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TO IMMEDIATE PARIS

TELEGRAM NUMBER 493 OF 11 NOVEMBER 81

INFO IMMEDIATE WASHINGTON, BONN, ROME, THE HAGUE, DUBLIN,
COPENHAGEN, BRUSSELS, LUXEMBOURG, ATHENS, UKREP BRUSSELS.
INFO PRIORITY ALL ME POSTS, UKMIS NEW YORK, MOSCOW, TOKYO, LISBON,
MADRID, ANKARA, UKDEL NATO, OTTAWA.

EUROPEAN POLITICAL COOPERATION: POLITICAL COMMITTEE, LONDON,
10-11 NOVEMBER.

SINAI FORCE

SUMMARY

1. THE DISCUSSION CONCERNED THE BASIS FOR PARTICIPATION BY THE UK, FRANCE, ITALY AND THE NETHERLANDS IN THE SINAI FORCE. (OTHER ASPECTS OF THE MIDDLE EAST DISCUSSION ARE BEING TELEGRAPHED SEPARATELY). WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THE GREEKS, THE TEN WERE GENERALLY CONTENT WITH THE PROCEDURE PROPOSED TO THE AMERICANS (WASHINGTON TELNOS. 3383-4 - NOT TO ALL) AND WITH THE AMENDMENT TO THE STATEMENT OF THE TEN PROPOSED BY HAIG. THE GREEKS UNDERTOOK TO SEEK THEIR GOVERNMENT'S AGREEMENT. DISCUSSION ON THE RELATIVE TIMING OF NATIONAL STATEMENTS BY THE FOUR AND THE STATEMENT BY THE TEN WAS INCONCLUSIVE. MIFT CONTAINS THE VARIOUS TEXTS AS THEY NOW STAND, SUBJECT TO GREEK AGREEMENT.

DETAIL

2. BULLARD (PRESIDENCY) CIRCULATED A NOTE EXPLAINING WHERE THE FOUR HAD GOT TO IN DISCUSSIONS WITH THE AMERICANS, INCLUDING THE TEXT OF THE COMMUNICATION TO BE GIVEN BY THE FOUR TO THE US, EGYPTIAN AND ISRAELI GOVERNMENTS AND THE PROPOSED US AMENDMENT TO THE TEN'S STATEMENT. HE ADDED THAT WE WERE NOW HOPEFUL THAT AN EARLY AND SATISFACTORY SOLUTION COULD BE FOUND ON THIS BASIS. REININK (NETHERLANDS) AND DUPONT (FRANCE) AGREED AND

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SAID THAT THEY COULD ACCEPT THE PROPOSED US AMENDMENT TO THE TEN'S STATEMENT. BOTTAI (ITALY) ALSO AGREED. HE SUGGESTED THAT IN ADDITION TO THE PROPOSED US AMENDMENT THE TEN SHOULD BE PREPARED TO DROP FROM THE LAST SENTENCE OF THEIR STATEMENT THE WORDS 'AND INDEPENDENT OF'. TO SAY THAT THE ARRANGEMENTS WERE DISTINCT FROM THE REST OF THE CAMP DAVID PROCESS SHOULD BE SUFFICIENT. KIMBERG (DENMARK) SUPPORTED THIS AND SUGGESTED THAT SIMILAR CHANGES BE MADE IN THE MATERIAL TO BE USED BY THE FOUR IN THEIR NATIONAL STATEMENTS. HOWEVER PHRYDAS (GREECE) RECALLED THE DIFFICULTY HIS GOVERNMENT HAD PREVIOUSLY HAD WITH THE TEXTS, BECAUSE OF THEIR FEAR THAT ACCEPTANCE OF CERTAIN WORDING WOULD IMPLY AGREEMENT WITH THE CAMP DAVID PROCESS. HE FEARED THE CHANGE PROPOSED BY THE US TO THE STATEMENT OF THE TEN, HOWEVER SMALL IT MIGHT SEEM, WOULD CREATE THE UTMOST DIFFICULTY FOR GREECE. HE THEREFORE RESERVED HIS POSITION.

3. SUBSEQUENT DISCUSSION REVEALED THAT THE REST OF THE TEN EXCEPT GREECE WERE CONTENT BOTH WITH WHAT WE HAD PROPOSED TO THE US AND WITH THE US AMENDMENT TO THE TEXT OF THE STATEMENT BY THE TEN, WITH OR WITHOUT THE FURTHER AMENDMENT SUGGESTED BY BOTTAI. SEVERAL DELEGATIONS INCLUDING THE UK APPEALED TO THE GREEKS TO ACCEPT THE US AMENDMENT. THE EGYPT-ISRAEL TREATY WAS A CORRECT APPLICATION OF RESOLUTION 242 AND COULD LEGITIMATELY BE SEPARATED FROM THE REST OF THE CAMP DAVID PROCESS. PHRYDAS UNDERTOOK TO REPORT THESE REPRESENTATIONS TO HIS GOVERNMENT AND TO TRY TO ELICIT A REPLY FROM THEM TOMORROW 12 NOVEMBER.

4. BULLARD THEN RAISED THE QUESTION OF TIMING. THE FOUR COULD NOT YET SAY WHEN THEY WOULD WISH TO ISSUE THEIR NATIONAL STATEMENTS, WITH WHICH THE LETTER FROM THEM TO THE US, EGYPTIAN AND ISRAELI GOVERNMENT WOULD ALSO BE PUBLISHED. BUT THE QUESTION ALSO AROSE OF THE US REQUEST FOR A GAP BETWEEN NATIONAL STATEMENTS BY THE FOUR AND THE STATEMENT BY THE TEN. ONE CONSIDERATION WAS THAT TEN STATEMENTS HAD MORE IMPACT WHEN ISSUED ON THE OCCASION OF A MINISTERIAL MEETING. THIS POINTED TO THE TEN MAKING THEIR STATEMENT EITHER AT THE FOREIGN MINISTERS' MEETING ON 17 NOVEMBER OR AT THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL ON 26/27 NOVEMBER, DEPENDING ON WHEN THE FOUR ACTED. MACKERNAN

(IRELAND) SAID HE COULD AGREE WITH THIS PROCEDURE. BUT THE IMPORTANT GAP WAS BETWEEN DELIVERY OF THE LETTER BY THE FOUR TO THE THREE CAMP DAVID PARTIES AND THE FOUR'S NATIONAL STATEMENTS. WOULD NOT A SHORT GAP LEAD TO A STRONG ISRAELI REACTION, NO MATTER HOW SATISFIED THEY MIGHT BE WITH THE LETTER ITSELF? REININK SAID THAT THE GAP BETWEEN NATIONAL STATEMENTS AND THE STATEMENT BY THE TEN SHOULD BE AS SHORT AS POSSIBLE. DUPONT SAID THAT NATIONAL STATEMENTS AND THE TEN'S STATEMENT SHOULD BE SIMULTANEOUS OR AS NEARLY SO AS POSSIBLE. PFEFFER (FRG) WAS INCLINED TO AGREE. HE SAW THE ARGUMENT FOR A MINISTERIAL MEETING ISSUING A STATEMENT BY THE TEN BUT IN OTHER RESPECTS A GAP HAD MANY DISADVANTAGES.

5. BULLARD SAID THAT THE PRESIDENCY WOULD NEED TO CONSULT WITH THE OTHER THREE WOULD-BE CONTRIBUTORS ON THE PRACTICAL ASPECTS OF THE TIMING OF THE DELIVERY OF THE LETTERS TO THE US, EGYPT AND ISRAEL AND OF NATIONAL STATEMENTS. THEREAFTER WE WOULD CIRCULATE BY COREU A SUGGESTED TIMETABLE INCLUDING THE TIMING OF STATEMENT BY THE TEN, AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

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EUROPEAN POLITICAL COOPERATION: POLITICAL COMMITTEE:
SINAI FORCE.

1. FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT PROPOSED BY THE FOUR TO THE US FOR A
LETTER FROM THE FOUR TO THE US, EGYPTIAN AND ISRAELI GOVERNMENTS:
'THE GOVERNMENTS OF FRANCE, ITALY, THE NETHERLANDS AND THE UNITED
KINGDOM, AFTER CONSULTING THEIR PARTNERS IN THE TEN, HAVE DE-
CIDED, SUBJECT TO THEIR CONSTITUTIONAL PROCEDURES AND TO AGREEMENT
ON THE PRACTICAL AND LEGAL ARRANGEMENTS, TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE
MULTINATIONAL FORCE AND OBSERVERS IN SINAI, AT THE REQUEST OF THE
GOVERNMENTS OF EGYPT, ISRAEL AND THE UNITED STATES. THE FOUR
GOVERNMENTS STATE THAT THEIR PARTICIPATION IN THE MFO IS BASED ON
THE UNDERSTANDING THAT:

- (I) THE FORCE EXISTS SOLELY FOR THE PURPOSE OF MAINTAINING PEACE
IN SINAI FOLLOWING ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE
TREATY OF PEACE BETWEEN EGYPT AND ISRAEL. IT HAS NO OTHER ROLE:
- (II) THE FORCE IS BEING ESTABLISHED IN ITS PRESENT FORM IN THE
ABSENCE OF A UN DECISION ON AN INTERNATIONAL FORCE AND ITS
POSITION WILL BE REVIEWED SHOULD SUCH A DECISION BECOME POSSIBLE:
- (III) PARTICIPATION BY THE FOUR GOVERNMENTS IN THE FORCE WILL
NOT BE TAKEN EITHER AS COMMITTING THEM TO OR EXCLUDING THEM FROM
PARTICIPATION IN SUCH OTHER INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING ARRANGE-
MENTS AS HAVE BEEN OR MAY BE ESTABLISHED IN THE REGION: AND
- (IV) PARTICIPATION IN THE MFO BY THE FOUR GOVERNMENT IS WITH-
OUT PREJUDICE TO THEIR WELL KNOWN POLICIES ON OTHER ASPECTS OF

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THE PROBLEMS OF THE AREA.'

2. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF THE PROPOSED STATEMENT BY THE TEN, INCLUDING THE PROPOSED US AMENDMENT (ORIGINAL TEXT IN BRACKETS) BUT NOT THE PROPOSED ITALIAN AMENDMENT:

'THE TEN CONSIDER THAT THE DECISION OF FRANCE, ITALY, THE NETHERLANDS AND THE UNITED KINGDOM TO PARTICIPATE IN THE MULTINATIONAL FORCE IN SINAI MEETS THE WISH FREQUENTLY EXPRESSED BY THE MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNITY TO FACILITATE ANY PROGRESS IN THE DIRECTION OF A COMPREHENSIVE PEACE SETTLEMENT IN THE MIDDLE EAST ON THE BASIS OF THE PRINCIPLES SET OUT IN THE VENICE DECLARATION, NAMELY THE MUTUAL ACCEPTANCE OF THE RIGHT TO EXISTENCE AND SECURITY OF ALL THE STATES IN THE AREA, INCLUDING ISRAEL, AND THE RIGHT TO JUSTICE FOR ALL THE PEOPLES, WHICH IMPLIES RECOGNITION OF THE LEGITIMATE RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE, INCLUDING THEIR RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION. THEY BELIEVE AT THE SAME TIME THAT ~~THESE~~ ARRANGEMENTS [ASSOCIATED WITH THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE EGYPT-ISRAEL PEACE TREATY (WITH ISRAEL'S WITHDRAWAL FROM SINAI)] ARE DISTINCT FROM AND INDEPENDENT OF [THE REST OF] THE CAMP DAVID PROCESS.'

3. FOLLOWING IS A DRAFT BASIC TEXT FOR USE IN NATIONAL STATEMENTS GIVEN ONLY TO THE OTHER THREE PARTICIPATING GOVERNMENTS: 'WE HAVE AGREED TO PARTICIPATE IN THE PROPOSED MULTINATIONAL FORCE AND OBSERVERS IN SINAI. WE AND THE GOVERNMENTS OF FRANCE, ITALY AND THE NETHERLANDS HAVE NOTIFIED THE UNITED STATES, EGYPTIAN AND ISRAELI GOVERNMENTS OF THIS IN THE FOLLOWING TERMS: (TEXT OF PARA. 1 ABOVE).

THIS DECISION IS A SYMBOL OF OUR DETERMINATION TO ACHIEVE A COMPREHENSIVE PEACE SETTLEMENT FOLLOWING NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE PARTIES WHICH WOULD BRING JUSTICE FOR ALL THE PEOPLES AND SECURITY FOR ALL THE STATES OF THE AREA. WE WELCOMED THE ACHIEVEMENT OF PEACE BETWEEN ISRAEL AND EGYPT AS A FIRST STEP TOWARDS THAT GOAL. SIMILARLY WE WELCOME THE ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL FROM SINAI AS THE FIRST STEP TOWARDS THE REALISATION OF THE CALL FOR WITHDRAWAL CONTAINED IN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 242, WHICH SPECIFICALLY DECLARED INADMISSIBLE THE ACQUISITION OF TERRITORY BY WAR, AND WE BELIEVE THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY

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HAS A DUTY TO PLAY ITS PART, AS NECESSARY AND WITH THE AGREEMENT OF THE PARTIES CONCERNED, IN PEACE ARRANGEMENTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST. WE ARE READY TO PARTICIPATE ALSO IN SUCH ARRANGEMENTS IN THE OTHER TERRITORIES CURRENTLY OCCUPIED IN THE CONTEXT OF ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL. WE REGARD OUR SUPPORT FOR THE ARRANGEMENTS ASSOCIATED WITH THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE EGYPT-ISRAEL PEACE TREATY AS QUITE DISTINCT FROM AND INDEPENDENT OF THE REST OF THE CAMP DAVID PROCESS.

IN ADDITION, WE WISH TO EXPRESS OUR FIRM SUPPORT FOR THE EGYPTIAN GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE AND OUR BELIEF IN THE NEED FOR STABILITY AND CONTINUITY IN EGYPT. OUR DECISION TO PARTICIPATE IN THE MFO FOLLOWS FROM THE POLICY, AS STATED IN THE DECLARATION ISSUED AT VENICE IN JUNE 1980 AND IN SUBSEQUENT STATEMENTS. THIS POLICY, WHILE INSISTING ON GUARANTEES FOR THE SECURITY OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL, PLACES EQUAL EMPHASIS ON JUSTICE FOR THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE AND THEIR RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION. IT ALSO HOLDS THAT THE PLO MUST BE INVOLVED IN THE PROCESS LEADING TO A COMPREHENSIVE PEACE.

WE PLEDGE OURSELVES TO SUPPORT THE MFO. WE ALSO REPEAT THAT, TOGETHER WITH OUR PARTNERS IN THE TEN, WE WILL CONTINUE TO WORK FOR THE ACHIEVEMENT OF A COMPREHENSIVE PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST IN ALL WAYS CONSISTENT WITH THE PRINCIPLES TO WHICH WE HOLD.'

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