

SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL

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In ENGLISH ONLY

To Bureau members

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CONFIDENTIAL

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SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL MISSION TO THE MIDDLE EAST

Second Preparatory Meeting, Vienna

Friday, March 8, 1974

Bruno Kreisky opened the meeting by referring to the provisional list of participants and the preliminary time table which had been handed out to delegates present :

1. 2 listed delegates, Hans-Juergen Wischnewski and Antonio Cariglia would not be able to participate, the first being unable, for unknown reasons, to leave Santiago, Chile, in time to join the Mission in Cairo (as had been planned), the latter because of the cabinet crisis in Italy.
2. The visit to Amman was now uncertain in view of the fact that King Hussein had urgently been called to Washington and that his return was doubtful.
3. The itinerary should not be given to the press, for reasons of security.

Hans Janitschek then gave a short summary of the first preparatory meeting, held in Vienna on January 26. He described the mission as a great event in the history of the International.

Ron Hayward then asked for assurances that all delegates would visit Israel, that the mission would be conducted in a way as not to interfere with the peace negotiations in Geneva and that the possible omission of Amman from the itinerary would remain the only change.

Bruno Kreisky, after giving these assurances, added that the meeting with representatives of the PLO would also definitely be held in Cairo, but that contacts might also be made in Damascus. He ruled Beirut out as a possible meeting place, as Lebanon was not directly involved in the conflict. Otherwise Algiers would have been the ideal meeting place. He then repeated the terms of reference of the mission :

- i) to hear the views of the countries of the Middle East (and the North African Arab states) on the question of a peaceful settlement of the conflict, to investigate relations with the Socialist International and to study aspects of Economic Cooperation.

- ii) To express as frankly as possible our own views on all aspects of the situation.
- iii) To act in loyalty to the Israel Labour Party.

Bruno Kreisky then underlined the great interest which in particular Egypt had shown in the mission, by working out such a remarkable programme for the delegates. He emphasized their eagerness to establish close relations with Western European Social Democratic Governments. He recalled the visit to Vienna of the Egyptian Foreign Minister, Ismail Fahmi, where he had previously served as Ambassador, in the course of which he said that every day spent in preparation of a war cost the country 2.5 million US Dollars, which could be spent for peaceful purposes.

Robert Pontillon recalled his and François Mitterrand's visit to Cairo three weeks ago when President Anwar Sadat had informed them that he did not expect the French Socialists to change their friends in the Middle East. He also recalled that the Arab Socialist Union had accepted his invitation, extended in his capacity as Chairman of the Socialist International's Middle East Study Group, to attend the next meeting of the Study Group.

Bruno Kreisky said the contacts should also be used to inform the Arab Governments and ruling parties about the Socialist International, its member parties and Constitution and asked Hans Janitschek to give this his special attention.

Ron Hayward suggested to send a message of good will to King Hussein, should the visit to Amman be cancelled.

Bruno Kreisky replied that there was a possibility that a meeting with the Prime Minister might be arranged, and that an initiative in this direction could come from the Jordanians.

Michael Harish expressed the support of the Israel Labour Party to the mission, as they had also always supported the activities of the Middle East Study Group. He indicated that the situation in Syria was growing worse politically, following the recent visit of the Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko, and that the mission should have this in mind. He emphasized the urgency of an exchange of prisoners of war.

The meeting was attended by :

Austria :	Bruno Kreisky, Karl Czernetz, Walter Hacker, Hans Thalberg
France :	Robert Pontillon
Germany :	Hans-Eberhard Dingels
Great Britain :	Ron Hayward
Israel :	Michael Harish
Italy :	Pietro Lezzi (PSI)
Japan :	Eki Sone
Netherlands :	Relus ter Beek
Socialist International :	Bruno Pittermann, Hans Janitschek

Apologies were received from Bertil Loeffberg and Bernt Carlsson who could not arrive in time for the meeting.

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The meeting had before it the following papers :

1. Summary of first preparatory meeting (Annex I)
 2. Preliminary time table/itinerary (Annex II)
 3. Provisional list of participants (Annex III)
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CONFIDENTIAL

SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL MISSION TO THE MIDDLE EAST

Preparatory Meeting - Vienna
Saturday, 26 January 1974.

Bruno Kreisky opened the meeting and outlined his basic ideas about the mission :

1. It should be undertaken in two stages :
 - (i) visit to Arab countries and Israel;
 - (ii) visit to remaining Arab countries.
2. He emphasised the importance of Parties being represented by their leaders on the mission. The leaders could be accompanied by Party functionaries. Otherwise, he would prefer to undertake the mission alone.
3. With regard to a time-table; he preferred to wait a little longer before deciding on the exact dates.
4. He emphasised that he had never offered to lead the delegation and that he had been misquoted in the summary of previous discussions prepared by the Secretariat of the Socialist International.
5. Bruno Kreisky also wanted it to be known that he would prefer the mission to be of a fact-finding nature and not to aim at any mediation.
6. He stressed that he did not think it wise to visit Israel first, because :
 - (i) the basic position of the Israel Labour Party and Israel Labour government were known to the Socialist International;
 - (ii) it would be more useful to have talks with Israeli leaders after two to three Arab countries had been visited and their views had been explored.
7. He warned that an International Mission should not put itself into a similar position to Henry Kissinger, who became a commuter between Israel and Egypt.
8. He stressed that every Arab country from which the mission received an invitation should be visited.

9. He emphasised the right of the mission to determine its composition and the sequence of countries to be visited. He said no interference by the Arabs concerning the composition of the mission would be tolerated.

10. He suggested Egypt should be visited first and informed the meeting that he had received information from President Anwar Sadat that the S.I. mission would be welcome at any time, no matter how it was composed.

11. He also stated the Jordanian government had made a request to receive the mission and there had been a similar request from Moamer Kadhafi of Libya. The mission would also be welcome in Algeria, whose President assessed the situation in a most realistic way.

12. Bruno Kreisky was not sure if Saudi Arabia should be visited and he expressed strong doubts about visiting Tunisia and the Lebanon at this stage.

Hans-Jurgen Wischnewski said that the S.P.D. saw the situation very much on the same lines as Bruno Kreisky and wished to express concern about Israel's isolated position.

2. The Socialist International should show its flag in the Middle East but should restrict itself to fact-finding.

3. He repeated his Party's wish that Bruno Kreisky lead the mission.

4. Concerning the sequence of countries to be visited, he recalled that the Bureau's decision to go to Israel, at its meeting in London on December 9, was made in view of the fact that elections were to be held in Israel and the Bureau was anxious not to make any decisions which could be misinterpreted. The situation had now changed and he agreed that Egypt should be visited first. He suggested that the journey to Tel Aviv and Amman could be made by car.

5. He expressed some concern about Libya's attitude vis-à-vis Egypt; he was not in favour of visiting Tunisia in view of President Habib Bourguiba's weak position but he emphasized the need to visit Syria.

6. He recommended contacts with the Arab League in Cairo.

7. He agreed that the mission should be undertaken in two stages.

8. He also emphasised the importance of having top level participation.

9. Finally, Hans-Jurgen Wischnewski urged that the mission visit Algeria, where there was great interest in the Socialist International.

Tom McNally expressed the strong wish of the Labour Party that Bruno Kreisky lead the mission.

2. He said that Harold Wilson would not be able to go in view of the pending elections but that James Callaghan was prepared to join the mission should the dates be convenient.

3. He said that, if the mission were to go to Egypt first, the Israeli Labour Party should be consulted in order to avoid any apprehension on their part. Otherwise, he was in full agreement as far as the list of countries to be visited was concerned, emphasizing the special need to visit Syria.

4. Tom McNally also suggested that contacts with the Palestinians be made and he raised the question as to whether the secretariat of the Socialist International should be represented on the mission.

Bruno Kreisky said that the Israeli Ambassador in Vienna had agreed that Israel need not be the first country to be visited.

2. He suggested that the members of the mission should meet again before their departure and that the Israeli Labour Party be represented at the meeting. This would demonstrate their solidarity with the Israeli Party.

3. Concerning talks with the Palestinians, he mentioned the recent announcement that Pope Paul VI would receive a Palestinian delegation, although he had made quite clear that he wished all sectors of the Palestinian movement to be represented and that the full names of the members of the delegation should be made known to him. Bruno Kreisky said that contacts with Palestinians should be restricted to those persons recommended to the mission by the Arab League.

4. As far as the date of the mission was concerned, he agreed that it should take place during the period following the Austrian Socialist Party conference (to be held February 12-15) and March 6.

Bernt Carlsson said that his Party saw no significance in visiting Israel. As far as visits to Arab countries were concerned, there was no objection to visiting them all, with the exception of Tunisia. But there were also some reservations concerning Libya. He emphasised the need for contacts with the Palestinians.

2. He expressed the hope that Bruno Kreisky would accept the leadership of the mission.

Bruno Pittermann recalled the decision of the Bureau that Israel should be the first country to be visited. If this were to be changed, all Bureau members would have to be asked for their approval. He suggested that the organisation of the mission be the responsibility of the Socialist International secretariat which could establish direct contacts with the countries concerned.

Bruno Kreisky said that it should be left to the leader of the delegation to establish the necessary contacts, with the assistance of the Socialist International secretariat.

2. He said it would be a tactical error to go to Israel first, as the impression would be given that the mission was receiving its instructions there. He said what the Israelis thought to be reasonable was not always reasonable, but he would agree to a Bureau meeting should there be disagreement.

Hans-Jurgen Wischniewski supported the idea that the leader of the delegation should prepare the mission.

2. He did not see any necessity for calling a Bureau meeting, but the question as to when Israel was to be visited should be sorted out with the Israel Labour Party, in consultation with those Parties represented on the mission.

Hans-Eberhard Dingels said that the Bureau decision the mission should first go to Israel should not be interpreted too strictly. Hans Janitschek or Bruno Pittermann could consult with the other member Parties in this matter.

2. He recalled that it was Ian Mikardo who had suggested that Israel be visited first, but that the British Labour Party delegation to the Middle East the following week would visit Egypt first and then Israel.

Bernt Carlsson pointed out that the minutes of the Bureau meeting in which it was decided that Israel should be visited first had not been adopted. For his part, he questioned the accuracy of the summary of the Bureau meeting on January 6 in this context.

In summing up the meeting, Bruno Pittermann said :

- (a) The Israel Labour Party was to be informed of the opinion that Israel should not be visited first but only as the second or third country. Israel should also be informed that the Party would be invited to attend another preparatory meeting prior to the departure of the mission.
- (b) The other Bureau members should be informed accordingly.
- (c) The members of the mission should be informed of the results of soundings to be made of the Arab countries concerned and that they should be invited to another preparatory meeting.

Bruno Kreisky said that the leader of the delegation should be given the right to delegate the leadership of the mission to other members of the delegation or to ask individual members of the mission to undertake certain trips. He said that some members of the delegation, for example Olof Palme or Hans-Jurgen Wischniewski, had particularly good contacts with certain Arab countries.

Tom McNally said such an arrangement could be misunderstood.

Bruno Kreisky agreed not to proceed in the matter and to give it further consideration only when practical.

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The meeting was attended by :

Austria	BRUNO KREISKY
Germany	HANS-JURGEN WISCHNEWSKI HANS-EBERHARD DINGELS
Great Britain	TOM McNALLY
Sweden	BERNT CARLSSON
Socialist International	BRUNO PITTERMANN HANS JANITSCHKE

Apologies were received from FRANÇOIS MITTERRAND (who had, however, given his views to Bruno Kreisky the previous day), ANTONIO CARIGLIA (who had authorised Bruno Kreisky to speak on his behalf), and HARRY VAN DEN BERGH (who had authorised Tom McNally to speak on his behalf).

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The meeting had before it the following papers :

1. A summary of decisions taken by the Bureau of the Socialist International (at its meetings on December 9, 1973 and January 6, 1974) concerning the Socialist International mission to the Middle East (Annex I).
 2. Draft proposals prepared by the Rapporteur Karl Czernetz and Rodney Balcomb (Annex II).
 3. Summary of discussions held at meeting of the Bureau in London on 6 January 1974 (Annex III).
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TIME SCHEDULE

FOR SECURITY REASONS NOT TO BE RELEASED TO THE PRESS
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Saturday, March 9:

12.00	Departure from Vienna
17.00	(local Time - +1) Arrival in Cairo

Sunday, March 10:

Monday, March 11:

Cairo

Tuesday, March 12:

10.00	Departure from Cairo
12.20	Arrival in Damascus

Wednesday, March 13:

13.00	Departure from Damascus
14.00	Arrival in Amman (open)

Thursday, March 14:

10.00	Departure from Amman (open)
	(via Beirut - Nicosia)
around 12.00	Arrival in Jerusalem or Tel Aviv

Friday, March 15:

Jerusalem

Saturday, March 16:

13.00	Departure from Jerusalem (or Tel Aviv) via Athens (re-fueling)
16.30	Arrival in Vienna

SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL MISSION TO THE MIDDLE EAST

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

Austria:

Bruno KREISKY,
Chairman of Austrian Socialist Party,
Prime Minister (Leader of delegation).

France:

Robert PONTILLON,
Member of Executive Committee, French
Socialist Party, National Secretary,
in charge of International Affairs.

Germany:

Hans-Eberhard DINGELS,
International Secretary, SPD.

Great Britain:

Ron HAYWARD,
General Secretary, British Labour Party.

Japan:

Eki SONE,
Foreign Affairs Spokesman, Executive
Committee, Japan Democratic Socialist
Party.

Netherlands:

Relus ter BEEK, M.P.,
Foreign Affairs Spokesman, Dutch
Labour Party, International Secretary.

Sweden:

Bertil LOEFBERG, M.P.,
Minister without portfolio.

Bernt CARLSSON,
International Secretary, Swedish
Social Democratic Party.

Socialist International:

Hans JANITSCHKE,
General Secretary.
