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DESKBY THE HAGUE 212230Z

DESKBY CAIRO TEL AVIV 220615Z

DESKBY ALL OTHER POSTS 220930Z

FROM FCO 212140Z NOV 81

TO FLASH WASHINGTON

TELEGRAM NUMBER 1773 OF 21 NOVEMBER

AND TO IMMEDIATE CAIRO TEL AVIV, ALL ME POSTS,

PARIS, ROME, THE HAGUE, BONN, DUBLIN, COPENHAGEN, ATHENS,

BRUSSELS, LUXEMBOURG.

INFO UKMIS NEW YORK

SINAI MFO

1. WE ARE AIMING FOR ANNOUNCEMENT IN PARLIAMENT ON MONDAY, 23 NOVEMBER AT 1530 GMT. THE ANNOUNCEMENT WILL CONTAIN THE TEXT OF OUR FORMAL COMMUNICATION TO THE US, AND THE STATEMENT BY THE TEN. POSTS SHOULD NOW TAKE ACTION ON THE MESSAGES IN MY TELNOS. 918-923 TO UKREP BRUSSELS WITH THE FOLLOWING CHANGES: (A) FOR WASHINGTON: THE LAST SENTENCE OF THE MESSAGE TO HAIG IN MY TELNO. 919 SHOULD BE OMITTED: AND IN PARA 1 AFTER QUOTE AND LEGAL ARRANGEMENTS UNQUOTE INSERT QUOTE TO ACCEDE TO THE REQUEST OF THE GOVERNMENTS OF EGYPT, ISRAEL AND THE UNITED STATES UNQUOTE. YOU SHOULD TAKE ACTION AS SOON AS POSSIBLE TODAY 21 NOVEMBER, IN COORDINATION WITH THE OTHER THREE. YOU SHOULD ADD THAT WE UNDERSTAND (FROM CONVERSATION BETWEEN CHEYSSON AND SIR J GRAHAM) THAT STATE DEPT ARE SATISFIED WITH STATEMENT AND TIMING ALTHOUGH HAIG WOULD HAVE PREFERRED NO STATEMENT BY THE TEN (YOUR TELNO 3522). YOU SHOULD EXPLAIN TO THE AMERICANS THE TIMETABLE WE SHALL BE FOLLOWING AND SAY THAT WE WE SHALL BE COMMUNICATING THIS TEXT UNDER COVER OF SEPARATE MESSAGES TO SHAMIR AND KAMAL HASSAN ALI TOMORROW MORNING, 22 NOVEMBER. YOU SHOULD SAY THAT THE MESSAGE TO SHAMIR WILL CONTAIN REFERENCES TO THE EGYPT-ISRAEL PEACE TREATY DESIGNED TO REASSURE THE ISRAELIS ON THIS SCORE.

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YOU SHOULD ADD THAT WE WILL NOT BE GIVING TO THE ISRAELIS OR EGYPTIANS AT THAT STAGE THE TEXTS EITHER OF OUR NATIONAL STATEMENT OR OF THE STATEMENT BY THE PEN. THIS IS TO AVOID PUTTING THEM IN A POSITION OF HAVING TO REACT TO THEM. HOWEVER WE INTEND TO GIVE THEM THE TEXTS OF BOTH SHORTLY BEFORE DELIVERY ON 23 NOVEMBER (WE SHALL SIMILARLY GIVE THE AMERICANS THE TEXT OF OUR NATIONAL STATEMENT BEFORE ITS DELIVERY, BUT WILL BE IMPOSSIBLE TO CONSIDER ANY FURTHER CHANGE TO THE TEXT SINCE IT WILL ALREADY BE IN THE HANDS OF THE OPPOSITION).

(B) FOR TEL AVIV: YOU SHOULD HAND OVER THE MESSAGE TO SHAMIR IN MY TELNO. 920 AS EARLY AS POSSIBLE ON SUNDAY, 22 NOVEMBER, ALTERING THE DATE OF ANNOUNCEMENT IN PARLIAMENT TO 23 NOVEMBER, AND COORDINATING WITH THE AMBASSADORS OF FRANCE, ITALY AND THE NETHERLANDS. YOU SHOULD AT THE SAME TIME SPEAK AS IN MY TELNO. 918.

(C) FOR CAIRO: YOU SHOULD ACT WITH KAMAL HASSAN ALI ON THE BASIS OF THE MESSAGE IN MY TELNO. 921 AS EARLY AS POSSIBLE ON 22 NOVEMBER AND SPEAK IN SIMILAR TERMS TO TEL AVIV. YOU ALSO SHOULD COORDINATE WITH THE AMBASSADORS OF THE OTHER THREE.

(D) ARAB POSTS (BUT SEE (E) BELOW FOR SEPARATE INSTRUCTIONS ABOUT ARAFAT) SHOULD HAND OVER MY MESSAGE (AS AMENDED BELOW) ON THE EVENING OF 22 NOVEMBER OR MORNING OF 23 NOVEMBER. THEY SHOULD EXPLAIN THAT AN ANNOUNCEMENT WILL BE MADE IN PARLIAMENT ON 23 NOVEMBER AND STRESS THE NEED FOR CONFIDENTIALITY UNTIL THEN. FINAL TEXT OF OUR NATIONAL STATEMENT, TO BE HANDED OVER WITH THE MESSAGE, IS IN MIFT. I APPRECIATE THAT IN MANY IF NOT MOST CASES IT WILL BE IMPOSSIBLE TO ACT AS ORIGINALLY ENVISAGED WITH FOREIGN MINISTERS. YOU SHOULD DELIVER THE MESSAGE TO THE HIGHEST AVAILABLE OFFICIAL WITH A REQUEST THAT IT BE TRANSMITTED URGENTLY TO FEZ. YOU SHOULD COORDINATE LOCALLY AS BEFORE: RABAT SHOULD SIMULTANEOUSLY MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO GET COPIES OF MY MESSAGE AND THE TEXT OF THE NATIONAL STATEMENT TO ALL MINISTERS IN FEZ, INCLUDING KLIBI. (THE DIFFICULTIES OF THIS ARE WELL UNDERSTOOD HERE.)

(E) BEIRUT SHOULD NOT (REPEAT NOT) PASS A MESSAGE AS SUCH FROM ME TO ARAFAT AS PREVIOUSLY ENVISAGED, BUT SHOULD GIVE THE PLO AT

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A SUITABLE LEVEL THE TEXT OF THE MESSAGE SAYING THAT IT IS BEING ADDRESSED TO ALL ARAB GOVERNMENTS AND AS FAR AS POSSIBLE LEAVING VAGUE THE QUESTION OF WHETHER IT IS FORMALLY FROM ME AND TO WHOM IT IS ADDRESSED. RABAT SHOULD TAKE REINFORCING ACTION AS APPROPRIATE IN FEZ.

(F) THE MESSAGE FROM ME TO THE ARABS SHOULD BE AMENDED AS FOLLOWS: OMIT THE THIRD SENTENCE BEGINNING QUOTE OUR IMMEDIATE TASK UNQUOTE IN PARA 2. IN PARA 3, AMEND THE FIFTH SENTENCE BEGINNING QUOTE IN AGREEING TO PARTICIPATE UNQUOTE TO MAKE TWO SENTENCES AS FOLLOWS: QUOTE IN AGREEING TO PARTICIPATE, WE ARE DEMONSTRATING IN A PRACTICAL WAY OUR COMMITMENT TO THE PRINCIPLES OF ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL FROM ARAB TERRITORY BY WAR. WE ARE ALSO DEMONSTRATING TO THE AMERICANS THAT PRESERVATION OF THE EGYPT-ISRAEL PEACE IS FULLY COMPATIBLE WITH SUPPORT FOR THE PALESTINIANS RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION IN THE TERRITORIES FROM WHICH ISRAEL IS REQUIRED BY SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 242 TO WITHDRAW UNQUOTE. IN PARA 5, OMIT THE LAST SENTENCE BEGINNING QUOTE WE SHALL USE UNQUOTE.

(G) FOR DAMASCUS AND RABAT: THE ADDITION OF QUOTE INCLUDING GOLAN UNQUOTE GOES IN NOT IN PARA 3 (AS INSTRUCTED IN MY TELNO 923, PARA 5) BUT IN PARA 5 AFTER QUOTE OCCUPIED ARAB TERRITORY UNQUOTE.

2. PARIS, ROME AND THE HAGUE SHOULD ENSURE THAT THE ABOVE PROCEDURE CORRESPONDS WITH HOST GOVERNMENT'S UNDERSTANDING (BUT THE TEXTS OF THE MESSAGES TO SHAMIR AND ALI, AS WELL AS TO THE ARABS ARE NATIONAL TEXTS AND NOT FOR CLEARANCE WITH OUR PARTNERS: THEY WILL NOT BE PUBLISHED, THOUGH MAY OF COURSE LEAK). THEY SHOULD SAY THAT WE INTEND OUR NATIONAL STATEMENT TO INCLUDE THE TEXTS BOTH OF THE FORMAL COMMUNICATION TO THE US AND, AT THE END, THE STATEMENT BY THE TEN. WE ASSUME THEY WILL DO LIKEWISE. THEY SHOULD ALSO SAY THAT WE HAVE DELIBERATELY INCLUDED REFERENCES TO THE EGYPT-ISRAEL PEACE TREATY IN THE MESSAGE TO SHAMIR. THE AMERICANS HAVE TOLD US THAT THIS IS IMPORTANT FOR THE ISRAELIS GIVEN THE OMISSION FROM THE FORMAL COMMUNICATION OF THE FOUR OF ANY REFERENCE TO THE TREATY. WE HOPE THEY WILL DO THE SAME, BUT THAT IS UP TO THEM. (THIS SUPERSEDES PREVIOUS INSTRUCTIONS, EG

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MY TELNO 517 TO PARIS.)

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