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DESKBY 130830Z

FM WASHINGTON 130058Z NOV 81

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 3409 OF 12 NOVEMBER 1981

FOLLOWING PERSONAL FOR SECRETARY OF STATE

1. WHEN I SAW HAIG TODAY I EXPLAINED THAT I HAD RETURNED TO WASHINGTON AHEAD OF TIME TO HAVE A PERSONAL WORD WITH HIM ABOUT HIS RELATIONS WITH YOU. SEEN FROM THE BRITISH SIDE, IT LOOKED, ON THE BASIS OF A GOOD DEAL OF EVIDENCE, JOURNALISTIC AND SPOKEN, AS THOUGH HE HAD SOME PERSONAL QUARREL WITH YOU AND THAT THIS WAS IMPAIRING MATTERS OF NATIONAL INTEREST AFFECTING BOTH COUNTRIES. YOU YOURSELF WERE CONCERNED ABOUT THIS, INDEED UPSET, BOTH BECAUSE YOU KNEW OF NO GOOD GROUNDS FOR IT AND BECAUSE OF THE HARM IT WAS DOING TO WHAT WE WERE BOTH TRYING TO ACHIEVE. WE HAD DIFFERENCES OF VIEW PARTICULARLY ON THE MIDDLE EAST, BUT THE SORT OF COMMENT OF A PERSONAL KIND THAT WAS EMANATING FROM THE HIGHEST SOURCES IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT AND APPEARING IN THE PRESS WENT FAR BEYOND ANYTHING THAT SUCH DIFFERENCES COULD WARRANT OR EXPLAIN.

2. HAIG SAID THAT HE HAD NO PERSONAL PROBLEM WHATEVER WITH YOU. FROM THE START HE HAD ATTACHED THE GREATEST IMPORTANCE TO WORKING CLOSELY WITH YOU. YOU HAD GREATLY HELPED ON ALL THE MAIN PROBLEMS ALL OVER THE WORLD. NEITHER OF US COULD AFFORD THE LUXURY OF A QUARREL. HE HAD TO ADMIT THAT SOMETHING HE HAD HEARD FROM A EUROPEAN SOURCE A FEW WEEKS AGO HAD ANNOYED HIM. THIS PERSON HAD COME TO HIM PRIVATELY AND TOLD HIM THAT HE HAD HEARD YOU SAY IN SOME GATHERING IN EUROPE THAT QUOTE HAIG SAYS WHATEVER THE PERSON HE IS TALKING TO WANTS TO HEAR UNQUOTE. THIS REPORT HAD BEEN GIVEN HIM SHORTLY BEFORE HE MET YOU IN THE TENT AT CAIRO AFTER SADAT'S FUNERAL AND HE HAD MADE A REFERENCE TO IT WHEN SPEAKING TO YOU TO SHOW HIS DISPLEASURE. HE REALISED THAT YOU, LIKE HE, WENT IN FOR A GOOD DEAL OF BANTER AND JOKING, BUT HE HAD NOT LIKED THIS STORY. I INTERRUPTED THAT I GATHERED CONDITIONS IN THAT TENT HAD NOT BEEN IDEAL FOR CONVERSATION. (I DID NOT THINK I COULD PRESS HIM TO REVEAL WHO HIS EUROPEAN SOURCE WAS.)

3. HE ALSO REPEATED LATER, WHAT WE ALREADY KNOW, THAT THE FRENCH AND ITALIANS HAD BOTH TOLD HIM THAT YOU HAD TRIED TO DISSUADE THEM FROM TAKING PART IN THE SINAI MFO. IN COMMENTING ON THIS I THINK I MIGHT HAVE PUT THE RECORD STRAIGHT IN HAIG'S MIND: BUT I WILL NOT BURDEN YOU WITH EVERYTHING I SAID.

4. WE HAD A DISCUSSION ABOUT THE MFO. HE SAID THAT VELIOTES HAD RETURNED FROM LONDON CONVINCED THAT HE HAD BEEN GIVEN A FULL ACCOUNT OF THE PROPOSALS OF THE FOUR. FROM HAIG'S POINT OF VIEW IT SOUNDED SATISFACTORY. IT HAD THEREFORE BEEN A TERRIBLE SURPRISE WHEN WE HAD THEN GIVEN HIM THE FULL TEXT WHICH WOULD HAVE SENT THE ISRAELIS OVER THE EDGE. I SAID THAT SO FAR AS YOU WERE CONCERNED YOU CERTAINLY THOUGHT THAT VELIOTES HAD BEEN GIVEN THE FULL PICTURE. INCIDENTALLY THERE WAS NO ACRIMONY IN HAIG'S DISCUSSION OF THIS MATTER WITH ME, AND I WOULD NOT FAVOUR REVERTING TO THE POINT OF WHETHER OR NOT VELIOTES WAS PROPERLY INFORMED. IN GENERAL HAIG SEEMED PERFECTLY CALM ABOUT THE MFO BUSINESS AND HOW IT IS PROCEEDING.

5. HAIG SAID THAT THE ONLY OTHER PERSONAL THING HE HAD OBJECTED TO WAS THE STORY THAT HAD REACHED HIM FROM EUROPEAN SOURCES THAT YOU WERE MAKING FLIPPANT AND SCATHING COMMENTS ABOUT THE PEACE PROCESS. BUT HE DID NOT ELABORATE ON THIS. WHAT HE DID PROCEED TO EXPAND UPON WAS HIS WORRY ABOUT YOUR CONCERN.

6. HE ASKED IF THERE WAS ANYTHING HE COULD DO ABOUT IT. HE ATTACHED THE GREATEST IMPORTANCE TO WORKING HARMONIOUSLY WITH YOU. QUOTE WE CANNOT GET ALONG ALONE UNQUOTE. I HAVE HIM THE OBVIOUS QUOTE PROOF OF THE PUDDING UNQUOTE ANSWER. HE SAID HOW IMPORTANT IT WAS THAT I HAD SPOKEN TO HIM. IF HE HAD KNOWN WHAT WAS IN YOUR MIND HE WOULD HAVE PICKED THE TELEPHONE UP AND SAID QUOTE HEY, PETER, WHAT'S ALL THIS UNQUOTE.

7. HAIG ADMITTED THAT THE JEWISH ORGANISATIONS TO WHICH HE HAD SPOKEN HAD LEAKED THE QUOTE COOL IT UNQUOTE STORY. HE HAD USED THESE WORDS TO THEM, BUT THE CONTEXT HAD BEEN ONE IN WHICH HE HAD BEEN SAYING THAT IT WOULD NOT HELP IF THE EUROPEANS PUT ON SO MUCH PRESSURE EG OVER THE FAHD PROPOSALS THAT IT HEATED UP THE SITUATION. THE ISRAELIS HAD BEEN IN A VERY EXCITABLE STATE AT THAT MOMENT.

8. SAYING THAT I WAS SURE HE WOULD AGREE WITH ME ABOUT THE CAPABILITIES OF ISRAELI INTELLIGENCE, INCLUDING DISINFORMATION, I TOLD HAIG THAT AS A PURELY PERSONAL EXPLANATION I HAD SUGGESTED TO YOU THAT HE, HAIG, MIGHT HAVE BEEN GIVEN SOME SPURIOUS INTELLIGENCE ABOUT YOUR VIEWS. HAIG SAID THAT HE WAS CERTAINLY AWARE OF ISRAELI CAPABILITIES IN THIS RESPECT: BUT QUOTE I HAVE SEEN NOTHING OF THIS KIND UNQUOTE. GIVEN HIS VOLATILITY, I WAS STRUCK BY THE MILDNESS OF HAIG'S DENIAL. I THINK HE COULD HAVE BEEN MORE INDIGNANT AT MY SUGGESTION: BUT I WOULD NOT WANT TO MAKE TOO MUCH OF IT BECAUSE THROUGHOUT THE TALK HE WAS CALM, REASONABLE AND WORRIED MAINLY BY THE IMPRESSION THAT HAD BEEN CREATED IN YOUR MIND OF WHICH HE SAID HE WAS QUITE UNAWARE.

9. I SAID THAT THERE WAS A DANGER OF ANTI-AMERICAN FEELING GROWING IN THE UK. IT WOULD BE WRONG TO MAKE TOO MUCH OF A CONNECTION BETWEEN ONE THING AND ANOTHER, BUT THE BRITISH PRESS HAD BEEN PUBLISHING STORIES ABOUT HAIG'S VIEWS. I MENTIONED BEESTON'S ARTICLE IN THE TELEGRAPH OF 10 NOVEMBER REPORTING HOW A HIGHLY PLACED AMERICAN SOURCE HAD APPARENTLY SPOKEN OF BRITAIN'S SPOILER ROLE, HER DUPLICITY AND THE WORSENING RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO SECRETARIES OF STATE. THIS SORT OF THING WAS NOT HELPING WITH BRITISH OPINION, APART FROM ITS BEARING ON PERSONAL RELATIONS BETWEEN YOU BOTH. HAIG SAID THAT THIS WAS THE FIRST HE HAD HEARD ABOUT THESE BRITISH PRESS REPORTS.

10. SEE MIFT

HENDERSON

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FM WASHINGTON 130101Z NOV 81

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 3410 OF 12 NOVEMBER 1981

PERSONAL FOR SECRETARY OF STATE

MIPT: TALK WITH HAIG

1. OBVIOUSLY HAIG IS NOT UNAWARE OF THE THINGS HE HAS BEEN SAYING,
BUT HE MAY NOT HAVE REALISED HOW MUCH THEY WERE BEING BROADCAST AND
THE IMPACT THEY WERE MAKING ON YOU.

2. AS FOR WHAT HE MAY HAVE HEARD ABOUT YOUR VIEWS ON HIM I THINK
WE CAN MORE OR LESS ACCEPT HIS ACCOUNT: AT LEAST I DO NOT THINK
THERE IS ANY POINT IN PURSUING IT FURTHER: HAIG SAID AS IF IT WOULD
COME AS A SURPRISE TO ME QUOTE THINGS DO GET BACK YOU KNOW UNQUOTE.

3. I THINK HAIG WAS WORRIED BOTH ON THE PERSONAL PLANE AND ON THAT OF UK/US RELATIONS, AND I WOULD BE SURPRISED IF HE DOES NOT MODERATE HIS COMMENTS, AT ANY RATE UNTIL ISRAELI PRESSURE BECOMES INTOLERABLE AGAIN. I AM SURE THAT NO ADVERSE SIDE-EFFECTS WERE CREATED BY CLEARING THE AIR IN THIS WAY. HE IS NOT INTROSPECTIVE; HE IS SENSITIVE ABOUT THE EFFECT OF OTHERS ON HIM, IF NOT VICE VERSA. I AGO WOULD FIND HIM EASY TO WORK ON.

4. I TOOK THE RISK OF SAYING THAT IF WE HAD SEEMED TO HIM IN THE PAST INSENSITIVE TO HIS PROBLEMS AND PRESSURES, I THOUGHT HE COULD REST ASSURED THAT HE WOULD FIND US VERY SENSITIVE. WE RECOGNISED HOW CRUCIAL WAS THE DATE OF 26 APRIL. I COULD PROMISE HIM THAT YOU WOULD DO NOTHING THAT WOULD JEOPARDISE ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL: IT HAD NEVER BEEN YOUR INTENTION TO DO ANYTHING OF THE KIND. ON THE CONTRARY. AS REGARDS THE FAHD POINTS I ADDED THAT I NOTICED THAT THE PRESIDENT HAD AGAIN YESTERDAY EXPRESSED SUPPORT FOR SOME OF THEM. QUOTE YES UNQUOTE HAIG SAID, ALMOST THEATRICALY, QUOTE THAT'S BECAUSE HE BELIEVES IN THEM UNQUOTE.

5. WHAT NEXT? I SUGGEST NOTHING SO FAR AS YOU ARE CONCERNED. I DID NOT SUGGEST THAT THERE WAS ANYTHING THAT HE NEED DO BY WAY OF PERSONAL EXPLANATION TO YOU. BUT SOMEHOW I HOPE THAT IT WILL GO BETTER NOW. CERTAINLY HE DOES NOT AT ALL WANT CONTINUED PERSONAL FRICTION WITH YOU.

HENDERSON



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

13 November 1981

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Prime Minister (2)

Dear Richard,

And

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Lord Carrington thought that the Prime Minister would wish to see the enclosed copies of Washington telegram nos 3409 and 3410, which are being held here on a very restricted basis. Sir N Henderson's talk with Haig has been helpful although it is very difficult to see how anyone could have attributed to Lord Carrington the thought that 'Haig says whatever the person he is talking to wants to hear'. This is certainly not a criticism that Lord Carrington has ever voiced or indeed thought of Haig.

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Yours ever
[Signature]

(B J P Fall)
Private Secretary

M O'D B Alexander Esq
10 Downing Street

FILE

VLB

USA

16 November 1981

Mr. Haig

The Prime Minister has seen and taken note of your letter to me of 13 November and its attachments.

MICHAEL ALEXANDER

B. J. P. Fall, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

HL