SUBJECT CC OPS Master. PRIME MINISTER'S PERSONAL MESSAGE SERIAL No. TO 180

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## ARAB/ISRAEL

1. PLEASE PASS FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO KING HUSSEIN FROM THE PRIME MINISTER.

BEGINS I GREATLY VALUED OUR MEETING ON 16 JANUARY AND YOUR CLEAR AND FRANK ANALYSIS OF LATEST DEVELOPMENTS IN YOUR EFFORTS TO GET PEACE NEGOTIATIONS STARTED. AS WE DISCUSSED THEN, I AM SENDING YOU MY PERSONAL IMPRESSIONS OF THE TALKS WHICH GEOFFREY HOWE AND I HAD WITH MR PERES DURING HIS VISIT TO LONDON LAST WEEK. THESE WERE DEVOTED ALMOST ENTIRELY TO ANALYSIS OF WAYS OF MAKING EARLY PROGRESS TO OVERCOME THE REMAINING OBSTACLES TO THE START OF NEGOTIATIONS.

MR PERES MADE CLEAR THE STRENGTH OF HIS COMMITMENT TO START NEGOTIATIONS AND HIS WILLINGNESS TO ENVISAGE AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE. HE WOULD PREFER TO CARRY HIS COALITION PARTNERS WITH HIM ON THIS BUT HIS ROOM FOR MANOEUVRE IS LIMITED. I URGED HIM TO BE AS FLEXIBLE AS POSSIBLE AND TO TAKE FULL ACCOUNT OF YOUR CONCERNS. I BELIEVE THAT HE IS SINCERE AND WOULD GENUINELY LIKE TO FIND A WAY TO OVERCOME REMAINING DIFFERENCES ON CON-FERENCE PROCEDURES AND THE KEY QUESTION OF PALESTINIAN REPRESEN-TATION.

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.

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.

WE ALSO RAISED WITH MR PERES THE QUESTION OF THE CONDITIONS IN WHICH THE PALESTINIAN INHABITANTS OF THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES HAVE TO LIVE. I TOLD HIM THAT THEIR 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 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 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 GRATEFUL TO YOU HAVE MY FULLEST SUPPORT AND ADMIRATION IN SO 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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