

Prime Minister.



I find the idea of inviting both India and Pakistan to mediate rather strange.

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

The F.C.O. agree that if we choose one the other will be offended - and that it is anyway unlikely that both will accept. The alternative would be just to invite Pakistan.

24 February 1984

Agree to messages?

A.F.C. 24/2.

I don't like this with Chris - I believe it can only cause trouble not

Dear John,

Iran/Iraq

with AFE (JPM)

In my letter of 23 January I undertook to write to you further about diplomatic activity we could encourage in an effort to promote mediation between Iran and Iraq. What follows should be seen as complementary to the review of Gulf contingency planning to be conducted by the Cabinet Office.

The UN Secretary General remains the best hope, but his more recent attempt to send a Mission to Baghdad and Tehran has collapsed because Iran refused to engage in any political discussion. We are instructing UKMIS New York to urge the Secretary General to continue his efforts. We have also considered which other countries could be encouraged to mediate.

Japan has recently attempted to negotiate a partial ceasefire involving oil and economic facilities. This has not succeeded and the effort has damaged Japan's standing, probably with both protagonists. We do not think it would be worth urging Japan to make any fresh moves at present. The Algerians followed up their successful management of negotiations for the release of the US hostages by mediation efforts. In the end, they were rebuffed by Iran. We are, however, instructing Mr Munro to seek the Algerian Government's views on the chance of their re-entering the field.

The two countries currently best placed to mediate in the war, if anyone can, are probably India and Pakistan. In 1981, the Non-Aligned Movement formed a committee under the chairmanship of Mrs Gandhi to investigate the possibility of mediation. These efforts achieved little. Mrs Gandhi's mandate was renewed in March 1983 when India took on the Presidency of the NAM: but India, which obtains oil from both Iran and Iraq, has hitherto tried to avoid becoming embroiled in the dispute. A message from the Prime Minister might, however, remind Mrs Gandhi of her moral obligation to keep on trying.

/Pakistan



Pakistan is one of Iran's few remaining friends in the international community. Iran is keen to resurrect the Regional Council for Development, made up of Iran, Pakistan and Turkey; Iran/Pakistan trade is now ten times the pre-revolutionary level. Pakistan was a member of the mediation committee appointed by the 1981 Islamic Conference which made no more progress than its NAM counterpart. It was hoped that the Islamic Summit Meeting in Casablanca in January might have provided an opportunity for a fresh initiative. Iran, however, refused to attend the Summit because it was held in Morocco, and a resolution was eventually passed in favour of Iraq. Nonetheless, a message from the Prime Minister to President Zia might encourage him to seek again to mediate on behalf of the Islamic Conference.

I attach draft messages from the Prime Minister to Mrs Gandhi and President Zia.

Yours ever,  
Peter Ricketts

(P F Ricketts)  
Private Secretary

A J Coles Esq  
10 Downing Street

DSR 11 (Revised)

DRAFT: ~~XXXX~~/letter/te~~XXXXXX~~~~XXXX~~

TYPE: Draft/Final 1+

FROM:  
The Prime Minister

Reference

DEPARTMENT: TEL. NO:

SECURITY CLASSIFICATION

TO:  
Mrs Gandhi

Your Reference

- Top Secret
- Secret
- Confidential
- Restricted
- Unclassified

Copies to:

PRIVACY MARKING

SUBJECT:

.....In Confidence

CAVEAT.....

I am sorry that we did not have the opportunity for a <sup>free</sup> ~~proper~~ conversation in Moscow, ~~last week~~. I hope we can find another opportunity to meet soon.

I am sure you are as concerned as I am about the recent resumption ~~of~~ fighting in the Iran/Iraq war. This has serious implications for the international community as a whole. We have made every effort to encourage Iran and Iraq to find an early settlement to the conflict and have urged both sides to avoid any step that might lead to escalation.

The UN Secretary General, with our full support, has recently attempted to send a Mission to both sides. We are greatly disappointed that this has now been postponed.

Enclosures—flag(s).....

I am convinced that the recent escalation in the fighting makes it more urgent than ever to find a peaceful settlement. I therefore wonder if there is any possibility of your resuming your role as a mediator on behalf of the Non-Aligned Movement? I know that India

/and

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and you personally are respected by both Iran and Iraq.

*These two countries*

~~Both~~ have suffered terrible losses in the latest fighting

in southern Iraq, <sup>*They*</sup> and might conceivably be prepared to

accept another offer of good offices (I know that the

Iranians have a historic dislike of the concept of

mediation). <sup>*I am sure that*</sup> Any such initiative on your part would ~~have~~ <sup>*be*</sup>

<sup>*widely supported*</sup> ~~the full support~~ not only <sup>*by*</sup> of the Non Aligned Movement, but

<sup>*by*</sup> of the international community as a whole. I <sup>*too*</sup> should be

very ready to support you in any way that I can.

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DRAFT: ~~XXXXX~~ letter/telex/cable/despatch/ro

TYPE: Draft/Final 1+

FROM:  
The Prime Minister

Reference

DEPARTMENT:

TEL. NO:

SECURITY CLASSIFICATION

TO:

Your Reference

- Top Secret
- Secret
- Confidential
- Restricted
- Unclassified

President Zia

Copies to:

PRIVACY MARKING

SUBJECT:

.....In Confidence

I was delighted to see you in Moscow last week on the occasion of Mr Andropov's funeral, and glad that we had the opportunity for such a full discussion.

CAVEAT.....

I am sure you are as concerned as I am about the recent resumption ~~of~~ fighting in the Iran/Iraq war. This has increasingly serious implications for the international community as a whole. We have repeatedly ~~made every effort~~ <sup>tried</sup> to encourage Iran and Iraq to find an early settlement to the conflict and have urged both sides to avoid any step that might lead to escalation.

The UN Secretary General, with our full support, has recently attempted to send a Mission to both sides. We are ~~greatly~~ <sup>greatly</sup> disappointed that this has now been postponed.

Enclosures—flag(s).....

I am convinced that the recent escalation in the fighting makes it more urgent than ever that we should find a peaceful solution. Is there any possibility of Pakistan resuming its role as a mediator on behalf of the Islamic Conference? I know that your views are highly

/respected

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respected by both Iran and Iraq, and they might be prepared to respond to a request<sup>e</sup> by you to explore means of bringing the war to an early end, the more so as both sides have suffered terrible losses in the latest clashes in Southern Iraq. <sup>I believe that</sup> Any such initiative on your part would have <sup>wide</sup> ~~the full~~ support not only <sup>from</sup> ~~of~~ the Islamic Conference but <sup>from</sup> ~~of~~ the international community as a whole. I should be very ready to support you in any way that I can.

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IRAQ: Int. Sec: Pt 3