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FM WASHINGTON 252150Z JULY 1980

TO IMMEDIATE F C O

TEL NO 2590 OF 25 JULY

INFO IMMEDIATE UXMIS NEW YORK PRIORITY TEL AVIV AND EC POSTS.

*These telegrams bring out clearly why you were right to insist on a clear explanation of vote.*

*Paul*

UKMIS TELNO 1045: EMERGENCY SPECIAL SESSION ON PALESTINE.

1. AT THE MEETING WITH COMMUNITY AMBASSADORS HERE TODAY, SECRETARY OF STATE MUSKIE BEGAN BY STATING THAT HE HAD SOMETHING IMPORTANT TO SAY ON THE APPARENT EUROPEAN COMMUNITY ATTITUDE ON THE DRAFT ARAB RESOLUTION ON PALESTINE.

*MS*

2. HE BEGAN BY DESCRIBING BEGIN'S BELEAGUERED POLITICAL POSITION: HE WAS ABLE TO RALLY HIS PEOPLE TO SUPPORT HIM ON THE SUBJECT OF JERUSALEM MORE THAN ON ANY OTHER SUBJECTS. BEGIN UNDER PRESSURE WAS NO DIFFERENT FROM ANY OTHER POLITICIAN UNDER PRESSURE. NOT ALTOGETHER CONVINCINGLY, MUSKIE WENT ON TO SAY THAT THE ATTITUDE BEGIN WAS ADOPTING ON EAST JERUSALEM WAS A REACTION TO PRESSURE FROM OUTSIDE THE COUNTRY.

3. THE ARAB RESOLUTION AT THE UNITED NATIONS WAS ONE OF THE WORST EVER PROPOSED. IT DID NOT RECOGNISE ISRAEL'S RIGHT EVEN TO EXIST. IT CONTEMPLATED THE POSSIBILITY OF SANCTIONS. IF THE COMMUNITY COUNTRIES DID NOT VOTE AGAINST THE RESOLUTION THEY WOULD BE VOTING FOR SANCTIONS. THE PURPOSE OF THE RESOLUTION WAS TO UNDERMINE THE CAMP DAVID PROCESS. IF THE COMMUNITY DECIDED TO ABSTAIN THEY MIGHT JUST AS WELL VOTE FOR THE RESOLUTION. HE UNDERSTOOD THAT AT VENICE THE COMMUNITY HAD ADOPTED A POLICY THAT WOULD LEAD TO THE CREATION OF A ROLE FOR THEMSELVES IN THE MIDDLE EAST. BUT QUOTE HOW DO YOU EXPECT TO BE RECEIVED BY ISRAEL IF YOU ABSTAIN UNQUOTE? MUSKIE WENT ON TO SAY THAT BEGIN WOULD REACT QUOTE BY MOVING HIS OFFICES TO EAST JERUSALEM UNQUOTE THE KNESSET WOULD ACT SOON ON JERUSALEM. AS A RESULT OF THIS SADAT MIGHT WITHDRAW FROM THE AUTONOMY TALKS. WHAT THEN WOULD BE THE PURPOSE OF THORN GOING TO THE MIDDLE EAST TO TRY TO HOLD SOME SORT OF PLATFORM TOGETHER? BY ABSTAINING ON THIS RESOLUTION THE COUNTRIES OF THE COMMUNITY WERE QUOTE DESTROYING THEIR EVEN-HANDEDNESS BEFORE THE START UNQUOTE. WOULD THORN BE RECEIVED BY BEGIN IN JERUSALEM IN THE CIRCUMSTANCES? WOULD THE COMMUNITY LET HIM GO TO EAST JERUSALEM?

4. IN THE COURSE OF HIS REMARKS, MUSKIE SAID THAT HE UNDERSTOOD THE CONCERN OF THE EUROPEAN COUNTRIES: THE INSTABILITY IN THE AREA AFFECTED EUROPE'S INTERESTS; EUROPE HAD A ROLE; THE CAMP DAVID PROCESS WOULD AT SOME STAGE HAVE TO BE BROADENED; IT WAS NOT UNREASONABLE FOR EUROPE TO HAVE THE OBJECTIVE OF SUPPLEMENTING WHAT THE UNITED STATES WERE DOING, NOT UNDERMINING IT. BUT NOW THEY HAD TO THINK OUT THE CONSEQUENCES OF THEIR ACTION IF THEY HOPED TO HAVE ANY CHANCE OF ASSUMING A ROLE. IT WAS THE PREROGATIVE OF THE EUROPEAN COUNTRIES TO ABSTAIN IF THEY WISHED TO DO SO, BUT IT WAS HIS OBLIGATION TO POINT OUT THE CONSEQUENCES.

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5. AFTER MUSKIE HAD FINISHED, THE GERMAN AMBASSADOR ASKED, VERY QUIETLY, WHETHER THE SECRETARY OF STATE BELIEVED THAT IF THE COUNTRIES OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY VOTED AGAINST THE RESOLUTION BEGIN WOULD HOLD UP HIS MOVE TO EAST JERUSALEM. WOULD HE ALSO ACT IN OTHER WAYS MORE POSITIVELY? TO WHICH MUSKIE ANSWERED THAT THERE WAS A DYNAMISM TO CURRENT EVENTS. HE THOUGHT THAT BEGIN WOULD MOVE TO EAST JERUSALEM ON SUNDAY UNLESS HE COULD SOMEHOW BE DETERRED BEFORE THEN. HE MORE OR LESS ADMITTED THAT WHATEVER THE EUROPEAN COUNTRIES DID ON THE RESOLUTION, BEGIN WAS GOING TO MAKE THIS MOVE BUT HE SAID THAT HE THOUGHT THAT THE INFLUENCE OF THE EUROPEANS IN THE FUTURE WOULD BE CONSIDERABLY AFFECTED BY THE WAY THEY VOTED ON THE RESOLUTION.

6. I SAID THAT IT WAS NOT FOR ME TO SPEAK FOR THE COMMUNITY ON THIS SUBJECT BUT AS MR MUSKIE HAD SAID THAT HE DID NOT UNDERSTAND WHAT THE EUROPEAN COUNTRIES WERE SEEKING TO DO, PERHAPS I COULD EXPLAIN THEIR INTENTIONS AS I SAW THEM. THE STARTING POINT WAS THEIR DECISION AT VENICE TO SET IN MOTION A MISSION OF ENQUIRY WHICH WOULD CONSIDER THE VIEWPOINTS OF ALL PARTIES INVOLVED. AT THIS STAGE, BEFORE THIS MISSION OF ENQUIRY HAD EVEN STARTED ITS WORK, THE COUNTRIES OF THE COMMUNITY DID NOT WANT TO BECOME INVOLVED ON THE SUBJECT IN THE UNITED NATIONS. NEVERTHELESS, IT WOULD BE A MISINTERPRETATION IF MUSKIE BELIEVED THAT AN ABSTENTION ON THE RESOLUTION WAS THE SAME AS VOTING FOR IT. THE US GOVERNMENT HAD OFTEN ABSTAINED ON RESOLUTIONS. THIS DID NOT MEAN THAT THEY HAD FAVOURED THEM. THERE WERE MANY PARTS OF THE PRESENT RESOLUTION WHICH WERE EXTREMELY DISAGREEABLE FROM THE EUROPEAN POINT OF VIEW. THE EUROPEAN ATTITUDE TO THE RESOLUTION WOULD BE MADE CLEAR WHEN THE TIME CAME FOR THE VOTE AND WHEN WE ABSTAINED. NOBODY WOULD BE ABLE TO SAY, THAT BY ABSTAINING WE HAD VOTED IN FAVOUR OF SANCTIONS. IF THE ISSUE EVER CAME TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL UNDER CHAPTER 7 THERE WOULD BE NO DOUBT WHATSOEVER THAT WE WOULD VOTE AGAINST SANCTIONS AND THE ISRAELIS KNEW THIS PERFECTLY WELL. SO FAR AS THE GENERAL INTERPRETATION OF THE EUROPEAN ATTITUDE WAS CONCERNED, IT DID NOT LOOK TO ME AS THOUGH WE WERE CONSIDERED TO BE SO UNEVEN-HANDED AS MR MUSKIE HAD SUGGESTED. I THEN READ OUT THE HEADLINE IN THE FRONT PAGE OF TODAY'S NEW YORK TIMES WHICH RAN QUOTE WESTERN EUROPE AT UN INSISTS ON ISRAELI RIGHTS. MARKET'S POSITION APPEARS TO DOOM HOPES OF ARABS UNQUOTE.

7. WARREN CHRISTOPHER, WHO WAS ALSO PRESENT, SAID THAT THE US GOVERNMENT HAD NEVER ABSTAINED ON A UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION CONTAINING CONDITIONS SUCH AS THE PRESENT RESOLUTION.

8. THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR SAID THAT WHAT THE ISRAELI AUTHORITIES WERE DOING AROSE BECAUSE OF EVENTS IN ISRAEL NOT BECAUSE OF ANYTHING HAPPENING IN THE UN. HE REFERRED TO THE NUMBER OF PROMINENT ISRAELI POLITICIANS WHO HAD VOTED AGAINST THE KNESSET RESOLUTION ON JERUSALEM. WHAT WAS ESSENTIAL WAS FOR THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY TO RETAIN A QUOTE SAFETY NET UNQUOTE TO SHOW THAT IT UNDERSTOOD THE PROBLEM. IF THE CAMP DAVID PROCESS FAILED BECAUSE SADAT WITHDREW, IT WAS IMPORTANT THAT THERE SHOULD BE SOME OTHER CHANNEL FOR TALKING.



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9. MUSKIE SAID THAT HE COULD NOT BELIEVE THAT THE EUROPEANS WOULD BE QUOTE ACCEPTABLE UNQUOTE UNLESS THEY HAD OPPOSED THE UN RESOLUTION.

10 THE LUXEMBOURG AMBASSADOR EMPHASISED THE IMPORTANCE OF THE EXPLANATION OF THE VOTE, WHICH SHOULD LEAVE NOBODY IN DOUBT OF THE EUROPEAN ATTITUDE. IT WAS IMPORTANT TO KEEP LINES OPEN TO THE ARABS AS WELL AS TO ISRAEL, PARTICULARLY AT THE BEGINNING OF THE FACT-FINDING MISSION.

11. MUSKIE DELIVERED HIMSELF OF SOME HOME-TRUTHS ABOUT THE IMPORTANCE IN POLITICS OF COMPREHENDING THE CONSEQUENCES OF YOUR ACTIONS. HE HOPED, AS A RESULT OF WHAT HE HAD SAID TO THE AMBASSADORS OF THE NINE, THAT THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE COMMUNITY WOULD RECONSIDER THE MATTER AND DECIDE TO VOTE AGAINST THE RESOLUTION. THIS MIGHT NOT CHANGE ISRAEL'S DECISION ABOUT EAST JERUSLAEM BUT IT MIGHT CHANGE THE CREDIBILITY OF THE EFFORT THE EUROPEANS WERE HOPING TO MAKE. IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION FROM THE GERMAN AMBASSADOR WHETHER THE US GOVERNMENT WERE STILL TRYING TO PERSUADE BEGIN NOT TO MOVE HIS OFFICES TO EAST JERUSALEM, MUSKIE SAID THAT HE DID NOT THINK THERE WAS MUCH HOPE OF THIS SUCCEEDING, HE, BEGIN, WAS ALMOST AS STUBBORN AS HE WAS.

12. MUSKIE SAID HE DID NOT WANT TO END ON A NEGATIVE NOTE SO HE ASKED THAT WE SHOULD REMAIN IN TOUCH. HE WOULD LIKE TO HEAR THE REACTION OF OUR GOVERNMENTS TO WHAT HE HAD SAID AND WHETHER THERE WAS ANY POSSIBILITY OF THEIR CHANGING THEIR VIEWPOINT.

13. PLEASE SEE MIFT.

HENDERSON

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