

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you for your letter of May 3, 1978, with the thoughtful and perceptive views on the relationship between our two countries. I particularly wish to express my appreciation for the warm and gracious reception you and Mrs. Marcos accorded Vice President and Mrs. Mondale during their recent visit to Manila, and for the friendship and candor with which you talked to him.

As a result of his visit, Mr. Mondale left Manila with a clear picture not only of your views on our relationship, but also of Philippine perceptions of the evolution of the Asian situation. The major speech on United States policy in Asia that Mr. Mondale delivered at the East-West Center in Honolulu on May 10 reflects the insights he received during his stay in Manila.

From your letter and my discussions with Mr. Mondale, I believe that we have gone far toward an understanding between our two countries. Mutually satisfactory amendment of the Military Bases Agreement is, of course, an important element of our relationship. The principles enumerated in the joint U.S.-Philippine statement, which you and Mr. Mondale issued, can provide the impetus needed to resume talks, initially at the military level, and proceed as quickly as possible to reach full agreement.

DECLASSIFIED  
E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5 (b)  
WHITE HOUSE GUIDELINES, AUGUST 26, 1997  
BY AK NARA, DATE 7/24/06

As you know, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has approved the full \$18,100,000 FY 1979 Military Assistance Program (MAP) for the Philippines which we had requested. My Administration will continue to support the full amount of this request in the House-Senate conference which will follow.

I am told that the talks between Secretary of Energy Velasco and Secretary Schlesinger and others went well. As part of our long-term effort to help your country expand its energy resources, we will send an expert team to the Philippines this summer to work with your government in identifying additional cooperative efforts in the energy field. We also intend to send an AID mission shortly to consider new programs for Olongapo and Angeles City, as the Vice President discussed with you.

Finally, let me say that I appreciate the frankness with which you discussed the broad issue of human rights with Mr. Mondale, and your willingness to communicate with members of our Congress on this matter. Such candid dialogue is particularly important on this issue. We are committed to seeking an advance in the cause of justice and human rights. The people of our countries fought side by side to defend that cause. I believe that we now have a better understanding of one another's positions and of the circumstances upon which policy judgments are based. I hope that, under your leadership, events will give us the opportunity to turn the corner of this difficult issue.

Sincerely,

His Excellency  
Ferdinand E. Marcos  
President of the Philippines  
Manila

MALACANAN PALACE

MANILA

May 3, 1978

Dear Mr. President:

I am gratified that you sent Vice-President Mondale on a state visit to the Philippines as your representative to meet with me on problems of mutual concern to our two countries. As you noted, we indeed moved the celebration of both Bataan Day and Corregidor Day so that the two occasions may be observed by us during Mr. Mondale's visit. In this way, in accord with what I have referred to as the "universality of principles" in our relations, we had hoped to symbolize the desire of the Filipino people to achieve growth and progress alongside the United States on the basis of mutual trust, mutual respect and mutual benefit.

I am writing this to you out of long-held sentiments of warmth, admiration and respect for the United States. These are feelings rooted in an American-inspired education and nourished by training in a juridical system derived largely from your country. They are feelings sealed by the sacrifices personally shared with Americans who fought for the liberation of the Philippines in World War II.

Among Filipinos of my generation, positive reactions to the United States are commonplace. But what of subsequent generations? What of the millions of Filipinos for whom World War II and the beginning of independence are not even childhood remembrances? As the years pass can the same sympathy between our countries continue?

To sustain a legacy of that kind, it is not enough to dwell on the sentimentalities of the past. Here, as in the United States, people ask for evidence of the

His Excellency  
Jimmy Carter  
President of the United States  
Washington, D.C.

DECLASSIFIED  
E.O. 12958, SEG. 3.5 (b)  
WHITE HOUSE GUIDELINES, AUGUST 28, 1987  
BY RAI NARA DATE 7/21/06

relevance of any relationship to contemporary needs and aspirations. As a consequence, the meaning of the U.S.-Philippine relationship is being subjected to tests, the most important of which at this time involves the status of the military bases. Everytime an incident occurs between American military personnel and a Filipino, the value of the bases is brought into question anew. To be sure, these bases can continue to serve our security interests. They will do so, however, only as long as they are accepted here and in the United States as mutually beneficial.

To be sure the principle of Philippine sovereignty over the base areas has already long since been recognized by both nations. However, in present circumstances, that is not enough. The arrangements which govern use of the bases must also reflect the principle. I will say in all candor that the protracted negotiations have yet to come to grips with this reality.

With regard to the political situation in the Philippines, I would note that when martial law was declared in 1972, it was recognized on all sides that the nation was in the throes of a political paralysis and on the verge of a complete collapse. The economy was at a standstill. Crime and corruption were rampant. The country was fragmented into a number of private armed encampments.

Under martial law, the highest priorities have been given to providing security for the Filipino against violence to his person and to expanding the livelihood of his family. Personal security and adequate sustenance are regarded widely here as the most basic of human rights. While much remains still to be done, much has already been done in the past half-decade to give meaning to these rights.

At the same time, we have not been unaware of the need to proceed with the development of political institutions to replace those which gave way in 1972. To that end, we have experimented with a revival of the ancient Barangay system of local government and we have held various national plebiscites. In early April there took place a nationwide election for the Batasang Pambansa or interim assembly. Contrary to some superficial analyses, that election was a significant step in a

return to full popular participation in government. When the Batasang Pambansa convenes shortly, it will contain elected representatives who generally support my administration and those who do not.

The political forms which emerge in this country in the years ahead are bound to reflect influences from the United States and other nations. However, we are determined that henceforth these influences shall no longer be merely skin transplants. We are determined that they shall be blended into our institutions together with what is indigenous to our traditions. We shall not be deflected from that resolve under any circumstances.

I have written you at length because it seems to me that the relationship between our two countries has entered a period of trial. Whatever the immediate difficulties, much that is constructive for the peoples of both nations can emerge from this interlude. If that is to be the case, however, it is essential that in our reactions to each other's internal affairs we reflect a perceptive understanding of the prevailing situation and, in addition, that issues between the countries be faced and resolved without delay. I assure you, Mr. President, of my full cooperation in this respect even as I am confident that I can count on yours.

Mr. Mondale and I have met in a congenial, extensive and cordial discussion of the subjects mentioned in your letter. I am satisfied that our meeting covered ample ground, and that he will accordingly report to you our perspectives and perceptions on the base negotiations, on economic matters of mutual interest to us, and on the advancement of human rights.

I am taking this opportunity to communicate to you directly my concern over another problem. This concerns the fact that the media and the bureaucracy in the United States may be unable at the present time to convey, particularly to decision makers in your country, the true situation in the Philippines. We are consequently anxious about the likelihood that our perceptions will be misapprehended not only in respect of human rights but

MALACAÑAN PALACE

MANILA

also of the more delicate problem over the relationship of our two countries.

I sincerely hope, Mr. President, that Vice-President Mondale's visit and our discussions would bring to our country's relations with yours new dimensions and expectations.

Sincerely,

A large, stylized handwritten signature in dark ink, likely belonging to a high-ranking official, is written over a horizontal line. The signature is composed of several loops and flourishes, with a prominent 'P' at the beginning and a long, sweeping tail that extends to the right.

## Philippines: Possible Release of Opponents

In a move to throw his political opponents off balance, Philippine President Marcos may soon release supporters of former Senator Aquino who were arrested on 9 April in Manila. Marcos also probably hopes to draw opposition leaders into a public debate on national issues in order to show his interest in a political "reconciliation." (S NF/OC)

By suggesting some sort of political accommodation with Aquino and his followers, Marcos may believe he will improve the credibility of the legislative election in April. He has already ordered the reversal of official election results in the Cebu region in favor of a nongovernment slate—although one with a platform that generally conforms to his policies. He

considers it important to maintain a democratic facade as he moves toward another round of talks with the US over a revised bases agreement.

These overtures are largely window dressing; Marcos has made sure that the procedures to be followed in the National Assembly will severely limit any criticism of his martial law regime. The Assembly convenes on 12 June.

Opposition leaders in Manila have been unable to agree on a common stand since the protest demonstrations immediately after the election. Aquino himself seems to have lost some of his zest for the political crusade and is even reported to have said that he would now accept exile if his supporters recommend it. (S NF/OC)

~~TOP SECRET~~

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PER 7/13/06 NSC 14  
ALTC-06-075  
BY RAB NARA, DATE 7/21/06

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT  
WASHINGTON


INFORMATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Memo No. 422-78

June 8, 1978

MEMORANDUM FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT

FROM: Denis Clift   
SUBJECT: Foreign Policy Breakfast,  
Friday, June 9, 7:30 a.m.

SALT

Note the useful breakfast that you, Zbig, Hamilton, Frank Moore and others had with Senator Alan Cranston. (Cranston's agenda for the meeting is at Tab A.)

Cranston expressed the importance of Jackson, Baker, Byrd, Stennis and Nunn. The importance was stressed of consulting with Nunn on the new MBFR negotiator.

Cranston urged that a person of some stature (e.g., General Goodpaster) be picked by the President to spearhead the Administration's effort with the Senate. (As you will recall, Hamilton noted that he is working on a team; at the end of the breakfast, he pointed out to Cranston the complexity of trying to impose someone on top of the Congressional liaison office.)

Middle East

Immediately following the breakfast you, Zbig and Secretary Vance and others will meet to consider recommendations being formulated for the President on next steps in the Middle East -- including the possibility of your visiting Israel in connection with a 30th anniversary.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CLASSIFIED BY A. DENIS CLIFT Page 1 of 2  
REVIEW ON JUNE 8, 1984

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pc 7/13/06 NSC 1A.  
NSC 106-075  
BY BIR NARA DATE 7/24/06

### U.N. University

Senator Robert Byrd apparently will move on Friday, June 9 to strike U.N. University's \$7.5 million from the FY79 foreign assistance budget submission. Ask Secretary Vance for a status report (he will have been briefed on this). Ask if it would be helpful if you were to call one or more members of the Senate to underline the importance we attach to the U.S. contribution to the U.N. University.

### Bonn Economic Summit

The PRC met on June 8 to consider possible energy initiatives by the U.S. for the next summit of the industrialized democracies on July 16-17. You may wish to ask Secretary Vance and Zbig for a status report on summit preparations.

June 8, 1978

## AGENDA

### I Senate Status Report

#### A. Senate SALT Group

1. Membership
2. Schedule - 6/13 meeting
3. Plans

#### B. Head Count

1. By numbers
2. Key Senators

#### C. Going public

1. When, who, how
2. Executive response

#### D. SALT Treaty timing

### II Executive Status Report

#### A. SALT Negotiations

1. Any new issues?

#### B. U.S.-Soviet status

1. President's speech
2. How to avoid linkage

### III Ratification Concerns

#### A. Executive Coordination

1. Overall coordinator
2. Executive briefings of public leaders
3. Executive P. R.
4. Intelligence information
5. Congressional Liaison

#### B. Citizen Support Group

1. Panama experience
2. SALT plans

### IV Other

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT  
WASHINGTON


INFORMATION

~~SECRET~~/SENSITIVE/XGDS

Memo No. 459-78

June 22, 1978

MEMORANDUM FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT

FROM: Denis Clift 

SUBJECT: Foreign Policy Breakfast,  
Friday, June 23, 1978

Visit to Middle East

You should raise with the President the question of a stopover in Egypt on July 3 for some two hours of talks with President Sadat following your visit to Israel (the tentative schedule for Israel is at Tab A).

The basic points to be made include the following:

- At the time of the White House announcement of the visit to Israel, Sadat urged Ambassador Eilts to have the Vice President come to Egypt, saying that if he were to bypass Egypt, it would be misunderstood and damage the peace process.
- On June 21, Speaker of the Egyptian Assembly Marei again extended the invitation, again saying that if the Vice President were not to come it would be misunderstood.
- Eilts has reaffirmed the importance he attaches to a short visit by the Vice President (cable at Tab B) and by secure phone.
- Eilts has stressed that the visit need be no more than two hours at Sadat's home outside of Alexandria.
- The meeting with Sadat, if approved by the President, would most appropriately take the form of a serious review of Middle East developments, not a negotiation session.

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REVIEW ON JUNE 22, 1998

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pw 7/13/06 NSC 1+  
NLS-06-075  
BY BRS NARA, DATE 7/24/06

- If approved by the President, careful State/White House attention will have to be given to the timing of informing the Egyptians of approval, the Israelis of approval, and public announcement of the stopover in Egypt -- given the fact that there will be an enormous escalation in the speculation on the substance of the Vice President's visit with the media guessing that the visit involves a new U.S. proposal.

DATE: June 21, 1978  
FROM: Vice President's Office  
TO: U.S. Embassy, Israel

Proposed Schedule  
Vice President's Trip to Israel

Thursday, June 29

7:00 p.m. EDT	Dep. Andrews via VC-137 #86970 enroute Lajes AB, Azores (Flt. time: 5:00 +3:00)
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Friday, June 30

3:00 a.m. AST (12:00 p.m. EDT)	Arr Lajes AB & Refuel. (Ground time: 1:30)
4:30 a.m. AST (1:30 a.m. EDT)	Dep Lajes AB enroute Ben-Gurion/Tel Aviv Airport (Flt. time: 6:30 +3:00)
2:00 p.m. IST	Arr Ben Gurion/Tel Aviv Airport.
2:05-2:10 p.m.	Arrival Statement
2:15 p.m.	Motorcade Departs enroute King David Hotel Vice President rides with Prime Minister Begin
3:00 p.m.	Arrive King David Hotel
3:00-4:00 p.m.	Free Time at King David Hotel
4:00-4:30 p.m.	Meeting with Deputy Prime Minister Yadin at King David Hotel
4:30-	Free time, King David Hotel
	RON

Saturday, July 1

12:00-1:00 p.m.	Lunch with Ambassador Lewis in Suite, King David Hotel
3:00 p.m.	Motorcade Departs King David Hotel enroute Tel Aviv

Saturday, July 1 (continued)

4:00 p.m.	Arrive at Tel Aviv Residence of Golda Meir
4:00-5:00 p.m.	Meeting with Golda Meir
5:00 p.m.	Depart Residence of Golda Meir Enroute King David Hotel
6:00 p.m.	Arrive at King David Hotel
6:00-8:00 p.m.	Free Time at King David Hotel Private Dinner
8:00-9:30 p.m.	Reception at King David Hotel for Prominent Israeli Officials, American Guests, and Israeli-American Friendship Society (Actual reception scheduled 8:00-10:30 p.m.)
9:30 p.m.	Depart Reception, Return to Hotel Suite
9:45-10:15 p.m.	Meeting with Minister of Finance, Ehrlich, King David Hotel

RON

Sunday, July 2

8:00-9:00 a.m.	Breakfast Meeting with Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dayan, King David Hotel
9:25 a.m.	Motorcade Departs King David Hotel Enroute Residence of President Navon
9:30 a.m.	Arrive at President Navon's Residence
10:00 a.m.	Motorcade Departs Residence of President Navon Enroute Knesset Office of Speaker Shamir
10:15 a.m.	Arrive at Knesset Office of Speaker Shamir
10:15-10:30 a.m.	Meeting with Knesset Speaker Shamir

Sunday, July 2 (continued)

10:30 a.m.	Depart Knesset for Helipad
10:35 a.m.	Wheels up Enroute Sde Boker Kibbutz
11:00 a.m.	Arrive at Sde Boker Kibbutz
11:00-11:45 a.m.	Tour Kibbutz Lay Wreath at Ben Gurion Memorial
11:45 a.m.	Wheels Up Enroute Beersheva
12:00 Noon	Arrive Beersheva, Proceed to Ben Gurion University
12:00-12:45 p.m.	Tour Ben Gurion University Unveil Plaque for Humphrey Institute
12:45 p.m.	Wheels up Enroute Jerusalem
1:15 p.m.	Arrive Helipad, Jerusalem Proceed to King David Hotel
1:20 p.m.	Arrive at King David Hotel
1:20-2:55 p.m.	Private Time Lunch at King David Hotel
2:55 p.m.	Depart King David Hotel Enroute Knesset Office of Shimon Peres
3:00 p.m.	Arrive at Knesset Office of Shimon Peres
3:10-3:55 p.m.	Meeting with Shimon Peres at Knesset Office
3:55 p.m.	Depart Knesset Office of Shimon Peres and Walk to Knesset Office of Prime Minister Begin
4:00 p.m.	Arrive at Knesset Office of Prime Minister Begin
4:00-5:00 p.m.	Meeting with Prime Minister Begin at Knesset Office
5:00-5:15 p.m. (tentative)	Press Comments with Prime Minister Begin Outside of Prime Minister's Office
5:15 p.m.	Motorcade Departs Knesset Building Enroute King David Hotel
5:25 p.m.	Arrive King David Hotel

Page Four

Sunday, July 2 (continued)

5:25-7:50 p.m.	Free Time at King David Hotel
7:50 p.m.	Motorcade Departs King David Hotel Enroute State Dinner at Knesset Building
8:00 p.m.	Arrive at Knesset Building
8:00-11:00 p.m.	Official State Dinner Hosted by Prime Minister Begin and Speaker Shamir Vice President to Make Major Address
11:00 p.m.	Motorcade Departs State Dinner Enroute King David Hotel
11:10 p.m.	Arrive King David Hotel
	RON

Monday, July 3

8:25 a.m.	Depart King David Hotel Enroute Wailing Wall
8:30 a.m.	Arrive at Wailing Wall, Jerusalem
8:30-8:45 a.m.	Visit Wailing Wall
8:45 a.m.	Depart Wailing Wall Enroute King David Hotel
8:50 a.m.	Arrive King David Hotel
9:00-9:45 a.m.	Meeting with Defense Minister Weizman at King David Hotel
9:45 a.m.	Motorcade Departs King David Hotel Enroute Yad Vashem Memorial
10:00 a.m.	Motorcade Arrives at Yad Vashem Memorial
10:00-10:30 a.m.	Visit Yad Vashem Memorial
10:30 a.m.	Depart Yad Vashem Memorial

Monday, July 3 (continued)

10:45 a.m.	Arrive King David Hotel
10:45-11:35 a.m.	Free Time at King David Hotel (Staff Meetings in Preparation for Press Conference)
11:35 a.m.	Motorcade Departs King David Hotel Enroute Knesset
11:45 a.m.	Arrive at Knesset Building
11:45-1:15 p.m.	Working Session and Informal Lunch with Prime Minister Begin and Selected Cabinet Ministers, Knesset Building
1:15 p.m.	Depart Knesset Building Enroute King David Hotel
1:20 p.m.	Arrive King David Hotel
1:20-2:00 p.m.	Free Time King David Hotel (Staff Meetings in Preparation for News Conference)
2:00-2:30 p.m. (tentative)	News Conference, King David Hotel
2:45 p.m.	Motorcade Departs King David Hotel Enroute Ben Gurion Airport
3:35 p.m.	Arrive Ben Gurion Airport
3:40 p.m.	Wheels Up Enroute Lajes AB
8:05 p.m. (11:05 p.m. EDT)	Arrive Lajes AB (ground time 1:20)
9:35 p.m. (12:35 p.m. EDT)	Depart Lajes AB
12:25 p.m. EDT	Arrive Andrews

MISSION COMPLETED

1. Vice President attaches importance to bilateral meetings not only with Begin but also with Dayan, Ehrlich, Yadin, Weizman, and Peres. Given sensitivity of internal Israeli politics at present, we think it best not to present Begin and his staff with full list of bilaterals this far in advance of visit. It may be better to provide the various names subsequently over the next few days. We leave handling of this to Ambassador's discretion, while emphasizing the importance that the Vice President attaches to all of these meetings.
2. The Vice President wants to visit the Wailing Wall on Monday morning, July 3. We believe that it would be preferable not to consult with GOI on this event for the time being. There can be no official Israeli participation. Vice President will plan on being accompanied by U. S. ConGen Michael H. Newlin.
3. Hope to involve Israeli-American Society in visit by having them participate in Reception at King David Hotel on Saturday night. Suggest that Ambassador and Society host this event.
4. If Mayor Kolleck is seeking an appointment, the Vice President would welcome a visit by the Mayor at the King David Hotel on Saturday afternoon.
5. A separate suite, in proximity to the Vice President's room, should be available and suitable for all of the Vice President's private meetings in the Hotel.
6. Essential that Bill Roberts, Lead Advance for the Vice President, be informed of this schedule as soon as possible.
7. Details of press coverage arrangements have not yet been worked out. Some modifications in schedule may be necessary to accommodate press. Cable on suggested coverage to follow in about 18 hours.

## VP TRIP TO ISRAEL

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BERMAN	✓	
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 0623

~~SECRET~~ CAIRO 15559

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CHERCKEE  
DEPT PASS VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE FROM AMBASSADOR  
E.O. 11552: GOS  
TAGS: PEPR OVIP EG US IS (MONDALE, WALTER)  
SUBJECT: VICE PRESIDENT'S TRIP  
REF: STATE 158836

1. SAYED MAREI'S COMMENT SHOULD BE TAKEN AS A TRUE EXPRESSION OF EGYPTIAN CONCERNS. DRAWING ON STATE 150558 AND STATE 154414, I HAVE REPEATEDLY SOUGHT TO PLACE YOUR UPCOMING VISIT TO ISRAEL INTO SOME KIND OF PROPER PERSPECTIVE. THE FACT OF THE MATTER IS THAT NONE OF THE ARGUMENTS THAT WE PRESENTED WERE FOUND PERSUASIVE BY THE EGYPTIANS. THEY FULLY RECOGNIZE YOUR HEAVY SCHEDULE, BUT THEIR SOLUTION IS THAT A POSSIBLE STOPOVER IN EGYPT NEED NOT BE MORE THAN A FEW HOURS. AS I REPORTED AFTER MY LAST TALKS WITH VP MUBARAK AND FONMIN KAVEL ON THIS MATTER (CAIRO 15341), THEY GRUMBLY ACCEPTED FACT THAT YOU COULD NOT COME, BUT THEY ARE HURT. THEIR FEELINGS OF UNEASINESS HAVE BEEN HEIGHTENED FOLLOWING THE RECENT ISRAELI RESPONSE TO OUR QUESTIONS.

2. I RECOGNIZE ALL OF THE PROBLEMS THAT A POSSIBLE STOP HERE POSES FOR YOU, INCLUDING YOUR HEAVY SCHEDULE AND POTENTIAL DISADVANTAGES WITH RESPECT TO ISRAEL, BUT IF THERE IS ANY WAY THAT YOU COULD SEE YOUR WAY CLEAR TO STOP BY FOR A FEW HOURS ON YOUR WAY BACK, IT WOULD BE A VERY GOOD THING HERE AT WHAT IS A PARTICULARLY DIFFICULT PERIOD. THE EGYPTIANS NEED A BIT OF HIGH-LEVEL HAND-HOLDING AT THIS TIME.

3. SINCE SADAT WILL PROBABLY BE IN ALEXANDRIA, YOUR AIRCRAFT COULD PUT DOWN AT GIANACLIS MILITARY AIRFIELD

\*\*\*\*\* WHSR COMMENT \*\*\*\*\*

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DECLASSIFIED

per 7/13/06 NSC 14.  
NLTC-06-075  
BY BAE NARA, DATE 7/21/06

NEAR ALEXANDRIA AND YOU WOULD BE HELICOPTERED FROM THERE TO THE PRESIDENT'S HOME IN ALEXANDRIA (ABOUT A 15-MINUTE HELICOPTER FLIGHT). YOU WOULD ALSO BE HELICOPTERED DIRECTLY BACK TO GIZA FOR TAKEOFF. THE WHOLE THING COULD BE DONE IN BETWEEN TWO-AND-A-HALF AND THREE HOURS, PERHAPS EVEN LESS. SADAT DOES NOT NORMALLY GET UP UNTIL 1030, SO BEST TIME TO ARRIVE WOULD BE ABOUT THEN. I AM PUTTING THIS FORWARD SOLELY ON A CONTINGENCY BASIS. UNLESS I HEAR FROM YOU OTHERWISE, I WILL CONTINUE TO TAKE THE LINE WITH EGYPTIANS THAT YOU REGRET YOUR BUSY SCHEDULE PRECLUDES YOUR COMING HERE AT THIS TIME AND THAT YOUR VISIT TO ISRAEL IS PRIMARILY CEREMONIAL.

4. WILL STAND BY FOR SECURE TELEPHONE CALL FROM YOU 1100 WASHINGTON TIME (1700Z CAIRO TIME) TODAY. IT WOULD BE BEST IF THIS WERE THROUGH CIA SATELLITE SYSTEM, SINCE WE ARE HAVING GREAT DIFFICULTY WITH STATE SECURE LINE. //

EILTS

BT

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

WASHINGTON


INFORMATION

~~SECRET~~

Memo No. 515-78

July 20, 1978

MEMORANDUM FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT

FROM: Denis Clift   
SUBJECT: Foreign Policy Breakfast,  
Friday, July 21, 1978

Middle East

The primary focus, undoubtedly, will be Secretary Vance's report on his talks with Kamel and Dayan in London.

As you know the next Situation Room strategy session on the Middle East has been scheduled for July 27.

US-USSR Relations/SALT

Following the breakfast, you, Dr. Brzezinski, Secretary Vance and Secretary Brown will participate in an SCC meeting on SALT. I have attached for your reference the Gallup Poll in this week's Newsweek on US/USSR relations.

US-Yugoslavia Relations

Press coverage of the meeting that you and the President had on Wednesday with the Yugoslav Parliamentary delegation was extremely heavy and favorable both in Yugoslav newspapers and on television on Thursday, July 20. Given the fact that the delegation was only at the parliamentary level, such coverage is extraordinary -- in total contrast to the negative coverage prior to 1977 -- emphasizing the success President Carter has had in improving US-Yugoslav relations.

ASEAN Ministers Meeting

The ASEAN Ministers will meet in Washington on August 3-4, with a White House meeting with the President tentatively set for the morning of August 4 (State and the NSC separately will be

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REVIEW ON JULY 20, 1998

DECLASSIFIED  
Per 7/13/06 NSC 1A.  
NLJCL 06-075  
BY BAE NARA DATE 7/21/06

recommending that you host a reception for the ministers). It has been brought to my attention that Thailand's new Ambassador has not yet been able to present his credentials to the President. He is one of five presently backed up, including the new Spanish Ambassador. If the Thai Ambassador has not presented his credentials, he will not be able to participate in the meetings, and this will send a sour note through the ASEAN community prior to the meetings -- with the possibility that we may inadvertently lessen the chances for a productive session. Zbig should be aware of this problem. The President's schedulers have said the week of August 7 is the earliest they could put a credentials ceremony on the calendar. You may wish to note this problem and the fact that if it is not given attention, we might inadvertently do some damage to a potentially good meeting.

**1** Since President Carter took office, would you say relations between the United States and the Soviet Union have improved, worsened or haven't changed?

IMPROVED	WORSENER	NO CHANGE	DON'T KNOW
11%	44%	35%	10%

**2** Do you think there is more chance of war between the United States and the Soviet Union, less chance of war, or that the situation hasn't changed?

MORE CHANCE OF WAR	LESS CHANCE OF WAR	HASN'T CHANGED	DON'T KNOW
26%	17%	49%	8%

**3** Since President Carter took office, which country has been more successful diplomatically, the U.S. or the Soviet Union?

U.S.	SOVIET UNION	NEITHER	CAN'T SAY
40%	30%	11%	19%

**4** Which country has been more successful in advancing its interests in the developing nations of Africa, the U.S. or the Soviet Union?

U.S.	SOVIET UNION	NEITHER	CAN'T SAY
31%	44%	7%	18%

**5** Do you think the President and other U.S. leaders should criticize the Soviet Union for violating the human rights of its citizens, or do you feel that it is none of our business to criticize the Soviets for their treatment of Soviet citizens?

SHOULD CRITICIZE	NOT OUR BUSINESS	CAN'T SAY
43%	49%	8%

**6** Would you favor or oppose U.S. efforts to influence the Soviet Union's policy regarding the human rights of Soviet citizens by bringing that policy into negotiations on other issues between the two countries?

FAVOR	OPPOSE	CAN'T SAY
44%	41%	15%

**7** Do you think U.S. pressure can make a difference on Soviet policy regarding the human rights of Soviet citizens?

CAN MAKE A DIFFERENCE	WON'T MAKE A DIFFERENCE	DON'T KNOW
38%	54%	8%

**8** If U.S. efforts to influence Soviet policy regarding human rights threatened a nuclear-weapons agreement between the two countries, which would you feel would be more important?

THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF SOVIET CITIZENS	A NUCLEAR-WEAPONS AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES	DON'T KNOW
25%	61%	14%

**9** Some people feel that Secretary of State Vance should have put off going to the nuclear-arms talks to protest the trial of dissidents in the Soviet Union. Others feel that the talks are too important to postpone. Which comes closest to your view?

PUT OFF TALKS	TOO IMPORTANT TO POSTPONE	CAN'T SAY
17%	65%	18%


OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT  
WASHINGTON

~~SECRET~~/SENSITIVE

August 3, 1978

Memo No. 800-78

MEMORANDUM FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT

FROM: Denis Clift   
SUBJECT: Foreign Policy Breakfast, Friday, August 4, 1978

Middle East

With Secretary Vance about to depart for the Middle East, the reports being received from Ron Atherton, the situation in Lebanon and the position Vance will be taking with Prime Minister Begin and President Sadat should be an important item for discussion. The current polarization as reflected in Atherton's cable following his August 2 conversation with Begin (Tab A) makes it all the more important for the United States to keep the Israeli-Egyptian peace process moving forward.

To me, the most recent turn of events -- i.e., Saudi pressure on Sadat to stiffen his position -- underscores the need following the Vance mission for the U.S. to have a political-level negotiator/catalyst on the scene in the Middle East working with the parties. If you agree, you may wish to make this point during the breakfast.

ASEAN Meeting

You and the President will meet with the ASEAN ministers at 11:30 a.m. on Friday, August 4. As you know, Mrs. Marcos has now decided that she will participate in her capacity as Urban Affairs Minister of the Philippines. You will be the guest of honor at the ASEAN dinner on Friday evening.

Secretary Vance's August 3 address to the second session of the US-ASEAN economic consultations is at Tab B. In it, pages 2 and 3, he makes major reference to you and the US-Asian agenda you set forth at the conclusion of your visit to the Pacific.

~~SECRET~~/SENSITIVE

CLASSIFIED BY A. DENIS CLIFT  
REVIEW ON AUGUST 3, 1998

DECLASSIFIED  
per 7/13/06 NSC H.  
NLTC 104-075  
BY BAE NARA, DATE 7/21/06

At the breakfast, you may wish to note the Secretary of State's statement and ask him how the August 3 consultations with the ASEAN ministers went.

#### US-Mexican Relations

In his August 1 evening report to the President, Secretary Vance said: "I am convinced that the US and Mexican relationship is going to become increasingly important and complex. We need to develop better organized procedures in order to deal with this relationship in an integrated and coordinated way. I am therefore asking Zbig to convene a PRC under my chairmanship for this purpose. I propose to include several domestic agencies as well so that we can review policies that cut across both foreign and domestic interests."

You separately have asked Secretary Schlesinger for his assessment of how we might best cooperate with the Mexicans to get more Mexican oil.

In earlier papers to you I have strongly recommended that Vance take the lead in insuring that the U.S. Government coordinates its actions in our relations with Mexico and that we maintain the momentum of US-Mexican progress. In the breakfast I recommend that you comment on and endorse the Secretary of State's proposal to the President and urge that this be given high priority by Zbig and the NSC in the PRC forum.

# DEPARTMENT OF STATE



August 3, 1978

No. 308

STATEMENT BY  
THE HONORABLE CYRUS VANCE  
SECRETARY OF STATE  
AT THE OPENING SESSION OF THE  
SECOND SESSION OF ECONOMIC CONSULTATIONS  
BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE  
ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHEAST ASIAN NATIONS  
DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
AUGUST 3, 1978

The distinguished Foreign Minister of the Philippines, distinguished Ministers, members of the ASEAN Delegations, and fellow participants:

## I

On behalf of the United States Government and President Carter personally, I welcome you to the Second Session of the Economic Consultations between the United States and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations. It is a great pleasure for me to greet the leaders of countries with which we have had close friendships over many years. I am also pleased that so many of my Cabinet colleagues and other senior US officials can meet with Ministers who are being so successful in developing ASEAN as a major factor in the region and the world. This second meeting, involving the highest levels of our governments, is a major step in the consolidation of the US-ASEAN relationship. Our joint efforts will provide the impetus for US and ASEAN cooperation in the years ahead.

The United States strongly supports the goals and aspirations of ASEAN as part of the welfare and future of Southeast Asia. Our relations are based upon mutual respect and mutual interest. They also build upon a long record of past relationships, while adapting to changing circumstances. Today, no Asian reality is more striking than the success of ASEAN in promoting the growth and vitality of the region.

## II

The United States sees the Association of Southeast Asian Nations as a reflection of a new era in Asia. The states you represent have a population equal to that of the United States and Canada combined. We have admired the priority you have given to enhancing the well-being of their people through growing cooperation and consultation on economic, social and cultural development.

For further information contact:

Let me cite just a few of the many examples of your progress which have come to our attention.

- ASEAN's combined economic growth is among the most dynamic of any region in the world.
- Its export growth rates average over 25 percent annually.
- It is a major source of key products and raw materials for the US and the rest of the world.
- ASEAN is embarked on the fight against hunger through efforts to reduce population growth and increase agricultural production.
- And it is meeting other modern challenges such as developing new energy resources, controlling the illicit trade of narcotics, and broadening educational opportunity.

Thus, in many respects, the ASEAN region is succeeding in its tasks of accelerating economic development and social progress. But there is much work that lies ahead. It will require time, persistence, and resources -- financial, technical and human. We are pleased to be among the industrialized nations which are now helping to reinforce ASEAN's impressive efforts. The relationships that ASEAN is developing, not only with the US, but with Japan, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and the Common Market, attest to the trend.

The United States is determined to help ASEAN meet its goals. We look toward forms of cooperation that can grow and that will be sustained. We want to help -- not intervene -- and we look to your wisdom to guide us in these efforts.

### III

Following his recent visit to Southeast Asia, Vice President Mondale outlined the basic elements of our economic agenda with the regions of Asia.

- First, we will work to assure the continued expansion of our trade with Pacific nations.
- Second, we will work with you to overcome deficiencies in agricultural productivity.
- Third, we will pursue with you our mutual interest in promoting the development of alternate sources of energy.
- Fourth, we will work to preserve your access to capital on favorable terms.

- Fifth, we will facilitate the efforts of the American private sector to contribute to promoting your development for our mutual benefit.
- And finally, we will continue to promote the cohesion of ASEAN and thus support the encouraging regional effort begun by your countries eleven years ago.

We will address each of these issues in our discussions here today and tomorrow. In addition, our agenda outlines other pressing challenges we face together. We must deal with the urgent problem of refugees from Indochina with a humanitarian spirit and a fair sharing of the burden. We must improve our cooperative efforts to control the trade and use of illicit drugs. And we must seek to expand the opportunities for educational and cultural exchange which can enrich the lives of all our peoples.

Our long-term objectives will require persistent effort; we will not find easy solutions in a few days. We will not always agree on priorities or how best to achieve shared objectives. But we will work together. Let us promote progress where we can and accept differences where they exist.

The United States has approached these meetings in a spirit of support and mutual cooperation. We have long-range as well as immediate expectations. We are eager to begin our discussions, to learn from ASEAN's experience and to establish an enduring framework for strengthening our important relationship.

Thank you.

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*Israel*

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EXDIS DISTRIBUTE AS NOTIS  
FOR SECRETARY FROM ATHERTON  
U.S. D-C NO. 36  
E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (ATHERTON, ALFRED L., JR.)

SUBJECT: PRIVATE CONVERSATION WITH PRIME MINISTER BEGIN-AUGUST 2

1. JUST PRIOR TO GENERAL MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTER BEGIN AND HIS COLLEAGUES, I MET WITH BEGIN, DAYAN AND LEWIS TO REPORT MORE PRIVATELY ON THE MOST SENSITIVE PORTIONS OF MY TALK WITH SADAT.

2. I STRESSED TO BEGIN THE DEGREE OF EMOTION I FOUND IN SADAT AND SAID THAT THE WORD "INFURIATED" WAS PERHAPS APPROPRIATE TO CHARACTERIZE HIS MOOD. DESCRIBED HIS REACTION TO BEGIN'S WHOLE HANDLING OF THE "EL-ARISH GLOUSTURE" IDEA IN UNVARNISHED TERMS--PARTICULARLY THE WAY SADAT VIEWS BEGIN'S STATEMENT THAT "NOBODY GETS SOMETHING FOR NOTHING."

RECOUNTING THE ARAB PRESSURES HE HAS RECENTLY BEEN UNDER, I SAID SADAT NOW FEELS HUMILIATED IN ARAB EYES AT HAVING HIS PRIVATE SUGGESTION TO KIZMAN PUBLICIZED AND THEN REJECTED IN WHAT HE REGARDS AS VERY INSULTING FASHION. SAID I DID NOT BELIEVE HIS GREAT EMOTION WAS PLAYACTING. ON OTHER HAND, I SAID I WAS NOT DENYING INFLUENCE OF OTHER FACTORS ON HIS DECISION TO REFUSE TO PARTICIPATE IN TRI-LATERAL MEETING. SAID I DID NOT THINK BEGIN LEITER WAS THE SOLE CAUSE, THOUGH SADAT RETURNED TO IT FREQUENTLY.

3. I THEN GAVE BEGIN AND DAYAN MY PRELIMINARY JUDGMENT THAT WHAT WE'VE JUST SEEN IN ALEXANDRIA IS NOT MERELY A TACTICAL MANEUVER; SOMETHING MORE FUNDAMENTAL SEEMED TO ME TO BE GOING ON IN SADAT'S MIND, AND I SAID I THOUGHT WE WERE NOW AT A MORE CRITICAL POINT IN THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS THAN I HAD PREVIOUSLY BELIEVED. NOT THAT THE OPPORTUNITY FOR PEACE IS LOST, BUT THAT THE

\*\*\*\*\* - \*\*\*\*\* WSR COMMENT \*\*\*\*\*

DECLASSIFIED

ZB, AAR, IAD, VP, G  
EGB:QU-GDT

per 7/13/06 NSC 1tr.  
NL 5c-06-075  
BY BPS NARA, DATE 7/21/06

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DANGER OF LOSING IT IS RAPIDLY INCREASING. I STRESSED WHAT A TRAGEDY IT WOULD BE IF HISTORY JUDGED THIS OPPORTUNITY HAD BEEN LOST, AND SAID I KNEW HE SHARED THAT VIEW. SAID THAT THE SECRETARY WOULD WANT TO GO INTO THESE MATTERS MORE DEEPLY ON SUNDAY.

4. REMAINDER OF THE DISCUSSION WAS TAKEN UP BY MY CONFIRMING THAT TRILAT KAL MEETING WAS INDEED OFF AND SADAT GAVE NO INDICATION HE COULD BE PERSUADED TO ENGAGE IN FURTHER DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS UNLESS ISRAEL EXCLUDED SUBJECT OF TERRITORY AND SOVEREIGNTY IN ADVANCE. NOR DID I DETECT ANY SECOND THOUGHTS IN THIS REGARD IN MY SUBSEQUENT MEETING WITH KAMEL. YET, I SAID, SADAT KEPT EMPHASIZING THAT HE WAS NOT CUTTING OFF DIRECT CONTACTS, NOR WITHDRAWING HIS OFFER OF NORMAL, PEACEFUL RELATIONS. THERE WAS, IN HIS VIEW, NO POINT IN FURTHER DIRECT TALKS WITHOUT PRIOR AGREEMENT ON FUNDAMENTAL TERRITORIAL PRINCIPLES.

5. DAYAN ASKED ABOUT SAUDI INFLUENCE ON SADAT'S DECISION, POINTING OUT THAT BTYPE HAD APPARENTLY BEEN NEGATIVE DURING MY VISIT TO TAIF, AND THEY WERE NOT INFLUENCED BY BEGIN'S LETTER TO SADAT. I ACKNOWLEDGED THAT PRINCE SAUD HAD BEEN VERY SKEPTICAL, THAT I HAD TRIED TO ARGUE THERE FOR A MORE POSITIVE VIEW BUT HAD OBVIOUSLY NOT SUCCEEDED. SAID I HAD TO ASSUME THAT SAUDI SKEPTICISM HAD ALSO BEEN CONVEYED TO AND HAD INFLUENCED SADAT.

6. ONE SIGNIFICANT FOOTNOTE. AS I WAS DESCRIBING SADAT'S EMOTIONAL REACTION TO BEGIN'S LETTER CONCERNING EL-ARISH, WEIZMAN CAME IN, OBVIOUSLY ASSUMING HE SHOULD JOIN THIS "PRE-MEETING." IN A VERY AWKWARD MOMENT, BEGIN SUGGESTED IN HEBREW THAT HE LEAVE AND WAIT FOR THE GENERAL MEETING TO FOLLOW. HE DID, IN SOME ANNOYANCE AND EMBARRASSMENT. LEWIS NOTES THAT NOTHING COULD HAVE MORE GRAPHICALLY DEMONSTRATED THE PECULIAR RELATIONSHIP AMONG BEGIN, DAYAN AND WEIZMAN, BUT CLEARLY BEGIN DID NOT WANT WEIZMAN TO HEAR HOW HIS MISHANDLING OF SADAT'S SUGGESTION TO WEIZMAN HAD HELPED TRIGGER SADAT'S RECENT ACTIONS.

7. BEGIN SAID LITTLE DURING THIS MEETING. HIS EMOTIONAL COUNTERATTACK CAME IN THE GENERAL MEETING, WHICH IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWED AND IS BEING REPORTED SEPARATELY.  
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