

MIDDLE EAST: ADVANCE COPIES

15

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PS
PS/SIR I GILMOUR
PS/MR HURD
PS/PUS
SIR J GRAHAM
MR J C MOBERLY

HD/NENAD
HD/MED
HD/UND

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IMMEDIATE

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~~PRESIDENT CLERK~~
CONFIDENTIAL

DESKBY FCO 051830Z

FM TEL AVIV 051545Z NOV 81

TO IMMEDIATE (DESKBY 051830Z) FCO

TELNO 441 OF 5 NOVEMBER

INFO IMMEDIATE WASHINGTON, CAIRO AND JEDDA.

YOUR TELNO 484 AND MY TELNO 440: SINAI

1. IN TAKING THEIR PRESENT LINE WITH WASHINGTON, THE ISRAELIS ARE REFLECTING A HARDENING PUBLIC MOOD HERE, COMBINING DEEP SUSPICION OF AMERICAN MOTIVES (CF PARAGRAPH 3 OF MY TUR), INTENSIFIED DISLIKE OF THE EUROPEAN, AND PARTICULARLY OUR OWN, APPROACH TO THE ARAB/ISRAEL DISPUTE, AND A GENERALISED CONVICTION THAT THE REST OF THE WORLD IS NOW DETERMINED TO GANG UP ON LITTLE ISRAEL.

2. THE VOTE IN THE KNESSET AGAINST VENICE AND THE FAHD PLAN (MY TELNO 436) WITH ITS CLEAR REJECTION OF ANY APPROACH TO THE SOLUTION OF THE ARAB/ISRAEL DISPUTE GOING BEYOND CAMP DAVID, EXPRESS THIS MOOD WELL. IT ALSO SYMBOLISES THE CLASSIC ISRAELI REACTION IN A SITUATION OF THIS KIND: TO HIT OUT HARD AT BOTH FRIENDS AND ENEMIES. THIS ACCORDS WITH BEGIN'S PERSONAL INSTINCT

FRIENDS AND ENEMIES. THIS ACCORDS WITH BEGIN'S PERSONAL INSTINCT AND HIS UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT IT LIKELY TO APPEAL TO THE ISRAELI ELECTORATE AND PARTICULARLY TO HIS OWN SUPPORTERS. HIS DISOBLIGING REMARQS ABOUT OUR POLICIES IN THE KNESSET ON 2 NOVEMBER (MY TELNO 434) REFLECT BOTH FACTORS; AND HE HAS PROBABLY ONLY BEEN RESTRAINED FROM A PUBLIC ATTACK ON REAGAN FOR MOVING TOWARDS JEDDA AT THE EXPENSE OF CAMP DAVID, BY HIS AWARENESS OF THE DEGREE TO WHICH ISRAEL IS SO IMMENSELY DEPENDENT ON CONTINUED US SUPPORT IN WHAT HE SEES AS A RAPIDLY DETERIORATING SITUATION.

3. GIVEN THE ISRAEL GOVERNMENT'S JUDGEMENT THAT IT CAN RELY ON FIRM PUBLIC BACKING FOR ITS CAMPAIGN AGAINST VENICE AND US OR EUROPEAN ATTEMPTS TO MAKE MORE OF THE FAHD PLAN, WE CAN EXPECT THIS TO BE INTENSIFIED, WITH THE AMERICAN AND EUROPEAN JEWISH COMMUNITIES MOBILISED ON ISRAEL'S BEHALF. THE ISRAELIS HAVE INVESTED SO MUCH IN CAMP DAVID THAT THEY REACT PASSIONATELY TO ANY APPARENT MOVE BY OTHERS TO UNDERMINE OR SIDETRACK IT. HOWEVER, SHAMIR'S STATEMENT IN THE KNESSET YESTERDAY (PARA 2 OF YOUR TUR AND MY TELNO 439) MAY REFLECT THE INITIAL ISRAELI BARGAINING POSITION RATHER THAN WHAT THEY MIGHT RELUCTANTLY, AND UNDER AMERICAN PRESSURE, BE FINALLY PERSUADED TO ACCEPT OVER THE SINAI FORCE. WHILE, AS I HAVE SAID, WE MUST EXPECT THEM TO REJECT THE STATEMENT OF THE FOUR AS NOW DRAFTED, THEY COULD PROBABLY LIVE WITH A SHORTER STATEMENT ON THE LINES PROPOSED BY HAIG AS A BASIS FOR EUROPEAN PARTICIPATION. BUT NATIONAL STATEMENTS COULD STILL RUN THE SAME RISK OF LEADING TO POSSIBLE ISRAELI REJECTION OF INDIVIDUAL PARTICIPANTS.

4. IT MUST BE TEMPTING FOR US TO CRY A PLAGUE ON BOTH YOUR HOUSES AND TO GIVE UP THE EFFORT TO FIND AN ACCEPTABLE BASIS FOR JOINING THE SINAI FORCE. FROM THE OUTSET MY VIEW HAS BEEN THAT PARTICIPATION COULD HELP TO REVERSE THE GROWING ESTRANGEMENT BETWEEN OURSELVES AND THE ISRAELIS WHICH HAS THREATENED TO REACH A POINT WHERE THERE IS NO DIALOGUE BETWEEN US ON THE WIDER PROBLEMS OF THIS AREA. HAVING COME THIS FAR, WITH ALL THE PUBLICITY ABOUT EXPECTED EUROPEAN PARTICIPATION, I HOPE WE SHALL BE WILLING TO GRIT OUR TEETH AND GO THROUGH WITH IT. TO HAVE COME SO CLOSE AND THEN BACK OFF AT THE LAST MINUTE WOULD LEAVE US HERE WITH THE WORST OF ALL POSSIBLE WORLDS.

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From: TEL AVIV

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELNO 448 OF 5 NOVEMBER 81

INFO IMMEDIATE WASHINGTON, CAIRO AND JEDDA.

WASHINGTON TELNO 2 ADDRESSED RIYADH: SINAI

1. IT IS TRUE THAT THE ISRAELIS WOULD PROBABLY REJECT THE STATEMENT OF THE FOUR AS DRAFTED. THEIR POSITION HAS NOTICEABLY HARDENED IN THE PAST FEW DAYS AND THEY ARE IN A VERY EDGY MOOD. THEY WOULD PARTICULARLY OBJECT TO THE LAST SENTENCE OF PARA 1 AND THE IMPLICATION OF THE PRECEDING SENTENCE WOULD BE SCARCELY LESS UNWELCOME. ALTHOUGH THE SECOND, THIRD AND FOURTH SENTENCES OF PARA 2 COVER FAMILIAR GROUND, REPEATED REFERENCES TO PALESTINIAN SELF-DETERMINATION AND THE PLO ALSO TOUCH ON EXTRA SENSITIVE ISRAELI NERVES JUST NOW JUDGING BY THEIR LATEST STATEMENTS.

2. THE EVIDENCE STILL IS THAT BEGIN REMAINS COMMITTED TO WITHDRAWAL FROM SINAI. BUT I AGREE (PARA 5 OF TUR) THAT, HAVING REJECTED PARTICIPATION ON THE EUROPEAN TERMS, THE ISRAELIS MIGHT NOW OR LATER USE THE COLLAPSE OF PLANS FOR A GENUINELY MULTINATIONAL FORCE AS AN EXCUSE FOR REFUSING TO WITHDRAW FROM SINAI. THERE IS, HOWEVER, NO INDICATION THAT THE ISRAELIS WOULD LINK REFUSAL WITH A DECISION TO MOUNT AN OPERATION INTO SOUTHERN LEBANON. WHILE PRESSURE CONTINUES WITHIN THE MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT HERE TO OCCUPY UP TO THE LITANI, I DOUBT IF THE ISRAELIS ARE YET NEAR

TO OCCUPY UP TO THE LITANI, I DOUBT IF THE ISRAELIS ARE YET NEAR TO ACTING: FOR ALL HIS BELLIGERENCE, BEGIN WELL UNDERSTANDS THE INTOLERABLE STRAIN THAT SUCH A MOVE, ESPECIALLY A STAY-PUT OPERATION, WOULD HAVE ON U S/ISRAELI RELATIONS.

3. HAIG'S ADMISSION OF A CRISIS IN US/ISRAELI RELATIONS IS REVEALING AND SUGGESTS EVEN GREATER STRAINS THAN HAVE BEEN APPARENT ON THE SURFACE. THE REAL ISRAELI NIGHTMARE IS THAT THE UNITED STATES IS NOW DETERMINED TO MAKE SAUDI ARABIA AN ACTIVE PARTNER IN THE FORMULATION OF AMERICAN MIDDLE EAST POLICY, LEADING POSSIBLY TO JOINT US/EUROPEAN ADOPTION OF SOME VERSION OF THE FAHD PLAN AND TO COMBINED PRESSURE ON ISRAEL, POST-APRIL 1982, TO WITHDRAW TO HER PRE-1967 FRONTIERS. THE ISRAELIS CLEARLY SEE AMERICAN WILLINGNESS TO FIGHT ON THEIR BEHALF IN THE SINAI MFO CONTEXT AS A TOUCHSTONE WITHIN THIS WIDER PICCURE. THEY MUST ALSO CALCULATE THAT THEIR PATH TO THE EUROPEANS ON THIS ISSUE LIES THROUGH WASHINGTON (IE THE CONVERSE OF THE EUROPEAN VIEW OF HOW BEST TO INFLUENCE ISRAEL). HENCE THE INTENSITY OF THE PRESSURE THEY ARE NOW APPLYING ON HAIG.

4. IF CONSIDERATION IS BEING GIVEN TO A SHORT STATEMENT BY THE FOUR TO BE SUPPLEMENTED IN CAPITALS (WASHINGTON TELNO 3302, PARA 2) I HOPE WE CAN CONTRIVE NOT TO GET TOO FAR OUT IN FRONT OF THE OTHERS IN ANY NATIONAL STATEMENT. ISRAELI COMMENT HAS ALREADY PORTRAYED BRITAIN AS BEING THE MOST RELUCTANT TO PARTICIPATE IN THE FORCE AT ALL AND AS DRIVING THE HARDEST BARGAIN FROM ISRAEL'S POINT OF VIEW.

5. YOUR TELNO 484 TO PARIS JUST RECEIVED. FURTHER COMMENT FOLLOWS.

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FROM TEL AVIV 050830Z NOV 81

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELNO 439 OF 5 NOVEMBER 81

INFO IMMEDIATE JEDDA, CAIRO AND WASHINGTON.

SINAI MFO

1. SPEAKING IN THE KNESSET YESTERDAY, SHAMIR SAID THAT ISRAEL HAD NOTIFIED ALL THE POTENTIAL CONTRIBUTORS TO THE SINAI MFO THAT ANY ANNOUNCEMENT OR STATEMENT ACCOMPANYING THEIR DECISION TO PARTICIPATE WHICH CONTAINED ANYTHING CONTRADICTORY TO THE TERMS OF THE EGYPTIAN/ISRAELI/US AGREEMENT ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FORCE WOULD DISQUALIFY THE COUNTRY IN QUESTION FROM PARTICIPATING IN THE FORCE. SOURCES HERE ARE QUOTED IN TODAY'S PRESS AS SAYING THAT THE ISRAELI WARNING HAD GONE TO ALL EEC CAPITALS, VIA WASHINGTON, EARLY THIS WEEK.

2. THE ISRAELI PRESS ALSO QUOTES:

(A) THE ISRAELI FOREIGN MINISTRY SPOKESMAN AS SAYING, IN THE CONTEXT OF REPORTS THAT YOU HAD TOLD ARAB JOURNALISTS IN LONDON ON 2 NOVEMBER THAT BRITISH PARTICIPATION IN THE MFO WOULD BE PURELY ON THE BASIS THAT THIS WAS NOT ASSOCIATED WITH CAMP DAVID, THAT HE WOULD NOT REACT TO SUCH REPORTS. ISRAEL WOULD EXAMINE

1. SPEAKING IN THE KNESSET YESTERDAY, SHAMIR SAID THAT ISRAEL HAD NOTIFIED ALL THE POTENTIAL CONTRIBUTORS TO THE SINAI MFO THAT ANY ANNOUNCEMENT OR STATEMENT ACCOMPANYING THEIR DECISION TO PARTICIPATE WHICH CONTAINED ANYTHING CONTRADICTORY TO THE TERMS OF THE EGYPTIAN/ISRAELI/US AGREEMENT ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FORCE WOULD DISQUALIFY THE COUNTRY IN QUESTION FROM PARTICIPATING IN THE FORCE. SOURCES HERE ARE QUOTED IN TODAY'S PRESS AS SAYING THAT THE ISRAELI WARNING HAD GONE TO ALL EEC CAPITALS, VIA WASHINGTON, EARLY THIS WEEK.

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(B) OBSERVERS HERE AS SAYING THAT IF YOU REPEATED YOUR STATEMENT OF 2 NOVEMBER - OR IF ANY OTHER FOREIGN STATESMAN MADE SUCH STATEMENTS - IN OR AFTER OUR OFFICIAL ANNOUNCEMENT THAT WE WERE PARTICIPATING IN THE FORCE, ISRAEL WOULD VETO OUR OR OTHERS' PARTICIPATION. THE OBSERVERS ARE SAID TO HAVE EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT YOU WOULD AVOID STATEMENTS IN FUTURE "OR ELSE WE WON'T LET THE BRITISH IN".

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