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TO FLASH WASHINGTON

TELEGRAM NUMBER 1666 OF 5 NOVEMBER

INFO IMMEDIATE UKMIS NEW YORK EC POSTS TEL AVIV CAIRO JEDDA

AMMAN BEIRUT DAMASCUS

YOUR TELNO 2 TO RIYADH: SINAI MFO

1. IN HIS CONVERSATIONS WITH YOU, HAIG REFERRED TO THE BRITISH PART IN EVENTS IN TERMS WHICH DO NOT ACCURATELY REFLECT THE POSITION. YOU SHOULD DRAW ON THIS TELEGRAM TO PUT THE RECORD STRAIGHT WITH HAIG OR VELIOTES AT THE NEXT OPPORTUNITY.
2. WE HAVE ADHERED TO OUR ASSURANCE TO THE US EMBASSY HERE THAT NO CONDITIONS WOULD BE ATTACHED TO OUR PARTICIPATION. (PARA 3 OF TUR). OUR PROPOSED STATEMENT MAKES NO REQUEST FOR AMERICAN OR ISRAELI ENDORSEMENT OF OUR VIEWS, NOR EVEN FOR UNDERSTANDING OF OUR POSITION. MR HURD GAVE VELIOTES, AT THEIR MEETING ON 29 OCTOBER, A CLEAR INDICATION THAT THE TEXT OF OUR STATEMENT WOULD SET OUT THE BASIS FOR OUR PARTICIPATION AND SHOW FIDELITY TO THE VENICE PRINCIPLES. HE ALSO MENTIONED THAT IT WOULD POINT OUT THAT IN THE VIEW OF THE FOUR, PARTICIPATION WOULD NOT INVOLVE US IN OTHER ASPECTS OF CAMP DAVID. IN ADDING THAT THERE WOULD INEVITABLY BE PARTS THAT THE AMERICANS WOULD NOT HAVE DRAFTED THEMSELVES, MR HURD MADE IT CLEAR TO VELIOTES THAT THE STATEMENT WOULD CONTAIN FIRM LANGUAGE. VELIOTES SAID IN RESPONSE THAT THE AMERICANS UNDERSTOOD THE EUROPEANS' POSITION: THE US COULD NOT ENDORSE VENICE, BUT NEITHER COULD THE EUROPEANS ABANDON IT.
3. THE PROPOSED STATEMENT CANNOT IN ANY CASE HAVE BEEN A QUOTE BOMBSHELL UNQUOTE TO THE AMERICANS. WE KNOW THAT THEY HAD SEEN SOME DAYS AGO AN EARLIER VERSION, PASSED TO THEM BY THE ISRAELIS, WHICH STILL CONTAINED THE REFERENCE TO AN

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INDEPENDENT PALESTINIAN STATE. WE TOLD THEM WHEN THEY ASKED THAT THIS REFERENCE, TOGETHER WITH A REQUEST FOR US ENDORSEMENT OF OUR POSITION, HAD BEEN DROPPED, BUT DID NOT IN ANY WAY SUGGEST THAT THE STATEMENT HAD BEEN CHANGED IN OTHER RESPECTS.

4. THE EUROPEAN STATEMENT IS NOT AN 'ELABORATION' ON VENICE (LAST SENTENCE OF YOUR PARA 3). IT IS MERELY A RE-AFFIRMATION IN TERMS THAT SHOULD NOT HAVE SURPRISED THE AMERICANS. FOR SEVERAL WEEKS WE HAVE BEEN INDICATING IN UNMISTAKEABLE TERMS TO THE EMBASSY HERE THAT PARTICIPATION WOULD ONLY BE POSSIBLE ON AN EXPLICIT VENICE BASIS AND WE WERE INFORMED BY THE EMBASSY ON MORE THAN ONE OCCASION THAT IT WOULD NOT MATTER WHAT WE SAID, SO LONG AS NO ENDORSEMENT WAS REQUESTED: AND THE AMERICANS WOULD BE VERY CO-OPERATIVE ABOUT THIS. THE EUROPEANS HAD CONSIDERED LANGUAGE THAT WAS AN ADVANCE ON VENICE, BUT HAD REJECTED IT, IN THE INTERESTS OF PROVIDING A BASIS THAT CONFORMED WITH THE GENERAL GUIDELINES WE WERE BEING GIVEN BY THE AMERICANS.

5. IT IS UNTRUE THAT ONLY SYRIA HAS ENTERED RESERVATIONS ABOUT EUROPEAN PARTICIPATION (PARA 4 OF TUR). WE HAVE RECEIVED REPRESENTATIONS IN UNMISTAKEABLE LANGUAGE FROM SYRIA, LIBYA, LEBANON, IRAQ, ALGERIA AND THE PLO THAT PARTICIPATION WOULD SERIOUSLY DAMAGE THE EUROPEAN POSITION IN THE ARAB WORLD. AMERICANS WHO KNOW THE ARABS SHOULD NOT BE SURPRISED IF THEIR OWN QUESTIONS HAVE ILLICITED DIFFERENT ANSWERS. IN MY CONVERSATIONS WITH SAUDI ARABIAN MINISTERS THIS WEEK, THEY HAVE REPEATED TO ME THAT, WHILE THEY PRIVATELY UNDERSTAND OUR MOTIVES AND REASONS FOR PARTICIPATING ON THE PROPOSED BASIS, THEY FORECAST DAMAGE TO EUROPEAN-ARAB RELATIONS. PRINCE SAUD HAS COME OUT IN PUBLIC TODAY SAYING THAT ANY EUROPEAN PARTICIPATION IN THE SINAI FORCE WOULD QUOTE CONTRADICT ITS POSITION WITH THE ARAB WORLD AND WOULD MEAN THAT THE EEC HAD JOINED CAMP DAVID UNQUOTE.

6. HAIG'S REPEATED REFERENCES TO BRITISH ATTEMPTS TO PERSUADE OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES NOT TO PARTICIPATE ARE WIDE OF THE MARK. OUR POSITION HAS NEVER BEEN THAT OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES SHOULD NOT PARTICIPATE, AND WE HAVE TOLD THE AMERICANS THIS ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS. ON THE CONTRARY, WE ARE THE ONLY ALLIED COUNTRY TO HAVE TOLD THE AMERICANS THAT WE WERE WILLING TO PARTICIPATE

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WITHOUT ANY CONDITIONS CONCERNING THE PARTICIPATION OF OTHER COUNTRIES. YOU MAY CONFIRM TO THE STATE DEPARTMENT THAT THE LINE YOU TOOK IN PARA 10 OF TUR, THAT WE WOULD NOT OBJECT IF OTHERS WERE READY TO PARTICIPATE ON ANOTHER BASIS, IS INDEED MY POSITION. 7. IN PUTTING THESE AND OTHER POINTS TO THE AMERICANS, YOU SHOULD NOT LAY EMPHASIS ON EUROPEAN APPREHENSIONS ABOUT DAMAGE TO THEIR COMMERCIAL RELATIONS IN THE ARAB WORLD. THE PRIMARY QUESTION IS ONE OF PRINCIPLE. WE REMAIN DEEPLY CONCERNED THAT THERE SHOULD BE A EUROPEAN APPROACH TO THE MIDDLE EAST PROBLEM WHICH TAKES FULL ACCOUNT OF THE NEED FOR A JUST AND LASTING SOLUTION TO THE PALESTINIANS PROBLEM AND WE ARE DETERMINED TO PURSUE OUR DIPLOMACY ALONG VENICE LINES. IT WOULD RISK GRAVE DAMAGE TO WESTERN INTERESTS GENERALLY IF THE ARAB WORLD FELT THAT THERE WAS NO WESTERN POSITION PROVIDING A REALISTIC BASIS FOR A COMPREHENSIVE SOLUTION, THUS ALLOWING INCREASED OPPORTUNITIES TO THE SOVIET UNION TO CHAMPION THE ARAB CAUSE.

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