

Prime Minister



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

27 January 1986

Agree to these three messages to King Fahd, President Mubarak and King Hussein? I do not think they breach Mr. Peres' confidence - Joan Charles, they generally reflect points he made in other meetings as well.

The Foreign Secretary proposes that you write to Mr. Arab/Israel: Messages to Arab Leaders

Sir Geoffrey Howe will reflect over the next few days on how we should reply to Mr Shultz's message of 13 January, taking into account our talks with King Hussein and Mr Peres. Unless the Prime Minister prefers to write to President Reagan he believes that he should send a message to Mr Shultz focussing on our views on the question of Palestinian participation in negotiations, the suggestion for a possible British role in arranging preliminary talks put forward by Mr Peres in his discussion with the Prime Minister (your letter of 22 January) and the need to bring the Soviet Union round to a constructive role.

President Reagan - Agree? COP 27/1 [The

Other messages say that you will]

The Foreign Secretary does not consider that further reflection on the terms of a substantive message to the Americans need inhibit us from sending early accounts of the talks with Mr Peres to Arab leaders. Sir Geoffrey said during his visit to Saudi Arabia that the Prime Minister would send King Fahd an account of her talks with both King Hussein and Mr Peres. Sir Geoffrey recommends that the Prime Minister should also send a message to King Hussein. The Prime Minister will wish to consider whether on this occasion it would be right to refer specifically to Mr Peres' proposals for a possible British role in arranging a meeting between Israel and Jordan. Mr Peres appears to have indicated to some of his contacts during his visit his expectation that we should be prepared to respond positively. Sir Geoffrey is certainly not disposed to dismiss this possibility. But he thinks that we should avoid giving King Hussein the impression that we are preparing him to accept what he may see as a very risky course of action. Sir Geoffrey would prefer to wait until we know whether he favours it before we indicate willingness to help. The draft message does not at present cover this point.

President Mubarak is in France and the Federal Republic of Germany this week. He recently received the Italian Prime Minister in Cairo. As you know, we told the Egyptian Ambassador that a stopover in London this week would not be convenient. Sir Geoffrey therefore recommends that the Prime Minister should also send a message to President Mubarak.

/I enclose

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/ I enclose suggested draft messages which, if the Prime Minister is content, might be telegraphed to our posts and delivered by HM Ambassadors.

Yours ever,

Robert Culshaw

(R N Culshaw)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

CONFIDENTIAL

OUT TELEGRAM

	Classification CONFIDENTIAL	Caveat	Precedence IMMEDIATE
ZCZC TC CAVEAT FM TO TELNO OF AND TO	1 ZCZC 2 CONFIDENTIAL 3 4 FM FCO 5 TO IMMEDIATE RIYADH 6 TELNO 7 OF 241415Z JANUARY 86 8 9 10 ARAB/ISRAEL 11 12 1. Please pass following message to King Fahd from the Prime 13 Minister. 14 Begins: Sir Geoffrey Howe has told me of the valuable discussions 15 which he had with Your Majesty during his visit to Saudi Arabia 16 earlier this month. I attach great importance to maintaining our 17 regular exchange about regional problems, especially efforts to 18 achieve a just and lasting settlement of the Palestinian problem 19 which would allow all the states and peoples of the area to live 20 in peace and security. I therefore want to share with Your 21 Majesty my personal impressions following the talks which 22 Geoffrey Howe and I had with Mr Peres. Our discussions were 23 devoted almost entirely to analysis of ways of making early 24 progress to overcome the remaining obstacles to the start of an 25 International Conference. /// 26 I ^{well} fully understand why it is essential for King Hussein that // 27 negotiations should take place within the framework of an / 28 international conference which enjoys wide support among the 29 Palestinian people and the Arab world as a whole. I believe that	(Empty space for message content)	
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YYYY MAIN ADDITIONAL NNNN	Catchword:		
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	Telephone no 233 6048		
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OUT TELEGRAM (CONT)

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2 Mr Peres also now accepts this. He made clear in his talks with
 3 me the strength of his commitment to start negotiations and his
 4 willingness to envisage an international conference. He would
 5 prefer to carry his coalition partners with him on this but his
 6 room for manoeuvre is limited. I urged Mr Peres to be as
 7 flexible as possible and to take full account of Arab concerns.
 8 I believe that he is sincere and would genuinely like to find a
 9 way to overcome the remaining difficulties on conference
 10 procedures and the vital question of Palestinian representation.

11 Mr Peres is confident that there is scope for broad agreement
 12 among the parties on the nature and role of an international
 13 conference. Nevertheless, there is still important work to be
 14 done, in particular in determining the ~~context~~^{extent} to which the
 15 detailed negotiations would be the affair of the conference as a
 16 whole, or of working groups with more limited participation. Mr
 17 Peres repeated his willingness to accept involvement in a
 18 conference by permanent members of the Security Council in
 19 diplomatic relations with Israel but he does not believe that the
 20 Soviet Union had abandoned its ^{my} helpful attitude. I know that you
 21 too share my reservations about Soviet policies towards the
 22 region. I hope that President Reagan will feel able to explore
 23 further with Mr Gorbachev the scope for persuading the Soviet
 24 Union to play a constructive role in ^a conference. Mr Peres was
 25 also deeply sceptical about the Syrian attitude. You have been
 26 active in encouraging President Asad and King Hussein to improve
 27 their relationship. King Hussein tells me that he believes that
 28 he has made a good start in his meeting with President Asad. I
 29 hope that it will ~~never~~^{now} be possible for Syria and Jordan to work
 30 closely together towards negotiations.

/// 31 You ~~may~~ know that I strongly believe that if negotiations are
 // 32 to have any chance of success it is vital to involve
 / 33 authoritative representatives of the Palestinian people. I think
 34 that Mr Peres now accepts this although involvement of

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 2 representatives of the Palestinian Liberation Organisation causes
 3 him great difficulty. But he acknowledged that a clear and
 4 explicit statement by the PLO of their acceptance of Security
 5 Council Resolutions 242 and 338 would be an important
 6 development.

7 I also spoke frankly to Mr Peres of my concern about
 8 conditions in the Arab territories occupied by Israel, and
 9 ~~especially in the Holy City of Jerusalem.~~ Sir Geoffrey Howe told
 10 me of Your Majesty's own acute concern over recent developments
 11 there. I am convinced that this is an area in which Israel can
 12 and should make important changes and would be seen in the Arab
 13 world as a significant gesture to increase confidence ^{IN} of Israel's
 14 commitment to peace.

15 Efforts to get peace negotiations started are now at a
 16 delicate stage. I shall also give President Reagan an account of
 17 my impressions and encouraging him to use his personal influence
 18 to achieve early progress before the present opportunity is lost.
 19 I can assure Your Majesty that we shall be ready to help in any
 20 way we can.

21 I continue to take a close personal interest in the progress
 22 of negotiations for the sale of Tornados. I understand that these
 23 are progressing well and that the first 6 Tornados are well on
 24 their way to delivery within the agreed timetable. I know that
 25 RAF and RSAF officers involved with the project have built up a
 26 close relationship. The RAF have been very impressed by the
 27 skills and knowledge of the first group of Saudi Arabian Tornado
 28 pilots who have now completed the first stage of their training at
 29 RAF Cottesmore.

30 I am delighted by the continuing close co-operation between
 31 our two countries and send my best wishes to Your Majesty.
 32 **ENDS**
 33 **HOWE**
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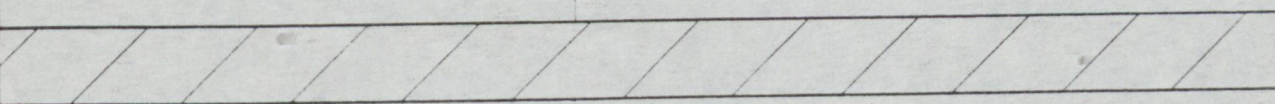
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YYYY MAIN ADDITIONAL NNNN	Catchword: Mr Peres		
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Mr Peres is confident that there is already a broad area of agreement between Israel and Jordan on the nature and role of an International Conference. He attaches importance to ensuring that the Conference should not be a substitute for direct negotiations and should not be able to impose solutions or over-rule the parties. He told me that he had discussed with Mr Murphy a way of meeting your requirement that if after thorough consultations the bilateral working groups reached a stalemate the parties could have recourse to the Conference as a whole. So far as concerns involvement by members of the Security Council, Mr Peres insisted that Soviet participation would depend on the readiness of the Soviet Union to establish diplomatic relations with Israel. But he did not believe that the Soviet attitude to a Conference had changed. I shall be suggesting to President Reagan that he should explore further with Mr Gorbachev the scope for flexibility on this point. Mr Peres also expressed deep scepticism about the prospects of Syria playing a constructive role. Anything which you can do to allay his fears about this would be very helpful.

21

Mr Peres is aware of my strongly-held view that if the negotiations are to have any chance of success it is vital that the Palestinian representatives should be people with authority. As agreed with you, I asked him whether Israel would agree to PLO participation in a Conference if they renounced violence and accepted Resolutions 242 and 338. Mr Peres replied that for Israel the most important issue was terrorism and the PLO would be judged by their actions. But a clear and explicit statement on the two UN Resolutions without conditions would be an important change. The Israelis would then have to consider their position carefully.

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We also raised with Mr Peres the question of the harsh conditions in which the Palestinian inhabitants of the Occupied Territories have to live. I told him that their miserable

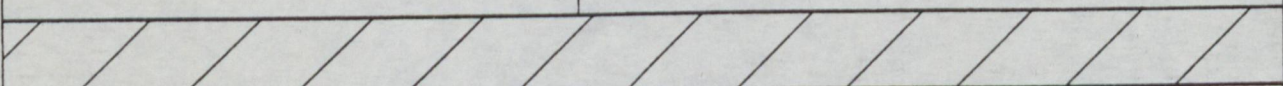
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 plight did no good to anyone, least of all Israel. Real
 improvements would be a gesture of confidence. I hope that when
 I visit Israel in the summer I shall be able to report some
 improvement.
 I know that you are keen to move ahead as fast as possible
 but that you must be sure of the wholehearted support of the
 Palestinians and of other Arab countries. You can count on our
 readiness to help you in any way we can. I shall be in touch
 with President Reagan about my discussions with you and Mr Peres
 and shall stress that early progress is essential. I am
 grateful to you for keeping John Coles closely in touch with
 your thinking. You have my fullest support and admiration in so
 courageously facing these immense challenges before the
 opportunity slips. ENDS

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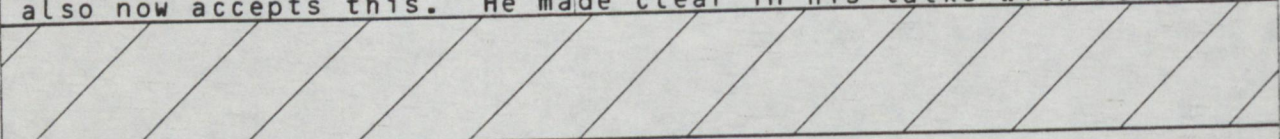
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10 ARAB/ISRAEL

12 1. Please pass following message to President Mubarak from the
13 Prime Minister.
14 Begins: As you may know King Hussein has been in London recently
15 and I had a talk with him on 16 January which was particularly
16 useful just before the visit to London of the Israeli Prime
17 Minister last week. In view of the important contribution which
18 you personally have made towards the goal which we all share of a
19 start to peace negotiations, I want to let you have my personal
20 impressions following the talks which Geoffrey Howe and I had
21 with Mr Peres. Our discussions which were open and constructive
22 were devoted almost entirely to analysis of ways of making early
23 progress to overcome the remaining obstacles to the start of an
24 International Conference.
25 I fully understand why it is essential for King Hussein that
26 negotiations should take place within the framework of an
27 international conference which has ^{wide} the support ^{among} of the Palestinian
28 people and the Arab world, ~~as a whole~~. I believe that Mr Peres
29 also now accepts this. He made clear in his talks with me the

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2 strength of his commitment to start negotiations and his
3 willingness to envisage an international conference. He would
4 prefer to carry his coalition partners with him on this but his
5 room for manoeuvre is limited. I urged Mr Peres to be as
6 flexible as possible and to take full account of Arab concerns.
7 I believe that he is sincere and would genuinely like to find a
8 way to overcome the remaining difficulties on conference
9 procedures and the vital question of Palestinian representation.
10 Mr Peres is confident that there is a broad area of agreement
11 between Israel and Jordan on the nature and role of ^{an} international
12 conference. Nevertheless there is still work to be done in
13 reconciling the Jordanian wish that the conference should have a
14 continuing role and Mr Peres' wish that the conference should not
15 be able to impose solutions or overrule decisions reached by the
16 parties through direct negotiation. ~~So~~ Mr Peres repeated his
17 willingness to accept involvement in a conference by permanent
18 members of the Security Council but he does not believe that the
19 Soviet attitude has changed. I hope that President Reagan will
20 feel able to explore further with Mr Gorbachev the scope for
21 persuading the Soviet Union to play a constructive role. Mr
22 Peres was also deeply sceptical about the Syrian attitude. King
23 Hussein tells me that he believes he has made a good start in
24 rebuilding his relationship with President Asad. I hope that he
25 will succeed in persuading the Syrians that the actions he
26 envisages deserve support.
27 As you know from our previous discussions I strongly believe
28 that if negotiations are to have any chance of success it is
29 vital to involve authoritative representatives of the Palestinian
30 people. I believe that Mr Peres now accepts this although
31 involvement of representatives of the Palestinian Liberation
32 Organisation causes him great difficulty. But he acknowledged
33 that a clear and explicit statement by the PLO of their
34 acceptance of Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 would be

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 an important development.
 We also raised with Mr Peres the question of the ~~harsh~~
 conditions in which the Palestinian inhabitants of the Occupied
 Territories have to live. I told him that their ~~miserable~~ plight
 did no good to anyone, least of all to Israel. I am convinced
 that real improvements in this area would be a significant
 gesture of confidence. I hope that when I visit Israel in the
 summer I shall be able to report some improvement.
 Efforts to get negotiations started are now at a delicate
 stage. I know that you are working closely with King Hussein.
 The ~~courageous~~ efforts which you have made to reach agreement
 with Israel in the dispute over Taba are a vital ingredient in
 building confidence. I greatly value our exchanges on these
 important issues. You know that you can count on us to help in
 any way we can. I look forward to keeping closely in touch with
 your thinking in the weeks ahead. Ends.

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