text] There was great satisfaction in Judaea and Samaria with President as-Sadat's speech. Our correspondent Rafiq Halabi took an informal poll in the streets and all those asked answered positively. Our correspondent also spoke with several notables in the West Bank and they also expressed satisfaction with As-Sadat's remarks. Anwar an-Nusaybah, who was minister of defense in the Jordanian Government, said in reply to a question: I would not change one word.

## Bethlehem Mayor's Comment

TA202058Y Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 2000 GMT 20 Nov 77 TA

[Text] Bethlehem Mayor Kiyas Frayj has said that As-Sadat's speech was sincere and a work of diplomatic thinking. As for the mention of the Palestine problem, Frayj told our correspondent Arye Gus that from the very beginning there was no foundation for the fears of the Palestinians prior to the visit, and it has now been shown that he spoke with great force and in clear terms on this issue.

The mayor of Bethlehem was not among the group of notables who came to greet As-Sadat at the airport yesterday. All the mayors in the occupied territories were invited, but none of them responded.

## Egyptian Journalist Quoted

NC201223Y Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1200 GMT 20 Nov 77 NC

[Text] An Egyptian journalist close to President as-Sadat has told our correspondent Anver Tavori that the Egyptian president decided to visit Israel after the publication of the U.S.-Soviet statement. According to the journalist, As-Sadat was surprised by the statement and feared the possibility of the Soviets returning to the Middle East.

He also said that As-Sadat wants to leave Jerusalem with Israeli recognition of a Palestinian entity, but not under the leadership of the PLO. He is seeking recognition of the local leadership of the Palestinians in Judaea and Samaria, granting of the broadest possible authority to such a leadership, and a territorial solution in the spirit of the views of Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan, that is to say, military outposts on the mountain ridges and not along the Jordan River.

## As-Sadat Meets Weizman

TA202049Y Jerusalem Domestic Television Service in Hebrew 1900 GMT 20 Nov 77 TA

[Text] After the ceremonial Knesset session this afternoon, President as-Sadat had a courtesy meeting with Defense Minister Ezer Weizman, who, limping slightly, made a special trip to the Knesset from the hospital--the hospital where he was hospitalized after the road accident in which he was recently involved.

## As-Sadat Expresses Optimism

TA201909Y Paris AFP in English 1628 GMT 20 Nov 77 TA

[Text] Jerusalem, Nov 20 (AFP)--Egyptian President Anwar as-Sadat declared here today that he was an optimist by nature, and that he was particularly optimistic at this point of his visit to Israel.

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"Negotiations are not carried out with speeches," Mr as-Sadat told an Israeli radio interviewer. "The real work begins now."

The Egyptian leader was on his way to a working dinner accompanied by Israeli Premier Menahem Begin, who said he shared Mr as-Sadat's optimism.

#### Festive Dinner Reported

TA202113Y [Editorial Report] Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew at 2047 GMT on 20 November continues live and recorded coverage of As-Sadat's visit. The correspondent at the King David Hotel reports on the festive Israeli-Egyptian dinner underway. The correspondent says: "Each delegation--both the Israeli and the Egyptian--consists of 15 people. In addition to President Anwar as-Sadat, the Egyptian delegation consists of: Mustafa Khalil Kamal, the first secretary of the Egyptian Arab Socialist Union and deputy prime minister; Muhammad Hasan at-Tuhami, deputy prime minister at the presidential palace; Hasan Ahmad Kamil, head of the president's office; Dr Butrus Ghali, acting foreign minister; Sa'd Muhammad Ahmad, minister of manpower and vocational training; 'Uthman Ahmad 'Uthman, member of parliament and head of the group of members of parliament from Sinai--in the past he was minister of building, construction and development and we have learned that he is very close to President as-Sadat--Mustafa Kamil Murad, leader of the opposition Socialist Liberal Party; Fawzi 'Abd al-Hafiz, private secretary to President as-Sadat; Lt Gen Muhammad Sa'id al-Mahdi, chief aide-de-camp; Ahmad Fu'ad Taymur, chief of protocol; 'Abd al-Bari Sulayman, member of parliament from the center party; and Dr Usamah al-Baz, member of the foreign ministry with the rank of ambassador. At the end of the list are two Bedouin members of parliament from Sinai--Salim al-Yamani and 'Uthman Shibli."

#### Begin Comments on Talks

TA202357Y Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 2240 GMT 20 Nov 77 TA

[Text] It has just been reported that the closed meeting between Prime Minister Menahem Begin and the president of Egypt, Anwar as-Sadat, finished a few minutes ago. At the end of the meeting our correspondent Avner Tavori spoke with Prime Minister Menahem Begin: [begin recording]

[Tavori] Can we hear, at the end of this evening...

[Begin] We had a talk this evening, just the two of us, and you certainly do not expect me to tell a third person, like you, in the complete intimacy of the radio, what we discussed, what we told each other. What I can point out is that it was an excellent talk, really good. I think that we advanced the cause of peace. We also advanced relations between the two peoples. I will not claim that we solved all our problems, but I can truly say that there was an advance. He will go back to Egypt tomorrow a satisfied man. I am happy that he is satisfied. And for us it is right that he is satisfied.

Tomorrow we will issue an agreed announcement. You will see it. It is very good. We will issue it tomorrow at the press conference and the main thing is that we promise in it, I can tell you, a continuation of the dialog toward the making of peace, toward negotiations of a peace treaty, with both Egypt and the countries around us.

[Tavori] Is there any mention of an invitation to you to visit Cairo as a continuation of this dialog?

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[Begin] I would say, for the moment, not yet, not yet, and we also spoke about this matter and this is not the most important thing. But what I can tell you is that there will be a continuation of the dialog. His visit which will come to about 35 hours--now it is after all only about 24 hours since he arrived--in a short time has borne fruit, particularly in preventing war and in the hope of making peace.

[Unidentified correspondent] Do you think this has prevented war?

[Begin] Yes, I think so.

[Tavori] Was there any mention of cooperation between Israel and Egypt at lower levels, on more professional, economic issues?

[Begin] I will not go into detail but the dialog will continue.

[Unidentified correspondent] Mr Begin, I have a request for you. The Egyptian president passed over the Israeli television, though he gave something to all the U.S. television networks here in Israel, he did not give the Israeli television...

[Begin] I am prepared to speak with him tomorrow, although I will see him only between 1100 and 1200...[Begin interrupted here, words indistinct] at the press conference because I will not intervene in his parliamentary discussions. I will be in my office tomorrow, but I will gladly ask him to give you an interview. He accepted my proposal for a joint interview with Barbara Walters, and as a result of that, I agreed, at his request, to give a joint interview to Cronkite.

[Unidentified correspondent] So he owes you something...

[Begin] No.

[Interruption from a few correspondents, words indistinct]

[Begin] But it is interesting that in the United States there will be two unprecedented interviews tomorrow, with the president of Egypt and me sitting, in fact, on one sofa, talking, exchanging views, with understanding, with smiles, in friendship. And if there are differences of opinion, we admit it openly. There are such. Between friends there are differences of opinion. After all, we are still in a state of war. And, as I said before, this is unprecedented. This has never happened before.

What do we say here about everything? This is the first time in 2,000 years; here, then, it is the first time in 2,000 years that the president of Egypt has sat with the prime minister of Israel, talking together--together! Not separately, me in Jerusalem and him in Cairo; both of us are in Jerusalem, not only in Jerusalem, in one hotel; not just in one hotel, in one room; not only in one room, on one sofa. And from time to time we also exchanged jokes and sayings, and both of laughed. We laughed a lot. In the interview with Barbara Walters and in the interview with Cronkite, both the interviewers enjoyed themselves very much, first of all because both of them got the interview and there was no longer any competition between them, and between us there was an atmosphere that has never existed before in relations between any Arab country and Israel.

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[Tavori] Would you say that a basis has been created for personal relations, a personal basis for relations between you and President as-Sadat?

[Begin] Yes. I raised a glass to him and he replied. I noticed that his reply was really friendly. He also called me by name. "Our friend the prime minister," he said, "I am filled with gratitude to him for having permitted me to appear at the Knesset, to see you all here." These really were very beautiful phrases.

[Tavori] What impression did you have of his speech in the Knesset?

[Begin] He said some very fine things. For example, he said: "Do not forget that the last war should really be the last, and there should be no more wars between us." But there were things to which I frankly reacted. I expressed our view, which is different from his. There were, I would say, ideas expressed even strongly and I did not hesitate to express my view. I mean what I mean.

[Tavori] Mr Begin, President as-Sadat did not refer to the PLO in the speech, and you did not speak of a Palestinian state in your speech. Is there any significance in this?

[Begin] With regard to the first thing, you should ask him and you will undoubtedly be given the chance, since you have, after all, asked for my help in obtaining an interview from him for Israeli television. I did agree...[interruption about the radio, too, and Begin agrees] I want to say that I think that if he decided not to refer to that organization, that is good.

Ghali, Khalil Quoted

TA210147Y Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 2400 GMT 20 Nov 77 TA

[Text] The acting foreign minister of Egypt, Butrus Ghali, thinks that As-Sadat's visit has been very positive and has helped to dispel mutual suspicions which have existed for 30 years. In a talk with our correspondent Alan Ben-Ami, Butrus Ghali said that, in his view, there could now be a real advance toward peace.

Mustafa Khalil, the secretary of the ruling party of Egypt, the Arab Socialist Party, told our correspondent that he had been particularly impressed on his visit to Israel by the people's desire for peace. He hoped that after the speeches in the Knesset more real moves would follow.

POST on Knesset Reaction

TA210729Y Jerusalem POST in English 21 Nov 77 pp 1, 2 TA

[By POST diplomatic correspondent David Landau]

[Text] A distinct sense of disappointment pervaded the Knesset yesterday following the historic speeches from the podium. In part it was the inevitable anti-climax after the dramatic spectacle of the Egyptian president's regal entry into the Israeli parliament--the high point of his visit here. In part, too, it was a reaction to As-Sadat's unequivocal demands for total Israeli withdrawal and the establishment of a Palestinian state as prerequisites for peace--demands which jarred, to Israeli ears, with his repeated assurances that an era of peace, security, recognition and cooperation could be at hand.

But mainly the disappointment was occasioned by Premier Begin's speech, which MK's from all parties considered a poor effort that would fail to capture the imagination of the tens of millions around the world to whom it had been broadcast.

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"He did not rise to the occasion," "an opportunity missed," "a black day for us," "very weak...." --these were some of the reactions culled from opposition and coalition members.

These comments referred more to the "public relations" aspect of the speech than to its specific political content. The widespread feeling was that while As-Sadat has scored a major PR triumph by his visit to Jerusalem--and had sustained it in a speech which, though substantively tough, had been couched in terms of yearning for peace--Begin had failed to meet the challenge. His own speech, referring back to biblical history and to the recent Jewish tragedy of the Holocaust, seemed to dwell insufficiently on the future vision of peace and prosperity which appeared to permeate As-Sadat's remarks.

Several MK's (none of those who criticized Begin would do so for the record, explaining that that would be unsporting and unpatriotic so long as As-Sadat was still here) faulted the premier for ad-libbing instead of preparing a text in advance. Begin is acknowledged on all sides of the house as a masterful orator. But even a master can have an off day; and yesterday, according to many members, was such a day for Begin. Had he had a prepared text, he would have emerged better from the encounter.

Sources close to the premier maintained after the speeches that "what is important is not public speeches, but private talks....Not all of them, moreover, conceded that Begin's speech had been a flop. Some said the critics were being "toosophisticated" and that his emphasis on the Bible and the Holocaust would go down well with the millions of lay listeners unschooled in the intricacies of Middle Eastern politics.

Political observers noted that the premier had been careful not to enter into public polemics with As-Sadat. He merely stressed that nothing should be ruled out as "non-negotiable" by any party. (As-Sadat had said that total Israeli withdrawal was taken for granted and not open to negotiation.) Even on Jerusalem Begin had been deliberately restrained, the observers noted, merely pointing out that Israeli rule had ensured free access to the holy places while prior Jordanian rule had not.

Observers noted, too, that As-Sadat, while uncompromising on the territorial issue, omitted any direct reference to the Palestine Liberation Organization. This was seen as something of a gesture on his part, knowing as he must that the vast majority of the house has flatly rejected any dealings with the PLO.

Several Israeli sources expressed grief over what they considered to be a threatening undertone in parts of the Egyptian leader's address. One source said Premier Begin had been particularly upset by this and it had perhaps contributed to the stiffness of his own speech.

#### Walters Interviews Two Leaders

TA210043Y Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 2210 GMT 20 Nov 77 TA

[Text] In their first joint interview, both the president of Egypt and the prime minister of Israel said that talks between Israel and Egypt would be held on various levels in various capitals in the world. They also said that the convening of the Geneva conference was very possible and that one should deal with substance and not be held up by procedural matters. These things were said in an interview with the correspondent of the U.S. ABC television network, Barbara Walters. Our political correspondent Shalom Qital was the only Israeli journalist on the spot during that interview. Here is his report: [begin recording]

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[Qital] We are in the small hall on the committees' floor of the Knesset, which has become a tiny television studio for a short time. There are very few people here, members of the crew and members of the president's and the prime minister's offices. This is one of the rare cases when the atmosphere surrounding a political interview may be more important than the content of the things said here. Imagine to yourselves: President as-Sadat taking out his pipe and lighting it with Menahem Begin smiling at his side, and the blonde broadcaster in a white dress, Barbara Walters, is directing her crew and, while doing so, not forgetting to get the two heroes of this play whose story is being written during the show to sign on the page of questions in her hand. When the interview begins, the two of them, As-Sadat and Begin, are in a good mood.

[Walters, speaking in English, answered by a great deal of laughter, but words are indistinct; after a few sentences Qital cues in in Hebrew]

When Barbara Walters asks about differences of opinion, As-Sadat takes out his pipe, tamps it, and says: You are always like that, Barbara. Everyone laughs. And when it emerges from his words that there are after all differences of opinion, Prime Minister Begin says: I agree with President as-Sadat. He answered correctly. This is how disputes always go. At first there are differences of opinion. This is how the negotiations began when we discussed peace treaties after the two world wars, too. And President as-Sadat also agrees that this really happened in the disengagement agreements. And when they speak about the sensitive issue of Jerusalem, you hear real negotiations in front of the cameras.

[Extract from English interview, fading into Hebrew]

The Arabs, Christian or Moslem, had sovereignty over the Arab part of Jerusalem before 1967. They will not agree at all that the sovereignty should be Jewish, says As-Sadat. This is a fact which cannot be denied and we must take it into account, the Egyptian president says.

Mr President, Menahem Begin replies, Israel will insist on the unity of Jerusalem. I do not think, Mr President, Begin says, that you will want to partition the city again, to make a buffer as before 1967. I think that this is one city. All cities are united: Cairo is united, Paris, London. Why should Jerusalem not be united? There will be free passage for everyone to his place, to his point, Begin says.

As-Sadat answers: I agree to free passage. I said that this was a problem.

Begin says: We will discuss this, and then Barbara Walters intervenes and says: Why do you not go on with this debate here? And they smile, no not in front of the television cameras.

Barbara Walters asks President as-Sadat: How is it possible to begin negotiations when you are not willing to give up an inch of Arab land? She asks: Are you prepared to give up an inch of Arab land?

No, frankly, no, As-Sadat replies, but this does not mean, he says, that one should not try. Barbara Walters asks: I do not understand. If there is nothing to give up, what is there to discuss? As-Sadat says: We will do our best. You should not take the hard line as the end, he says. Just as Prime Minister Begin said, we can sit down and talk. Nobody knows what will happen next week.

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When Walters asks As-Sadat if after this visit the state of war will have ended, he says: No. To my regret, we are still in a state of war.

Prime Minister Begin, asked the same question, says: We want to stop the state of war.

Barbara Walters asks: You are ready for an exchange of ambassadors? No, not yet. It is not yet possible to exchange ambassadors, says As-Sadat. Not before we reach the end of the state of war, not before we sign peace treaties.

Before the interview with Barbara Walters, when they were coming out of the prime minister's office, I asked President as-Sadat to say a few exclusive words for Israeli radio:

[Qital, recorded in English] How were the talks with Prime Minister Begin until now?

[As-Sadat, in English] Well, we didn't really start our talks. We have yesterday had a small session after I arrived in the hotel. Today we had, during this working lunch, but the real part of our talks start today only at the Knesset.

[Qital, in English] Do you think, Mr President, that peace is now about to reach the Middle East?

[As-Sadat, in English] Well, I am always optimistic. You must have heard me. I am optimistic by nature.

[Begin, in English] I share the president's optimism. [end recording]

Begin, Dayan in AL-JUMHURIYAH

NC210848Y Cairo MENA in Arabic 0715 GMT 21 Nov 77 NC

[Text] Cairo, 21 November--In a statement to the newspaper AL-JUMHURIYAH after his meeting with President as-Sadat for their second round of talks last night in the King David Hotel, Israeli Prime Minister Menahem Begin said that the talks were constructive and good. Begin affirmed that the talks were conducted on the basis of proposals made by both sides.

AL-JUMHURIYAH asked Begin whether Israel had submitted new proposals. He said: There are new proposals constantly and continuously. AL-JUMHURIYAH asked whether they had discussed the Palestine problem. Begin replied: We discussed all the subjects. He described the talks as very beneficial.

In a special statement to AL-JUMHURIYAH, Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan, who also took part in the talks, said that President as-Sadat really wants to achieve peace and that the aim of As-Sadat's current visit is to promote the process of peace and to find all the ways that could lead to peace. This is very encouraging because this is the desire of us all as well.

Dayan told AL-JUMHURIYAH: During the talks we defined possible means to overcome the problem. After his return to Egypt President as-Sadat will have a clear idea about the ways to continue the contacts. Dayan added: We, too, want to continue the process.

He described his impressions of the talks as positive. He refused to give details about the proposals which were made in the talks. He said: We discussed all the possibilities of movement toward peace.

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## POST Reports Further Reaction

TA210817Y Jerusalem POST in English 21 Nov 77 p 1 TA

[By POST Mideast affairs editor Anan Safadi]

[Text] Egyptian President Anwar as-Sadat and Prime Minister Menahem Begin last night decided to maintain open channels between Egypt and Israel in pursuit of a Middle East peace settlement.

The two leaders are expected to make an announcement to this effect today at the end of the Egyptian leader's three-day visit to Israel.

Fiance Minister Simha Ehrlich told the Jerusalem POST on emerging from working dinner with As-Sadat and his aides that "everything is going to be all right. I'm very optimistic." Interior Minister Yosef Burg told the POST: "I'm an idealist. One has to be cautious, but I believe there has been a thrust."

Associates of both As-Sadat and Begin said that much room for manoeuvre remained to further the "spectacular peace initiative the Egyptian leader has just launched," despite their divergent public statements. (The Egyptian leader demanded total Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories and the creation of a Palestinian state, while Begin spoke of the right of the Jews to Eretz Yishra'el and stressed the experience of the Holocaust.)

The associates said that at both the working lunch and the working dinner As-Sadat and Begin discussed in depth the possibility of narrowing gaps between their positions, particularly on the issues of territory and the Palestinian political future. Associates of both sides noted that, in contrast to previous policy statements, As-Sadat did not once mention the Palestine Liberation Organization, with which Israel refuses to deal.

The high-ranking associates said that the two leaders had no agenda, nor had they any working papers, contrary to reports by international TV, radio and agency networks. They stressed that As-Sadat and Begin had not gone into specifics on the Middle East conflict and that deliberations on particular issues would be followed up in future communications.

A top aide to As-Sadat claimed that contrary to Arab public statements As-Sadat was being "open-minded and open-hearted" over the issues of Palestinian autonomy and territory taken by Israel in 1967.

Meanwhile, aides to the Egyptian president voiced disappointment at Prime Minister Begin's Knesset speech, which they said, signalled no readiness for compromises. At the same time they ~~praised the address by~~ **opposed** ~~leader~~ **Shim'on Peres**. They saw it as a pledge for the strong pursuit of peace in appreciation of As-Sadat's dramatic address to Israel.

(They reportedly observed to As-Sadat that there had been many mistakes in the simultaneous interpretation of As-Sadat's speech into Hebrew and Begin's speech into Arabic.)

The same aides went on to say that for his part, As-Sadat is determined to go ahead with the peace initiative. They said that they would leave here encouraged by Israel's reaction to the initiative, noting that what remains important is the magnitude of the event and the content of private conversations between As-Sadat and Begin.

As-Sadat said in an interview with Barbara Walters: "The first step towards peace has been taken. It's an irreversible process. I don't know how and when it will happen, but we will search and struggle for a solution and find a way to peace."

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## Invitation to Israeli Translators

TA210810Y Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 0800 GMT 21 Nov 77 TA

[Text] Members of the Egyptian delegation this morning extended an invitation to those responsible for the simultaneous translations in Jerusalem, requesting that they organize similar translations that are due to take place in Cairo during the expected visit by Prime Minister Menahem Begin. Our correspondent Yona Cohen reports that this is the exact version of the request, and those in charge of the simultaneous translation in Jerusalem naturally answered in the affirmative.

## Morning Press Comment

TA210555Y Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 0300 GMT 21 Nov 77 TA

[Review of Morning press]

[Text] Our morning papers give their views on the visit in banner headlines. Each paper gives special emphasis from its own point of view to the speeches in the Knesset yesterday. Thus 'AL HAMISHMAR stresses, in its headline on As-Sadat's speech, the sentence in which the Egyptian president said: We accept you as an existing fact. The Jerusalem POST prefers to stress that there will not be a separate peace treaty. DAVAR points to the matter of full withdrawal and [words indistinct] for the Palestinians, as does HAMODI'A. SHE'ARIM notes that As-Sadat has returned to his well-known positions, while HA'AREZ stresses in its main headline that As-Sadat and Begin presented opposing positions in the Knesset.

As for the results of the visit, each paper also has its own views. HAZOFE says the prime minister will be ready to accept As-Sadat's proposals on the founding of an Israeli-Arab preparatory committee to prepare for Geneva. DAVAR also notes that agreements are to be expected on the matter of working groups before Geneva and also on the question of Palestinian representation at the conference. The paper comments that up to now Begin has not been invited to Cairo, but 'AL HAMISHMAR proclaims in its main headline that As-Sadat apparently is going to invite Begin today for a return visit.

The Jerusalem POST's main headline notes "Progress Toward Peace in Late Talk." According to this English-language paper, the two leaders agreed tonight on the opening of regular channels of contact between Israel and Egypt. The report says that an official announcement on this will be issued today. HA'AREZ relates that President As-Sadat instructed Egyptian ambassadors in all countries that they are entitled to hold contacts without prior conditions with their Israeli counterparts. This paper says that at the center of the talks in Jerusalem was an attempt to renew the Geneva conference and that it is possible that nothing more was achieved from the visit than a formula for the renewal of the conference.

As for reaction in the Arab world, 'AL HAMISHMAR notes in a bold headline that the strength of the criticism of the Egyptian president has weakened since his speech in the Knesset. The Jerusalem POST also thinks that in his speech As-Sadat pushed his Arab opponents into a corner. This is because the storm of Arab criticism that As-Sadat intended to sell out the Arabs made the Egyptian leader make a hardline and aggressive speech.

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With regard to other reaction, HA'AREZ says that optimism in Western Europe lessened after the speeches in the Knesset. The speeches were being interpreted there as a repeat of well-known positions, and this was disappointing. The Jerusalem POST says that the speeches were received with disappointment in the Knesset itself. 'AL HAMISHMAR stresses the historic stand and says that it was one of the Knesset's (?finest) hours. DAVAR thinks that Begin did not gain what he could have gained in world public opinion. The paper says that the foreign correspondents had expected some sort of a gesture from Begin. DAVAR goes on to point out that the foreign correspondents paid Shim'on Peres many compliments for having given his appearance a tone of moderation. Another report in DAVAR notes that following As-Sadat's speech the miracle did not continue. Yet, even when the tough speech was heard, the paper's correspondent says, many people refused to believe that the miracle was not continuing.

Comments by W. Bank Representatives

TA210904Y Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 0750 GMT 21 Nov 77 TA

[From open newsreel]

[Text] President as-Sadat had a brief meeting this morning with a number of representatives from the territories. Let us first hear what Hikmat al-Masri had to say:  
[begin recording]

[Al-Masri, in English] I am very much satisfied, and it was not new to me what he said yesterday. Whenever I meet him in Cairo or in any place, he used to tell me the same thing, that the crux of the problem of the Middle East is the Palestinian problem. And he is after withdrawal. He said "withdrawal," "the Palestinian state." He said it yesterday; and the termination of war between the Arabs and Israel.  
[followed by Hebrew translation]

[Correspondent] As for Israeli Prime Minister Menahem Begin's answer, Al-Masri said [from Hebrew translation]: I regret his answer, but I did not expect anything else.

Here is Elyas Frayj's statement:

[Frayj, in English] I agree 100 percent with his speech last night, and I respect him very much. I would tell him that in his speech he expressed our feeling toward this crisis. And I wish him good luck in achieving a just and durable peace between Arabs and Jews in this area. [followed by Hebrew translation]

Asked if the president expected West Bank residents to take part at the talks, or if he thought that the PLO alone should represent the West Bank residents, Frayj replied: I am convinced the Palestinian representation must also include representatives from the held territories. As for Begin's statement, the prime minister expressed his old and known views. As-Sadat, on the other hand, made his statement at the Knesset, and this constitutes a historical event. We also expected more openness in Begin's statement. However, this was not so.

The third interviewee was Anwar Khatib:

[Khatib, in English] Well, Mr as-Sadat, the president, was very frank and he meant every word he said. He has definitely come here for peace, and he was genuine and sincere. Unfortunately, the answer of Mr Begin was not on the same level, in my opinion. [translated into Hebrew] [end recording]

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## Joint Press Conference

TA211111Y Jerusalem Domestic Television Service in Hebrew 1052 GMT 21 Nov 77 TA

[Joint press conference held by President as-Sadat and Prime Minister Begin at Jerusalem theater on 21 November--live, in English]

[Text] [Begin] With the permission of the president, our noble guest, I will read to you ladies and gentlemen an agreed communique issued at the conclusion of the visit to our country of President as-Sadat. And this is the agreed communique:

In response to the sincere and courageous move by President as-Sadat, and believing in the need to continue the dialog along the lines proposed by both sides during their exchanges and the presentation of the positions in the historic meaning in Jerusalem, and in order to enhance the prospect of the fruitful consummation of this significant visit, the Government of Israel, expressing the will of the people of Israel, proposes that this hopeful step be further pursued through dialog between the two countries concerned, thereby paving the way toward successful negotiations leading to the signing of peace treaties in Geneva with all the neighboring states.

Thank you for your attention, ladies and gentlemen. Thank you, Mr President.

[Unidentified official] May I ask for your questions? Mr (Semi)?

[(Semi)] Mr Prime Minister [as heard], have you received an invitation to go to Cairo and, if so, when will you go?

[Begin] Could not hear it.

[Official] Can you repeat your question please?

[(Semi)] Have you received an invitation to go to Cairo and, if so, when will you go?  
[laughter]

[Begin] The gentleman started his question with saying "Mr President." I am only a prime minister; I am not president. [laughter and applause]

[(Semi)] Shall I try again?

[Begin] Yes, all right. No, I (?find) myself now. We discussed this issue with complete candor. I think perhaps President as-Sadat would like to reciprocate--I would like to see Cairo--but I do understand the reasons why at this stage such an invitation was not issued. I repeat: I do understand the reasons why at this stage such an invitation was not issued. I would like to say I do hope to visit Cairo, Mr President.

[Unidentified reporter] I have a question both to the prime minister and to the president of Egypt. In addition to agreeing that the dialog between the two countries will continue, did the two of you during the course of President as-Sadat's visit work out specific practical details for the continuation of this dialog, even before the Geneva peace conference?

[As-Sadat] Well, for sure we had, we have made a big survey for all the problems that we are facing. We gave great importance to the convening of the Geneva conference, but not more than this. The time was so short.

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[Official] Mr Qital, please.

[Qital] Excuse me. I also asked Prime Minister Begin please to [indistinct voices] I did not get it. I did not get an answer, sir.

[Begin] Yes.

[Qital] I was thinking about how do you continue a dialog without an Israeli ambassador in Cairo and an Egyptian ambassador in Jerusalem, or how will you do it practically? That is what I am trying to get at.

[Begin] Well, establishment of diplomatic relations usually goes together with the signing of peace treaties. In fact, sometimes, establishment of diplomatic relations does precede the signing of a peace treaty, as the case is between the Soviet Union and Japan when they signed in October 1956 in Moscow a peace declaration which is no peace treaty and yet includes establishment of diplomatic relations. But in our case I suppose it will be logical to have diplomatic relations established as an integral part of the peace treaty which, in God's good time, we hope to sign.

[Qital] Mr President...

[Official] Mr Qital, one second please.

[Unidentified reporter] Mr President, why are you not inviting the prime minister of Israel to visit Cairo at this stage?

[As-Sadat] Well, after I was invited here by the prime minister and after I addressed the Knesset and the Israeli people through the Knesset, the prime minister has got the full right to come and address our parliament there in Cairo. But for certain reasons that we discussed together, we have found that we postpone this, I mean, issue for the future.

[Begin] Mr Qital, you heard from the president that I have a right, and we postpone only the exercise of the right.

[Official] Sir, could you identify your name and organization?

[Wren] Christopher Wren of the New York TIMES, Cairo correspondent. Mr Prime Minister, in view of the political and physical risks that the president of Egypt took by coming to Israel, do you feel that you have gone far enough in giving something that he can take back home?

[Begin] I suppose again you said "president" and you want me to answer.

[Wren] I said "Mr Prime Minister." I was speaking....

[Begin] Excuse me, but I heard "president."

[Wren] I said "Mr Prime Minister." [laughter]

[Begin] Excuse me. My fault. We appreciate very much the courage of the president for his decision to come from Cairo to Jerusalem. We did our best to make his stay enjoyable. I think he enjoyed his stay. And we had a frank discussion both in public, from the platform of the Knesset, our parliament, and in private.

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It is not a matter of a kind of compensation. What he wanted to achieve during the visit is to make sure that we started a serious, direct dialog about the ways to establish peace in the Middle East--not only between Egypt and Israel, but also between Israel and all the other neighboring countries. I think we can say that we made progress on this issue, and the key word is "continuation." We are going--we agreed that we are going to continue our dialog. And ultimately out of it will come peace.

[Official] Abie.

[Nathan] Mr President, my name is Abie Nathan. I am from the Voice of Peace, the peace ship that sailed through the canal thanks to your permission early this year. My question to you, sir, is: How did you get--I have been several times to Egypt by air and sea--how did you get the idea and who were the leaders around the world that encouraged you to make this bold initiative for peace to help bring our peoples together? And when can I hope to come with an Israeli football team to Cairo to play with the Cairo 11?

[As-Sadat] Well, for the first part of the question, about this initiative and the time and if I have already discussed this with any other leader--Well, my answer is this: I started before I started my last trip to Romania, Iran and Saudi Arabia. I did not discuss it with anyone, except my foreign minister and, for sure, our Security Council in Egypt. The whole situation needed action; the peace process needed momentum again. And these are the motives behind this initiative.

[Official] Sir, identify yourself.

[Unidentified reporter] [Words indistinct] Middle East affairs commentator. A common key question to Mr President as-Sadat and Mr Prime Minister Begin: After so many [words indistinct] sessions did you reach an agreement on the meaning of the word "security" concerning Israel and the neighboring countries? The second question is directed to President as-Sadat: The Arab hospitality is well known all over the world. Did you feel a little bit embarrassed by the fact that you had to postpone invitation of Mr Begin to Cairo? Thank you.

[Begin] I am not embarrassed.

[As-Sadat, laughing] Well, the first question, about?

[Reporter] Security. Did you reach an agreement on the meaning of security?

[As-Sadat] Well, with the premier and in the Knesset today, I mean, with various parties, we agreed upon the principle. Upon security we agree, but the meaning of security, we differ on it. I think through Geneva we can reach an agreement. And let us hope that what I have said already today in the Knesset--let us hope that the two slogans that I want everyone to say is: Let us have no war after October, and let us agree upon security. I think those are the main issues. For the second question, I am....

[Reporter] Hospitality, Mr President.

[As-Sadat] I beg your pardon.

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[Reporter] Hospitality, Mr President.

[As-Sadat] Hospitality. [laughing] Yes. A very [laughter]...Either I am an Arab and hospitable or not. No, as I said before, we have discussed it, Premier Begin and me, and we agreed together to postpone it for the time being.

[Begin] I would like to add to (?round them up). I will say to the questioner and to all of you ladies and gentlemen that, during the visit of President as-Sadat to our country and to Jerusalem, a momentous agreement was achieved, namely, no more war, no more bloodshed, no more attacks and collaboration in order to avoid any event which might lead to such tragic developments. When I addressed directly the Egyptian people, I said: "Let us give a silent oath one to another: no more war, no more bloodshed, no more threats. May I say that the mutual pledge was given in Jerusalem, and we are very grateful to President as-Sadat that he said so from the platform of the Knesset, personally to me and today also to my colleagues in parliament, both the supporters and opponents of the government of the day. It is a great moral achievement for our nations, for the Middle East, indeed, for the whole world.

[Official] Mr Hamdi Fu'ad from AL-AHRAM.

[Fu'ad] According to your communique, your joint communique...

[Begin] I cannot hear you.

[Fu'ad] According to the joint communique, it is understood that the dialog is to be resumed. How is it going to be resumed? Where? And if so, will there be any place for the Palestinians to participate in this dialog now or later on in the Geneva conference?

[Begin] The proper representation of Palestinian Arabs will take place in the Geneva conference. We agreed on it. As far as the places in which the dialog will continue, believe me, President as-Sadat and I know some geography. [laughter]

[Official] Mr (Keith Graves), BBC.

[(Graves)] Mr President, as you prepare to leave Israel, do you have a message for the people of Israel, with whom you are, after all, still at war?

[As-Sadat] If I may say anything, [words indistinct] people of Israel, I must say this, that I am really, deeply grateful for the very warm welcome and the marvelous sentiment that they have shown to me.

[Official] Just a second.

[Segev] Segev, from MA'ARIV. The Israeli Government has allowed many Egyptian journalists to come and cover your visit. Will you now be prepared to open the doors of Egypt for Israeli journalists?

[As-Sadat] When Mr Begin visits us, for sure you will be coming. [laughter]

[Segev] Not before?

[Begin in Hebrew] Mr Segev, see you in Cairo.

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[Unidentified reporter] I have two questions for Mr Begin and Mr as-Sadat. First, after all your talks, are you now both convinced of the sincerity of the desire for peace? Second question: Did you fix the date for the reconvening of the Geneva conference?

[As-Sadat] Well, for the first question, yes. For the second question, we shall be working in the very near future for the reconvening of the Geneva conference.

[Begin] For the first question, yes, and we shall together work for the reconvening of the Geneva conference. [laughter, applause]

[Official] One second, we cannot hear you. We cannot hear; talk to the microphone please.

[Unidentified reporter] [Name indistinct] of the UPI. Mr President, what psychological and what substantive progress have you made in Israel on your visit?

[As-Sadat] What, please?

[UPI reporter] What psychological and what substantive progress have you made in Israel?

[As-Sadat] Well, maybe you have heard me saying before that one of the main motives behind this visit to Israel was that to give the peace [word indistinct] process new momentum and to get rid of the psychological barrier that, I mean, in my idea, was more than 70 percent of the whole conflict and the other 30 percent the substance. For the substance, as I told you, we have made a very big survey, but the time is so short to have, I mean, progress in this.

[Begin] The time was so short that I think that before I go to Cairo I will have to invite for a second time President as-Sadat to Jerusalem.

[Official] Yes, sir.

[Unidentified reporter] [Name indistinct] from the Israeli broadcasting Arabic section. I have two questions to the president of the Egypt Arab Republic. The first: After your meeting recently with the delegation of the Armed Services Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives, you were quoted as saying: "The Soviet Union will for sure make difficulties for me, and I am making my calculations so that [word indistinct] should not create any obstacles at Geneva." Do you think, Mr President, that in the circumstances the Soviet Union is blocking the road toward Geneva?

[As-Sadat] Well, you must have heard of the communique that was issued by the Soviet Union and the United States before the convening of the Geneva conference. What I have told the committee you mention is this: that my relations with the Soviets are strained, and it appears that whatever I do does not go to their liking at all. For instance, the visit here also and their comments does not go to their liking at all. I fear that the same attitude could be adopted in Geneva--and they are one of the cosponsors. But in the same answer I said that whenever we reach--the parties concerned--whenever the parties concerned reach an agreement, no one, either it is a big power or a small power, can prevent us from fulfilling this as much as we have agreed upon it--the main parties concerned.

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[Unidentified correspondent] Egypt agreed to a joint venture with the blacklisted U.S. Ford Motor Company. Mr Muhammad Mahjub, head of the Arab Boycott of Israel, attacked the Government of Egypt. Don't you think, Mr President, that the time has come to put an end to the boycott committee?

[As-Sadat] Well, I have an idea on this. I consider all these are side issues. Let us try and solve the main issue, then all the side issues automatically will be solved.

[Official] Mr Landau.

[Landau] David Landau of the Jerusalem POST. Mr as-Sadat, I thought it was significant that you went out of your way this morning to congratulate Mr Peres on his speech. You called it constructive. Could you tell us what, precisely, in Mr Peres' speech you found constructive.

[As-Sadat] Well, I said that, and I said also that in spite of the fact that we differ on several issues. Don't forget that. I said in spite of the fact that we differ on several issues, but, still, his speech was constructive.

[Cygielman] My name is Victor Cygielman. I am representing the Paris LE NDUVEL OBSERVATEUR. I am sorry I have a very bad voice. You repeated several times this morning in the Knesset that whatever happens again between Egypt and Israel the solution will be sought for not through war. My question is: Does this repeated statement, does it destroy, finish, annul your previous statements in Egypt? Does it finish, cancel, does it cancel your previous statements many [words indistinct] which were that if you cannot get back the occupied territories through diplomatic means you will get them back through force of war?

[As-Sadat] For sure, I must tell you quite frankly I am issuing this after I made my visit here and in the same time when we are preparing for Geneva. Well, after we had this new spirit and this new momentum, let us agree that whatever happens between us, we should solve it together through, I mean, talks rather than going to war, because as I told, really I was very deeply touched when I saw the Israeli children hailing me here. The Israeli women, really, I was very deeply touched and the same thing happened in Egypt also. Maybe you know that my people now are 100 percent behind me. They do not want any war. They want that we settle our differences on the table. But mark this, I said also in the Knesset. And I differed with Premier Begin about it. He considered this as a condition. I said that the issue of the withdrawal from the occupied territories should not be even put on the table except for the details of it, not as a principle. We differ on this, but when I made my statement this is behind it. I mean this is--will be automatically in Geneva negotiated and decided.

[Unidentified correspondent] [Name indistinct] from the Arabic section of the Israeli TV. Mr President, have you today discussed with the West Bank personalities the political future of the West Bank, and do you think they should participate in Geneva? And the second question: When are you going to visit King Khalid?

[As-Sadat] Well, for the first question, I received them. They were very kind really to come and apologize for those who are abusing me outside, in the outside world from their patriots. [as heard] And this is only--and believe me, really, I was very happy and elated when I prayed yesterday in Al-Aqsa, and I met with our, I mean Arab, citizens. I was very happy and elated really. Regarding their representation, well, I should not say anything on this because the Palestinians should decide among themselves for this.

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About the visit (?to) Saudi Arabia, well, whenever there is any issue that needs anything we have very close contacts together and whenever there is any need to discuss anything I may go at any time or King Khalid may come to Cairo at any time. We do not have protocols and so on between us.

[Unidentified correspondent] Question to President as-Sadat.

[Official] Can you identify yourself please?

[Carr] Morris Carr Israel Features. Mr President, now that you are more fully acquainted with the facts of the Nazi Holocaust, do you have a better insight into Israel's determination to maintain appropriate security positions against the extremist elements that are openly committed to the destruction of the Jewish state?

[As-Sadat] I do not, I cannot get you...please.

[Official] Repeat the question.

[Carr] Mr President, now that you are more fully acquainted with the facts of the Nazi Holocaust, do you have a better insight into Israel's determination to maintain appropriate security positions against the extremist elements that are openly committed to the destruction of the Jewish state?

[As-Sadat] Well, as you must have heard me saying that security is one of the two main issues or two main slogans that should be raised now. [as heard] And I quite agree, I quite understand the point of view of the security for the Israelis. But on the other hand, it should not be through any compromise on land because it will mean expansion. And in my idea we shall discuss this thoroughly after (?that). A few kilometers here or few kilometers there will not provide security. [It is] the intention that provides security.

[Snow] President as-Sadat, Peter Snow, British Independent Television news. You have faced very strong attacks from much of the rest of the Arab world for your visit here. You have even been faced with the threat of assassination for what you have done. What do you say to these people?

[As-Sadat] Well, I shall not be saying anything to those people. I think I shall be telling my people in Egypt what has happened here. I shall be giving a speech before the parliament after my arrival, a few days after that. I need not answer all those who have attacked. Well, let me remind you that after the second disengagement agreement and for 1 continual year I was much more vehemently attacked than the attacks now.

[Unidentified correspondent] I have a question for both Prime Minister Begin and for President as-Sadat, and the premise is to be the same for both questions. Since there are 23 other Arab countries with millions and millions of miles of land and plenty of money, and since Israel's territory is so small in comparison, and since, as President As-Sadat just said, some of this land was acquired--as he termed it--by expansion but which was actually acquired by defense war after it was started, the question to Premier Begin is: Does he believe any of this land should be given up in view of the typical injunction not to surrender 1 inch of land acquired with the help of God? And the question to President as-Sadat: Would a larger demilitarized Sinai, with joint development of the oil resources or other resources in the area and with economic development and cooperation to help his battered economy, would not this and tourism be better for Egypt and for Israel than giving up any of the land, or is vanity to win territory more important?

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ISRAEL

[As-Sadat] Two [as heard] words only for my answer: Our land is sacred. [applause]

[Begin] My friend, if you asked me a question about security....

[Unidentified correspondent] The question was about territory, sir, not security.

[Begin] Will you please allow me to reply? Thank you for your permission. I will explain now what is security to us. The lives of every man, woman and child--this means to us national security. We have an experience, a very long experience. In one generation we lost a third of our people and in this country 11 times we had to defend ourselves against repeated attempts to destroy us. With such an experience we will care for our people, for our women and children, as I said yesterday in parliament. And I think that on this we have almost a complete national consensus, with the exception of one party, the Communist Party, which is completely subservient to Moscow. This is the consensus by the overwhelming majority of our parliament, whether in coalition or in opposition. And this is going to be our attitude during our negotiations. Of course, I can respect a statement made just now by President as-Sadat. Our land is sacred, and because I respect that statement, may I say our land is sacred.

[Unidentified correspondent] Thank you very much, the only question is really whose land it is....

[Official] Gentlemen of the press, can you wait 1 minute please? We have time for very few more questions. I would like the journalists to limit themselves to one question only. Sir.

[(Imuel)] YEDI'OT AHARONOT, (Imuel). A question to the prime minister: Mr Prime Minister, do you note a certain lack of symmetry in the fact that President as-Sadat crossed a political canal and exposed himself vis-a-vis his own people while you stayed within the safety, relative safety, of the Israeli official concept? In other words, while President as-Sadat came to Jerusalem and addressed himself to us, you came to Jerusalem and addressed yourself to us. Is it symmetrical?

[Begin] As I told you, my friend, I am ready to go any day to Cairo and then, if we accept your statement, I will take that risk.

[Correspondent] God willing.

[Begin] So, if taking risks is the problem, I suppose both of us are prepared to take risks.

[(Weiss)] Charles (Weiss), Voice of America, Jerusalem. Yesterday in his speech President as-Sadat spoke about a Palestinian problem. This is directed to the prime minister. He spoke about the Palestinian problem being the crux of the Mideast conflict, that Israel would have nothing to fear if a new state were established, that no peace can be established without solving the Palestinian problem. I would like to ask, Mr Prime Minister, why you did not relate, by so much as a word, to what Mr as-Sadat had to say?

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ISRAEL

[Begin] I did, but I spoke in Hebrew, and I must correct you, as I do always. Palestine is a name of a country, this country, and in this country there are two nationalities. Therefore, there are Palestinian Jews and Palestinian Arabs. When you say "Palestinians," you do not explain the problem at stake. We do recognize the Arab nationality in our country, and therefore always say, please, "the question of Palestinian Arabs." When I spoke in Hebrew I said the problem of the Arabs of Eretz Israel [in Hebrew], because in Hebrew the name of this country is Eretz Yisra'el since the Book of Shmu'el, and as President as-Sadat knows perfectly well the Bible, no less than the Koran, he knows the Book of Shmu'el as well where it is written for the first time "and no locksmith will be found throughout Eretz Yisra'el." The translation of "Eretz Yisra'el" is Palestine. I spoke about the Arabs of Eretz Yisra'el or, in other words, about Palestinian Arabs. It is an issue and when we have proposals to solve this issue...

[commotion as various correspondents try to make themselves heard]

[Unidentified woman correspondent] Mr President, do you have any plans to meet with President al-Asad and maybe persuade him to join you [words indistinct]?

[As-Sadat] Well, from time to time you know we meet in the Arab world and among our colleagues from the Arab world, and I was asked in Damascus when I visited Damascus before I came here did President al-Asad put pressure on me not to complete this visit. I told them no one puts pressure on the other. This is our way.

[Official] Gentlemen, ladies and gentlemen, we have got time for two more questions. You, sir. [commotion among press members] Please, go ahead.

[Correspondent--in Arabic] Mr President, thank God for your safety here and in Egypt. The question is simple: Before you were a true leader you were a free journalist. Today many people would say that the press exaggerates. Your Excellency, will there be open bridges or visits so the people here can see our good noble people? Then they can return and talk about us. This will constitute an initiative for coexistence so they can understand us better while we go on our way to peace. May God grant you health, Mr President.

[As-Sadat--in Arabic] Thank you. We talked about all this. The main thing today is for us to go to Geneva first, and then all this will follow automatically and naturally.

[Official] Sir, you now.

[Unidentified correspondent] Mr President, I come from Australia, which last week was much shorter distance than your visit I think from Cairo. May I ask you this: Since you have been here in the last 24 hours, do you feel that we are closer, you are closer to reconciling the just rights and needs of the Israeli people and the just rights and needs of the Palestinians?

[As-Sadat] I am sure of the fact that the process that we started through my visit here will enable us to solve all the problems and I said, for example, we consider that here is an urgent problem that is, namely, security. I also consider that a Palestinian peace [as heard] is very important in spite of our difference upon this issue but still we can, in Geneva, decide all this. If you ask me am I optimistic or pessimistic, I may tell you I am optimistic.

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[Official] Ladies and gentlemen, this was the last question, and now I give the floor to the prime minister.

[Begin] Mr President, ladies and gentlemen: It will take another 2 hours and President as-Sadat will be on his way to his country, to Cairo. May I now sum up this momentous visit?

It is indeed a momentous visit. We are, formally, in a state of war, our two countries. As far as I remember, I do not know of a precedent where the leader of a country which finds itself in a state of war with another country paid such a visit in that country. was received with so much warmth, sincerity. The reaction was positive in the government, parliament, but first and foremost amongst our people.

We drove, President as-Sadat and I, several times together. We've seen our people on the streets, in the towns, men, women and little children, and all of them greeting the president, taking him to their hearts. Our children waved both flags, the Egyptian flag and the Israeli flag.

I wish, with your permission, Mr President, to express my sincere hope that the day is not too far when Egyptian children will wave the Israeli flag and the Egyptian flag. This visit is a real success for both countries and for the cause of peace. And as we both, the president and I, do believe in divine progress, we say before the departure of the president and his party: We pray to the Almighty that He gives all of us the wisdom to continue in our efforts to bring peace to our nations, real peace, and so make sure that this region with all the nations dwelling here achieve peace, advance and live in liberty, in justice and in happiness. Thank you. [applause]

[As-Sadat] Ladies and gentlemen, may I seize this opportunity really to thank Premier Begin, thank the Israeli people and President Qazir for the very warm welcome that was accorded to me here. We are in a crucial moment. Let us hope, all of us, that we can keep the momentum in Geneva. And may God guide the steps of Premier Begin and the Knesset because there is a great need for hard and drastic decisions.

I have already, I mean, taken my share in my decision to come here and I shall be really looking forward for those decisions from Premier Begin and the Knesset. All the best wishes for my friend Premier Begin and his family and all my deep gratitude to the Israeli people, whose welcome I can never forget. Thank you. [applause]

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ISRAEL

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Anwar Sadat  
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AS-SADAT CONCLUDES VISIT, RETURNS TO EGYPT

5(41) 1(142) 1(144)

Meets With Knesset Factions

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PN1-7

TA211749 [Editorial Report TA/NC] Jerusalem Domestic Television Service in Hebrew at 0800 GMT on 21 November begins live coverage of Egyptian President as-Sadat's meetings with various Knesset factions. The correspondent reports that the 2 hours slated for President as-Sadat's meetings with all the factions were divided in accordance with the size of the factions--approximately 1 minute for each Knesset member in the faction.

At 0833 GMT President as-Sadat arrives at the Knesset committee room accompanied by a large entourage, and the speaker of the Knesset presents the leaders of the coalition factions to him.

The first meeting is between President as-Sadat and the coalition factions, plus MK (Shamuel Flatto-Sharon) Fear PN1

The correspondent states that he has just learned that the reason for As-Sadat's delay was an "unscheduled meeting" between the president and Defense Minister Ezer Weizman.

(Chaim Corfu) Fear PN1  
MK (Chaim Corfu) speaking in Hebrew, introduces President as-Sadat and delivers the first speech. Corfu explains why Israel cannot rely on outside guarantees in any peace agreement; saying: "All the Arab countries could lose a war; their existence is not held in doubt. Israel, if it lost a war, would lose its existence." Corfu maintains that if neighborly relations can be established between Israel and Egypt then many problems can be solved.

(Yoram Aridor) Fear PN1  
MK (Yoram Aridor) also speaking in Hebrew, states that the establishment of a Palestinian state would be followed by the destruction of Israel and that over 90 percent of the Knesset opposes this. "Any foreign rule in part of Judaea, Samaria and Gaza will immediately, or by stages, bring about the establishment of a Palestinian state that would be under Soviet control." Aridor hopes for a continuation of the dialog and proposes that As-Sadat leave one member of his delegation in Israel and take an Israeli representative to Cairo.

(Moshe Nissim) Fear PN1  
MK (Moshe Nissim) also speaking in Hebrew, maintains that Israel has made significant concessions as manifest in the Israel-U.S. working paper, and "this must be met by concessions on the part of our neighbors."

HA  
MK (Halevi) speaking in English, says: "You are beginning to replace the heritage of fear and suspicion and deep-seated mistrust by a new atmosphere of trust, hope, confidence and respect." MK Halevi proposes that a soccer match be conducted between Israeli and Egyptian teams.

HA  
MK (Warhaftig) speaking in English, calls for followup to the momentum that has begun and stresses that a united Jerusalem must remain the capital of Israel.

(Gefula Cohen) Fear PN1  
MK (Gefula Cohen) speaking in Hebrew, maintains that Israel and Egypt have a common enemy-- "red imperialism." "Our common enemy of today is doing everything to incite, complicate and prevent our achieving an understanding of our common interest; which is to remove Russian imperialism from the region." Cohen asks whether President as-Sadat does not feel that a Palestinian state in the region would not be a major base for Soviet imperialism which would endanger Egypt no less than Israel. Cohen also asks why no Palestinian state was established during the 19 years when Judaea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip were in Arab hands.

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N 2

ISRAEL

*From p N1-2*

MK Flumin, speaking in English, proposes a joint Israel-Egyptian study group be set up to examine the possibility of developing economic relations. "The group can examine, inter alia, the following suggestions: 1) authorizing tourist packages which offer tourists--European, American or Asian--the possibility to visit both the holy land and the land of the pyramids in the same period; 2) establishing [word indistinct] public corporations which will raise (?capital) from both Jewish and Arab people residing outside their homeland--in Europe and America--to invest it in industrial projects to be established on both sides of the border; 3) proposing organizations such as the [word indistinct] association or chamber of commerce to organize joint meetings to outline ways and means of cooperation; 4) proposing joint projects for the use of energy, irrigation, agriculture and [words indistinct] sophisticated industries et cetera, the necessary funds to be raised by a new (?Marshal) Plan for the Middle East sponsored by the USA and the EEC; 5) examining and formulating mutual trade laws and practices which will later evolve into a free trade area such as the European Common Market; 6) coproduction of some industrial products whereby part of the industrial process will take place in one country and the completion thereof will be done in the second country--for example, textiles, foodstuffs, et cetera. These suggestions and others could be discussed in the proposed working group, and if they are accepted and implemented, I believe it will be a big step in the process for making peace between our nations."

*From p N1-2*

MK Moshe Shamir, speaking in Hebrew, maintains that as soon as the Arabs start thinking more about how to build their own lives than about destroying Israel, we will be able to start living peacefully and calmly in the Middle East.

*From p N1-2*

MK (Annon Rubinstein) speaking in English, opens his remarks by saying that the DMC has an independent platform on foreign policy issues despite its being a member of the coalition. Rubinstein states that what the DMC does have in common with the Likud government's platform on foreign policy is opposition to withdrawal to the 1967 borders and the creation of an independent Palestinian state. "They preclude us, not because of any myth, not because of any legend, not because of any dogma, but primarily because of security reasons which relate to our very existence, and I beg you, Mr President, that today when you go to Ben-Gurion Airport and go up the stairs to your presidential plane, to look to the right and see the hills overlooking Ben-Gurion Airport. These hills, adjacent to the airport, were on the other side of the border which existed before the 6-day war. Any simple device, mere gunshots, can paralyze our main airport and our main link with the outside world." Rubinstein says that, thanks to the dialog that President as-Sadat has established, there is hope for peace.

~~MK Ben Me'ir, of MAFDAL, speaking in English, praises President as-Sadat's stature and statesmanship. He goes on to say that dedication to God involves a deep commitment to peace.~~

MK Sharir follows, delivering his speech in Arabic.

MK Lorenz of Agudat Yisra'el, speaking in Hebrew, says that he is speaking as a rabbi and not as a politician.

MK Corfu apologizes to those Knesset members who were slated to make remarks but says that time is short and he calls upon President as-Sadat to deliver his reply.

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N 3

ISRAEL

As-Sadat responds in English, as follows:

"Well, bismillah. Really, it is a great occasion for me to meet with you. And I have asked for this myself; I have asked to meet you in the Knesset as the representatives of the Israeli people. And I wanted to send, through you, to the Israeli people our message from Egypt. As you know, I have, sometime, worked as a speaker for our parliament, two sessions, two and a half sessions; it was about 10 years. And my main aim when I came here was to set with you and open a discussion on all the issues that we have.

"I have heard with great, I mean, interest all that you have said now. But let me be frank with you, because when I asked to come here I asked to come to the Knesset, to you. Let me tell you in all honesty: I do not agree to a lot that I have heard now here. This is quite natural in democracy. I heard about the Palestinian state, about security, about the land of Sinai--one of the deputies spoke about the land of Sinai--and then our friend here spoke about keeping the momentum that we have already started by this step when I came to you.

"I must tell you also in all honesty: I would have liked to open this discussion and stay with you for 24 hours, or whatever it takes, to discuss every issue, but you know the time is limited, and I think we should not lose our target. What is our target today? Our target is to end or bring down the great barrier that has always separated us and has built distrust, has built bitterness, has built hatred.

"My main aim, after all the discussions that I thought we were going to continue here, was to end this state of distrust between us. And as I [said] yesterday when I was addressing you in the plenary session, that in the past, yes, we did not agree to your being here. But now I came here to tell you that we agree. It is a very long history if we are going to defend every point that I have heard here from the deputies, but, as I said, let us concentrate on the main issue.

"What is the main issue now? It should be security for Israel. I quite agree with you. I said it yesterday, before the Knesset. We agree; in this respect, as I said yesterday, we are ready. And we have no objection to whatever measures that can be agreed upon to provide you with full security. We have no objection at all against this. On the contrary, as I said, whatever measures will be taken, we shall be asking for the same thing for ourselves also.

"The other issue is: The October war should be the last war. I think this...[applause] If we agree upon those two principles--security and no war again--whatever happens can be solved through peaceful negotiations or peaceful means. If we agree that those are the two main concerns for you, concerns for you--they are a concern for you, they are a concern for us also, for me.

"Let us drop all that I have heard here and let us concentrate on those two main issues: full security, no solving to whatever happens between us through war. That means that the October war is the last forever. I think if we have this start, I think we can, we will be really approaching the problem from the proper approach. And I should like to tell you--because I came here to address you and to discuss with you--confidence should be built so that we can keep the momentum our friend talked about.

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N 4

ISRAEL

"From our side, I tell you this: The first point, security, we agree to whatever, I mean, measures to be taken--either it is demilitarized zones on reciprocal bases or it is early warning stations on reciprocal bases; also, guarantees from whatever body you like or you agree to. We have no objection at all--UN forces, all this. But in all frankness, let me tell you this: You should see the realities of this very difficult problem, and, in all honesty, also I must tell you this: You have to take very decisive decisions, built on those two main issues--security and no war again.

"Most of these decisions will be hard, but you must take it and you must hold your responsibility, not only for this generation but for the coming generations, to give every young man we have and every girl the opportunity to build a happy family, in peace and good will. And let us hope, or I am praying really, that God guides you in your decisions, and as I told you, they will be very hard decisions. But I give [the] example of myself of my coming here to face you, while still this is, this has never happened in history, that two countries are in a state of war, and even you are occupying part of my land, and, then, I come here and address you and discuss with you and tell you my opinion--everyone told me his opinion also--the prime minister yesterday gave his speech, the leader of the opposition also gave his speech, I gave my speech.

"You have hard decisions to take. And we also, we have hard decisions to take. Let this be the proper approach to the problem, to the conflict in this area, and, I am sure, the blessing of God, of every woman, every widow, every young man that has hopes in the future--all this will guide us to the proper decisions in the proper time. Thank you very much."

As President as-Sadat moves into another committee room to meet with the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality faction, a correspondent asks him whether there has been any change in his views after listening to the members of the Knesset. As-Sadat answers in English: "I told them quite frankly I don't agree with much of what they have said today to me in the Likud. I don't agree, but in spite of that, let us work." He is then asked in English, "What do you mean by work? What is the next step, Mr President, in your opinion?" As-Sadat answers in English: "Well, I don't think I am in a position to say anything now. This should be prepared--I mean--before--I shall be meeting with Premier Begin again. We shall be discussing this point and, as I told you, I am not in a position to tell anything--not yet. We have not agreed upon the next step."

The first speaker from the Democratic Movement for Peace and Equality is ~~Mr Rawfiq~~ ~~Arabi~~ who speaks in Arabic. He presents the other Knesset members present--MK's Meir Wilner, Charlier Biton, Tawfiq Zayyad and Hanna Muways.

Meir Wilner, speaking in Hebrew, opens by saying, "we regard the proposals that you, Mr President, submitted to the Israeli Knesset as a basis for solving the Israel-Arab conflict and the Palestine issue." Wilner calls upon Israel to withdraw to the 1967 borders and recognize the PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinian people. He expresses disappointment with Prime Minister Begin's speech, maintaining that he rejected President as-Sadat's peace proposals. "We feel that the Israeli Government would not have been able to continue its conquest without U.S. backing. On the other hand, we can see no difference between the proposals that you, Mr President, have brought and the proposals made by the Soviet leaders to solve the Middle East conflict." Wilner calls for a basic change in Israeli policy, and "the American administration must cease to back present Israeli policy."

(Meir Wilner)  
BA for PNT 24

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N 6

ISRAEL

Golda Meir, speaking in English, says she is sure President as-Sadat felt the joy among Israelis on his visit. She says As-Sadat has "the privilege of being the first great Arab leader of the greatest country of our neighboring countries that, with courage and determination, despite many difficulties--I am sure--has come to us and brings us the message that for the sake of your sons, as well as for the sake of ours, of all mothers who mourn their sons that fall in battle--no mother gives birth to a son with the fear that he may fall in battle. For the sake of all our sons and all our children--not only that are alive today but may be born in future generations--you have come to us and said: 'Let us have peace.'"

She stresses that the people in Israel live in peace. She says, "we were and are prepared for territorial compromises on all our borders--only on one condition--borders that will give us security, that will save us from danger--borders that we will not be in need, God forbid, at a certain moment for somebody else to come to defend us. We never wanted it; nobody ever came to defend us. The blood that was shed, to our sorrow, was our blood." "We want borders [so that], when we sign peace treaties, every Israeli will be assured that he lives in borders--not because there are international guarantees. I don't think we need them when we have peace--neither we nor you--but we need borders that we know that if, God forbid, something happens in the future we ourselves are able to defend ourselves. Therefore, territorial compromises, yes, from the moment, but not compromises on our security."

She calls for a solution to the Palestine problem within the framework of negotiations with Jordan. At the end of her remarks Mrs Meir reminds President as-Sadat, to his glee, that she is an old lady who hopes to see peace in her lifetime and presents As-Sadat with a gift for his new granddaughter.

MK Yigal Allon, speaking in English, says that the Arab world should reconcile itself with the existence of the State of Israel, "and your dramatic step, which we all admire, will give the sign for the rest that it is high time to abandon the hostile attitude and to begin to walk on the path of reconciliation." Allon expresses the belief that the Palestine problem should be solved in a Jordanian framework. He states that military defeat would mean destruction for Israel, and therefore Israel must insure defensible borders. He concludes: "In a war there is a winner and a loser; in a just peace both parties are the winners."

MK Sayf ad-Din az-Zu'bi then speaks in Arabic.

MK Yizhaq Rabin, speaking in English, expresses the belief that As-Sadat's visit can create a new era in the region. Peace "is not peace that will remain on a piece of paper; it has to be translated to the daily life of every citizen of the countries of this area."

MK Talmi of MAPAM, speaking in Hebrew, says that wars are the main enemy of development. He maintains that the Alignment recognizes the identity of the Palestinian people and "wants to solve the problem on the basis of a territorial compromise." He stresses that prior to the 6-day war the country was only 16 km wide in places. He states that the Palestine National Council still abides by its charter and that a Palestinian state lacking economic resources might lead to irredentism in regard to both Jordan and Israel.

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N 5

ISRAEL

As-Sadat responds in Arabic:

"It is indeed a pleasure to meet with you as I have met with the Likud bloc and I hope to meet afterward with the opposition. Democracy is, in fact, splendid. Each one of us has expressed his viewpoint in full freedom. There can be no doubt... [As-Sadat's words are drowned out at this point by an English-speaking announcer who says: "Apparently in this particular room there is no facility for a simultaneous translation from Arabic into Hebrew so that we can translate this live broadcast into English. So we will listen to President Anwar as-Sadat's words in their original tongue."]

.... "In order to pull down this psychological wall which constitutes, in my opinion, 70 percent of the problem. Through what I have seen from the people here--although it is only for a few hours, but backed by good intention--was enough to make this wall fall. Afterward, because exactly as you have stated....[fragment, as heard] And I thank you and appreciate your stand, particularly yesterday when you asked for a vote.

"I am very thankful and appreciative, but we must, as long as we still differ, begin the dialog in Geneva exactly as you have said, because Geneva is the only place where we can establish peace since all the parties will be present. It is impossible to establish peace with one or two parties without the rest. Even, as I said in my speech yesterday, even if it were possible to achieve a peace agreement with all the Arab states, while the Palestine problem does not occupy its full place, there will be no peace. I thank you very much and I appreciate this statement. I thanked you yesterday, indeed. I hope that the future will see all of our hopes fulfilled for all of us. Thank you."

Prior to his meeting with the Shelli faction, an unidentified correspondent asks As-Sadat what his impression is up to now. He answers in English: "Well, I am continuing to meet with the deputies. I am giving my answers and I think, as I say, it is really a democracy; everyone is saying his word, and the most important thing is this--as I say now--that the barrier that has been separating us--I think this barrier has been--we brought it down, and let us hope that in the future we can continue."

MK Lova Eli'av of Shelli, speaking in English, says: "On the whole I would say that we are the nearest from the Israeli Zionist side to the general ideas that you have expressed." MK Eli'av presents President as-Sadat with a book he has written on peace. President as-Sadat thanks Eli'av, saying in English: "Let me express my gratitude to what you said and all you have done. I am following you in spite of the fact that I am in Egypt and you are here in Israel. I wish all success to you, and let us hope that starting from this point we can continue toward the main goal--peace."

President as-Sadat then meets with the Alinement faction. MK Shim'on Peres welcomes As-Sadat in English, saying: "I want to extend two invitations--one on behalf of Mr Meshel, who is the secretary general of our trade union, for a mission of your trade unions to visit our country, and then I want to express a hope that our two parties will be able to maintain a relationship or a contact on a party level."

MK Yizhaq Navon, speaking in Arabic, congratulates As-Sadat, praising him and expressing hope that by this time next year there will be peace. He hopes that this visit will turn a new page toward a just peace.

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MK (Abba Eban) speaking in English, states that As-Sadat "has changed the entire psychological and emotional context in which our relationship has been conducted." Eban reminds As-Sadat that Israel proposed massive territorial concessions after the 1967 war. As for boundaries, Eban says, "let us not pretend that this is anything but the crux of the problem. We, in this movement, do not want to perpetuate the situation created by the 6-day war. We want to change it--to change it in the north, to change it in the south, to change it in the east and, above all, to change the whole texture of relationships in which the boundary problem is discussed." Eban calls for a "continuation of operative dialog between our two governments, a continuation of frank, direct encounter in the spirit and atmosphere of the last few days."

MK Peres then calls upon President as-Sadat to deliver his reply. As-Sadat says in English:

"Bismillah. May I really seize this opportunity to congratulate Mr Peres on his speech yesterday in spite of the fact that we may differ in various points, but, still, it was a very constructive speech. And may I thank Mrs Meir, really, because she was abroad and, really, I was deeply touched to know that she came to attend my visit here, because this peace process that we have already started together immediately after the October war was started by Mrs Meir, when we concluded the first disengagement agreement.

"I do not think I have much time to discuss all the points of agreement or disagreement--the time is short. And as I said to your colleagues before, we may differ; there are differences, for instance, the boundary compromise. For instance, we may differ also on the Palestinian question, but the fact remains that we have already started by this visit a proper approach to the whole problem, and, after that, when we go to Geneva and sit together, I do not think we shall find this barrier that has taken place between our two peoples since 30 years, until now.

"I want to tell you--to be short--I quite agree with your theory about security, but not expansion--or not through boundary compromise. I agree with your worry about security, and we should give this great importance in Geneva, with all the parties concerned there.

"The other point is this: Let us have those two slogans--no war again after October, and let us agree together upon the aspect of security. I think fulfilling those two points and raising them as slogans--also for our people, because I was very deeply touched, really, when I saw the Israeli children there at the schools and those whom I met on my way here or back to the hotel or so--really, I was very deeply touched by welcome they have accorded to me.

"Let us hope that through our genuine efforts in Geneva we can bridge the rift that has taken place between us and establish peace once and for all, on the two main points that I mentioned to you now--security and no war again. Whatever happens between us, we must sit and solve through peaceful negotiations.

"Again, I must not end my words without thanking Mrs Meir for this kind gesture that she has done, and let us hope that the peace process that we have started together, Mrs Meir and me, will continue and flourish on the basis that I have already mentioned to you, which will give satisfaction to every girl, every woman, every man in Israel, in the Arab world. Thank you very much."

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Qazir, As-Sadat Addresses

TA211352Y Jerusalem Domestic Television Service in Hebrew 1233 GMT 21 Nov 77 TA

[Addresses by Israeli President Efrayim Qazir and Egyptian President Anwar as-Sadat delivered upon departure from Israeli presidential residence in Jerusalem on 21 November 1977--live]

[Text] [Qazir, in Hebrew followed by Arabic translation] Mr President of the Arab Republic of Egypt, Mr Prime Minister: Mr President, I am glad to receive you at the president's residence before your departure for Cairo. It was a historic visit for both nations. It expresses, Mr President, your courage and your sincere desire to end the protracted conflict between our two peoples. I am also certain that in your meetings with the prime minister you have been impressed by his personality and by his ability to express the desire of the entire Israeli nation for peace.

I hope that the dialog you opened will continue and will thus constitute the opening of a new chapter in Israeli-Egyptian relations. We are neighbors geographically, and we represent a 1,000-year-old tradition which has common roots. You exchanged words with the prime minister, with cabinet members and with representatives of the Knesset factions. I'm sure you received a very clear picture of our problems and our approaches. Despite the differences existing among representatives of the Knesset factions, the desire of all--each in his own way--is to reach a genuine peace.

During the 2 days that you stayed in our country I had the opportunity of being with you for a few hours. I was deeply impressed by your personality, by your adherence to the principles you believe in, and by your sincere wish to contribute to expediting peace and to insuring a better future for our sons and daughters. I was profoundly touched by your attitude toward the younger generation. Every place you went, you pointed out the young and your desire to contribute toward a new world for them. Permit me to quote from your words: "Let us agree that wars no longer afflict our region. "Between us, you said, "are differences of opinion." These, I think, were well defined over the last 2 days. "However, I hope," you said, "that the way will be found to bridge our divergent approaches in peaceful ways.

I extend my blessings to you on your departure and wish you, the Egyptian people and the people in Israel peace and prosperity.

[Qazir follows this with a sentence in Arabic and translates it into Hebrew:] Go in peace and, hopefully, our meetings will always be peaceful.

[As-Sadat, in English] Mr President, Madame, Mr Prime Minister, Madame, our distinguished guests: At the end of my visit to Israel which lasted no more than 30 hours, I want to seize this opportunity to send my message to Israel through the president, telling them that I was very deeply touched by the very warm welcome and very warm feelings that were accorded to me and my delegation. I have met with the president and I enjoyed our ride from the aerodrome to the hotel. I had sessions with the prime minister, and as I said before, we had a whole survey of all the problems that are facing us.

SADAT Anwar

(KA)

EGYPT

APPROVED FOR RELEASE CIA HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS DIVISION AR 70-14 13 NOV 2019

28 Nov 77

EGYPT

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PRESIDENT AS-SADAT ADDRESSES PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY 26 NOV

(Anwar SADAT)

JN261024Y Cairo Domestic Service in Arabic 0923 GMT 26 Nov 77 JN

[Text of speech by Egyptian President Anwar as-Sadat to joint session of People's Assembly and ASU Central Committee in the People's Assembly, carried in linkup with Cairo Voice of the Arabs--live]

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[Text] In the name of God. Brother and sister members of the Egyptian family and members of the People's Assembly:

What shall I say after the great people have had their word? What shall I declare after the lofty millions have declared their will? What shall I record after the masses have recorded the most remarkable and most immortal image of a civilized people creating love and making life, building freedom and peace on our land and on all the lands of God in order to achieve the humanity of man and in order to preserve for our children and for every child in every land the smile of hope, a life of development and prosperity, in order to protect the journey of life for them from the treachery of those who trade in suffering [of others]?

What shall I say to our people--the Egyptian people, the people of heroism and sacrifice, the Egypt of October and the Egyptian people who rose in stature to a great cultural height, and even to the highest stature any country or people can aspire to above the land of God?

What shall I say to our people other than prostrate my body before them in an expression of thanks and gratitude and other than to kneel before God who has made me a son of this people? [applause] What shall I tell our people other than to prostrate my body before them in an expression of thanks and gratitude and other than kneel before God who has made me a son of this people? This body will only bow before the people and this figure will only kneel before God. [applause]

What shall I tell our people--the Egyptian people who gave martyrs, Egypt which made sacrifices, Egypt which gave to mankind everywhere the most courageous example of manliness when its land required the courage of men? What shall I say to the people who endured for the sake of the Arab nation from the [Atlantic] Ocean to the gulf the heaviest burdens of giving and sacrifice, even the sacrifice of their own bread and the cruellest forms of suffering which our people endured in the modesty of the faithful ones and the faith of the patient ones, without asking anyone for reward or thanks, but receiving spears of accusations, abuse and venom in terms of punishment, ingratitude and denial?

What shall I tell my people after millions of people throughout the world lived days on end holding their breath and with their eyes fixed with all attention as they watched the civilized and noble people of Egypt carrying our the mission of history, preaching freedom and peace, building the bridge of the great transformation from destruction and ruin to construction and building and turning destroyed and broken down blocks into towers of love and life?

What shall I tell my people after all the world told them: You are the courageous people, you are the daring people, you are the savior of life from the enemies of life, you are the great people? What shall I say other than to thank all the peoples of the world, after they have twice recognized the truth about us and our nature? The first time was on the glorious 6<sup>th</sup> October, when the world realized that we were not a corpse which should not be taken into account in any fighting for liberation but instead that we would fight with blood to redeem the freedom of the land and the dignity of man.

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INTER-ARAB AFFAIRS

The participants in the mammoth procession also shouted slogans of denunciation and condemnation of As-Sadat's visit to the racist Zionist entity.

#### Mammoth Speech Rally

JN262057Y Damascus Domestic Service in Arabic 1915 GMT 26 Nov 77 JN

[Excerpt] Damascus--A mammoth speech rally was held. The rally began by observing a minute's silence in honor of the martyrs of the Arab nation. Comrade Sami Qandil, member of the regional command of the unified Palestinian organization of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party, then spoke on behalf of the party. Denouncing As-Sadat's visit to Israel, Comrade Qandil said: The visit did not come by accident, but was the outcome of an imperialist-Zionist design. He added: The fury of the masses yesterday and today reaffirms the absolute rejection of this treasonable visit and the Arab people's belief in the inevitability of victory and liberation.

Comrade Qandil continued: Our furious masses will not allow As-Sadat's conspiracy to create a new psychological climate based on the recognition of the occupation as a fait accompli and on the legitimacy of this occupation. Our masses stress that they will continue the struggle to achieve the supreme goal--the liberation of Palestine.

Comrade Qandil added: Our party--the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party--under the leadership of struggler Comrade Hafiz al-Asad--reaffirms its constant pan-Arab, principled stand based on the continuation of the struggle to liberate the occupied Arab areas and to regain the national rights of the Palestinian Arab people. Our party also declares its absolute determination to abort all the results of As-Sadat's treasonable visit to Israel, regardless of the sacrifices. For the sake of this goal, our party will work in strong unity with the PLO.

Representatives of the popular organizations and of the PLO then addressed the rally. The representatives hailed the Syrian Arab Republic's constant, pan-Arab stand toward the Palestinian issue. The PLO representative affirmed the PLO's support for the Syrian Arab Republic in confronting the results of As-Sadat's visit and in working for the liberation of the occupied Arab areas and regaining the national rights of the Palestinian Arab people.

The participants in the procession sent cables of denunciation and condemnation of As-Sadat's visit to Israel to the secretary general of the Arab League and to the chairman and members of the PLO Executive Committee. The cables express fury over and denunciation of As-Sadat's visit, which is aimed at pulling Egypt out of the Arab-Israeli dispute. The cables also contain support for the joint Syrian-Palestinian efforts, which are a guarantee to foil As-Sadat's conspiracies and all conspiracies being concocted against Arab rights and the national rights of the Palestinian people.

The second time was today, after the world admitted that we are the champions of love and peace for the benefit of the land and the happiness of man.

Brothers and sisters, sons of the Egyptian family and members of the People's Assembly, what is happening today after the historic journey of peace to Jerusalem is the brilliant result of the glorious October victory. The October victory has been completed today. We entered the war to liberate the land and to uphold the Palestinians' rights in order that peace may prevail. There can be no peace as long as the land is usurped and as long as the Palestinians' rights are denied or evaded.

We showed the world, West and East, after our military victory in the glorious October battle, that our soldiers are capable of waging war. The lessons of that war are being taught now in all military institutes in the various parts of the world. No invincible force or a long arm threatening us was able to stand before our men. The Egyptian flag flew over the liberated territory after the greatest military operation in history. Our men stormed fire, flames and dangers.

In the name of God and with the will of God, the Egyptian men destroyed the biggest armed bastion along a length of 170 km. They had told us that this bastion would only collapse with an atomic bomb [dharriyah]. The Egyptian soldiers proved that the determination to establish justice, the resolve of men and the courage of heroes are stronger than all atomic bombs. [applause]

We showed the world and it in turn testified that the sons of the Egyptian armed forces had achieved a military miracle.

I tell you here that the leaders of Israel whom I met in Jerusalem have expressed to me with all respect of one fighter to another their great admiration for the splendor of the performance of our heroes and their magnificent performance. This is a testimony from the foe and our sons in the Egyptian armed forces have the right to know about it. The names of my deputy Husni Mubarak and General al-Jamasi were mentioned with much reverence.

However, the question remains: Why did we enter the war? Why did we sacrifice our sons, who are the lifeblood of this homeland, to face death in order that they might grant life to Egypt? Why did we sacrifice the greatest share of our national income? Why did we even sacrifice our daily bread and are still sacrificing it in order to buy advanced weapons with every source of income no matter how small?

We entered the war after all our peace efforts had failed. We entered the war after the superpowers and all the powers had closed all the doors to peace in our face. We entered the war after the world turned a deaf ear to the peace call which we previously and sincerely made. We also entered the war after everyone turned their backs, wrongly imagining that we were weak and that we would fade away, unable to move even within the next 50 years. We entered the war after we reached a condition which I have often described, namely, to exist or not to exist.

Perhaps you recall that I told the armed forces commanders during the recorded secret meetings in preparation for the war that it would be better for us to be martyred while liberating one inch of the land than living under the policy of neither peace nor war, which they tried to impose on us as despised slaves. This is our responsibility toward our succeeding generations. It is also our responsibility to set for them an example and honor and to have them realize that their fathers lived as men and died as men.

I can tell you frankly that arrogance never possessed me when we were at the height of victory. Arrogance also never possessed me when our victorious and valiant forces were destroying one position after another and successively liberating the land. Rather I was overwhelmed with other feelings. I wanted a green plantation instead of skulls. I wanted water to irrigate life instead of blood to extinguish life. I wanted man to live and build and not to destroy by arms and demolish. I did not want wives to become widows, children to become orphans and fathers to lose their sons. The happiness of someone should not be built at the expense of the hardship of others. As I said in the Israeli Knesset: Every life extinguished during war is a human life. For this I came here, to this rostrum, to your esteemed assembly, on 16 October 1973 when we were at the highest point of victory and from here I sent my call to the world for the sake of convening an international conference for peace. Proceeding from this, our call for peace, therefore, did not come as a petition for security when we were defeated and collapsed. Our call for peace, in which we urged the entire world, proceeded from our pan-Arab message and in accordance with the teachings of our religion and all religions.

Our call was not an evasion of responsibility or a lack of capability to make a decision; rather it was for the sake of peace out of our duty to perform responsibilities and our capability of adopting decisions. The cease-fire was established and international will adopted a resolution regarding the Geneva conference. The first and second disengagements took place and our policy of openness was thus adopted, extending the hands of friendship, cooperation and peace with all countries of the world.

This continued until the recent talks U.S. President Carter had with all the parties concerned in the dispute to hold the Geneva conference last September.

I noticed then that everything began to change. Artificial obstacles began to appear. Fabricated hinderances began to be placed. When peace began encircling Israel from all sides, it became quite clear that a high wall of doubts, fears and a deeply rooted lack of confidence which portrayed peace as a period of truce for a new destruction and fighting created a state which I defined in the Israeli Knesset as a psychological barrier separating us in a manner that caution prevailed in every sentence, stubbornness abolished every step and fear virtually frustrated all efforts. Discussion over a single word took months and agreement on a single statement became an impossibility.

If this were the case while we were still dealing with procedures and formalities, what would be the case when we entered into substantive issues? I then pondered. A way out was inevitable. God is my witness how much I agonized in seeking a way out. God knows that the feelings of our people inspired me in all my thinking and contacts. My suffering went on for several weeks. There were differences over a word or a paper; at one time a U.S. paper and at another a U.S.-Israeli paper. It was a new vicious circle in which we would have entered and strayed, leaving the substance. I continued to think until I came to this dome and this hall. I reached the most difficult decision. I told you and the world that in order not to have a single one of my sons injured, I was ready to go to the end of the world and to the Knesset in Israel to frankly tell them all the facts and to tell them a word of truth, justice and peace so that we could break the barrier of doubts, fears and lack of confidence and then leave everything to the will of God.

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I declared my decision and wanted to bear responsibility for it before the people, history and you. I did not doubt at all that the impact of the decision would be strange. I did not doubt that comprehension of the dimensions of this decision would not be easy if I asked the opinions of the brother Arab kings and presidents. I announced my decision with complete conviction and belief that if the matter necessitated that this task be my last task as president of the republic, I would carry it out and then would have come to you here to submit to you, the legitimate authority, my resignation because of my absolute belief that it is the most sacred task and the most pure mission, despite my knowledge that some will embark on outbidding, exploiting the situation and vituperations. This is what I frankly told President al-Asad when I visited Syria 3 days before I went to Jerusalem.

I stand before you after that historic trip was made in order to submit to you an account. Thanks be to God, the first and greatest aim of the peace trip has been achieved--the barriers of doubt, lack of confidence and fear have been destroyed.

Yes, I say with complete happiness that the first and greatest aim of the peace trip has been achieved--the barriers of doubt, fears, lack of confidence and hatred have been destroyed. We and the Israelis began behaving in a civilized manner, committed like responsible leaders toward their peoples and the coming generations who have a natural right to a secure and dignified life.

We agreed to move from the phase of threatening with fire to dialog with facts and truths; from the language of the gun and death to debate with words for the sake of life. I did not ask for peace from a position of weakness or make an appeal. You heard me say before the Knesset that in its search for just and durable peace, the Arab nation does not act from a position of weakness or shakiness. On the contrary, it has the requisites of power and stability to make its opinion stem from a sincere will for peace.

I also said that our land is sacred and that you would finally have to abandon the dreams of invasion. You also have to relinquish the idea that force is the best way to deal with the Arabs. You have to absorb well the lessons of confrontation between us and you. Expansion will not do you any good. Our land is not subject to bargaining or argument. The national and pan-Arab soil is our sacred valley [tuwah]. None of us has the right, or agrees, to relinquish one single inch of it, or to accept the principles of arguing or bargaining over it.

I said all this in the Knesset. You heard it, the entire world heard it and the Israeli people heard it. I also said before them that we insist on achieving total withdrawal from the occupied Arab land, including Arab Jerusalem. No peace will be achieved or built as long as the land of others is occupied. No peace will be achieved without the Palestinians and without the recognition of the Palestinian people and their right to establish their state and their repatriation. I also said that even if we reach peace agreements [ittifaqat salam] between Israel and each of the frontline states, without solving the Palestinian issue, there will be no peace. You heard all this and the entire world and the Israeli people heard it.

At the meetings with the committees in the Knesset--with all the parliamentary groups--I told them: You have difficult decisions to make and there is no escape from them. We preceded you by taking a decision unprecedented in history.

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I focused the points of discussion on the correct way to tackle our big issue from its roots. I told them: We want the land--our right. They said we want security. I said: Yes, you will have this, giving up expansion. I told them: We want the state of Palestine and the solution of the Palestinian problem on its soil. They said they want to protect their state from danger. I told them: You are right. We agreed not to have a war after the October war. We agreed that our way to solve all problems is to sit at the table as a civilized man holding a discussion with another civilized man. If we do not achieve anything, I would return to you so you would make the decision with me. [applause]

Brothers and sisters, the outcome of the talks which I had with the officials of the [Israeli] Government and the members of the various political blocs was as follows:

1. No Israeli official can cast doubt any longer on the sincerity of the Arabs' desire to reach a just peace.
2. There was unanimity in Israel and on the international level that Israel on its part must make an initiative in reply to the great step I have made.
3. The facts of the issue have been made well known to the Israeli public without any falsification or deception. Perhaps the most important points which have become clear to every Israeli is the right of the Palestinian people to establish their state on their land and to return home, not in order to threaten the security of Israel, but to exercise their natural right to secure life within the national entity they choose.
4. The Arab position has won international support which we could not have achieved in dozens of years through any other effort, regardless of how enormous it was.
5. A large number of Israeli officials has been convinced that the Arabs will not accept any settlement unless it includes the liberation of the Arab lands which have been occupied since June 1967 and the establishment of a Palestinian state.
6. The visit did not lead to the relinquishment of any legal or historic right of the Arab nation.

The legal status between us and Israel remains as it was before the visit. The measures which were taken during the visit and the events which took place during the visit cannot be interpreted as acceptance on our part of situations which we did not accept before. You might note that in my speech to the Knesset, I concentrated on our upholding our right to Arab Jerusalem and our nonrecognition of its annexation to Israel.

Perhaps some people might ask: If the legal status remains as it is and as it was, without change, where then is the change?

The answer is that the basic change was introduced to the psychological climate which engulfs the problem, creating a real hope to put an end to wars and the suffering and to establish just peace in the area. Therefore, what has been said about the termination of the state of war is something for the future, if the objective conditions which we have set as an indispensable basis for the termination of the state of war are achieved.

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7. Just as I was careful not to commit the Egyptian people to anything affecting their legal and historic rights or restricting their movement in the present and the future, I have not committed any other Arab side to anything at all. On the contrary, I volunteered on more than one occasion to draw attention to the fact that I was not speaking in the name of any of the Arab brethren. This is not to say that I have bound myself to anything committing them or harming their rights.

8. Many pro-Israeli pressure groups in other countries have all been neutralized. Furthermore, some of them have become a force of pressure on Israel itself. Everyone will feel the dimensions of this change in the next few weeks.

Perhaps there might be a question about the specific, tangible results we have achieved from this daring step. This is a legitimate, justifiable question. To answer this, I must say that naturally we did not have in mind reaching a comprehensive and complete settlement of the dispute in 2 days. Furthermore, it was absolutely out of the question for us to reach a separate agreement with Israel. If this had been considered in our portfolio or in our calculations, it would have been the easiest thing to do.

Within these limits, it was not planned or expected to reach an agreement on all the aspects of the conflict. However, it was possible to agree with Israeli officials on the following:

1. That within the [Geneva] conference we all turn to seriously discussing substantive issues and not waste our time on procedural formalities.

2. That our staging point in discussions within the conference, while we debate the theory of security demanded by Israel--that this logic in discussions--be free of the idea of seizure or annexation of territory and be confined only to providing security for all under just conditions.

This was a summation of what happened in Israel. Today, as I come to you, you heard me say here that the basic and main aim was to remove the psychological barrier which has left among us what it has left and generated among us what it has generated--the doubts, suspicion, fear, distrust and chauvinism which possess either side when the name of the other side is mentioned.

It was not possible at all to go to Geneva, as I told you here, while we harbor such feelings toward one other. You heard me say that during the [negotiations for] the second disengagement agreement, we used to differ and Dr Kissinger used to travel from Tel Aviv to Alexandria in order to change one word or put in a comma. This was of course the result of the psychological barrier which existed between us.

Moreover, what I had expected was achieved. No one can imagine how an official like me feels the conditions in which he is living.

In a session with the Israeli defense minister, Ezer Weizman, he asked me: Why did you want to attack us in the past 10 days? I told him: Never; you started a maneuver. In accord with our practice following the October war and with our method--the method of civilized states which are aware of their responsibility--when you started your maneuvers, Al-Jamasi also began his maneuvers of equal size. [applause]

He said: All the intelligence reports are here before me; he showed them to me. The reports say that you were going to deal us a surprise strike. He was very nervous. I told him: Never, never. You must know that we will reply immediately to any action which you embark upon. You staged an exercise. Al-Jamasi immediately began an exercise on the same level and scale of the exercise staged by Israel.

I told him: Once, you sent a pilotless plane over the west bank of the canal. The electronic plane avoided our defenses and returned. On the same day, Al-Jamasi issued orders to two Egyptian planes with their pilots to fly over Israeli positions. [applause]

This is the psychological barrier I am talking about. They were in a state of extreme nervousness and tension for 10 days, particularly after the October war and following the performance of the Egyptian officers and soldiers in the October war and after what was proven by the Egyptian military. This explains what Israeli Chief of Staff Gur had said--that I had taken the initiative, the initiative to go to the Knesset as a kind of deception to cover a new strike. Strategic and tactical deception is possible and I have a complete right to it but I will never deceive anyone morally. [applause]

I asked Dayan: in 1971, and from this rostrum, I made an initiative--as you, gentlemen, remember, the initiative called for Israel's withdrawal from the east bank of the canal to the passes and, in return, we would have permitted the clearing of the Suez Canal and started navigation in it provided this would have been the first step in a timetable for withdrawal to be discussed by Gunnar Jarring between the parties concerned-- I asked Dayan: You were defense minister in 1971; Why did you not believe me when I declared the initiative in 1971? He said: We waited but later you announced that 1971 was the decisive year; 1971 passed and nothing decisive took place. Therefore, we did not take this subject seriously because it was possible that the 1973 battle would not have taken place if they had responded to my initiative at the time.

I asked him: What about 1973, when I was taking deceptive strategic steps through mobilization exercises and each time he reacted; he reacted twice but he did not react the third time, which was the decisive time. He said: We never believed that you could act. He even spoke to me about something funny that took place 2 days before the attack-- that is on 4 and 5 October. They felt that there was something going on. The satellites took photographs and they used all the modern electronic equipment available. At noon on 6 October, they were certain that nothing was going to happen because the army ammunition trucks traveling continuously on the road to the canal were empty. I told him: The ammunition was in position 5 months earlier. The reason why I did not send it in ammunition trucks is because it could be detected. The ammunition had been sent by train 5 months earlier and stored there.

We talked about all this; but when you stop to think that for a period of 10 days, because of a mere miscalculation and the existing psychological barrier, which entailed mistrust and suspicion of each other in any move made, plus the sudden blow dealt by our armed forces--a blow that is extremely respected in Israel, as I said, a blow that gave them a psychological complex--we could very possibly have been led to a battle.

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What I had calculated while in this position was that in a situation similar to ours, anything beyond our control and also beyond their control might happen. Finally, we could stand with everyone of us saying: I have no control over this, but doubt, suspicion, fear of deception and anything else resulting from the psychological barrier. Therefore, I went to meet with the Knesset, and through it, the whole of Israeli opinion to place the realities of the issue before them.

Here we return to what Dayan said about the year of decisiveness. Syria is now pushing the Palestinians, as usual, although you heard me here when I said--to the Knesset and the people of Israel too--that even if peace agreements are signed between Israel and all the confrontation states while the Palestinian issue remains resolved, there will be no peace. The Palestinians came, exactly as is their habit--and here I really pity them. I pity them after visiting Jerusalem and after meeting our kinsfolk from among the Arabs in Arab Jerusalem. They blame me because I visited Jerusalem. I am proud that 10 years after [the occupation] nobody asked about the deprived and about those living under Israeli occupation. The Arab women, our daughters, came to me at the Dome of the Rock asking me to intervene because their sons and husbands are in prison, while the strugglers who stand near their radios and sit in coffeeshops and cabarets talk. [prolonged applause]

The Palestinians must ask themselves: Who opened fire on them; was it Egypt? Who has been and still is truthful in every word, without maneuvering and deception? We have not asked for the formation of a party in the Israeli liberation organization [as heard], as Syria and the others have done. We have no narrow partisan outlook, as Syria has. The Palestinians know what is expected of them. When the men of the West Bank--who have lived and still live under occupation for 10 successive years--came to me in the King David Hotel, and when the imam of the Al-Aqsa Mosque--the first of the two qiblas and the third holiest shrine--stood up and delivered the 'Id sermon and said: "Had it not been for your arrival, the world would have not heard about us and no relay would have been made"--because the entire prayer was carried by televisions throughout the world--hundreds of millions in Europe, America and as far as Australia were witness to these events because they were listening to the prayers, and he explained his case before me in the Al-Aqsa Mosque. Afterward, there was outbidding and an exploitation of the situation. They did the same after the first disengagement agreement. Who was, and is, behind this?

I have already told the story of the second disengagement. The Soviet ambassador went to Yasir 'Arafat and held a meeting with him and he went to the Syrian rulers and met with them. He gave them a statement on the second disengagement of forces agreement, telling them that it contained the public and secret clauses of the agreement. He told them that Egypt had sold out the cause and that Egypt was going to conclude a unilateral settlement.

The second disengagement agreement became known and, indeed, it did turn out that there were three secret agreements which I did not want at all to disclose because it is my nature to behave with honor and without trickery. The three secret agreements which they made me reveal were--two of them concerned Syria and the third concerned the Palestinians. The first two agreements, concerning Syria, included an agreement that the United States would guarantee to me--under the second disengagement agreement--that Israel would not attack Syria.

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The second agreement stipulated that a second disengagement would take place on the Syrian front, as had taken place on the Egyptian front. The third agreement provided that there would be no settlement for the Middle East problem without the Palestinians. I am not aware of what the Soviet Union is telling them now but definitely, I regret to say that the Syrians are continuing to follow the same line. President Hafiz al-Asad sent me his envoy. I met the envoy who had come to me to discuss a U.S.-Israeli paper, a U.S. paper, and a so-and-so paper. I told the envoy: I am going to Geneva on the basis of any paper whatsoever. He said: Well, the paper calls for geographical committees; namely, Egypt-Israel, Syria-Israel; no, we want substantive committees; that is, a committee on withdrawal and a committee on so and so. I told him, I grant you these things, sir: substantive, geographical, devilish, clownish I agree. [laughter] I have no problem, but we will waste our time and we will continue to waste our time over a geographical and substantive committee and over whether this is an American or I Israeli plan and we will lose track of the essence, which is the 1967 territory and the Palestinian people's rights.

Who is preserving the rights? I am only recalling this because, as I told you we are at the peak of our victory. I thank God that we have triumphed over ourselves before we triumphed over anything else. Then, we crowned our work in October in which the armed forces carried out the most splendid performance. We completed this work with total victory and by the triumph of peace and through discussions we are trying to recover all the rights without other battles. I consider this to be a moment of victory for us. For this reason, I am not saying these things on the premise that I am taking anyone to task or that I take notice of these prevarications. We had our fill of these prevarications during the first disengagement, during the second disengagement, in the time between the two and during the subsequent events.

I went to President Hafiz al-Asad. When he sent me his envoy--as I told you--to discuss and say things, I told him: I agree to anything, not because I am squandering the cause. No. I agree to so that we will go to Geneva, Israel will come too and we will make our cause known clearly to the world.

The points he raised with me included one saying that, if we go to Geneva and there are geographical committees, Israel, if it sits with every one of us, will take everything it wants. I told him: I regret. I reject this logic. This is the logic of the Syrian Ba'th Party. I reject it. By God, even if the superpowers and the whole world sit with me to take from me what I do not want to give them, then I will not give them what they want. Never. [applause]

Why do all such complexes--that Israel would receive concessions from us, that the United States would exert pressure upon us and that the Soviet Union would also pressure us--exist? Why must we let others handle our affairs? From the time I came to your assembly, under this dome and declared my decision, everybody must have known that since I assumed power, our policy has been completely clear; namely, that there will be no mediation by anyone in our affairs and that no one has any trusteeship at all over our relations with others. Never.

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Another such case took place some time ago after the 1967 battles. I had outlined to you its circumstances. I will explain this once again as a reminder. 'Abd an-Nasir had agreed with me--I say that I approved of this--that we would attempt to eliminate the Soviet Union's doubts by allowing it to discuss matters with the United States. This was immediately after the 1967 defeat. At the time, such a matter was inevitable because the Soviet Union was the only source selling us arms and the only country that said it supported us. As you are aware, at the time of 'Abd an-Nasir, our relations with all sides were disrupted--with the West, Arabs and others, save only the Soviet Union. The Soviets are suspicious by nature. Well, we said we had no objection to the Soviets' speaking with the Americans and whatever the Soviets decided with the Americans we would approve of in order to eliminate the Soviet Union's doubts.

In 1968, before the elections, Johnson attempted to restore relations in a way exhibiting malicious joy. 'Abd an-Nasir and I refused but we gave the Soviet Union the right to speak for us.

This is what is behind all that we are hearing today. We will not exchange insults or abuses but we always discuss the issue. 'Abd an-Nasir gave them this right. However, you all recall that in 1970 before he died, on 1 May on Labor Day in Shubra, 'Abd an-Nasir addressed his speech, for the first time, to U.S. President Nixon. Why? You heard me explaining the story. We allowed the Soviets to speak for us, we had no objection, in order to eliminate their doubts. But such doubts remained. It was completely clear that the Soviet Union's policy was and continued to be that we should remain under the state of no war, no peace because in the Soviet Union's assessment and analysis we would no longer need the Soviets once our battle ended. This was the Soviet Union's assessment. Therefore, a state of no war, no peace continued.

'Abd an-Nasir addressed his speech to Nixon on 1 May 1970. Why? Because we were disgusted with trusteeship and with the fact that we were asked to remain in a state of imbalance, no peace, no war, so that the Soviet Union would handle our affairs. 'Abd an-Nasir addressed his speech to Nixon. If the Soviets had made a sound analysis, they should have known that 'Abd an-Nasir had withdrawn the license given to them to speak for us regarding our question or problem. A few months later, 'Abd an-Nasir died and I came to power. You will all recall the first situation I confronted in my first visit [to Moscow] as president of Egypt on 1 and 2 March 1971, when I asked them about the deterrent weapon which they had promised 'Abd an-Nasir 1 year before. 'Abd an-Nasir died in grief because they did not do anything for him. This made 'Abd an-Nasir address his speech to Nixon the same year. The Soviets had promised him a year before to provide him with deterrent and other weapons but they did not fulfill their promise. They were surprised because they believed that I knew nothing. But, as I told you, as vice president of the republic there were no secrets between me and 'Abd an-Nasir.

When I asked them for deterrent weapons, I told them: You did not honor your promise to the man who died ['Abd an-Nasir]; you let him make his speech on 1 May and declare in the Kremlin in June his acceptance of Rogers' initiative. Brezhnev became excited and told him: How can you accept Rogers' initiative? Do you accept an American solution?

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'Abd an-Nasir told Brezhnev: I would accept a solution from the devil after what you have done to me. That was 'Abd an-Nasir--but he was not able to say it, may God have mercy upon his soul. 'Abd an-Nasir returned to Egypt and died 2 months later.

During my first visit [to the Soviet Union], I asked them: Where are the deterrent weapons and where are the things you promised 'Abd an-Nasir? They said: We are prepared to send you what we promised 'Abd an-Nasir provided it will be used only on orders from Moscow. This is what happened. What happened is that I asked them for only deterrent weapons. The Egyptian delegation which accompanied me included a group of the centers of power which later collapsed. All members of this group were Soviet agents. I told them: I refuse and put this down in the minutes. I officially refuse these weapons. This is the first thing. The second thing is: You must know that there will never be a decision in Egypt other than the decision of the people of Egypt and the president of Egypt. [applause] this is all recorded in the minutes and the witnesses to it are still alive. Some of them are in prison and others are outside. All of them are still alive.

Therefore, this is the problem we face today. The problem is not the Syrian Ba'th Party pushing the Palestinians. No, it is the one who is behind all of these. Something strange. It is the same as when Moscow radio said that what took place on 18 and 19 January was a popular uprising. It described the uprising of the thieves as a popular uprising and applauded it. It said that the people would rise up and do this and that and that a military coup was imminent. Its agents here and the society of beneficiaries, who are also its agents, found out that this kind of talk rewards them and therefore they supplied it to Moscow radio to broadcast. Moscow radio is now saying that I have given up the cause. This is an indication.

The Soviets heard my speech in the Knesset. Only the leaders heard it. As you know, PRAVDA comes out with only four pages. If they had wanted to publish my speech, PRAVDA would have come out with a special edition of 100 pages. PRAVDA has been coming out with more than four pages for 60 years. It will not come out with more than four pages. In any case, Moscow radio has been talking a lot about Arab rights. Syria followed suit and exerted pressure on the unfortunate Palestinians. Others adopted emotional stands. I would have wished that the Soviet leaders would put my speech before their people--write it out and then broadcast it on television to the people and then ask their opinion. I ask exactly the same from those who have been hit by hysteria--the few groups that are known in our Arab world. These groups will never change, not even if we humor them. They are of no consequence. But what is the connection between what Moscow radio says and what they do? When the second engagement was concluded, Moscow radio said that As-Sadat had sold out the [Arab] cause and concluded a unilateral solution. I told Al-Asad that the words "unilateral solution" had been imported from Moscow. Gromyko was with me for 1 whole hour in Al-Qanatir. I told him: You have introduced these words in the area and I refuse to hear them from you. This is what I told Gromyko.

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The words 'unilateral solution' were introduced to drive a wedge among us. What is the connection between Moscow and those who are now posing as firm advocates of the cause and fervent patriots and Arabs at the expense of the sufferings of our women in Jerusalem and in the occupied territories and of their husbands and sons? Their line is one. The Soviet Union pretends to be the champion of the cause of Arab nationalism and Moscow radio accuses As-Sadat of selling out this cause. The others immediately follow suit. This is strange. What does this mean? We can think and we have definitely not lost our senses.

I had wished that all these regrettable matters would not have occurred after the October battle and after the October generation. The world respected us after the October battle. Today I tell you, even those with whom we had fought and on whom we had inflicted the heaviest losses they have known in 30 years now pay tribute to the Egyptian armed forces, to Husni Mubarak and to Al-Jamasi. They are talking with utmost respect. They have come to know who the Arabs are.

I would have liked that this would not be the method used by our Arab brothers in this situation which we have arrived at. Are they worried because the hundreds of millions in Europe, America, Australia and the entire world were following my visit and holding their breath throughout my visit, and even before, during and after the visit? What is worrying them? I do not know. Is it the question of the Palestinian rights? Well, the Palestinian rights were put on record before the Knesset and the Israeli people. It is the first time that I confronted them in their own home, in their very own home, and with utmost frankness, with Arab Jerusalem, the Palestinian people's rights, and the establishment of their state. All these things are written down. They were raised either before the Knesset or at the various press conferences during which we sat down with the Israeli prime minister before all the world's journalists.

It is indeed regrettable that some people in the Arab world still resort to the method of prevarications, superficiality, absurdity and childishness. These things do not, and will never, exist in Egypt. We all always forge ahead and we know our objective.

So that what we have initiated can be completed, I am on this day--following my address to you, and exactly as happened the last time, I will ask the Egyptian foreign minister to contact the UN secretary general and the two superpowers so that he will tell them that Cairo is prepared, as of next Saturday, God willing, to receive all the parties to the conflict, including the two superpowers. We will also send [invitations]--to all the parties to the conflict, including Israel, so that we will sit down and prepare for the Geneva conference so that we will not go to Geneva to hold discussions lasting for years; never, but so that we will discuss within months all these matters. [applause] I will send invitations, as I have said, to the two superpowers, to the UN secretary general, to the parties to the conflict, which are all the confrontation states--including Israel. Despite what I have said and say about the Soviet Union, we will invite the Soviet Union so that it will not believe that we want to exclude it from the settlement--never. But here is a warning: If it tries to set up obstacles, definitely, it will commit the greatest mistake in its existence because, I announce it frankly before you, we will accept anything in which we will find peace based on justice and the Soviet Union or others have nothing to do with this. [applause]

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Concerning the Palestinians, I will now say, as I said on 10 Ramadan 2 years after the battle--regrettably the same situation existed concerning the Syrians, and the Soviet Union behind them, all in order to divide the Arab ranks--once again I will say what I said on 10 Ramadan some years ago: That we will try to bear with the representatives of the Palestinian people themselves. We will bear with them once again, and we will bear with their rashness and deception not only in response to the Palestinians in our occupied territory and their entreaties to me to disregard such triviality--they have recorded this in their own voice and this will be broadcast to you over television and radio--but because Egypt, despite all such abuses, absolutely will not deviate from its goal and will never forsake anything. This is because, as far as Egypt is concerned, the matter is always one of ethics and principles before anything else. We will disregard such trivialities.

However, regarding a statement which is being exploited now, I have sent the Syrian Ba'th Party my reply to this through President Hafiz al-Asad's envoy who was accompanied by a delegate from the party. Every word said then was recorded on tape. I told him: My son, you may record, write and underline twice. Arab solidarity should not be a game to which anyone resorts to impose his viewpoint. Ever. The Syrian Ba'th Party's method has not changed from before the war, during the war and since the war to this day. It has never changed. Their assumption is treason. Regarding the first Geneva conference, they said that we had agreed with the United States and went there while they had refused to go and got involved in their refusal without study or knowledge. They said no just because we went there. They said that Egypt reached a separate agreement and that it was going to Geneva just to sign it.

The Syrians will say the same thing time and again, tomorrow and the day after. We will put all such talk under our feet and we will not heed it because Egypt upholds its Arab commitment.

Arab solidarity never means that anyone--particularly those whose mentality is petrified, fanatical, narrow-minded and deeply involved in partisanship and rancor--should dictate his will upon others. It never means that if others failed to respond then Arab solidarity will vanish. Never.

Egypt, as everyone has acknowledged, is the balance of the Arab nation. The key to war and peace is Egypt, although I have not been compensated a single weapon out of the arms I lost in the October war, while the Soviet Union compensated Syria. Apart from this, the Soviet Union sent to Syria well over four enormous deals. The same thing happened to Israel. However, as I told you, fear was caused in Israel just by Al-Jamasi's maneuvers, while I had not even replaced all my weapons.

Despite this, I was not angered or upset. Nor did I launch attacks and I will not launch attacks. The Soviet Union is free. It can sell to whomever it wants and it can refrain from selling to whomever it does not want to sell to. The Soviet Union is free to do these things. I have not asked the Syrians: For the sake of comradeship, at least send the spare parts withheld by the Soviet Union so that my planes would be grounded and so that I would have to go on my knees to them because of the planes. Never. However, Iraq is now using abusive language against us. Iraq is insulting us, but we know what Iraq is doing, what is going on is between Iraq and Syria, but it uses us as a detour to reach Syria. These are the facts. [applause]

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Brothers and sisters. I do not want to take too much of your time. By this, I only wanted to present to you, the legitimate authority and the rest of the Egyptian family, a complete report on what had taken place and then to follow up the matter whenever something new develops. However, as I explained to you, I will charge the foreign minister today, God willing, to inform the UN secretary general, the two superpowers and the sides to the dispute--the Arabs, the confrontation states and Israel--[to tell them] that Cairo welcomes them at any time as of next Saturday so that we may direct our efforts toward action, accomplishment and solving the problem. As I have promised you, the details will be put before you, step by step.

I would like to convey to the people in your constituencies my unlimited gratitude to and pride in them, in every man, in every woman and in the millions who came out to express their true feelings toward me and to express as one family their joy over my return and our victory, rather, the completion of our victory, in October.

I will never forget the Egyptian woman for her reception. She was at the most splendid level of responsibility. [applause] To all of them I say: O, every man, woman, youth and child on our land; O, every man who has given and who is still giving food; O, every woman who offered her child in the most honest fight and purest struggle and who generously surrounded me with her sympathy and encouragement and prayers in Egypt's greatest days; O, every woman, daughter of the woman who received the bullets of the colonialist in her chest during the 1919 revolution and mother, sister and wife to those who offered their lives in the immortal October for the sake of our great Egypt; O, every youth, for the sake of whom we swore to God and with a sense of duty that he shall not sustain any wounds as long as we are capable of making peace; O, our noble people; and O, our Egyptian family, this is my pledge to you: We will not back down from the struggle for peace. We will not worship the idols of conventional formulas, the idols of adolescent minds, and the idols of self-deception in our national struggle. We will smash these idols into debris and dust. This is my pledge to you. For you, I sacrifice my life to the last breath and, with you, I will embark boldly upon life, God willing, so that life may triumph over the enemies of life.

Our God, make not our hearts to swerve after that Thou has guided us, and give us mercy from thee; Thou art the Giver. Peace be upon you. [applause]

INVITATIONS TO MEETING DELIVERED TO PARTIES CONCERNED

NC281428Y Cairo Domestic Service in Arabic 1230 GMT 28 Nov 77 NC

[Text] The radio correspondent has learned that the Arab Republic of Egypt announced today that the invitations on attendance of the Cairo meeting which President Anwar as-Sadat had called to prepare for the convening of the Geneva conference have been delivered.

Acting Foreign Minister Dr Butrus Ghali has handed the ambassadors of the United States, the Soviet Union, Syria and Jordan and the Lebanese charge d'affaires the invitations to their respective governments.

With respect to Israel, the Egyptian permanent UN delegate Dr 'Ismat 'Abd al-Majid, has handed the Israeli UN delegate his country's invitation. Dr Ahmad Sidqi ad-Dajani has received the PLO invitation.

The radio correspondent has learned that the level of the meeting has not yet been fixed and that invitations were sent to the foreign ministers, who will decide the level on which the meeting will be held. The correspondent has also learned that the meeting will not have an agenda and that in view of the fact that it is an unofficial meeting, it will not be restricted by any procedures. Cairo is awaiting replies from the parties who will participate so as to fix the date of the meeting, which Cairo had called for Saturday.

Foreign Ministry sources have said that during the meetings the acting foreign minister held with the ambassadors of the states concerned yesterday amicable discussions took place and the acting foreign minister explained Egypt's view on the meeting, which will be preparing for the Geneva conference.

AS-SADAT THANKS ARAB LEADERS FOR SUPPORT

NC261635Y Cairo MENA in Arabic 1607 GMT 26 Nov 77 NC

[Text] Cairo, 26 November--President Muhammad Anwar as-Sadat has sent thank you cables to Sudanese President Ja'far Numayri, King Hassan II of Morocco and Sultan Qabus ibn Sa'id of Oman.

These cables conveyed President as-Sadat's thanks for their positive pan-Arab stands regarding the moves toward a just peace in the Middle East and the defense of the Arab question.

PRESIDENT AS-SADAT TO SPEND WEEK IN ISMAILIA

NC261511Y Cairo MENA in Arabic 1336 GMT 26 Nov 77 NC

[Text] Ismailia, 26 November--At 1400 today President Muhammad Anwar as-Sadat arrived at Al-Jala' Airport in Ismailia aboard a private plane. He was accompanied by Vice President Husni Mubarak, Prime Minister Mamduh Salim and the head of the parliamentary bloc of Ismailia deputies, 'Uthman Ahmad 'Uthman.

Ismailia Governor Maj Gen Mahmud Zaki 'Abd al-Latif, Port Said Governor Sayyid Sarhan, Suez Governor Maj Gen Mahrus Abu Husayn, Ash-Sharqiyah Governor Maj Gen 'Abd al-Mun'im Wasil, and popular, political and executive leaders were at the airport to receive him.

Large numbers of citizens, the sons of the governorates bordering Ismailia and citizens of Ismailia and suburbs welcomed President Anwar as-Sadat along the road from Al-Jala' Airport to Salah ad-din Street, which was decorated with triumphal arches.

It took President as-Sadat's motorcade 25 minutes to cover the journey from Al-Jala' Airport to An-Nakhil rest house amid large crowds lining the road to welcome the president, whereas it usually does not take more than 5 minutes to cover the same distance by car.

President as-Sadat will spend a week in Ismailia during which he will review food security projects and open a new model village in the Sarabiyum area which comprises 200 model rural houses.

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*CHRIS* AS-SADAT GRANTS INTERVIEWS TO U.S. TV NETWORKS

Interview With NBC

LD271934Y Cairo MENA in Arabic 1600 GMT 27 Nov 77 LD

*ANWAR al SADAT*

[Text] Cairo, 27 November--President Anwar as-Sadat has affirmed that the aim of calling for the Cairo meeting with presence of all parties concerned in the Middle East crisis, including the United States and the Soviet Union, is to prepare for the Geneva conference. He said: I am only seeking the proper way to prepare for the Geneva conference because the failure of the conference would be a very dangerous setback. He explained that the ultimate aim is peace and not the Geneva conference itself. Therefore, we must not go to Geneva to differ and waste time on procedures. *BF*

The president stated that he is not calling for the Cairo conference to be attended at a particular level, such as foreign ministers. The matter is left to the parties concerned to decide the level of their representatives.

The president made these statements in an interview he granted to NBC.

The questions were put to the president by Mr John Palmer, the overseas correspondent of NBC, and Mr John Chancellor, the world editor of NBC. Twelve U.S. reporters and technicians took part in preparing the interview including Abdallah Schleiffer, the NBC Cairo bureau director, and Tom Walzein, production director for the Middle East station, and Jimme Lee and Anthony Piowar. The following is the text of the interview:

Question: Your Excellency, you stated in your speech that you are ready to welcome here all the parties concerned with the Middle East crisis including the United States, the USSR and Israel. Do you intend to receive the heads of these states here in Cairo?

As-Sadat: Well, I truly welcome them, but my primary objective at this decisive stage is to try to pave the ground for Geneva. Hence, there is no need at all for the heads of state to be present. I have always proposed, and I particularly did so when Vance came here, that a working committee be formed under Vance to prepare for the Geneva conference. This should be done because the Geneva conference is not an end in itself because the objective is peace. Hence we must not go to Geneva and [word indistinct] and waste a great deal of time there over procedural matters and the like. But we must do so through this preliminary committee or working group or something like it. I now return to my proposal and say that I am prepared to welcome delegates from all the parties to the conflict next Saturday.

Question: Mr President, will it be at the foreign ministers' level then--and is that a good idea?

As-Sadat: Well, the message which our foreign minister will send out today to the two superpowers, the UN secretary general and all the confrontation states including the Palestinians and Israel, will state that we have to agree on the level. We do not demand any specific level such as that of the foreign ministers or any other level. We leave this for them to decide.

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Question: Mr President, if the representatives of the various parties gathered here at the foreign ministers or any other level, would it not be possible to discuss the basic details thus obviating the need for the convocation of the Geneva conference? Is it not likely that you could settle the question here?

As-Sadat: Well, believe me, I do not aim at that at all. What really concerns me is the following: Without preparations, Geneva will be a failure and this will be an extremely serious setback.

Question: Mr President, I am confident that you are a man known for his courage in taking risks. But would it not be a risk inviting not only the United States, the USSR and Israel, but also Syria against whom you levelled some criticism in your speech today? What will happen if they fail to come? Would this not bring your peace initiative to an end if the Cairo conference failed to achieve any success because some of the parties failed to attend?

As-Sadat: Not at all. You might recall that in my speech to parliament today, I said that I had pledged before the parliament previously to continue my peace initiative and I do not mean to embarrass anybody at all. I am only trying to seek a sound way to prepare for Geneva and for the ultimate objective of us all which is peace, lasting peace in the area. I never intended to place anyone in an impasse or to do anything like that. As far as the Syrians are concerned, for example, this is an Arab capital. They, for example, could make reservations had I chosen any other place. But in an Arab capital like Cairo, well, anyway, let them decide.

Question: Mr President, can I say that if the Syrians say to us that they do not wish to come to Cairo that you will still go ahead and hold the conference if all the others accepted the invitation?

As-Sadat: Well, as I said to you, this conference is a conference to prepare for Geneva and if anyone attends I will begin the conference with them [word indistinct] whoever comes I will begin the conference in Cairo, in Egypt.

Question: Mr President, as is known, people in all parts of the world were listening to your speech at the People's Assembly; one of the editors of the newspaper Jerusalem POST was also listening and he noted your criticisms of the Soviet Union and to a lesser extent your criticism of Syria. He said that his own explanation is that your critical remarks increased the impossibility of attendance by the Russian and Syrian representatives and he said that the probable aim of President as-Sadat is a conference that can begin work immediately and is prepared to work for peace and that probably you meant that the Russians and the Syrians....

As-Sadat: I do not think so. I did not mean this at all. I only gave examples of what happened in the past. I did not prepare for any attack of the Soviet Union. I only mentioned some of this history of the Soviet Union here. Well, the Soviet Union can decide, but as a cochairman of the Geneva conference and the second world power in our world today I have no objection at all that it comes here and takes part with us in the preparation for Geneva--it has to decide.

Question: Mr President, why did you not wait until the Israelis made some concessions instead of going ahead with another peace initiative?

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As-Sadat: In my opinion, this is not another initiative. It is something that complements my initiative which I began by going to Jerusalem, because what will be the situation and how else are we going to maintain our momentum for the peace process which I began with my visit to Jerusalem?

Question: Mr President, are you not disappointed because Israel has made no tangible concessions during the 4 or 5 days which have passed since your return from Jerusalem? They have discussed concessions but as far as we know there have been no results.

Answer: Not at all. I told our deputies in parliament today that I believe that the main objective of my visit to Israel has been achieved. The objective was to break down the psychological barrier which has existed between us for about 30 years. As I told the deputies today, at one time, as I learned from the Israeli defense minister, we were on the verge of entering a war 10 days ago because of this psychological barrier. They had no confidence in us, we had no confidence in them. After the October war they became very nervous about a surprise attack. Well, the Israelis thought of this at the time we held maneuvers here while they were holding their maneuvers. They announced their maneuvers but we did not. Therefore, they believed that we were preparing for war. For this reason I say that I took the whole situation into consideration. My assessment proved correct because 10 days ago we and the Israelis could have entered a war beyond our will. This was due to the psychological barrier and lack of trust between the parties concerned. In view of the Israelis' nervousness about a sudden or surprise attack, they could be drawn into war for no other reason except this barrier. I believe that the main objective of my visit has been achieved--that is, breaking down this barrier. We are now looking forward to a meeting between civilized sides to be attended by all the parties concerned to discuss everything without preconditions.

Question: Mr President, have you discussed with any world leaders this new initiative or this new proposal for convening a meeting in Cairo or has everyone heard it for the first time today?

Answer: Absolutely. It complements my initiative in visiting Jerusalem. It is not a new initiative. I want to stress this.

Question: On hearing about this new proposal in Israel, one of the Israelis said: As-Sadat has surprised us again, more than we expected.

Answer: (smiling) One of them said that I always follow an electric shock policy. This is not true.

Question: But you did not consult with any other world leaders?

Answer: No. I do not wish to involve any other leader who might not agree with this or that. My visit to Jerusalem was at my own initiative. As I told members of the People's Assembly today, I did not discuss this with any of my colleagues in the Arab world.

Question: In the few hours since your speech have you heard the reaction from those to whom an invitation will be addressed, whether or not they will attend?

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Answer: I have not heard anything at all. I am now spending a period of rest while you are meeting with me in Ismailia. My people have welcomed me from the airport to this place. Actually I am resting here while Vice President Husni Mubarak supervises everything. You may be surprised by the fact that up to this moment I have not commented on the attacks and calls reiterated by some in the Arab world. This is my habit. I consider these side issues.

Question: You have put criticism aside?

Answer: I put it behind me; otherwise I would have had to prepare my speech in accordance with it. I do not want to be nervous, because in my view we are carrying out a very holy action.

Question: Mr President, I would like to return to a previous question concerning this meeting proposed to be held here in Cairo. What will be the situation if Israel alone accepts this invitation? What if the invitation is accepted by one state and this state is Israel?

Answer: Well, it is up to all the parties to make their own decisions, and if the Israelis will come alone, I will begin the conference.

Question: You and the Israelis alone?

Answer: Yes, yes, just as I visited them in Jerusalem alone. I will never ask for a bilateral agreement because, as I said in Jerusalem, the problem is not an Egyptian-Israeli problem but an Arab-Israeli problem. I will begin the conference with them and I will make everything public, just as I made statements in Jerusalem before the whole world.

Question: Mr President, if you sit down to talk to the Israelis, will this not mean that you will hold discussions on the problems pending between your two countries only? Will you not talk about a settlement between the two of you? Will it not be like this?

Answer: It will be part of an overall settlement. I do not seek a separate settlement--absolutely not. Otherwise, I would have completed the settlement in Jerusalem.

If I had sought a separate agreement, there would have been absolutely no need to go to Jerusalem. I would have been able to achieve this agreement behind the scenes. But I am seeking to achieve an overall settlement in the area.

Question: Last weekend did the leaders in Jerusalem ask you to negotiate with them a separate peace between you?

Answer: Yes. Some of them asked me to do this. Some of them asked me to extend my visit for another 24 hours so that we could do this. But I told them I am not seeking a separate agreement. I am seeking an agreement that will achieve peace in the entire area, despite the abusive language being reiterated by some Arabs.

Question: Mr President, let me return to those who may attend and those who may not. Whom do you suggest as representatives of the Palestinians at the Cairo conference?

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Answer: Well, I will let the Palestinians choose them. I will absolutely not make a choice for the Palestinians. They should choose their representatives.

Question: Then they might be represented by Yasir 'Arafat, or perhaps by the leaders of the Palestinians in the West Bank, or by the two together.

Answer: Well, this is up to them. It is completely up to them. I will discuss this matter when they contact me.

Question: Well, Mr President, I must move on to the present point of disagreement. Regarding Geneva, as I understand it, the question concerns a dispute, or lack of agreement on who will represent the Palestinians in Cairo at your preparatory conference.

Answer: I do not think that this will be a problem at all, especially--as I told you previously--as Yasir 'Arafat once personally suggested that they be represented by an American university professor of Palestinian origin. Well, I leave this matter to the Palestinians to decide upon.

Question: This morning the Syrian Government said--and it was immediately before your speech and the spokesman was the information minister--that in their opinion, your trip to Jerusalem has divided the Arab world to the extent--as they say--that it will be impossible to resume the Geneva conference now. Was there anything in your speech that you think might induce them to change their opinion?

Answer: Well, they have to make a decision. Unfortunately, I am accustomed to this. You know they did the same thing over the convening of the first Geneva conference on 21 December 1973 in the wake of the October war. This is not surprising because they have done it before. They said then that I had made an agreement with Henry Kissinger because I agreed to go to Geneva and they refused to go to Geneva without having a real reason to do so. But I said that I had my own reason. But they could not hear, just as they cannot hear now, they are shouting and so on. They began to tell stories to the world, particularly to the Arab world, to such an extent that the late King Faysal sent me his late Foreign Minister Shaykh as-Saqqaf at dawn with a letter in which he asked me: What is happening? The Syrians had told him I had reached a separate agreement to be concluded through Henry Kissinger and that my agreement to go to Geneva on 21 December 1973 would only be a pretext for signing the agreement there. Well, I told him that this was false and untrue and that it was a sheer lie.

Question: Mr President, do you believe that the present problem will disappear and that it is not very serious now--I mean the objection raised to the initiative you have carried out for peace.

Answer: I hope they will regain their senses because it now also appears that they are prepared to go on with the process and go to Geneva for the major conference or something like that. I do not know which is true: What you have told me or what I read today in the newspapers. At any rate, it is up to them to make their choice because today I made my attitude perfectly clear before our parliament and before the world. There were well over 18 television stations abroad receiving the speech by satellite. There were also another six television stations in the Arab world. I made my stand perfectly clear. Well, it is up to them to decide on this.

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Question: Mr President, I have followed the observations you have made in the last few years. You used to say that the Americans held 99 percent or more of the cards in their hands. Has this changed in the last 17 days, that is, since your peace initiative? Has not the U.S. role changed? Do you not hold the cards, most of the cards, now?

Answer: Absolutely not. On the contrary. What has happened in the last 17 days confirms my idea by about 99 percent. Why? Because it has been proved since my visit to Jerusalem that it achieved its main objective, that is, breaking down the psychological barrier between us. We did this during the visit. Therefore, I consider that my visit to Jerusalem has achieved complete success. I said this today to the members of the People's Assembly.

Question: But the U.S. role seemed stronger than it has lately. For example, it was you, not the cochairmen of the Geneva conference, who called for the Cairo conference. It appears that Your Excellency took over the ball, so to speak, last week or about that time.

Answer: I am only making the whole matter easier. As I told you, I am in fact trying to maintain the momentum that I actually began by going to Jerusalem. In order to make good reparations for the Geneva conference I proposed a Cairo meeting. This is also part of the psychological problem. The Israelis were never allowed before to enter any place in the Arab world. Well, we are now allowing them to come here and I have asked them to attend as a party concerned in this conflict. I must go back to your question. What has happened affirms the importance of the U.S. role because, as I told you, the United States is the only one that can play a part in this conflict that enjoys the confidence of both sides. I would hope that the Israelis would have the same confidence as I feel toward President Carter. I believe we will then reach an agreement in a short time. This is the importance of the role the United States is playing. This has been acknowledged.

Question: Some people have criticized President Carter's government, saying that recently it either did not want or was unable to put effective pressure on Israel or to convince it of the need to make concessions. Do you agree?

Answer: Well, in fact you heard me telling the People's Assembly today that President al-Asad had sent me an envoy. One of the points he sent with this envoy was specifically that the Americans do not want to exercise any influence and that even if they did, they are unable to do it. But I disagree with this 100 percent, as I informed President al-Asad--I mean President al-Asad's envoy. No, absolutely not. May I remind you of the second disengagement agreement? The U.S. Government was then going through a most difficult time. At that time, there was the Watergate issue and President Ford was not an elected president but an appointed president. There was also the threat of another Watergate, such as the Lockheed affair or something like that. Then the election campaign started and so on. All these things made the U.S. Government very weak. For this reason, the Israelis rejected the first phase of the second disengagement agreement. They refused Henry Kissinger and he had to return to the United States. Later on, when I made my move toward peace by opening the Suez Canal, I really put the Israelis in a tight spot.

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In September of the same year we signed the second disengagement agreement. That happened at a time when the U.S. Government, as I have told you, was going through a most difficult time, considering the Congress, the country and everything.

Question: Do you think the Carter government is in a strong enough position now to play this role?

Answer: Certainly, certainly. I have not asked President Carter to overlook any special relations with Israel, absolutely not. I also do not ask Carter to be on my side against Israel, absolutely not. Let him keep special relations with Israel. But let us seek peace based on justice. For instance, when I visited Jerusalem--and I believe this is an extremely important--I spoke with complete frankness. I asked them: What is your problem? They told me: We do not want another war; we want security. I told them: I completely agree with you. Today I announced before the People's Assembly that there will never be another war after the October war, unless Israel chooses to try to dictate terms and to pursue its old "arrogance of power" policy. Therefore, I promised the People's Assembly to return to them. However, from what I learned in Jerusalem, they are prepared to sit down and discuss all problems--in a civilized manner--without imposing any conditions. Thus, it is not our efforts alone which are needed to achieve this, but also the U.S. efforts. This time, the United States does not need to exert pressure here or there. It will only need to see the topics we will discuss and tell whomever is illogical or incorrect to be correct. This is my idea. This is why I am telling you that the United States will definitely have a role to play in taking the next step.

Question: Mr President, if you reached an agreement at your preparatory conference in Cairo and then went to Geneva and achieved success there, what about the other Arab states? What about those states that might not take part in this operation?

Answer: As I told you, I will seek to achieve a settlement, not a bilateral agreement between Israel and me. I will seek a settlement of the whole problem. If matters go as desired here in Cairo and if only one, two or whatever sides attend, I will continue in Geneva also. As you said, if there is success and we are able to arrive at a settlement, in this case I will call for an Arab summit to put before it whatever I arrive at. However, I must note here that I will continue to the end of the road.

Question: So you will not stop at all along the way?

Answer: No.

Question: You will meet in Cairo and you will go to Geneva regardless of what you achieve in Cairo in the hope that you will succeed in Geneva. Will you call for an Arab summit conference later?

Answer: We will call for an Arab summit conference because it is not an Egyptian-Israeli settlement, but an Arab-Israeli settlement. I am not seeking an Egyptian-Israeli settlement.

Question: Mr President, could you give me a timetable of any kind? People are talking of 21 December as a possible date for the reconvening of the Geneva conference. Do you not believe this date is too close?

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Answer: Well, no. It is not too close. The Geneva conference is not an objective in itself. Good preparations must be made. If we cannot hold the conference by the end of this year, I mean in December, I believe we will still proceed along a sound course through the preparatory conference I called for. The Geneva conference will then be held early next year. But we must begin working for the Geneva conference now. As I have proposed, we are prepared as of Saturday to receive all the parties concerned, including the two superpowers, the cochairmen of the conference.

Question: Mr. President, you said in your speech today that in the past, in 1971, you put forward a peaceful initiative but nothing came out of it and that the war occurred in 1973. Now you are once again embarking on a peaceful initiative, and on an even larger and more extensive scale. What will happen if this initiative fails?

Answer: We will have no alternative except to exercise our right to liberate our land.

Question: When?

Answer: Who can say?

Question: But do you not agree with Mr Begin that war should be ruled out?

Answer: I agree completely with this. I announced this today before the People's Assembly and my people are praising me for this announcement, really. I will exert my utmost efforts. But as I have told the People's Assembly, it is incumbent on me to report to them on every step. Well, what if the Israelis return to the arrogance of power policy or something like that? They will put us in a position in which we will be unable to find any way except to exercise our right to liberate our land. I do not believe we will go to this extent because during my visit to Jerusalem and at the talks with Begin, Dayan, Yadin and Weizmann, every one of them lauded the idea: "No war another time."

Question: Permit me, Mr President, to ask a final question. You have spoken of an Arab summit conference being held after Geneva. Do you see any need for another Arab summit conference to be held before then?

Answer: There is no need for such a conference because, up to this time and also bearing in mind the preparatory conference, I will work within the context of the strategy mapped out by the Arab summit conference in Rabat. If any change occurs, then a summit conference must be convened. But there will absolutely be no change. This strategy consists of two points: Point one is the liberation of the land occupied after the 1967 war. Point two is that there will be no bargaining over the Palestinian question, that it must be resolved and that the Palestinians must be given a national homeland and the right to self-determination. The United States has approved this point and it was proclaimed by Carter. Therefore, I do not believe that there will be any need for such summit conference. But when a new development or something similar that might affect our strategy occurs, then--definitely--I will ask for the convening of an Arab summit conference.

Interviewer: Thank you Mr. President. We all wish you and all the leaders in the Middle East good luck and great success in resolving this extremely serious problem.

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## Interview With CBS

NC281411Y Cairo MENA in Arabic 1205 GMT 28 Nov 77 NC

[Text] Cairo, 28 November--President Anwar as-Sadat has stressed that all efforts at the present stage are concentrated on achieving an overall solution to the Middle East problem on the basis of Israeli withdrawal from all the Arab territories occupied in 1967 and the establishment of a national homeland for the Palestinian people.

In an interview he granted to the U.S. CBS network, the president also explained that the preparatory meeting he called to be held in Cairo with the participation of all parties to the Middle East dispute and the two superpowers is not a substitute for the Geneva conference. The president described his trip to Jerusalem as a sacred duty. He stressed that the clamor raised by some about his visit does not disturb him.

The president explained what prompted him to make his visit to Jerusalem. He said that time was being lost on procedural matters and Israel was pleased by this loss. The second reason was the possibility of an outbreak of war between Egypt and Israel as a result of the existing suspicions between the twosides. Any false move by either side could have led to clashes against the will of either.

The president reaffirmed that he does not want a separate solution but an overall one. This is because any separate solution between Egypt and Israel will not lead to peace. However, he explained that he is prepared to negotiate even alone to achieve this overall solution. The president declared that should an overall solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict be achieved, he will request that an Arab summit conference be held in Cairo to submit to it what he had achieved, and then each side will decide for itself after I have fulfilled my duty, which I have described as a sacred task.

The president reaffirmed his position on the status of Jerusalem, which is that Arab sovereignty must return to it. He said that he does not agree that Arab Jerusalem should be placed under international control or under any other form of control other than genuine Arab sovereignty.

The following is the text of the questions and the president's replies to them.

Question: Mr President, last summer you said that you would never meet with Israel as long as a single Israeli soldier remained on Egyptian territory. Yet, you went to Jerusalem while the Israelis continue to be present on your territory and a few miles from your resthouse here, in Ismailia. What made you change your mind? What made you change your stand?

Answer: Well, there are two points. The first point is that when we began to work for the resumption of the Geneva conference by preparing for it and the United States had presented a working paper and it was then said that the Israelis had observations on it and then there was another paper called the U.S.-Israeli paper, I discovered that we were going to enter into a vicious circle again because of a word here or a word there. The Arabs do not agree on anything that is called Israeli, be it U.S.-Israeli or Israeli.

Likewise, the Israelis will never agree on what we in the Arab world say because of the barrier of psychological complexes and the difficulties that have existed throughout the past 30 years. Well, I found that that we would not go to Geneva, and, instead, we would enter into battles among ourselves in the Arab world because of this being an American paper or that being a U.S.-Israeli paper.

On the other hand, the Israelis were very happy because they were getting the time they wanted through these procedural arrangements. This is the first point. The second point is: You may have heard me telling our parliament yesterday: Could you imagine that we could have been involved in a battle with the Israelis 2 weeks ago. Why? The Israelis had begun military maneuvers in Sinai, and they announced it. Al-Jamasi, the commander in chief, was closely watching and following everything. Each side was prepared. Well, when they began their maneuvers, Al-Jamasi began to conduct maneuvers here on the same scale. They announced their maneuvers, but Al-Jamasi did not announce ours. Therefore, when I met with 'Ezer Weizman, the Israeli defense minister, he asked me: Were you planning to attack us 10 days ago? I said to him: No. Why? He said: There were unusual movements on your side. I said: This was a maneuver, because you were conducting maneuvers in Sinai at that time. Well, he said this was due to a report by our intelligence, because the Israeli intelligence was also prepared just like mine was, and no one wanted the other to launch the first strike. Therefore, they sent their reports to the defense minister in Israel saying that the Egyptians were making preparations. My intelligence services also considered the size of the Israeli maneuvers in Sinai unusual. Well, if there had been an error on the part of either side, we would have gotten involved in a war against our wills. For those two reasons I went, and I was right, because I did not know before I went that they were in such a state. However, I thought that if we destroyed the psychological barrier between us, we could avoid any such errors, and I was right in making the visit.

Question: Mr President, I did not get a firm impression from your first answer as to whether something happened or whether there was merely a mounting feeling that prompted you to believe that the time had come to make such a move and talk to the Israelis face to face, despite your earlier determination not to conduct such talks.

Answer: I have already said, and I will say again, that I consider this task sacred. As I told President al-Asad in Damascus 2 days before my visit to Israel, even if this is going to be my last act as president, I am going to do it, and then I will submit my resignation to the People's Assembly and I will be very happy.

Question: Mr President, the next step on this road you have taken is the convening of a conference in Cairo for the parties in the Middle East dispute. You have now addressed or are in the course of addressing an invitation to them to come to Cairo. What made you think that the procedural matters that may have hindered resumption of the Geneva conference will be settled here?

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Answer: The matter is like this: Let us start, and the entire world is my witness that I am afraid of nothing that Israel will raise. We agreed to abandon the language of war and guns and use a civilized language and sit around the negotiating table. I am ready to do that, and I fear absolutely nothing, because the entire world will be my witness.

Question: Mr President, you say that you do not want to sign a separate peace agreement with Israel, that you seek an overall agreement. Does this indicate that if your conference to prepare for Geneva is held in Cairo the matter might end with you alone carrying out the discussions on behalf of the Arab side with the Israelis? Does this mean that you will negotiate on behalf of the Syrian and Palestinian interests as you did before when you held discussions with the United States on the second disengagement agreement?

Answer: Well, I must tell you frankly that I have explained my position clearly. I absolutely do not seek a bilateral agreement between myself and Israel, or an Egyptian-Israeli settlement of the problem, because it is not an Egyptian-Israeli problem. It is an Arab problem. Therefore, I will discuss an overall settlement this time, not a settlement with Egypt alone because this will not bring peace.

Question: But you have said that if necessary you will go to Geneva alone, and I am beginning to believe that. Therefore, are we right in taking this to mean that Egypt will negotiate alone on all the Arab interests?

Answer: If everybody does not agree, then I will go to Geneva for an overall settlement. When we achieve results, I will call for an Arab summit here and put before it what we have achieved.

Question: Mr President, if I follow what you are saying correctly, do you believe that the Palestinians will accept an agreement you negotiate on their behalf?

Answer: The matter is up to each side to decide for itself. I will do my duty, which I consider a sacred task. I will do it, that is, the establishment of peace in the area here, because this is the appropriate moment. As I told you, I will put all that I achieve before an Arab summit here in which all the kings and presidents will participate, and then each of them will decide for himself at the conference.

Question: When you have put [word indistinct] before all the other Arab leaders and they have rejected it, is it possible that you would end up with a bilateral agreement as a fait accompli?

Answer: No. You should not say that. I am a flexible man but I never cross a bridge until I come to it.

Question: Mr President, when you addressed the invitation to the Palestinians to attend the Cairo meeting, did that mean the PLO? If so, did you agree with the Israelis to sit and talk with them?

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Answer: Why must I have any agreement with the Israelis about this delegation or that. No, I did not discuss this, and I say this to the whole world. Let all the parties concerned and the two superpowers, which jointly supervise the Geneva conference, come and prepare for the conference because--and here I will restate the fact--without proper preparations we will achieve nothing at all in Geneva.

Question: When you say all parties, do you consider the PLO one of these parties?

Answer: Definitely. They are one of our parties--one of the five Arab delegations which must attend such a meeting. Why? Because we are now establishing peace. We are not dealing with a disengagement agreement or a partial agreement or something like that.

Question: Mr President, do you know that you have confused me? In your speech to your people you spoke about the confrontation states. When someone asked you whether that meant the PLO, you said that the Palestinians should choose their representatives. How can they do that? Was your invitation addressed to the PLO or to an unidentified group of Palestinians?

Answer: Why must you be like that? Really. I always mean what I say. I said all the confrontation states, and, therefore, we consider the Palestinians one of us.

Question: But what about the PLO?

Answer: Why should they not say what they have to say?

Question: [Words indistinct] include them as one of the confrontation states?

Answer: Certainly. I will (?contact) them.

Question: Do you mean the PLO alone? Your acting foreign minister told me 2 days ago that the PLO could represent the other Palestinians. Are you of the same opinion?

Answer: I believe that the PLO has enough [words indistinct] to solve this problem for us. I am sure of that despite the clamor that is now taking place.

Question: What I do not see a solution to, Mr President, is that--despite your good intentions to negotiate an overall agreement with Israel, not only regarding Egypt's interests but also regarding the interests of Syria, Jordan and Lebanon and, if you wish, the Palestinians--I do not believe the Israelis will discuss this with you because they have often said that they want to negotiate with each side separately regarding the interests of that side only.

Answer: I am sorry. You are not following the whole problem. The meeting that is to be held here in Cairo is for preparation. It is not a Geneva conference. Whatever the procedures we are to begin with in Geneva, we will agree on them here in Cairo. For example, they said that there should be geographical committees--Egyptian-Israeli committees, Syrian-Israeli committees, Jordanian-Israeli committees and Palestinian-Egyptian-Jordanian-Israeli committees. All this will be agreed upon here in preparation for the Geneva conference.

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Question: Mr President, if I may continue the question, who would you approve of to represent Syria in the Syrian-Israeli committee if no Syrian attends your meeting in Cairo?

Answer: I have actually answered this. I told you that if no one attends, I will deal with those who come here. If any side does not come, that is its own decision. After that I will go to Geneva even if I go alone. I will go to Geneva for an overall settlement, and as soon as I achieve results I will submit them to an Arab summit conference so that each person can say what he has to say.

Question: Mr President, let me change the subject and move to another field that is important to the whole world. In the course of your speeches you have pointed out that Israel must give up all the territories it took. You said that this was not subject to negotiation. You also pointed out that Jerusalem must be an open city. Can you explain this further? Do you mean that Jerusalem must be a city that is not subject to the authority or supervision of any country?

Answer: Some of my Arab colleagues have thought about this--this matter about which you have now asked me. Let me be clear. I said the following in the Knesset. No Arab, whether Moslem or Christian, no Moslem in the Islamic world, which comprises 700 million persons, agrees to Israel's sovereignty over the Arab part of Jerusalem. This is a fact. What I said about an open city was that this city is a symbol of the convergence of the three religions--Christianity, Islam and Judaism. Well, I said let this city be the place where the three religions meet. However, this must be clear: Not a single person in the Arab world, as I said, or in the Islamic world accepts Israel's sovereignty over the Arab part of Jerusalem.

Question: Do you insist on Arab sovereignty or would you accept a kind of a tripartite sovereignty, UN sovereignty or any other kind of sovereignty?

Answer: Definitely, Arab sovereignty, definitely.

Question: Is there no other arrangement?

Answer: Most certainly. You requested--you Christians requested that when Jerusalem was handed over to Caliph 'Umar ibn al-Khattab. You know that when he arrived in Jerusalem, Patriarch Sofronios gave him the keys to the city--and this is a tradition--and asked him to let no Jew reside there. This is a matter of history. Therefore, let me explain what I am saying. The Arab part of Jerusalem must be under Arab sovereignty. Anything other than this could be negotiated among the parties concerned--I mean the Arab part of Jerusalem and the Jewish part of Jerusalem [as received].

Question: Mr President, in the past you said that the establishment of comprehensive bilateral relations between Egypt and Israel would take at least 5 years after a settlement is reached in Geneva--at least 5 years. Now that you have visited Israel, do you still believe the matter will require that much time?

Answer: I will say this: A new situation has developed here following my visit to Jerusalem. However, everything in this respect must be settled at the negotiating table among all the parties concerned, and the Israelis will be one of these parties.

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Question: Mr President, in the midst of the attacks being waged against you and your visit to Israel, particularly from the Syrians, Iraqis and the Palestinians, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has maintained silence. First, why do you think they have remained silent? And second, have you heard anything from them quietly?

Answer: Well, as I said, I definitely did not want any of my colleagues in the Arab world to have any connection with this matter. This is because the step I have taken is most difficult and in my view it requires some time before all sides realize what lies behind it and acknowledge it.

Therefore, I did not want to put any of my Arab colleagues in a critical situation. I did not inform them before I made my decision. Up to this moment I have not asked them to approve or disapprove of my decision. This is up to them. The Saudis have their own ideas, which I am not aware of. However, our relations are normal and up to the level of fraternity to this moment.

Question: This is a diplomatic risk you have courageously accepted, but it is also a risk to your people. Saudi Arabia is one of the countries which supports Egypt financially. Can your country go ahead without this support?

Answer: Why do you want to bring up these things? In the Arab world we do not deal with one another in such a material way. This is not part of our relations as Arab brothers and colleagues. We do not deal in such a way. The only one who deals in this way is Al-Qadhafi. For this reason we did not and will never ask anything at all from him. You may recall that I did not refer to him yesterday. Whatever he may do I will never mention him.

Question: Excuse me, Mr President. I have learned from CBS in Washington that a meeting was held in the Sinai desert a few days ago between your foreign minister and Israeli Foreign Minister Dayan. Is this true?

Answer: This is untrue. Why should a meeting be held in such a way? I have made things very clear. I personally went to Jerusalem, and I asked that the Israelis come to Cairo along with all the parties concerned. Why should I work secretly? I fear no one. Such a meeting did not take place.

Question: Another question, Mr President. Talking about the meeting you called for in Cairo, at what level do you think it will be held? Will it be at the foreign ministers level?

Answer: Each side will have to decide for itself.

Question: But at what level do you yourself believe that the meeting should be held?

Answer: I agree to any level they agree on.

Question: Have you any proposal to make?

Answer: Absolutely none.

Question: Mr President, when the parties concerned come here, what do you expect them to do--to meet at one place in the form of a conference?

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Answer: Yes, around one table, not as in the old way when each side stayed in a private wing and a mediator was needed. No. It will be around a table so that we can face the facts.

Question: Mr President, it appears that you have reached a new peak in open diplomacy in modern times. Is there not a point at which you would resort to quiet diplomacy?

Answer: Well, as I have told you, in fact a certain person said that I am following a new diplomatic pattern--that of electric-shock diplomacy, as it was termed. But I must tell you this: Let us work in broad daylight. This is what I approve of. Why should we work in the dark? Let us work in broad daylight and before the whole world, just as my visit to Jerusalem took place in broad daylight.

Question: Did you inform the U.S. administration, or President Carter or Secretary of State Vance before you went to Jerusalem or before you announced your visit?

Answer: No, absolutely not.

Question: If Henry Kissinger were still the U.S. secretary of state, one might think that you would have informed him.

Answer: Absolutely not. The same thing would have happened, because the impact of the action I took could only be achieved by surprise.

Question: Mr President, have you more surprises for us?

Answer: I do not believe so after I delivered my speech yesterday before the People's Assembly. I have no other initiatives at present.

Question: Mr President, as a result of your initiatives, open threats and calls for your assassination have been made. Do you take these seriously?

Answer: Absolutely not. A similar thing took place 7 years ago. When I assumed power for the first time following my election as president, the reports among your people were that I would stay in power for only 4 to 6 weeks. The British had the same idea. That was 7 years ago. The same thing happened when we signed the first and second disengagement agreements.

Question: Mr President, thank you for kindly agreeing to be a guest of "Face the Nation."

Answer: Thank you very much.

FURTHER REPORTAGE ON VISIT BY PRESIDENT SIAD BARRE

NC281916Y Cairo Domestic Service in Arabic 1830 GMT 28 Nov 77 NC

[Text] Official talks between President Muhammad Anwar as-Sadat and Somali President Mohamed Siad Barre began as soon as the Somali president arrived in Ismailia at noon today. Vice President Muhammad Husni Mubarak attended.

The radio representative has learned that the Somali president acquainted President as-Sadat with the latest developments in the situation with regard to the Horn of Africa and their effects on the African Continent as well as with the Soviet interference in the area.

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President as-Sadat showed clear understanding of the Somali president's position regarding this problem.

The Somali president is scheduled to spend tonight in Cairo. He will leave Cairo tomorrow for Khartoum and from there he will go to Saudi Arabia.

#### Report on Talks

NC281947Y Cairo MENA in Arabic 1845 GMT 28 Nov 77 NC

[Text] Ismailia, 28 November--The session of official talks between President Anwar as-Sadat and Somali President Mohamed Siad Barre lasted 3 hours, including a working luncheon.

The session was attended by Vice President Muhammad Husni Mubarak and by Irrigation Minister Dr 'Abd al-'Azim Abu al-'Ata, chief of the Egyptian honorary mission escorting the Somali guest.

President as-Sadat's press secretary Sa'd Zaghul Nassar said after the talks that President Anwar as-Sadat had shown an understanding of the Somali president's review of the current situation in Somalia and its effects on the African Continent as well as the latest developments of the battles there and the Soviet interference in the area.

The Somali president told President as-Sadat that navigation in Bab el Mandeb Strait is threatened by the Soviet presence in agreement with the PDRY and that this situation constitutes grave danger to Somalia.

MENA has learned that the Somali president expressed fear of the Soviet fleet's presence in Bab el Mandeb, especially because there was a joint Soviet-Somali navigation company working in Somalia and the Soviets have withdrawn the Soviet ships, experts and workers from it as part of the Soviets' hostile stand against Somalia.

#### Barre Departs Cairo

NC290730Y Cairo MENA in Arabic 0712 GMT 29 Nov 77 NC

[Text] Cairo, 29 November--Somali President Mohamed Siad Barre left Cairo this morning following a 2-day visit to the Arab Republic of Egypt during which Barre held talks with President Muhammad Anwar as-Sadat. The talks dealt with the present situation in the Horn of Africa and Soviet interference in this area.

Vice President Husni Mubarak, Interior Minister Maj Gen Nabawi Isma'il, the Somali ambassador in Cairo and a number of senior Egyptian officials bade the Somali president farewell.

#### OFFICIAL SOURCE ON INVITATIONS TO CAIRO MEETING

NC281731Y Cairo MENA in Arabic 1435 GMT 28 Nov 77 NC

[Text] Cairo, 28 November--An official source in the Foreign Ministry has told MENA that the call for convening the Cairo meeting with the attendance of the parties to the Middle East dispute and the two superpowers is an Egyptian initiative aimed at preparing and paving the way for the Geneva conference.

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The official source pointed out that the Cairo meeting differs from the Geneva conference in that it will not be bound by procedures regarding the method of invitation, who is to be invited and so forth, so that it will be flexible and (?free) of restrictions concerning anything connected with procedures. Therefore, no agenda has been worked out for it and the Palestinians and the Lebanese have been invited to attend.

The source added that this represents President as-Sadat's revolutionary diplomatic way of thinking, which is not bound by old methods but is flexible in the method of work in order to achieve the aim.

The source added that when Dr Butrus Ghali, minister of state for foreign relations and acting foreign minister, met with the ambassadors of the states concerned in the Middle East crisis yesterday he gave them the invitations to attend the meeting. He also gave them a picture of the aim and the special concept of this preparatory meeting.

The source told MENA that no agreement has yet been reached on the level of those who will participate in the meeting. The level could be that of experts, or the states concerned might propose another level such as ministerial level.

The source said that no definite agenda has been worked out for the meeting and that this will be agreed upon when the meeting takes place.

The source said that the invitation to the Palestinians has been handed to Dr Ahmad Sidqi ad-Dajani, member of the PLO Executive Committee, so that he will pass it on to the Palestinian leadership in Beirut.

The source said that Egypt has not said the meeting must begin on Saturday; it said it could be held as of that day. It has been said that the time is short. We said that the meeting could be held on the days immediately following Saturday, as will be agreed upon.

The source said that the text of the invitation is the same to-all, including the Palestinians. The only difference is the language, since the invitations to the Arab sides were written in Arabic whereas the invitations to the other sides were written in English. The source said the invitation is addressed by the Egyptian Foreign Ministry to the foreign ministries of the states concerned.

#### GHALI MEETS WITH LATIN AMERICAN REPRESENTATIVES

NC262113Y Cairo MENA in Arabic 1925 GMT 26 Nov 77 NC

[Text] Cairo, 26 November--Acting Foreign Minister Dr Butrus Butrus Ghali met tonight with ambassadors and representatives of Latin American states in Cairo, thus concluding his intensive contacts with ambassadors and representatives of various world states to outline the aims and dimensions of President Anwar as-Sadat's initiative in visiting Jerusalem last week.