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**SECRET**  
*Department of State*

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**TELEGRAM**

O 060140Z MAR 71  
FM USINT CAIRO  
TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9047  
INFO RUEHDT/USMISSION USUN IMMEDIATE 1027  
BT  
S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 3 CAIRO 0478

2317Q

NODIS/CEDAR

Mar 5, 9:26 PM 1971

FOLLOWING IS OUR OWN TRANSLATION OF TEXT OF MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT NIXON HANDED TO ME BY PRESIDENT SADAT SHORTLY BEFORE MIDNIGHT MARCH 5:

QUOTE

DEAR PRESIDENT RICHARD M. NIXON:

I FOUND IT SUITABLE TO WRITE TO YOU DIRECTLY IN THESE HOURS WHICH ARE IMPORTANT TO OUR PEOPLE IN EGYPT, TO OUR ARAB NATION AND TO WORLD PEACE AS I BELIEVE.

THIS IS BECAUSE THE MIDDLE EAST CRISIS IS FACING A VERY CRITICAL SITUATION BECAUSE OF THE STAND WHICH ISRAEL TAKES TOWARDS ALL EFFORTS EXERTED TO FIND A PEACEFUL SOLUTION TO THE CRISIS THROUGH THE UNITED NATIONS, ITS SECRETARY GENERAL AND HIS SPECIAL ENVOY WHO IS ENTRUSTED WITH THE EXECUTION OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION NO. 242 FOR 1967, OR THROUGH THE EFFORTS OF THE BIG FOUR POWERS.

THE ISRAELI STAND WHICH PLACED ALL THESE EFFORTS IN A BLIND ALLEY HAS CLEARLY REVEALED TO THE WORLD WHAT HAS ALWAYS BEEN CLEAR TO US, NAMELY THAT ISRAEL DOES NOT WANT PEACE, BUT WANTS EXPANSION. BOTH ARE DIAMETRICALLY OPPOSED TO EACH OTHER BY NATURE, AND THERE IS NO SCOPE ACCORDING TO OUR CONCEPT OR ANY OTHER SOUND CONCEPT TO RECONCILE THESE TWO.

I WISH, IN THIS MESSAGE WHICH I ADDRESS DIRECTLY TO YOU, IN THESE HOURS TO MENTION SOME OF MY THOUGHTS ABOUT THE STAND OF THE USA ON WHICH WE PINNED HIGH HOPES ON THE BASIS OF THE SEVERAL ASSURANCES MADE TO US.

I FOLLOWED AMERICAN STATEMENTS WHICH HAVE THEIR IMPORTANCE ON THE MIDDLE EAST CRISIS, SUCH AS THE ONE THAT APPEARED IN YOUR REPORT ON THE STATE OF THE WORLD, AND SUCH AS THOSE THAT HAVE APPEARED IN STATEMENTS OF SECRETARY OF STATE WILLIAM ROGERS AND HIS ASSISTANT MR. JOSEPH SISCO. ALL THESE STATEMENTS INCLUDED WHAT WE HAVE AGREED WITH, IN CONTEXT AND TREND, AND WERE WORTHY OF DISCUSSION. IN SEVERAL WE COOPERATED WITH YOU IN EVERY POSSIBLE MEANS, AND OFFERED

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ALL WE COULD IN GOOD FAITH TO AMBASSADOR GUNNAR JARRING THROUGH PRACTICAL STANDS AND IN THIS WE WENT TO THE FARTHEST POINT WE COULD REACH. YOU HAVE APPRECIATED AND THE WORLD, TOO, HAS APPRECIATED OUR STAND. YOU AND THE WORLD HAVE DESCRIBED IT AS A POSITIVE STAND AND AS COMPLETELY CONTRARY TO THE STAND OF ISRAEL.

BUT NOW I WONDER: WHAT WAS THE RESULT OF OUR POSITIVE STAND?

IT IS INDISPUTABLE THAT WE HAVE GAINED A STORE OF WORLD APPRECIATION, AND THERE IS CONSIDERABLE WEIGHT IN THIS, WHICH WE APPRECIATE AND TAKE PRIDE IN. BUT THE FACT STILL REMAINS THAT OUR TERRITORY IS STILL OCCUPIED, AND THE PARTY WHICH OCCUPIES IT NOT ONLY CHALLENGES US, BUT ALSO CHALLENGES THE WORLD COMMUNITY, THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER, THE SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION, AND THE PRINCIPLES OF PEACE. HE EVEN--AND EXCUSE ME IF I SAY IT--IS CHALLENGING THE USA, WITHOUT WHOM AND WITHOUT WHOSE MILITARY, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC AID HE WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN ABLE TO LAUNCH HIS AGGRESSION, NOR WOULD HE HAVE DARED TO REMAIN IN THE POSITIONS HE OCCUPIED IN THE AGGRESSION.

THE RESULT, AS I SAID, IS THAT THE OTHER PARTY CHALLENGES.

WHAT IS MORE GRAVE IS THAT WE ARE REQUESTED TO MEET HIS CHALLENGE WITH THE EXTENSION OF THE CEASEFIRE AS IF THIS SECONDARY POINT IN THE PROBLEM HAD BECOME THE BASIS AND THE CENTER OF GRAVITY.

THIS REQUEST NOW SEEMS STRANGE TO ME, MY PEOPLE AND OUR ARAB NATION. I WOULD NOT BE DEPARTING FROM THE TRUTH IF I SAID TO YOU THAT IT GOES BEYOND THE CAPACITY OF US ALL UNLESS THERE IS A REAL JUSTIFICATION FOR IT.

I KNOW WHAT FIRING IMPOSES IN THE WAY OF SACRIFICES AND DIFFICULTIES ON OUR ARMED FORCES AND PEOPLE, ESPECIALLY WITH AN ENEMY WHICH DOES NOT HESITATE TO RAID SCHOOLS AND FACTORIES AND TO DESTROY THOSE IN THEM. IT IS REGRETTABLE THAT THIS IS DONE BY AMERICAN AIRCRAFT WHICH ISRAEL DID NOT POSSESS IN 1967. THESE WERE GIVEN TO HER AFTER THAT YEAR AS IF TO REWARD HER FOR THE AGGRESSION AND ENCOURAGE HER TO CONTINUE IT.

BUT SACRIFICES AND DIFFICULTIES ARE THE HISTORY OF PEOPLES, ARE ALWAYS EXPECTED, AND ALL MUST BE READY TO FACE THEM. WITH REGARD TO OUR PEOPLE, WE HAVE SACRIFICED MUCH, AND HAVE FACED INNUMERABLE DIFFICULTIES.

IT WAS MY HOPE TO SPARE MY PEOPLE EVERY DANGER, AND FOR THIS I DID MY UTMOST. BUT NOW I AM REQUIRED BY MY PEOPLE TO DO ONE THING AT LEAST, NAMELY MAKE THE STAY OF THE ENEMY OCCUPYING OUR TERRITORY DIFFICULT, WHATEVER THE COST MAY BE, BECAUSE THIS IS THE DUTY OF PEOPLES TOWARDS THE SAFETY AND INTEGRITY OF THEIR NATIONAL SOIL, THEIR INDEPENDENCE, THEIR FREEDOM, AND IT IS THEIR RIGHT TO EXERCISE THEIR WILL ON THE BASIS OF THE PRINCIPLES AND PROVISIONS OF INTERNATIONAL LAW.

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TELEGRAM

O 060140Z MAR 71

FM USINT CAIRO

TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9048

INFO RUEHDT/USMISSION USUN IMMEDIATE 1028

BT

SECRET SECTION 2 OF 3 CAIRO 0478

.2327Q

Mar 5, 10:18 PM 1971

NODIS/CEDAR

RECEIVED A MESSAGE FROM WASHINGTON YESTERDAY (MARCH 4) AND IT WAS AN ANSWER TO THE MESSAGE I SENT THROUGH MR. DONALD BERGUS. I RECEIVED THIS ANSWER BEFORE THE JOINT MEETING HELD BY THE ARAB SOCIALIST UNION HIGHER EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AND THE NATIONAL DEFENSE COUNCIL.

I WISH YOU TO GET IT FROM ME HONESTLY WHEN I TELL YOU THAT THIS MESSAGE WAS A SHOCK TO ME.

THE UNITED STATES, AS IT APPEARED TO US FROM THIS MESSAGE, IS WAITING FOR THE ISRAELI STATESMEN AND THE ISRAELI PEOPLE TO UNDERSTAND OUR CONSTRUCTIVE STAND, BUT THEY DO NOT ADEQUATELY ASSESS, WE FEEL, THE EXPLOSIVE PSYCHOLOGICAL BURDEN WHICH OUR PEOPLE BEAR AS A RESULT OF THEIR TERRITORY'S CONTINUING UNDER THE YOKE OF OCCUPATION.

IT ALSO APPEARED TO US THAT THE UNITED STATES IS ASKING US TO EXTEND CEASEFIRE WITHOUT FIXING A SPECIFIC DATE OF EXPIRY, THIS AT THE TIME THE AGGRESSIVE OCCUPANT DECLARES IN UNPARALLELED ARROGANCE TO THE UNITED NATIONS AND IN AN OFFICIAL DOCUMENT THAT HE WILL NOT WITHDRAW FROM OUR TERRITORIES.

I DO NOT KNOW WHAT REMAINS FOR ME IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES ON THE BASIS OF WHICH I CAN CONVINCE MY PEOPLE OR MYSELF TO EXTEND THE CEASEFIRE.

WE WERE, AND STILL ARE, OF THE OPINION THAT THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IS THE SOLE INTERNATIONAL PARTY WHICH CAN BRING PRESSURE TO BEAR ON ISRAEL TO CARRY OUT THE SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION, AND REACH A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT ON THE MIDDLE EAST CRISIS. THEREFORE, OUR SURPRISE WAS GREAT WHEN WE FELT FROM THE RECENT AMERICAN REPLY THAT THE UNITED STATES CANNOT EXERT EFFECTIVE PRESSURE IN THIS RESPECT.

YET IT IS OUR COMPLETE CONVICTION THAT THE OPPOSITE IS THE CASE.

YOU, MR. PRESIDENT, OCCUPIED THE POST OF VICE PRESIDENT DURING THE TIMES OF PRESIDENT DWIGHT EISENHOWER. YOU REMEMBER HOW THE

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UNITED STATES MANAGED IN A FEW HOURS TO IMPOSE THE PRINCIPLE OF WITHDRAWAL FROM THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES ON THE STATES OF THE TRIPARTITE AGGRESSION IN 1956. HENCE, OUR SURPRISE THAT THE UNITED STATES APPEARS POWERLESS BEFORE ISRAEL ALONE, WHO, AS WE PREVIOUSLY SAID, LIVES AT THE EXPENSE OF THE USA AND FIGHTS US WITH HER ARMS.

I BELIEVE THAT YOU WANT PEACE.

I ALSO POSITIVELY KNOW THAT THE SOVIET UNION WANTS PEACE. I WAS A FEW DAYS AGO IN MOSCOW FOR TALKS WITH THE LEADERS OF THE SOVIET UNION, AND OUR INTEREST WAS ALL IN PEACE. BUT WE ALL REALIZED THAT WE CANNOT ACCEPT AGGRESSION, NEITHER ITS CONTINUATION, NOR ITS TRACES.

OTHERS BESIDES YOU, THE SOVIET UNION, AND US, IN FACT THE WHOLE WORLD WANTS PEACE. WE OFFERED ALL THAT WE WERE REQUESTED TO FOR THE SAKE OF PEACE. HOWEVER, PEACE, AS YOU SEE, IS STILL DISTANT, AND IT EVEN APPEARS IMPOSSIBLE FROM ISRAEL'S BEHAVIOR.

THIS DOES NOT MEAN THAT WE NO LONGER CARE TO REACH A PEACEFUL SOLUTION. ON THE CONTRARY, WE WILL BE SATISFIED TO GIVE UP THE GUN AND HOLD THE OLIVE BRANCH ANY TIME THE PEACE TALKS SUCCEED.

BUT PEACE NEEDS SEVERAL PARTIES AND NOT ONE PARTY.

UNFORTUNATELY, IT IS ONE PARTY WHO STRANGLES NOW THE HOPES OF PEACE, WHEREAS THE WHOLE WORLD WANTS IT AND SEEKS IT.

BUT PEACE, MR. PRESIDENT, IS NOT THE MERE CEASEFIRE, NOR IS THE SILENCE OF GUNS ALONG THE SUEZ FRONT PROGRESS, AS I HEARD IN YOUR STATEMENT TODAY. PEACE IS SOMETHING DEEPER THAN ALL THIS AND IS MORE ORIGINAL.

I AM AWARE OF MY RESPONSIBILITIES TOWARDS WORLD PEACE, JUST AS MY PEOPLE ARE AWARE OF THEIR RESPONSIBILITIES. BUT I WISH YOU TO PLACE YOURSELF IN OUR POSITION AND ASK WITH US: WHERE IS THE HOPE IN PEACE NOW.

WHERE IS PEACE, WHEN WE FACE A CHALLENGE TO OUR TERRITORY, AND TO OUR INDEPENDENCE, AND TO OUR FREEDOM, AND TO OUR NATIONAL DIGNITY AND TO THE INTEGRITY OF OUR SOIL.

WHERE IS PEACE IN THE DEEP RAIDS WHICH WE WERE EXPOSED TO, AND THE POSSIBILITY OF BEING EXPOSED TO DEEP RAIDS IN THE FUTURE. EVEN NOW, WE HEAR ENEMY THREATS TO THIS EFFECT, AND WE WANT YOU TO KNOW THAT IF THEY TAKE PLACE THEY WOULD NOT GO WITHOUT PUNISHMENT FOR THOSE WHO PRACTICE THEM AND THOSE WHO ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR THEM.

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TELEGRAM

SECRET

O 060140Z MAR 71  
FM USINT CAIRO  
TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9049  
INFO RUEHDT/USMISSION USUN IMMEDIATE 1029  
BT  
S E C R E T SECTION 3 OF 3 CAIRO 0478

2329Q

Mar 5, 10:21 PM 1971

NODIS/CEDAR

WHERE IS PEACE WITH ALL THIS?

DEAR PRESIDENT,

I HAVE NOT LOST HOPE COMPLETELY. I STILL HAVE SOME HOPE IN THE CONCENTRATED EFFORTS I KNOW YOU INTEND TO EXERT AND I KNOW THAT IT IS WITHIN THE REALM OF THE POSSIBLE AS FAR AS YOU ARE CONCERNED.

I ALSO HAVE FAITH IN THE EFFORTS EXERTED BY THE UNITED NATIONS SECRETARY GENERAL AND HIS SPECIAL ENVOY DR. GUNNAR JARRING.

I ALSO DO NOT DOUBT THE SINCERITY OF THE INTENTIONS OF THE BIG FOUR POWERS IN SHOULDERING THEIR RESPONSIBILITIES IN THEIR CAPACITY AS PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL.

I AM EXTREMELY HOPEFUL THAT THE EFFORTS OF ALL THESE WILL FEND OFF THE OCCURRENCE OF A CALAMITY, THE DANGERS OF WHICH TO WORLD PEACE I VERY MUCH DREAD.

PLEASE ACCEPT, MR. PRESIDENT, MY ABUNDANT GREETINGS AND RESPECT.

ANWAR EL SADAT

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