

SUBJECT

cc Martin
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PRIME MINISTER'S

PERSONAL MESSAGE

SERIAL No. T 161 Ac/81

Dear Prime Minister,

I felt it imperative to send you in great confidence copies of our recent messages to our American friends. We are indeed facing a serious and unexpected problem. If there is anything you could kindly do to get Washington to undo some very serious damage which it has caused us all it would be in our common interest.

I thank you once again for your many kindnesses and send you my warmest regards wishes and highest esteem

Your sincere friend,

22nd November 1981

Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

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GR 356

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FM AMMAN 221630Z NOV 81

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 445 OF 22 NOV

INFO PRIORITY WASHINGTON, ROUTINE BEIRUT CAIRO DAMASCUS JEDDA RABAT

TEL AVIV UKMIS NEWYORK AND JERUSALEM

SAVING (FOR INFO) OTHER M.E. POSTS.

JORDAN/UNITED STATES

1. PRESIDENT REAGAN'S COMMENTS TO JEWISH LEADERS IN THE US ON 19 NOVEMBER THAT HE WOULD PREFER JERUSALEM TO REMAIN UNIFIED UNDER ISRAELI SOVEREIGNTY, WITH ASSURED ACCESS FOR ALL TO THE HOLY PLACES, HAVE PROVOKED A PREDICTABLY STRONG REACTION HERE. KING HUSSEIN'S PERSONAL EMBARRASSMENT HAS BEEN ALL THE MORE ACUTE BECAUSE THESE COMMENTS WERE MADE SHORTLY AFTER HIS VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES AND ON THE EVE OF THE ARAB SUMMIT MEETING IN FEZ.

2. I WAS SUMMONED BY THE KING TODAY TO BE GIVEN A MESSAGE TO THE PRIME MINISTER TOGETHER WITH COPIES OF HIS MESSAGES TO THE US PRESIDENT AND TO MR HAIG. TEXTS ARE IN MY 3 IFTS REPEATED SAVING TO ALL TELEGRAPHIC ADDRESSEES EXCEPT WASHINGTON. ORIGINALS FOLLOW BY BAG TO THE FCO.

3. KING HUSSEIN TOLD ME THAT, WHILE HE STILL BELIEVED PRESIDENT REAGAN TO BE A FUNDAMENTALLY DECENT MAN, REAGAN HAD MADE THE POSITION OF JORDAN AND OTHER MODERATE ARAB STATES, NOTABLY SAUDI ARABIA AND MOROCCO AS HOST, AT THE FEZ SUMMIT VIRTUALLY UNTENABLE BY HIS REMARKS. HE WOULD VERY GREATLY APPRECIATE ANYTHING THE PRIME MINISTER OR YOURSELF COULD DO TO PERSUADE THE PRESIDENT TO REPAIR SOME OF THE DAMAGE HE HAD CAUSED.

4. I WARNED THE KING THAT EUROPEAN PARTICIPATION IN THE SINAI FORCE WOULD BE ANNOUNCED TOMORROW, ALSO ON THE EVE OF THE FEZ SUMMIT. HE WINCED, BUT THEN ASKED WHETHER OUR STATEMENT WOULD STILL CLEARLY DISSOCIATE THE EUROPEAN ROLE FROM CAMP DAVID. I SAID THAT IT WOULD AND UNDERTOOK TO HAVE A COPY DELIVERED TO HIM ON THE MORNING OF 23 NOVEMBER. IN GENERAL HE WAS PESSIMISTIC ABOUT THE FEZ SUMMIT, WHICH HE THOUGHT WOULD BE A VERY DIFFICULT MEETING.

5. THE US PRESIDENT'S REMARKS ON JERUSALEM HAVE HAD A VERY BAD PRESS HERE OVER THE LAST 2 DAYS, AND HAVE BEEN DESCRIBED AS POTENTIALLY A TURNING-POINT IN US/ARAB RELATIONS. JORDANIAN PAPERS ASK HOW PRESIDENT REAGAN CAN STATE THAT US POLICY IS BASED ON UN RESOLUTION NO 242 WITH ITS UNEQUIVOCAL STATEMENT ON THE INADMISSIBILITY OF THE ACQUISITION OF TERRITORY BY FORCE AND AT THE SAME TIME SUPPORT THE EXTENSION OF ISRAELI SOVEREIGNTY OVER EAST JERUSALEM

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THE US PRESIDENT'S COMMENTS ARE ALSO SEEN AS A REJECTION OF THE SAUDI PEACE PLAN. ONE LEADING NEWSPAPER CALLS ON ARAB LEADERS AT FEZ TO STATE CLEARLY THAT THERE CAN BE NO PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST NOR FRIENDSHIP WITH THE UNITED STATES UNLESS ARAB JERUSALEM IS RETURNED TO ARAB SOVEREIGNTY.

FCO PSE PASS SAVING ADDRESSEES.

URWICK

[REPEATED AS REQUESTED]

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SECRET



21 November, 1981

Dear Mr President

I must admit that upon my return to Jordan my enthusiasm was almost deflated when I was informed of your recent statements on Jerusalem followed by further clarifications from the White House. The uproar which I have had to face on my first day back home - I shall leave again on 24 November to attend the Arab Summit Conference in Morocco - is justified. It is felt equally by all Arabs, and probably by all Christians and Muslims, rather than purely by the Palestinians. My impressions and hopes following my visit to the United States, which I had conveyed to my people and many friends prior to my arrival in Amman, referred to an even-handed, possible future U.S. policy. This reference to the root cause of general instability in the Middle East, notably the Arab-Israeli problem, now seems to be of little consequence.

I leave for Morocco severely set back in confronting the challenge of those who have always sought to identify Israel and the United States as one and the same in terms of animosity to the Arabs and the denial of their rights.

Many of my friends and colleagues have, in the past, always left the onus of facing the radical onslaught to me. I had not expected it to be any different this time. Yet, I am even further handicapped at this most important meeting. The battle against polarisation of the entire area and its future may now be affected by the rug being swept from under my feet, so to speak, through the unfortunate statements on Jerusalem. Their timing, Mr. President, regrettably coincided with my home-coming from my meetings with you.

Continued/... 2 I would never



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I would never presume, Sir, to challenge your statements but I do feel that I have a right to do so if they not only effect my people and myself but undermine rights that go beyond us to those rights of so many in this world, Christian and Muslim alike who have equal rights with the Jews in the City of Jerusalem. I have, Sir, I feel the right of a friend who is genuinely seeking to consolidate our friendship to ask you, what has happened and where do we stand now? That is in terms, even of our mutual interests, of securing the just, honourable and lasting peace in this area which I nonetheless believe is our final goal.

According to Resolution 242 Jerusalem is occupied territory. Jerusalem is not even a security issue. It took Israel longer to reach the walls of the Old City than it took them to reach the banks of the Suez Canal in 1967. We chose to vacate it rather than be indirectly responsible for serious damage to the Holy City. The U.S. position on Jerusalem during the negotiations over Resolution 242 was of full recognition of our rights. The U.S. made the exception of not going along with the claims of sovereignty, from either side, over the City as a whole. On Jerusalem, the Partition Plan called for the status of the separate entity to be resolved internationally. Furthermore, the subject of negotiations in search of a comprehensive peace would also have to include, in our view, a solution of the problems relating to Israeli annexation of Arab properties in Israel and Western pre-1967 Jerusalem.

Israel has, Mr. President, been in violation of international law and in defiance of the U.S. and the world community. Israel announced and exercised annexation of not only Arab Jerusalem, as it was, but has expanded the City limits to incorporate one-fifth of the entire occupied West Bank. How then, in the light of recent statements, can it be argued now that the U.S. has not changed from its traditional position? And where is the difference between the Israeli and American positions?

I hope you bear with me, Mr. President, when I plead with you not to permit any quarter to tamper with the facts before placing them before you, for whatever short-sighted, limited and disastrous ends they may have in mind.

Continued/... 3 It is obvious



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It is obvious that your great responsibilities cannot permit a personal examination of every issue placed before you. But, equally, I hate to be placed in the position of having to disturb you, by being compelled to do so time and again, because of obvious flagrant misrepresentations of facts with their consequent sad results. I am, Sir, deeply unhappy to find myself in such a situation.

If I had not come to know you my friend I would have jumped to the wrong conclusions. But I know you and your interests in a just peace and your regard for morals, principles and fairness. I am thus even more vexed when I see unnecessary damage occur. This adversely affects your image, which is that of the United States; equally, your interests and the cause of your partners in freedom, ranging from Egypt to Jordan, including Saudi Arabia and the majority of Arab States. Is there anything my friend that you could do to help to clarify and rectify the situation? Is there anything, Sir, beyond the diplomatically worded and vague statements which we have received from Washington, and which do not and will not be convincing, in enabling us to keep our heads high at Fez or anywhere else; to enable me to appear before my Government and people, as well as all the Arabs particularly at Fez, as a convincing advocate of Arab-American friendship and commonality of interests in a better tomorrow? The answer can only come from you and as I ended my Talking Points, which I left with you, the future of our mutual interests is for the most part in your able hands.

With my warm personal wishes,

I am,

Your sincere friend,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "F. Hussein".

President Ronald Reagan
President of the United
States of America
The White House
Washington D.C.