



HOUSE OF COMMONS
LONDON SW1A 0AA

Rt Hon Mrs M Thatcher MP
Prime Minister
10 Downing Street
London S W 1

11th July 1980

I Margaret

Just a note to thank you very much indeed for your further letter of the 3rd July about the Middle East. I have taken careful note of what you say and will be discussing the contents of your letter, particularly the final paragraph, with colleagues here. We will try to see that the message you want conveyed, reaches its destination.

Y
WA

ADLEY, A.P.
(JORDAN.)

3rd July, 1980

I write further to my letter of 11th June.

You will now have seen the statement issued by the European Council in Venice on 13th June. I hope that it will prove the constructive contribution to peace efforts which it is intended to be.

We are of course in constant and close touch with the Jordanian Government ourselves, but I was nevertheless interested to read your account of the Jordanian Prime Minister's remarks on the Palestinians' ultimate willingness to recognise Israel's right to exist. I very much hope he is right (recent Palestinian statements inevitably make this a hope rather than a belief). But we clearly cannot accept at face value the Palestinian argument that they cannot play their last remaining card until they are sitting at the same table as the Israelis. I see no possibility of the Israelis sitting at a table with the PLO until the PLO have given some clear and open indication that they are prepared to accept Israel's right to exist. So far they have failed to do so.

It is difficult to pressure either side to make the first move but some way must be found to break out of this vicious circle. Simultaneous moves are a possible answer but the possibility of setting this up successfully looks remote in present circumstances. I would only add that I am convinced that the party which does make the first move can only benefit from doing so. I hope that in any contacts you may have with the PLO you will stress this. You might also point out the great damage done to the Palestinian case by pronouncements such as that of the recent Fatah Congress and the PLO reaction to the European Council statement.

Robert Adley, Esq., M.P.



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

24 June 1980

Dear Mr Gow,

X track

ENC

Thank you for your letter of 11 June enclosing a copy of a letter to the Prime Minister from Robert Adley and four other MPs following their recent visit to Jordan.

Like others before them the group were clearly impressed by the Jordanian case. There is a danger of assuming that the moderate Jordanian view is identical to the general Arab view, but the Jordanian Prime Minister's assertion that the Palestinians would certainly recognise Israel's right to exist in the right circumstances deserves attention. At the least it is a welcome antidote to the current crop of hardline rhetoric from PLO sources.

The argument that the Palestinians cannot give away their 'last remaining card' until they are seated round a conference table with the Israelis is the one most commonly advanced in defence of the Palestinian failure to accept Israel openly. It has some validity. But it can of course equally be argued that Israel cannot sit down at a conference table until the PLO have publicly disavowed the aim of the destruction of the 'Zionist' entity. This is the vicious circle which must be broken if progress towards peace is to be possible. The contacts of the Nine's mission with Israel and the PLO will be a chance to explore whether there is any possibility of doing so.

I understand that the Prime Minister is unlikely to see Mr Adley and his colleagues. She may therefore wish to send a reply. I enclose a draft.

yours ever
Rodric Lyne

pp (P Lever)
Private Secretary

Ian Gow Esq
10 Downing Street
London

DRAFT: ~~minute/letter/teleletter/despatch/note~~

TYPE: Draft/Final 1+

FROM:
The Prime Minister

Reference

DEPARTMENT: TEL. NO:

SECURITY CLASSIFICATION

TO:
Mr Robert Adley, MP
House of Commons
LONDON SW1

Your Reference

- Top Secret
- Secret
- Confidential
- Restricted
- Unclassified

Copies to:

PRIVACY MARKING

SUBJECT:

.....In Confidence

I write further to my letter of 11th June.

~~Thank you for your letter of 9 June, which I read with interest.~~

CAVEAT.....

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Enclosures—flag(s).....

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11th June, 1980

The Prime Minister has asked me to send to you a copy of a letter dated 9th June which was sent to her by three Tory M.P.s and two Labour M.P.s following their recent visit to Jordan, and this I now enclose.

IAN GOW

The Right Honourable Lord Carrington, K.C.M.G., M.C.,
Secretary of State for Foreign & Commonwealth Affairs,
Foreign & Commonwealth Office,
Whitehall, London SW1



10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

11th June, 1980

Dear Robert.

Thank you very much for your letter of 9th June, which represented your own views and those of the other four who have just returned from a six day visit to Jordan.

I am most grateful to you for having written as you did, and of course I was particularly interested to hear a first hand account of your visit.

I have sent a copy of your letter to Peter Carrington.

I have asked Ian Gow to have a word with you about the final paragraph of your letter.

Yours ever

Robert Adley, Esq. M.P.
House of Commons,
Westminster, London SW1

Raymond



HOUSE OF COMMONS
LONDON SW1A 0AA

The Rt Hon Margaret Thatcher MP
Prime Minister
10 Downing Street
London S W 1

9th June 1980

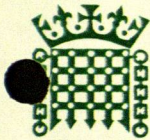
Dear Margaret

We have just returned from a six day visit to Jordan. With the possible exception of one of us, we are not overtly identified with either "side" on the Middle East situation but are anxious to let you know our views as it seems clear to us that the area is again in a state of political turmoil brought about by the continuing occupation of the West Bank by the Israelis. We fear that the present serious situation could again become explosive, particularly in the light of the attitude of the Americans who are not considered to be behaving helpfully towards the conclusion of a peaceful settlement in the area.

Perhaps we could put our views in a nutshell in rather simple terms. The area known as the West Bank, formerly part of Jordan and inhabited by Palestinians is now militarily occupied by Israel. Whatever the rights and wrongs or causes - and it is not our purpose in this letter to argue the past - the fact is that a very large number of people are unable to live in the area in which they were born and bred: and those who are able to, have to live there under the military regime of what they regard as an occupying power. Recent expulsions of Arab Mayors, imposition of curfew, construction of settlements and restrictions of circulation of local newspapers all tend to inflame an already dangerous position. We actually visited the King Hussein Bridge, formerly Allenby Bridge, over the Jordan between east and west and were taken aback to see the large number of Israeli flags placed provocatively at every vantage point along the west bank of the river.

We know feelings on the Israeli side are frequently and articulately put to you and to the Foreign Office but we write as five Members of Parliament concerned frankly only with what is in Britain's national interest and in the interests of world peace. We are not interested

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The Rt Hon Margaret Thatcher MP
9th June 1980

in ascribing rights and wrongs of past behaviour. To us it seems extraordinary that Israel, a country which came in to existence at the behest of the United Nations, seems determined to flout U.N. resolutions demanding their withdrawal from the occupied areas. If President Carter's Presidency had been noted for its wisdom and skilful handling of foreign affairs, we would be less concerned at following in his footsteps on the Middle East issue. Unfortunately it is clear to all of us that the Camp David Agreement - which was supposed to be aimed at reaching a lasting settlement in the Middle East - seems to have little or no chance of succeeding in this objective: and without the achievement of this objective Israel will remain insecure indefinitely.

We met King Hussein just prior to his meeting with you so he will have told you his views. We also had a really useful meeting with the Prime Minister, a most balanced and moderate man. He told us that he was absolutely certain the Palestinians would be willing to recognise Israel's right to exist within secure borders provided that the Israelis recognised the Palestinians right to exist also within secure borders, but the Prime Minister felt it was unrealistic to expect the Palestinians to give away this their last remaining card until they were seated round a conference table with the Israelis.

From our own contacts in the House we believe that there is now a substantial body of opinion which has little faith at all in American foreign policy and its preoccupation with votes during the Presidential Election year. In these circumstances we feel it is urgent and essential that Western Europe produce its own ideas coherently, quietly and urgently.

We hope, therefore, that when you go to the EEC Summit in Venice shortly you will feel able to take with you some support not from the extremists on either side of the argument, but from those of us who sign this letter, who feel that we are perhaps not unrepresentative of moderate Westminster opinion.

We should very much like to spend five or ten minutes with you to tell you face to face about our visit to Jordan, could you perhaps spare us a few minutes in your room in the House within the next few days?

Robert Adley

W. H. Ednyfed Hudson Davies

W. H. Andrew Faulds

Mark Lennox-Boyd

Anthony Nelson

P.S. The two I have
'h.p.'d' fully approve
of & have seen the letter.