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General Secretary: HANS JANITSCHKE

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Rein-ly
30. JAN. 1974

W. C. Kreisky

Please find attached a summary of the preparatory meeting of parties to be represented on the Socialist International mission to the Middle East which took place in Vienna on January 26 at the invitation of Bruno Kreisky.

I am also sending you a summary of decisions of the Bureau taken in connection with the mission as well as a summary of discussions on that subject which took place at the Bureau meeting in London on January 6.

I would be most grateful if you would let me have your comments on the decisions taken in Vienna on January 26 at your earliest convenience.

With warmest personal regards,

Yours sincerely,

Hans Janitschke
Hans Janitschke.

sent: B.

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 Wischniewski 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 Wischniewski 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 Wischnewski 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 Wischnewski, 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 :

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| 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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