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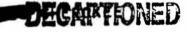
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FOR THE PRESIDENT AND DR. BRZEZINSKI FROM THE SECRETARY STATE FOR CHRISTOPHER

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: DVIP (MANCE, CYBUS) XF, US, UR, IS
SUBJ: MIDDLE EAST DISCUSSIONS WITH THE SOVIETS

1. GRONYKO AND I AGREED DURING OUR MEETING THIS MORNING ON THE TEXT OF A JOINT SOVIET-U.S. STATEMENT ON THE MIDDLE EAST. THE FULL TEXT IS AT THE END OF THIS MESSAGE. I TOLD GRONYKO I HOULD NEED SOME TIME TO DISCUSS IT WITH YOU, AND ME THEREFORE AGREED TO AIM FOR SIMULTANEOUS RELEASE ON SUNDAY. (8PM SATURDAY WASHINGTON TIME).

2. TO A MAJOR EXTENT, WE SUCCEEDED THIS MORNING IN RESOLVING THE REMAINING DIFFERENCES OVER LANGUAGE TO OUR SATISFACTION. SPECIFICALLY, THE SOVIETS HAVE ACCEPTED A REFERENCE TO "NORMAL PEACEFUL RELATIONS" INSTEAD OF SIMPLY "PEACE" WHICH THEY PREFERRED. THEY ALSO AGREED TO OUR LANGUAGE ON MUTUAL RECOGNITION OF "THE PRINCIPLES" OF SOVEREIGNTY, TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE. THE SOVIETS HAD WANTED TO REFER TO THE "RIGHT" OF THE PARTIES IN THESE RESPECTS WHICH WOULD IN EFFECT HAVE ACKNOWLEDGED THE

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RIGHT OF THE PALESTINIANS TO SOVEREIGNTY SINCE THEY ARE INCLUDED AS A PARTY TO THE CONFLICT ELSEWHERE IN THE STATEMENT. THE SOVIETS ALSO AGREED TO DROP THEIR INSISTENCE ON REFERRING TO THE "LEGITIMATE NATIONAL RIGHTS" OF THE PALESTINIAN THEY HOULD NOTE, HOWEVER, AGREE TO OUR ALTERNATIVE OF "LEGITIMATE INTERESTS" AND HE FORMALLY SETTLED ON "LEGITIMATE RIGHTS" OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE. THE ISPAELIS WILL NOT LIKE THIS BUT I BELIEVE IT IS DEFENSIBLE IN THE CONTEXT OF THE ENTIRE STATEMENT WHICH CLEARLY PUTS LIMITS ON PALESTINIAN RIGHTS AND IN THE CONTEXT OF WHAT HE HAVE BEEN SAYING ABOUT PALESTINIAN SELF-DETERMINATION AND A HOMELAND. I EXPECT THE ISRAELIS WILL HAVE DIFFICULTIES WITH OTHER ELEMENTS OF THE JOINT STATEMENT AS WELL WHICH DAYAN WILL PROBABLY CONVEY TO ME THIS AFTERNOON ON THE BASIS OF THE DRAFT TEXT WE PROVIDED THEM YESTERDAY.

FINALLY, AT MY SUGGESTION, HE ADDED THIS MORNING A SENTENCE TO THE STATEMENT NOTING THAT THERE STILL EXISTS SEVERAL QUESTIONS OF A PROCEDURAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL NATURE WHICH REMAIN TO BE AGREED UPON BY THE PARTICIPANTS TO THE CONFERENCE. THIS ADDITION FOLLOWED AN EXCHANGE BETWEEN GROMYKO AND ME OVER THE QUESTIONS OF PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATION, GEOGRAPHIC AS OPPOSED TO FUNCTIONAL WORKING GROUPS, AND HOW THE PALESTINIANS SHOULD BE INVITED TO GENEVA. THE SOVIETS SUPPORT THE PLO VIEW THAT THEY SHOULD BE ENTITLED TO CHOOSE WHO WILL REPRESENT THEM AND NOT BE LIMITED TO INDIVIDUALS WHO ARE NOT WELL-KNOWN MEMBERS OF THE PLO. THE SOVIETS ALSO LEAN TOWARD FUNCTIONAL WORKING GROUPS. IN ADDITION, GROMYKO SAID THAT THE PLO INSISTS ON RECEIVING ITS OWN INVITATION TO THE CONFERENCE. GRONYKO THAT THE SOVIETS AND WE WERE GOING TO HAVE TO BE PRACTICAL IF WE, WERE TO GET TO GENEVA AND, -SECRET



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IF THEY INSIST UPON SUPPORTING THESE PALESTINIAN
POSITIONS THERE WILL NOT BE A CONFERENCE. ON THE
OUESTION OF STRUCTURING GENEVA, I SAID HE HERE LOOKING FOR
A FORMULA WHICH WOULD INVOLVE SOME COMBINATION OF GEOGRAPHIC
AND FUNCTIONAL KORKING GROUPS OR COMMITTEES.
HITH RESPECT TO THE INVITATION QUESTION, I SUGGESTED HE
GIVE THOUGHT TO HAVING THE UN SECRETARY GENERAL
ISSUE A LETTER CALLING FOR RECONVENING THE CONFERENCE AND SIMPLY
SAYING THAT THERE WOULD BE THO DELEGATIONS,
AN ISRAELI DELEGATION AND A UNITED ARAB DELEGATION.

4. GROMYKO AND I AGREED THAT WE NEEDED TO STAY IN VERY CLOSE TOUCH WITH EACH OTHER ON QUESTIONS RELATING TO RECONVENING GENEVA AFTER HE RETURNS TO MOSCOW. HE WILL DO THIS THROUGH OUR EMBASSIES IN MOSCOW AND WASHINGTON.

5. BEGIN TEXT: JOINT SOVIET-U.S. STATEMENT ON THE MIDDLE EAST

HAVING EXCHANGED VIEWS REGARDING THE UNSAFE SITUATION WHICH REMAINS IN THE MIDDLE EAST, MEMBER OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CPSU, MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE USSR A.A. GROMYKO AND SECRETARY OF STATE OF THE USA C. VANCE STATE ON BEHALF OF THEIR COUNTRIES, WHICH ARE CO-CHAIRMEN OF THE GENEVA PEACE CONFERENCE ON THE MIDDLE EAST, THE FOLLOWING:

1. BOTH SIDES ARE CONVINCED THAT VITAL INTERESTS OF THE PERPLES OF THIS AREA AS WELL AS THE INTERESTS OF STRENGTHENING PEACE AND INTERNATIONAL SECURITY IN GENERAL URGENTLY DICTATE THE NECESSITY OF ACHIEVING AS SOON AS POSSIBLE A JUST AND LASTING SETTLEMENT OF THE ARAD-ISRAELI CONFLICT. THIS SETTLEMENT SHOULD BE COMPREHENSIVE, INCORPORATING ALL PARTIES CONCERNED AND ALL QUESTIONS.

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THE SOVIET AND THE U.S. SIDES BELIEVE THAT, WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF A COMPREHENSIVE SETTLEMENT OF THE HIDDLE EAST PROBLEM, ALL SPECIFIC QUESTIONS OF THE SETTLEMENT SHOULD HE RESOLVED, INCLUDING SUCH KEY ISSUES AS HITHORAMAL OF ISRAELI ARMED FORCES FROM TERRITORIES OCCUPIED IN THE 1967 CONFLICTS THE RESULUTION OF THE PALESTINIAN QUESTION INCLUDING ENSURING THE LEGITIMATE RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE! TERMINATION OF THE STATE OF HAR AND ESTABLISHMENT OF NORMAL PEACEFUL RELATIONS ON THE BASIS OF MUTUAL RECOGNITION OF THE PRINCIPLES OF SOVEREIGNTY, TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, AND POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE.

THE THO SIDES ARE OF THE OPINION THAT, IN ADDITION TO SUCH MEASURES FOR ENSURING THE SECURITY OF THE BORDERS BETHEEN ISRAEL AND THE NEIGHBORING ARAB STATES AS THE ESTABLISHMENT OF DEMILITARIZED ZONES AND THE AGREED STATIONING IN THEM OF UN TROOPS OR OBSERVERS, INTERNATIONAL GUARANTEES OF SUCH BORDERS AS WELL AS OF THE UBSERVANCE OF THE TERMS OF THE SETTLEMENT CAN ALSO BE ESTABLISHED, SHOULD THE CONTRACTING PARTIES THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES OF SO DESIRE. AMERICA ARE READY TO PARTICIPATE IN THESE GUARANTEES, SUBJECT TO THEIR CONSTITUTIONAL PROCESSES.

2. THE SOVIET AND THE U.S. SIDES BELIEVE THAT THE ONLY RIGHT AND EFFECTIVE WAY FOR ACHIEVING A CARDINAL SOLUTION TO ALL ASPECTS OF THE MIDDLE EAST PROBLEM IN ITS ENTIRETY IS NEGOTIATIONS WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE GENEVA PEACE CONFERENCE, SPECIALLY CONVENED FOR THESE PURPOSES, WITH PARTICIPATION IN ITS WORK OF THE REPRESENTATIVES OF ALL THE PARTIES INVOLVED IN THE CONFLICT INCLUDING THOSE OF THE PALESTINIAN

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PEOPLE, AND LEGAL AND CONTRACTUAL FORMALIZATION OF THE DECISIONS REACHED AT THE CONFERENCE.

IN THEIR CAPACITY OF THE CO-CHAIRMEN OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE, THE USSR AND THE USA AFFIRM THEIR INTENTION THROUGH JOINT EFFORTS AND IN THEIR CONTACTS WITH THE PARTIES CONCERNED TO FACILITATE IN EVERY HAY THE RESUMPTION OF THE WORK OF THE CONFERENCE NOT LATER THAN DECEMBER 1977. THE CO-CHAIRMEN NOTE THAT THERE STILL EXIST SEVERAL QUESTIONS OF A PROCEDURAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL NATURE WHICH REMAIN TO BE AGREED UPON BY THE PARTICIPANTS TO THE CONFERENCE.

3. GUIDED BY THE GOAL OF ACHIEVING A JUST POLITICAL SETTLEMENT IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND OF ELIMINATING THE EXPLOSIVE SITUATION IN THIS AREA OF THE HORLD, THE USSR AND THE USA APPEAL TO ACL THE PARTIES IN THE CONFLICT TO UNDERSTAND THE NECESSITY FOR SOBER CONSIDERATION OF LEGITIMATE RIGHTS AND INTERESTS OF EACH OTHER AND TO DEMONSTRATE MUTUAL READINESS TO ACCORDINGLY.

END TEXT.

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