

PS
PS/MR HURD
PUS
~~SIR J LEAHY~~
MR MOBERLY
SIR J BULLARD
HD/NEAD
HD/NEB
HD/UND
HD/SEC DEPT
HD/...~~SED~~...

NO 10 DOWNING STREET

CABINET OFFICE D10

ADVANCE COPY

HD/CONSULAR DEPT

... ..

... ..

PUSD (2)
NEWS D
RESIDENT CLERK

IMMEDIATE



CONFIDENTIAL

FM AMMAN 331730Z JUN 82

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 277 OF 30 JUN

INFO IMMEDIATE WASHINGTON. ROUTINE CAIRO, DAMASCUS, JEDDA, PARIS,
TEL AVIV, TUNIS, UKHIS NEWYORK

YOUR TELNO 1246 TO WASHINGTON: LEBANON

1. WHEN I SAW KING HUSSEIN THIS AFTERNOON SHORTLY AFTER HIS RETURN FROM THE SOVIET UNION, THE SITUATION IN LEBANON WAS NATURALLY UPPERMOST IN HIS MIND (I AM REPORTING SEPARATELY WHAT HE SAID ABOUT HIS SOVIET VISIT). THE KING SHOWED ME A PAPER WHICH THE US AMBASSADOR HAD JUST LEFT WITH HIM SETTING OUT THE TERMS MR HABIB WAS APPARENTLY OFFERING TO THE PLO. THESE INCLUDED PLO WITHDRAWAL FROM BEIRUT AND THE WITHDRAWAL OF SYRIAN FORCES FROM LEBANON. BUT THE KING MADE IT CLEAR THAT HE THOUGHT THEM ALTOGETHER TOO VAGUE AND UNSATISFACTORY TO FORM THE BASIS FOR A SUCCESSFUL NEGOTIATION. HE WAS LEAVING ALMOST AT ONCE FOR A MEETING WITH KING FAHD IN SAUDI ARABIA SINCE HE HOPED TO RETURN TO JORDAN LATER TONIGHT.

2. HE SAID THAT THE MAIN PURPOSE OF HIS VISIT TO SAUDI ARABIA WOULD BE TO MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO PERSUADE THE SAUDIS AND OTHER GULF STATES TO PUT ADDITIONAL PRESSURE ON THE US TO NEGOTIATE A SETTLEMENT WITH WHICH THE PALESTINIANS COULD LIVE. IT WAS AN ILLUSION ON THE PART OF THE AMERICANS AND THE ISRAELIS TO THINK THAT THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM COULD BE DISPOSED OF IN THE WAY THAT THEY AT PRESENT SEEMED TO HAVE IN MIND. NOR COULD THE KING UNDERSTAND WHAT THE AMERICANS WERE REALLY TRYING TO ACCOMPLISH.

THAT THEY AT PRESENT SEEMED TO HAVE IN MIND. NOR COULD THE KING UNDERSTAND WHAT THE AMERICANS WERE REALLY TRYING TO ACCOMPLISH: WAS THEIR AIM TO DRIVE THE PALESTINIANS TO EXTREMISM AND TO PUT THEM AT THE MERCY OF THE RADICAL ARABS?

3. HARWAZ QASEM, THE JORDANIAN FOREIGN MINISTER, WHOM I HAD SEEN EARLIER IN THE DAY, SAID MUCH THE SAME. IT SEEMED TO HIM THAT THE AMERICANS WERE TRYING TO OBTAIN FOR THE ISRAELIS THREE-QUARTERS OF WHAT THEY WANTED; BECAUSE THE AMERICANS APPEARED TO HAVE NO CLEAR IDEA WHAT THEY WANTED THEMSELVES, THE ISRAELIS WOULD END BY PRESSURING THEM INTO PUSHING FOR VIRTUALLY ALL THEIR DEMANDS. WAS A RECONSTITUTED PLO UNDER FAHOM OR ABU MAZEN ON SYRIAN SOIL REALLY THE US OBJECTIVE? QASEM THOUGHT THE ISRAELIS MIGHT WELCOME AN EXTREMIST TAKE-OVER OF THE PLO AND EVEN THE CONTINUED PRESENCE OF SYRIAN TROOPS IN PARTS OF LEBANON, EITHER OF WHICH COULD PROVIDE A CONVENIENT CASUS BELLI WHEN THEY NEXT THOUGHT IT EXPEDIENT TO HUMILIATE THE ARABS. BUT IF THE AMERICANS WERE LOOKING FOR THE BASIS FOR A COMPREHENSIVE SETTLEMENT OF THE MIDDLE EAST QUESTION, THEY WOULD BE BETTER ADVISED TO LEAVE THE MODERATE PLO POLITICAL LEADERSHIP IN BEIRUT UNDER ARAFAT.

4. BOTH THESE DISCUSSIONS REFLECT JORDANIAN BEWILDERMENT AT THE TURN OF EVENTS AND UNCERTAINTY AS TO WHAT THEY SHOULD BE TRYING TO DO. NO DOUBT BY GOING TO SAUDI ARABIA TO SEE KING FAHD, KING HUSSEIN HOPES TO DIVERT SOME OF THE CRITICISM HE HAS ENCOUNTERED FOR BEING OUT OF JORDAN AND IN THE SOVIET UNION AT SUCH A CRITICAL TIME. BUT I DID NOT THINK HE WAS PARTICULARLY HOPEFUL THAT THE SAUDIS WOULD AGREE TO PUT ANY FURTHER PRESSURE ON THE AMERICANS OR THAT IT WOULD BE EFFECTIVE IF THEY DID.

5. KING HUSSEIN MENTIONED TO ME IN PASSING THAT PRESIDENT MUBARAK'S ADVISER, OSAMA AL BAZ, WOULD SHORTLY BE VISITING JORDAN.

6. CROWN PRINCE HASSAN HAS CLAIMED TO MY GERMAN COLLEAGUE THAT THE PLO IN BEIRUT HAVE BEEN BEHAVING IRRESPONSIBLY AND IRRESOLUTELY. ACCORDING TO THE CROWN PRINCE, THEY HAD INDICATED THEIR INTEREST IN PRESIDENT MUBARAK'S OFFER TO ESTABLISH A GOVERNMENT IN EXILE IN EGYPT SINCE THEN THEY HAD THEN HAD SECOND THOUGHTS, GIVING THE SYRIANS AN OPPORTUNITY TO INTERVENE. A STORMY TELEPHONE CONVERSATION BETWEEN PRESIDENT ASAD AND ARAFAT HAD ENSUED, AS A RESULT OF WHICH THE PLO HAD DROPPED THE IDEA ENTIRELY. THE PLO HAD THEN MADE A DIFFERENT SET OF PROPOSALS TO ~~MR~~ HABIB SINCE HARDLY HAD HE BEGUN TO WORK ON THEM THAN THE PLO HAD CHANGED THEIR POSITION YET AGAIN.

URWICK