

PM

CONFIDENTIAL

40905 - 1

OO JEDDA DESKBY 081130Z  
RR AMMAN  
RR DAMASCUS  
GRS 454  
CONFIDENTIAL  
DESKBY 081130Z  
FM FCO 081010Z DEC 82  
TO IMMEDIATE JEDDA  
TELEGRAM NUMBER 400 OF 8 DECEMBER  
INFO AMMAN RABAT DAMASCUS WASHINGTON TUNIS ALGIERS

ARAB LEAGUE DELEGATION

PLEASE NOW PASS THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM THE PRIME MINISTER  
TO KING FAHD

BEGINS: I THOUGHT I SHOULD LET YOU KNOW HOW DISAPPOINTED I AM  
THAT IT DID NOT PROVE POSSIBLE FOR THE ARAB LEAGUE DELEGATION  
TO VISIT LONDON LAST WEEK. LORD CARRINGTON HAS TOLD ME OF HIS  
CONVERSATIONS WITH CROWN PRINCE ABDULLAH AND PRINCE SULTAN  
DURING HIS RECENT VISIT AND I KNOW HOW DISAPPOINTED YOU WERE TOO.  
THE BRITISH POSITION IS NOT MEANT TO BE RESTRICTIVE OR  
NEGATIVE. OVER THE PAST FIFTEEN YEARS WE HAVE CONTRIBUTED AS  
MUCH AS ANY WESTERN COUNTRY TO THE NOW ALMOST UNIVERSAL  
RECOGNITION THAT THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE HAVE A RIGHT TO SELF-  
DETERMINATION. THE SOONER ALL THE PARTIES TO THE ARAB-ISRAEL  
DISPUTE, AND THOSE WHO WISH TO HELP THEM, CAN SIT DOWN TOGETHER  
AND DISCUSS THE NEXT STEPS WITHIN A REALISTIC AND POSITIVE  
FRAMEWORK, THE SOONER THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE WILL BE PUT IN A  
POSITION TO EXERCISE THAT RIGHT. I DO NOT BELIEVE A CHANGE  
IN BRITISH POLICY OR MINISTERIAL CONTACTS WITH THE PLO, IN THE  
ABSENCE OF STEPS BY THE PLO WHICH WE BELIEVE WOULD GREATLY  
STRENGTHEN THEIR DIPLOMATIC POSITION, ARE LIKELY TO HELP TO  
BRING THIS ABOUT. OUR POSITION ON CONTACTS WITH THE PLO IS  
BASED ON OUR CONVICTION THAT PLO ACCEPTANCE IN PRINCIPLE OF  
ISRAEL'S RIGHT TO EXIST IN PEACE AND SECURITY, IF ISRAEL IS  
PREPARED TO ACCEPT LEGITIMATE PALESTINIAN RIGHTS, AND OF THE  
NEED FOR A SETTLEMENT TO BE REACHED BY PEACEFUL MEANS, IS

/A NECESSARY

1

CONFIDENTIAL



CONFIDENTIAL

40905 - 1

A NECESSARY STEP IF THERE ARE TO BE REALISTIC NEGOTIATIONS ON THE FUTURE OF THE PALESTINIANS. IT IS VITAL FOR BOTH SIDES TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE PRESENT OPPORTUNITIES FOR MAKING PROGRESS TOWARDS A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS.

I BELIEVE THAT THERE IS BROAD AGREEMENT BETWEEN US ON MANY ASPECTS OF THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM; AND I AM SADDENED THAT THIS PRESENT DISAGREEMENT SHOULD HAVE ARISEN WHEN I WAS SO MUCH LOOKING FORWARD TO DISCUSSING THESE ISSUES WITH KING HASSAN AND HIS DELEGATION. I HOPE A WAY CAN BE FOUND, CONSISTENT WITH THE PRINCIPLES AND POLICIES OF OURSELVES AND THE ARAB PEOPLES, FOR THE ARAB LEAGUE DELEGATION TO COME TO LONDON AND FOR US TO HAVE THE PLEASURE OF RECEIVING THEM. I SHOULD LIKE TO ASSURE YOU IN ANY EVENT THAT WE SHALL CONTINUE TO PLAY AN ACTIVE PART AS WE CAN IN THE SEARCH FOR A JUST AND LASTING PEACE. WE HAVE FOR EXAMPLE BEEN PRESSING THE AMERICANS HARD ON THE URGENT NEED FOR ISRAEL TO IMPLEMENT THE SETTLEMENTS FREEZE PROPOSED BY PRESIDENT REAGAN. IT GOES WITHOUT SAYING THAT I ATTACH THE GREATEST POSSIBLE IMPORTANCE TO HAVING THE VIEWS OF YOUR MAJESTY ON THIS AND OTHER MATTERS OF SUCH CONCERN TO BOTH OUR COUNTRIES. ENDS

PYM

STANDARD

NENAD  
MED  
NAD  
SAD  
UND  
EESD  
ECD  
WED  
RID

SECURITY D  
MAED  
ES & SD  
ERD  
ESID  
CONS D  
CONS EM UNIT  
CABINET OFFICE

ADDITIONAL DISTRIBUTION

ARAB/ISRAEL DISPUTE

CONFIDENTIAL



CFK

*With the compliments of*

NEAR EAST AND NORTH AFRICA  
DEPARTMENT

*As Requested for Despatch to N<sup>o</sup> 10.*

*Jerry Colman*

FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE  
LONDON, SW1A 2AH



REVISED DRAFT MESSAGE TO KING FAHD

I thought I should let you know how disappointed I am that it did not prove possible for the Arab League Delegation to visit London last week. Lord Carrington has told me of his conversations with Crown Prince Abdullah and Prince Sultan during his recent visit and I know how disappointed you were too.

The British position is not meant to be restrictive or negative. Over the past fifteen years we have contributed as much as any Western country to the now almost universal recognition that the Palestinian people have a right to self-determination. The sooner all the parties to the Arab-Israel dispute, and those who wish to help them, can sit down together and discuss the next steps within a realistic and positive framework, the sooner the Palestinian people will be put in a position to exercise that right. I do not believe a change in British policy or ministerial contacts with the PLO, in the absence of steps by the PLO which we believe would greatly strengthen their diplomatic position are likely to help to bring this about. Our position on contacts with the PLO is based on our conviction that PLO acceptance in principle of Israel's right to exist in peace and security, if Israel is prepared to accept legitimate Palestinian rights, and of the need for a settlement to be reached by peaceful means, is a necessary step if there are to be realistic negotiations on the future of the Palestinians. It is vital for both sides to take advantage of the present opportunities for making progress towards a peaceful settlement through negotiations.

I believe that there is broad agreement between us on many aspects of the Palestinian problem: and I am saddened that this present disagreement should have arisen when I was so much looking forward to discussing these issues with King Hassan and his Delegation. I hope a way can be found, consistent with the principles and policies of ourselves and the Arab peoples, for the Arab League Delegation to come to London and for us to have the pleasure of receiving them. I should like to assure you in any event that we shall continue to play as active a part as we can in the search for a just and lasting peace. We have, for example, been pressing the Americans hard on the urgent need for Israel to implement the settlements freeze proposed by President Reagan. It goes without saying that I attach the greatest possible importance to having the views of Your Majesty on this and other matters of such concern to both our countries.





FILE

107

PM

10 DOWNING STREET

*From the Private Secretary*

8 December, 1982

ARAB LEAGUE DELEGATION

The Prime Minister has approved the revised message from herself to King Fahd, subject to some minor drafting changes which I have conveyed to you on the telephone.

I enclose the version which the Prime Minister has approved.

E. L. DOLES

J.E. Holmes, Esq.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office





Prime Minister

The message you signed to Foreign and Commonwealth Office  
King Fahd has not been delivered. London SW1A 2AH  
Mr. Pym now suggests a shorter and  
slightly different one (in particular, he thinks  
you should refer to Lord Carrington's visit to  
Saudi Arabia).

6 December, 1982

Content with revised message?

Dear John,

A.J.C. 7/12

Yes not

Arab League Delegation

Our Ambassador in Jedda has reported that King Fahd is still in Morocco and that the Foreign Minister, Prince Saud, would be leaving to join the Arab League Delegation in Moscow before the Embassy could reach him with the message. Sir James Craig has therefore deferred delivery of the message to King Fahd. He has also suggested that the message might usefully be revised to reflect Lord Carrington's conversations with senior Saudi Ministers, on which the Embassy had not reported when the Prime Minister's message was drafted. Lord Carrington also told the Saudis that he would be seeing the Prime Minister. The message might have more impact if it referred to this also.

With this in mind the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary recommends the attached revised draft for the message. It is also shorter than the original, reflecting Mr Pym's belief that with the passage of time it would be less appropriate to cover in detail the events leading up to the despatch of the British proposal for a compromise.

Mr Pym believes that we shall not have lost any advantage in the delay. The next significant date is the meeting in Tunis on 13 December of the Arab Boycott Committee at which, as Lord Carrington may have mentioned to the Prime Minister, there are expectations that the Delegation's failure to visit London will be raised. The despatch of the message to King Fahd in the first half of next week would therefore be timely.

The Prime Minister may also wish to be aware that Mr Pym was in any case planning to visit the Gulf early next year. He had thought of going to the smaller Gulf countries in January and Saudi Arabia and Kuwait in February but now proposes to suggest to the Saudis that he visit Saudi Arabia in early January.

Yours ever

John Holmes

(J E Holmes)  
Private Secretary

A J Coles Esq  
10 Downing Street



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 1AA



6 DEC 1982





## REVISED DRAFT TEXT TO KING FAHD

I thought I should let you know how disappointed I am that it <sup>did</sup> ~~has~~ not proved possible for the Arab League Delegation to ~~have~~ ~~visited~~ London last week. Lord Carrington has told me of his conversations with Crown Prince Abdullah and Prince Sultan during his recent visit and I know how disappointed you were too.

The British position is not meant to be restrictive or negative. Over the past fifteen years we have contributed as much as any Western country to the now almost universal recognition that the Palestinian people have a right to self-determination. The sooner all the parties to the Arab-Israel dispute, and those who wish to help them, can sit down together and discuss the next steps within a realistic and positive framework, the sooner the Palestinian people will be put in a position to exercise that right. I do not ~~honestly~~ believe a change in British policy or ministerial contacts with the PLO, in the absence of steps by the PLO which we believe would greatly strengthen their diplomatic position, <sup>or</sup> ~~is~~ likely to help to bring this about. Our position on contacts with the PLO <sup>is based on</sup> ~~aims to underline~~ our conviction that PLO acceptance in principle of Israel's right to exist in peace and security, if Israel is prepared to accept legitimate Palestinian rights, and of the need for a settlement to be reached by peaceful means, is a necessary step if there are to be realistic negotiations on the future of the Palestinians. ~~We believe that~~ <sup>it</sup> is vital for



both sides to take advantage of the present opportunities for making progress towards a peaceful settlement through negotiations.

I believe that there is a broad ~~area of~~ agreement between us on many aspects of the Palestinian problem: and I am saddened that this present disagreement should have arisen when I was so much looking forward to discussing these issues with King Hassan and his Delegation. I hope a way can be found, consistent with the principles and policies of ourselves and the Arab peoples, for the Arab League Delegation to come to London and for us to have the pleasure of receiving them. I should like to assure you in any event that we shall continue to play as active a part as we can in the search for a just and lasting peace. We have for example been pressing the Americans hard on the urgent need for Israel to implement the settlements freeze proposed by President Reagan. It goes without saying that I attach the greatest possible importance to having the views of Your Majesty on this and other matters of such concern to both our countries.





PM.

Es

10 DOWNING STREET

*From the Private Secretary*

2 December, 1982.

BF (cels)

Cancellation of Arab League Delegation Visit

Thank you for your letter of 30 November in which, inter alia, you propose that the Prime Minister should send messages to King Hussein and King Fahd about the visit by the Arab League Delegation.

As I told you on the telephone yesterday, the Prime Minister has approved slightly amended versions of the two messages, which can now be despatched. I enclose the amended texts.

A. J. COLES

J.E. Holmes, Esq.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

B



MESSAGE TO KING FAHD

Your Majesty,

May I thank you for your message, given by Crown Prince Abdullah to Sir James Craig on 28 November, expressing concern about the British position as regards the Arab League delegation's proposed visit to London.

I thought I should let you know how disappointed I am that it has not proved possible for the Delegation to come here this week.

When the visit was first proposed, we had a series of preliminary discussions with the Moroccan Government in which they raised, informally, the question of PLO participation in the Delegation. We explained the well-known British position on high-level contacts with the PLO. And we were subsequently told that King Hassan would be accompanied by the six Foreign Ministers and the Secretary General of the Arab League. We understood that there would be no PLO representative, even though of course we knew that this would have been the Arab preference. When despite this a formal request to us to agree to PLO participation was put to us last week, supported by messages from Your Majesty and from some other Arab leaders, we were faced with the need to settle the matter in the few days remaining to us. Our proposal of 26 November was intended as a positive and constructive response to bridge the gap. The suggestion was not that the Arab side should make or sign any statement, but that the British side should be in a position to make a statement along the lines indicated.

As regards the reference in the statement to terrorism, which HRH Prince Saud discussed with Sir James Craig, our proposal was that the British statement should say that the members of the visiting delegation 'confirm their rejection of terrorism'. I am of course aware that the resolutions of the

/ Palestine



Palestine National Council held in 1981 include a form of words condemning terrorism. Still more important, I am aware of Your Majesty's resolute opposition to terrorism, of which Saudi Arabia, like so many other countries, has sometimes been the target. It would be valuable if the PLO, in association with Arab Governments, could reaffirm its categoric condemnation, and the proposal we made was intended simply to achieve that purpose, thereby destroying one of the arguments most frequently used to discredit the PLO and the Palestinian cause.

The British position is not meant to be restrictive or negative. The sooner all the parties to the Arab-Israel dispute and those who wish to help them can sit down together and discuss the next steps within a realistic and positive framework, the sooner the Palestinian people will be put in a position to exercise their right of self-determination. I do not think that a change in British policy towards the PLO, in the absence of any clear step forward by them, at least a conditional move, will help to bring this about. Our position on contacts with the PLO, which is wholly consistent with the Venice Declaration, aims to underline our conviction that PLO acceptance in principle of Israel's right to exist in peace and security, if Israel is prepared to accept legitimate Palestinian rights, is a necessary step if there are to be realistic negotiations on the future of the Palestinians. We believe that it is vital for both sides to take advantage of the present opportunities for making progress towards negotiations; and inevitably this will mean both sides having to compromise on their maximum demands.

I am saddened that this misunderstanding should have arisen, for I believe there is a broad area of agreement between us on many other aspects of the Palestinian problem. I hope a way can be found, consistent with the principles and policies of ourselves and the Arab peoples, for the Arab League Delegation to come to London and for us to have the pleasure of receiving them.



I should like to assure you in any event that we shall continue to play as active a part as we can in the search for a just and lasting peace. We have for example been pressing the Americans hard on the urgent need for Israel to implement the settlements freeze proposed by President Reagan. It goes without saying that I attach the greatest possible importance to having the views of Your Majesty on this and other matters of such concern to both our countries.

MARGARET THATCHER





Prime Minister

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

I think it is important to put our position clearly to Jordan and Saudi Arabia (I mind much less about Morocco).

2. Agree to send these messages to King Hussein and King Fahd?

30 November, 1982

Dear John,

A.S.C.  $\frac{30}{11}$

*Dr. J. Pym amended*  
*Yes Mr.*

Cancellation of Arab League Delegation Visit

The Moroccans have now confirmed officially that the Arab League delegation will not be coming to London this week. As you will have seen from the note I sent you for the Prime Minister's meeting with a group of MPs on 29 November, the UK is currently the subject of widespread criticism in the Arab world; and it will be necessary to make a robust defence of our position. I enclose / a draft message from the Prime Minister to King Hussein in response / to the King's message (Amman telno 518 enclosed) and a draft / message to King Fahd, who communicated his reaction to our proposal / through Crown Prince Abdullah in Riyadh (Riyadh telno 69 enclosed).

We are considering how best to respond to the unfriendly / message from the Moroccans (Rabat telno 474 enclosed). This can be handled more slowly.

The cancellation of the visit has not so far received much press coverage in this country, although there have already been critical comments in the Arab press and these are likely to grow and attract attention here. We have taken the line in public that the formal request to include a PLO representative was made late; that we considered it seriously; and that on 26 November we made / a proposal to the members of the delegation, which if accepted would have meant that they could all be received in London, and that the search for a peaceful settlement would have been taken a step further. We are adding that we remain in touch with the parties concerned.

The draft statement which we put to the Arab side has not so far been published by the Arabs. Mr Pym believes that it is in our interest not to release it ourselves unless we are forced to do so by inaccurate leaks from the Arabs.

*Yours ever*  
*John Holmes*

A J Coles Esq  
Private Secretary  
10 Downing Street

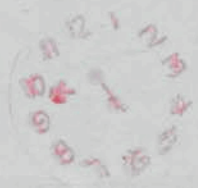
(J E Holmes)  
Private Secretary

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 1AA



30 NOV 1982





CONFIDENTIAL

## DRAFT MESSAGE TO KING FAHAD

Your Majesty,

May I thank you for your message, given by Crown Prince Abdullah to Sir James Craig on 28 November, expressing concern about the British position as regards the Arab League delegation's proposed visit to London.

I thought I should let you know how disappointed I am that it has not proved possible for the Delegation to come here this week.

When the visit was first proposed, we had a series of preliminary discussions with the Moroccan Government in which they raised, informally, the question of PLO participation in the Delegation. We explained the well-known British position on high-level contacts with the PLO. and we were subsequently told that King Hassan would be accompanied by the six Foreign Ministers and the Secretary General of the Arab League. We understood that there would be no PLO representative, even though of course we knew that this would have been the Arab preference. When despite this a formal request to us to agree to PLO participation was put to us last week, supported by messages from Your Majesty and from some other Arab leaders, we were faced with the need to settle the matter in the few days remaining to us. Our proposal of 26 November was intended as a positive and constructive response to bridge the gap. The suggestion was not that the Arab side should make or sign any statement, but that the British side should <sup>be in a position to</sup> make a statement along the lines indicated.



As regards the reference in the statement to terrorism, which HRH Prince Saud discussed with Sir James Craig, our proposal was that the British statement should say that the members of the visiting delegation 'confirm their rejection of terrorism'. I am of course aware that the resolutions of the Palestine National Council held in 1981 include a form of words condemning terrorism. Still more important, I am aware of Your Majesty's resolute opposition to terrorism, of which Saudi Arabia, like so many other countries, has sometimes been the target. It would be valuable if the PLO, in association with Arab Governments, could reaffirm its categorical condemnation, and the proposal we made was intended simply to achieve that purpose, thereby destroying one of the arguments most frequently used to discredit the PLO and the Palestinian cause.

The British position is not meant to be restrictive or negative. The sooner all the parties to the Arab-Israel dispute and those who wish to help them can sit down together and discuss the next steps within a realistic and positive framework, the sooner the Palestinian people will be put in a position to exercise their right of self-determination. I do not think that a change in British policy towards the PLO, in the absence of any clear step forward by them, at least a conditional move, will help to bring this about. Our position on contacts with the PLO, which is wholly consistent with the Venice Declaration, aims to underline our conviction that PLO acceptance in principle of Israel's right to exist in peace and security.



if Israel is prepared to accept legitimate Palestinian rights, is a necessary step if there are to be realistic negotiations on the future of the Palestinians. We believe that it is vital for both sides to take advantage of the present opportunities for making progress towards negotiations; and inevitably this will mean both sides having to compromise on their maximum demands.

I am saddened that this misunderstanding should have arisen, for I believe there is a broad area of agreement between us on many other aspects of the Palestinian problem. I hope a way can be found, consistent with the principles and policies of ourselves and the Arabs, for the Arab League Delegation to come to London and <sup>people</sup> be appropriately received. I should like to assure you in any event that we shall continue to play an active part as we can in the search for a just and lasting peace. We have for example been pressing the Americans hard on the urgent need for Israel to implement the settlements freeze proposed by President Reagan. It goes without saying that I attach the greatest possible importance to having the views of Your Majesty on this and other matters of such concern to both our countries.

Have the

pleasure of receiving them

for us to