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TELEGRAM NUMBER 287 OF 06 JUL

INFO WASHINGTON

INFO SAVING TO CAIRO, DAMASCUS, JEDDA, MOSCOW, TEL AVIV, UKMIS
NEW YORK

MY 2 IPTS: LEBANON

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF MESSAGE FROM KING HUSSEIN TO PRESIDENT
REAGAN DATED 4 JULY.

BEGINS.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT,

I ADDRESS YOU ONCE AGAIN MY GOOD FRIEND COMPREHENSIVELY AND IN
TOTAL CANDOUR DICTATED BY THIS MOST DANGEROUS AND CRITICAL OF TIMES.

I RETURNED A SHORT WHILE AGO FROM THE SOVIET UNION. I HAD TALKS
WHILE THERE WITH THE SOVIET PRIME MINISTER, THE FOREIGN MINISTER
AND OTHER OFFICIALS. IT WAS DURING A FORMAL MEETING THAT FOREIGN
MINISTER GROMYKO PRODUCED THE NEWS HE HAD JUST RECEIVED FROM NEW
YORK OF THE UNITED STATES VETO OF THE FRENCH RESOLUTION AT THE
SECURITY COUNCIL. A LITTLE LATER ON WE RECEIVED THE OTHER STUNNING
ITEM OF NEWS FROM THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS WHERE
OUT OF THE TOTAL MEMBERSHIP NONE ABSTAINED AND ONLY ISRAEL AND
THE UNITED STATES STOOD IN OPPOSITION TO THE RESOLUTION ADOPTED ON
ISRAEL IN LEBANON. MY HEART HAS INDEED BEEN HEAVY, MR. PRESIDENT,
WITH SO MANY INCOMPREHENSIBLE EVENTS AND DEVELOPMENTS. BEFORE I
MOVE ON TO GIVE YOU THE GIST OF MY IMPRESSIONS OF THE SOVIET
ATTITUDES ATTAINED DURING MY VISIT I WOULD LIKE TO STATE THAT I
CAME BACK CONVINCED THAT MY EARLIER ASSESSMENT OF EVENTS IN THIS
AREA AS THEY PERTAIN TO SOVIET DESIGNS AND ASSETS INCLUDED IN A
LETTER TO YOU WERE TOTALLY ACCURATE.

— THE SOVIETS WERE REVELLING IN THEIR CRITICISMS OF U.S. POLICIES
AND TOTAL UNQUALIFIED SUPPORT TO ISRAEL. NO DOUBT RECENT TRAGIC
EVENTS, PARTICULARLY IN LEBANON, HAVE GIVEN THEM SOME GREAT
OPPORTUNITIES TO ENRICH THEIR ARGUMENTS AND FURTHER THEIR AIMS AND
OBJECTIVES.

— THE SOVIETS HAD AN ACCURATE READING OF FACTS ON THE GROUND IN
CONFIRMING WHAT I WROTE TO YOU IN MY LAST LETTER THAT THE
DESTRUCTION OF THE P.L.O. AND PALESTINIANS IN LEBANON OR INDEED
THE HUMILIATION OF THE P.L.O. TO THE POINT OF ITS TOTAL LOSS OF
CREDIBILITY DOES NOT MEAN THE ELIMINATION OF THE PALESTINIAN

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PROBLEM OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE AND THEIR STRUGGLE FOR THEIR USURPED LAND AND DENIED RIGHTS. THAT FURTHERMORE THE REACTION TO SUCH A SITUATION IS DOUBT TO HERALD THE BIRTH OF AN ERA OF UNPRECEDENTED VIOLENCE THE WORLD OVER, PARTICULARLY AIMED AT THE UNITED STATES AND INTERESTS AS WELL AS ISRAEL AND ALL THOSE WHO ARE YOUR FRIENDS. YOU SEE, SIR, WHEN DIGNITY IS TRAMPLED AND HUMAN, INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE RIGHTS ARE DENIED, WHEN LAND, HOME, BROTHER, SISTER, PARENT OR FRIEND IS LOST, LIFE BECOMES MEANINGLESS EXCEPT IF IT PRESENTS THE CHANCE TO STRIKE BACK AT AN OPPRESSOR AND ALL WITH WHOM HE IDENTIFIES. THESE ARE THE KIND OF ASSETS THAT THE CRIMINAL ISRAELI EXCESSES HAVE PRESENTED THE RADICALS AND INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM IN THIS WORLD TO EXPLOIT, PARTICULARLY SINCE ISRAEL'S INVASION OF LEBANON.

— THE SOVIETS HAVE PROCED MY POINT MADE TO YOU IN A RECENT LETTER THAT THEIR ARMS IN THE HANDS OF THEIR SURROGATES IN THE AREA WERE NOT NECESSARILY MEANT TO COUNTER ISRAEL'S ARSENAL, BUT WERE PLACED IN THE AREA IN PURSUIT OF BROADER SOVIET OBJECTIVES. I SUSPECT THAT THE FIGHTING IN LEBANON BETWEEN THE SYRIANS AND ISRAELIS WAS INITIATED EITHER BY ACCIDENT OR THROUGH THE REACTIONS TO THE ISRAELI ADVANCES BY SYRIAN UNITS ON THE GROUND ACTING ON THEIR OWN. IN ANY EVENT, THE SOVIETS HAVE INFORMED ME THAT THEY HAVE AND ARE ACTING TO REPLACE EVERY ITEM THE SYRIANS CLAIM TO HAVE LOST IN RECENT FIGHTING. SO IT GOES, MR. PRESIDENT, WITH THE UNITED STATES PROVIDING AND HAVING PROVIDED ISRAEL WITH ALL MANNERS OF IMPLEMENTS FOR MASS DESTRUCTION AND THE SOVIETS DOING THE SAME FOR THEIR SORROGATES, WHILE THE REST OF US ARABS ARE STRUGGLING TO SAVE AND RETAIN OUR IDENTITY, FREEDOM AND THE RIGHTS OF OUR FUTURE GENERATION —S. AGAINST US ARE ARRAYED THE COMBINED ASSETS OF ZIONISM AND COMMUNISM IN A CONCERTED EFFORT TO POLARIZE THIS AREA AND POSSIBLY DESTROY OUR WORLD IN THE PROCESS.

— THE SOVIETS CLAIMED THEY EXERTED AND ARE EXERTING THEIR BEST POLITICAL EFFORTS WHILE HAVING MOVED SOME ELEMENTS OF THEIR NAVY CLOSE TO THE AREA IN AN ACT OF SOLIDARITY WITH THE VICTIMS OF "THE ISRAELI-AMERICAN AGGRESSION." THE SOVIETS BLAMED ARAB DISUNITY AND DISARRAY FOR WHAT HAS BEFALLEN THE ARAB CAUSE AND NATION. I ASSURED THEM AS I ASSURE YOU, MR PRESIDENT, THAT I BELIEVED IN THE PEOPLE AND NATION TO WHICH I BELONG, AND IN THE JUSTICE OF OUR CAUSE AND IN OUR ABILITY TO EVENTUALLY OVERCOME ALL OUR ILLS AND RETAIN OUR IDENTITY, HONOUR, DIGNITY AND FREEDOM.

— THE IRONY LIES IN THE FACT THAT I ONCE MORE FOUND NO REASON TO NOTE ANY CHANGES IN THE BASIC SOVIET POLITICAL POSITION, IE ISRAEL IS THERE TO STAY. IT HAS THE RIGHT TO LIVE IN PEACE AND SECURITY

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AS DO ALL OTHERS IN THE AREA. ISRAEL MUST IN IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PRINCIPLE OF THE INADMISSIBILITY OF ACQUISITION OF TERRITORIES BY WAR VACATE THOSE TERRITORIES OCCUPIED IN JUNE 1967 AS OUTLINED IN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 242. ISRAEL IN IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PRINCIPLE OF THE RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION MUST PERMIT THE PALESTINIANS TO EXERCISE THAT SACRED RIGHT IN FREEDOM FROM ISRAELI CONTROL AND OCCUPATION. IN OTHER WORDS, THE SUBSTANCE OF SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 242 WHICH WE FORMULATED WITH THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT, THE PARTITION PLAN OF 1947 WHICH STIPULATED THE CREATION OF A JEWISH AND A PALESTINIAN STATE IN THE PALESTINE OF THE BRITISH MANDATE, AND THE CLEARER DEFINITIONS OF PARTS OF THE CAMP DAVID ACCORDS AFFECTING PALESTINIAN RIGHTS.

— THE SOVIETS WERE MOST DISENCHANTED WITH BOTH EGYPT AND IRAQ, EGYPT FOR THE CAMP DAVID ACCORDS AND THEIR CONSEQUENCES WHICH IN THEIR VIEW INCLUDE THE PRESENT LEBANESE DISASTER AND THE PRESENCE OF AN AMERICAN UNIT FROM THE R.D.F. IN SINAI, IRAQ IN MY VIEW FOR REFUSING TO BECOME A SOVIET SURROGATE BUT OSTENSIBLY FOR THE WAR THE SOVIETS HAD PREDICTED THEY WOULD LOSE FROM THE OUTSET. THE SOVIETS DID NOT FEEL UNCOMFORTABLE OR UNHAPPY WITH IRAN WHICH DESPITE IDEOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES HAD THROWN OUT YOUR FORMER BASES OFF ITS SOIL. THE SOVIETS PREDICTED A CONTINUATION OF IRAN'S WAR AGAINST IRAQ AND HAD NO SATISFACTORY ANSWERS TO MY QUERY AS TO HOW SOVIET WEAPONS, SOME PREVIOUSLY POSSESSED BY VARIOUS ARAB AND NON-ARAB STATES (WITH AGREEMENTS SIMILAR TO YOUR'S WITH OTHER COUNTRIES PREVENTING THEIR DELIVERY TO THIRD PARTIES WITHOUT THE SUPPLIER'S APPROVAL) FOUND THEIR WAY TO IRAN AS DID ISRAELI WEAPONS AND SPARE PARTS, THUS ENABLING IRAN TO GAIN THE INITIATIVE OVER IRAQ.

— THE SOVIETS SOUGHT AN URGENT DIALOGUE WITH ARAB STATES WHICH DID NOT AS YET HAVE NORMAL RELATIONS WITH THEM. THE SOVIETS SUGGESTED THAT IN THE ABSENCE OF SUCH A DIALOGUE AND ASSURANCES OF NO AMERICAN BASES IN THE AREA THEY COULD PULL AWAY SOME OF THEIR REMAINING UNITS ON IRAN'S BORDERS WHICH WOULD MEAN THAT EXTRA IRANIAN DIVISIONS WOULD SOON BE MENACING THE GULF STATES, SAUDI ARABIA AND IRAQ. IRAQ IN MY VIEW MUST THUS BE SUPPORTED URGENTLY AS THE BULWARK IN THE FACE OF THESE POSSIBILITIES. IRAQI SOIL MUST NOT BE VIOLATED.

BEYOND THAT IT WAS A PLEASANT VISIT AND THEY WERE GRACIOUS HOSTS AS USUAL.

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/MR. PRESIDENT

MR. PRESIDENT, I HAVE RECENTLY VISITED HIS MAJESTY KING FAHD AND I HAVE BEEN MOST REASSURED BY THE ATMOSPHERE OF A TOTAL TRANSFORMATION, RICH IN PROMISE OF A BRIGHTER FUTURE FOR SAUDI ARABIA. I WAS PLEASED TO REALISE THAT BOTH OF US, AS WELL AS PRESIDENT MUBARAK WITH WHOM KING FAHD HAD HAD A GOOD MEETING AND RESULTANT POSITIVE RELATIONS, HAD THE SAME VIEWS OF EVENTS IN OUR AREA AND WERE ADDRESSING YOU FROM THE SAME PERSPECTIVE OF URGENT, IDENTICAL CONCERNS.

SIR, I APPEAL TO YOU MOST URGENTLY TO INSURE NO DIESTRUCION NOR FRESH HUMILIATION OF THE P.L.O. IF THEY MUST LEAVE LEBANON, THEN EGYPT IS THE BEST CHOICE FOR THEM TO GO TO. THE P.L.O. WILL THEN BECOME TRULY PALESTINIAN. WE BELIEVE THAT RADICALS WITH LOYALTIES TO RADICAL STATES IN THE AREA WOULD NOT CHOOSE TO GO TO EGYPT. PALESTINIANS WITH JORDANIAN PASSPORTS WOULD HAVE THE RIGHT TO RETURN TO JORDAN AND I ASSUME THAT OTHER NATIONALS WOULD RETURN TO THEIR COUNTRIES OF ORIGIN.

I WOULD, HOWEVER, FEEL LESS THAN HONEST WITH YOU IF I WERE TO GIVE YOU THE IMPRESSION THAT I AM RECOMMENDING THAT PRESIDENT MUBARAK ACCEPT THE P.L.O. IN EGYPT UNLESS AND UNTIL HE AND WE ALL RECEIVE YOUR CLEAREST ASSURANCES THAT YOU WOULD INITIATE ACTION AND TO INSURE OUR RAPIDLY MOVING ONTO A NEW PHASE WITHIN A NEW PROCESS FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A TOTAL COMPREHENSIVE AND JUST PEACE. THIS CAN ONLY HAPPEN THROUGH A NEW UNITED STATES INITIATIVE OFFERING THE WORLD COMMUNITY, INCLUDING THE SOVIETS, THE OPPORTUNITY TO JOIN ALL THE PARTIES CONCERNED IN THE AREA, OBVIOUSLY INCLUDING THE PALESTINIANS, IN AN UNRELENTING EFFORT TO RESOLVE THE ENTIRE ISRAELI-ARAB PROBLEM. SUCH A NEW INITIATIVE MUST BE FOUNDED ON SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338. THE PALESTINIANS MUST BE A PARTY TO RESOLVING THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PRINCIPLE OF SELF-DETERMINATION OF THEIR FUTURE ON PALESTINIAN SOIL. THEIR RIGHTS ARE IMPLIED IN THE CAMP DAVID ACCORDS. THE CREATION OF TWO STATES WAS ALSO IMPLIED IN THE 1947 PARTITION PLAN.

PALESTINIANS TAKEN PRISONER IN LEBANON MUST RECEIVE HUMANE TREATMENT. IT IS VITALLY IMPORTANT THAT THIS IS INSURED. IT WOULD BE TOTALLY UNFORGIVABLE TO HAVE THEM TREATED OTHERWISE.

AT THIS POINT, SIR, THE IMAGE OF THE UNITED STATES IN THIS AREA IS UNFORTUNATELY AT AN ALL TIME LOW. THE UNITED STATES IS IDENTIFIED AS ISRAEL'S PARTNER, BENEFACTOR, PROTECTOR TOTALLY COMMITTED AND UNQUESTIONING SUPPORTER. ISRAEL'S ATTITUDE AND EXCESSES IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES AND LEBANON SINCE THE SIGNING OF THE CAMP DAVID ACCORDS, AS WELL AS ISRAEL'S UNCHALLENGED MISINTERPRETATIONS OF THE SUBSTANCE AND SPIRIT OF THE CAMP DAVID ACCORDS, HAVE TOTALLY DESTROYED THE ACCORDS AS A VEHICLE FOR PEACE. THE STIGMA OF CAMP DAVID WOULD UNDOUBTEDLY DESTROY ANY ARAB WHO WOULD ASSOCIATE WITH IT BEYOND THIS POINT. THAT WOULD BE AN UNWARRANTED TRAGIC WASTE.

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/IT IS

IT IS ONLY THROUGH A FRESH BEGINNING AIMED AT SECURING A JUST, TOTAL AND COMPREHENSIVE PEACE IN THE AREA THAT HOPES OF ACHIEVING THIS WORTHIEST OF OBJECTIVES COULD BE REKINDLED. IT IS ONLY THROUGH A NEW AND BOLD AMERICAN INITIATIVE WITHIN THIS CONTEXT THAT THE UNITED STATES WOULD REGAIN ITS CREDIBILITY, NOT ONLY IN THIS AREA BUT IN THE WORLD AS THE PRINCIPLED, CONSTRUCTIVE, FAIR AND UNBIASED POWER I STILL BELIEVE IT TO BE. AFTER ALL, YOUR FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS OF THE BASIS OF ANY MEANINGFUL SOLUTION AS WE HAVE UNDERSTOOD THEM TO BE OVER THE YEARS ARE ALSO THOSE OF EUROPE AND EVEN THE SOVIET UNION, AS WELL AS THE MAJORITY OF NATIONS IN OUR WORLD.

AT THIS DARKEST AND MOST DANGEROUS OF PERIODS IN THE LIFE OF THIS AREA, I REFUSE TO SUCCEED TO DESPAIR IN YOUR ABILITY, MR. PRESIDENT, AND THAT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO CONTRIBUTE POSITIVELY ALONG THE ONLY OBVIOUS ROAD THAT COULD LEAD TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A COMPREHENSIVE PEACE. NOR MUST THE SOVIETS AND OTHERS BE LEFT OUT OF SUCH A PROCESS WHENCE THEY COULD OBSTRUCT PROGRESS TOWARDS PEACE.

A NEW AMERICAN INITIATIVE ALONG THESE LINES WOULD TAKE THE WORLD BY SURPRISE. THE UNITED STATES WOULD BE CLEARLY RECOGNIZED THE WORLD OVER AS BEING THE MAJOR CONTRIBUTOR TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PEACE. EGYPT'S POSITION WOULD BE STRENGTHENED, THE P.L.O. WOULD BE PROUD OF THEIR ASSOCIATION WITH EGYPT, AND EGYPT WOULD REOCCUPY ITS RIGHTFUL PLACE IN THE ARAB WORLD AND WOULD BE ABLE TO CONTRIBUTE ITS FULL SHARE IN OUR COMMON STRUGGLE TO SAFEGUARD OUR IDENTITY AND FREEDOM.

OUT OF THE DARKNESS, DEATH, DESTRUCTION, SORROW AND DESPAIR OF LEBANON COULD EMERGE HOPE AND THE PROMISE OF THE BETTER FUTURE WE SEEK. IF THIS IS NOT ATTAINED SOON, IT MAY NEVER HAPPEN. TIME IS PRESSING AND DISASTERS MAY SOON OVERTAKE US ALL. ONLY YOU, MR. PRESIDENT, ONLY THE UNITED STATES, COULD AVERT DISASTER AND PRODUCE THE CORRECT ANSWER. I PRAY TO GOD THAT IT BE THE INSPIRING CLEAR AND COURAGEOUS ONE WHICH WE HAVE SO LONG AWAITED.

/ I PRAY

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I PRAY TO GOD TO GUIDE YOU TO TAKE THE RIGHT STEP, MR PRESIDENT. IT COULD BE THE GREATEST STEP ANY WORLD LEADER HAS YET TAKEN FOR THE FUTURE OF THIS ENTIRE AREA AND POSSIBLY WORLD PEACE. THE MAN WHO TAKE SUCH A STEP WOULD TRULY BE IMMORTAL. I PRAY, MR PRESIDENT, THAT YOU ARE THE MAN WHO COULD PRODUCE THE ANSWER AND TAKE THE BOLD STEP, TOGETHER WITH YOUR GREAT NATION IN THE INTEREST OF A JUST AND LASTING PEACE.

WITH MY WARMEST PERSONAL WISHES AND HIGHEST ESTEEM,

YOUR SINCERE FRIEND,

HUSSEIN
ENDS

FCO PSE PASS SAVING ADDRESSEES.
BRWICK

(REPEATED AS REQUESTED)

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