



1 OCT 77

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**INCOMING TELEGRAM**

*Department of State*

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NODS 77

**NODS REVIEW**

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Date: *15 Nov 77*

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ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01    ISO-00    /001 W

O 019302Z OCT 77 ZFF-4  
FM USDEL SECRETARY IN NEW YORK  
TO WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE  
SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE

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FOR THE PRESIDENT AND DR. BRZEZINSKI FROM THE SECRETARY  
STATE FOR CHRISTOPHER

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: OVIP, (XANCE, CYBUS) XF, US, UR, IS  
SUBJ: MIDDLE EAST DISCUSSIONS WITH THE SOVIETS

1. GROMYKO AND I AGREED DURING OUR MEETING THIS MORNING ON THE  
TEXT OF A JOINT SOVIET-U.S. STATEMENT ON THE MIDDLE EAST.  
THE FULL TEXT IS AT THE END OF THIS MESSAGE. I TOLD  
GROMYKO I WOULD NEED SOME TIME TO DISCUSS IT WITH YOU, AND  
WE THEREFORE AGREED TO AIM FOR SIMULTANEOUS RELEASE ON SUNDAY.  
(8PM SATURDAY WASHINGTON TIME).

2. TO A MAJOR EXTENT, WE SUCCEEDED THIS MORNING IN RESOLVING  
THE REMAINING DIFFERENCES OVER LANGUAGE TO OUR  
SATISFACTION. SPECIFICALLY, THE SOVIETS HAVE ACCEPTED A  
REFERENCE TO "NORMAL PEACEFUL RELATIONS" INSTEAD OF SIMPLY  
"PEACE" WHICH THEY PREFERRED. THEY ALSO AGREED TO OUR LANGUAGE  
ON MUTUAL RECOGNITION OF "THE PRINCIPLES" OF SOVEREIGNTY,  
TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE. THE  
SOVIETS HAD WANTED TO REFER TO THE "RIGHT" OF THE PARTIES IN  
THESE RESPECTS WHICH WOULD IN EFFECT HAVE ACKNOWLEDGED THE

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RIGHT OF THE PALESTINIANS TO SOVEREIGNTY SINCE THEY ARE INCLUDED AS A PARTY TO THE CONFLICT ELSEWHERE IN THE STATEMENT. THE SOVIETS ALSO AGREED TO DROP THEIR INSISTENCE ON REFERRING TO THE "LEGITIMATE NATIONAL RIGHTS" OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE. THEY WOULD NOTE, HOWEVER, AGREE TO OUR ALTERNATIVE OF "LEGITIMATE INTERESTS" AND WE FORMALLY SETTLED ON "LEGITIMATE RIGHTS" OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE. THE ISRAELIS WILL NOT LIKE THIS BUT I BELIEVE IT IS DEFENSIBLE IN THE CONTEXT OF THE ENTIRE STATEMENT WHICH CLEARLY PUTS LIMITS ON PALESTINIAN RIGHTS AND IN THE CONTEXT OF WHAT WE HAVE BEEN SAYING ABOUT PALESTINIAN SELF-DETERMINATION AND A HOMETLAND. I EXPECT THE ISRAELIS WILL HAVE DIFFICULTIES WITH OTHER ELEMENTS OF THE JOINT STATEMENT AS WELL WHICH DAYAN WILL PROBABLY CONVEY TO ME THIS AFTERNOON ON THE BASIS OF THE DRAFT TEXT WE PROVIDED THEM YESTERDAY.

3. FINALLY, AT MY SUGGESTION, WE ADDED THIS MORNING A SENTENCE TO THE STATEMENT NOTING THAT THERE STILL EXISTS SEVERAL QUESTIONS OF A PROCEDURAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL NATURE WHICH REMAIN TO BE AGREED UPON BY THE PARTICIPANTS TO THE CONFERENCE. THIS ADDITION FOLLOWED AN EXCHANGE BETWEEN GROMYKO AND ME OVER THE QUESTIONS OF PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATION, GEOGRAPHIC AS OPPOSED TO FUNCTIONAL WORKING GROUPS, AND HOW THE PALESTINIANS SHOULD BE INVITED TO GENEVA. THE SOVIETS SUPPORT THE PLO VIEW THAT THEY SHOULD BE ENTITLED TO CHOOSE WHO WILL REPRESENT THEM AND NOT BE LIMITED TO INDIVIDUALS WHO ARE NOT WELL-KNOWN MEMBERS OF THE PLO. THE SOVIETS ALSO LEAN TOWARD FUNCTIONAL WORKING GROUPS. IN ADDITION, GROMYKO SAID THAT THE PLO INSISTS ON RECEIVING ITS OWN INVITATION TO THE CONFERENCE. I TOLD GROMYKO THAT THE SOVIETS AND WE WERE GOING TO HAVE TO BE PRACTICAL IF WE WERE TO GET TO GENEVA AND,

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PEOPLE, AND LEGAL AND CONTRACTUAL FORMALIZATION OF THE DECISIONS REACHED AT THE CONFERENCE.

IN THEIR CAPACITY OF THE CO-CHAIRMAN OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE, THE USSR AND THE USA AFFIRM THEIR INTENTION THROUGH JOINT EFFORTS AND IN THEIR CONTACTS WITH THE PARTIES CONCERNED TO FACILITATE IN EVERY WAY THE RESUMPTION OF THE WORK OF THE CONFERENCE NOT LATER THAN DECEMBER 1977. THE CO-CHAIRMAN NOTE THAT THERE STILL EXIST SEVERAL QUESTIONS OF A PROCEDURAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL NATURE WHICH REMAIN TO BE AGREED UPON BY THE PARTICIPANTS TO THE CONFERENCE.

3. GUIDED BY THE GOAL OF ACHIEVING A JUST POLITICAL SETTLEMENT IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND OF ELIMINATING THE EXPLOSIVE SITUATION IN THIS AREA OF THE WORLD, THE USSR AND THE USA APPEAL TO ALL THE PARTIES IN THE CONFLICT TO UNDERSTAND THE NECESSITY FOR SOBER CONSIDERATION OF LEGITIMATE RIGHTS AND INTERESTS OF EACH OTHER AND TO DEMONSTRATE MUTUAL READINESS TO ACT ACCORDINGLY.

END TEXT.  
VANCE

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