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MY TELS NOS 206 AND 207: IRAQ/IRAN

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF

MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT REAGAN FROM KING HUSSEIN DATED 18 MAY

BEGINS

BOTH NOOR AND I EXTEND TO YOU, MR. PRESIDENT AND TO MRS. REAGAN, OUR WARMEST GREETINGS AND BEST PERSONAL WISHES.

THIS IS, INDEED, AN AWESOME AND EXTREMELY VOLATILE PHASE IN THE HISTORY OF OUR AREA. THE THREATS OF FRAGMENTATION AND DEVASTATING SECTARIAN STRUGGLES AMONGST MOSLEMS AND ARABS IN PARTICULAR, ARE EXTREMELY REAL AS IS THE THREAT TO THE ARAB IDENTITY, FREEDOM, AND FUTURE. BY THE SAME TOKEN, THE VITAL INTERESTS OF SO MANY NATIONS IN THE WORLD ARE IN JEOPARDY INCLUDING JAPAN, EUROPE, THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, AND MANY OTHERS BOTH IN THE DEVELOPED AND DEVELOPING WORLD. IN FACT, MR. PRESIDENT, AN ALWAYS DREADED STATE OF MILITARY CONFLICT MAY SHORTLY EMBROIL JORDAN. I WISH I COULD REPORT TO YOU OTHERWISE, BUT DEEM IT MY DUTY TO APPRAISE YOU OF THE FACTS.

THE FOCAL POINT OF DANGER IS THE IRAN/IRAQ WAR WHICH HAS RAGED FOR THE PAST EIGHTEEN MONTHS. THE TRAGEDY IS THAT IT HAS CONTINUED WITHOUT ANY SERIOUS AND DETERMINED EFFORT TO STOP IT IN TIME. IRAQ HAS NEVER HAD ANY TERRITORIAL OBJECTIVES IN IRAN. IRAQ WAS INTERNALLY SUBVERTED AND MILITARILY PROVOKED INTO WAR FOR HER LEGITIMATE SELF-DEFENSE. IRAQ'S PROBLEMS BEGAN WHEN IT ASSUMED A DEFENSIVE POSTURE WHILE AWAITING NEGOTIATIONS TO REMOVE ONCE AND FOR ALL THE CAUSES FOR THE WAR BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES BY CONCLUSIVE DEFINITION OF THEIR BORDERS ON THE BASIS OF RESPECT FOR HISTORICAL LEGITIMATE RIGHTS, JUSTICE, AND SECURITY. IT WOULD HAVE BEEN THE IDEAL MOMENT TO NEGOTIATE FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF NORMAL RELATIONS BETWEEN IRAN AND ALL HER ARAB NEIGHBORS TO RESOLVE DISPUTES AND TO BASE RELATIONS FOR ALL TIMES TO COME ON THE FOUNDATIONS OF MUTUAL RESPECT AND NON-INTERFERENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF SOVEREIGN STATES. NONE OF THIS HAPPENED AND SUPPORT OF IRAN ENABLED HER TO REGAIN THE INITIATIVE IN A SERIES OF BATTLES - ABADAN, BOSTAN, DEZFUL, AND NOW IRAQ IS DETERMINED TO FIGHT REGARDLESS OF COST, THE SEEMINGLY UNTENABLE BATTLE TO RETAIN KHORRAMSHAHR, THE ONLY REMAINING ASSET IT HOLDS IN IRAN, TO SECURE AN HONORABLE PEACE AND THE OBJECTIVES I OUTLINED BEFORE THE BATTLE BEGINS ON IRAQ SOIL.

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/ THE PROBLEM

THE PROBLEM LIES IN THE FACT THAT IRAN HAS BEEN SOUGHT OUT WITTINGLY OR UNWITTINGLY BY BOTH THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AS THE PRIME PRIZE TO BE WON. IT IS A KNOWN FACT, MR. PRESIDENT, THAT IRAN HAS BEEN RAPIDLY RUNNING OUT OF OIL RESERVES. I KNOW OF THE PREVIOUS REGIME'S CONCERTED EFFORTS TO SECURE ECONOMIC PROGRESS BEFORE THAT EVENTUALITY MATERIALIZED AND THE FORMER REGIME'S EFFORTS IN SEARCHING FOR AND ATTEMPTING TO HARNESS ALTERNATE SOURCES OF ENERGY, INCLUDING THE NUCLEAR ONE, FOR PRECISELY THAT REASON. IRAN'S INTEREST IN OIL BELONGING TO HER NEIGHBORING STATES IS NOW OBVIOUS. IRAN'S METHOD OF SECURING IT IS BY WAR, THE THREAT OF WAR, AND BY INCITING SECTARIAN CONFLICT WITHIN THE AREA. I WARNED OF THIS ALL ALONG. IT IS THE REALITY OF THESE THREATS THAT CAUSED JORDAN AMONGST OTHER PAN-ARAB AND NATIONAL COMMITMENTS TO SUPPORT IRAQ. IRAQ TO US HAS BEEN THE ARAB BULWARK AGAINST THESE THREATS AND THE FIRST SOLID LINE OF DEFENCE EASTWARDS FOR THE ENTIRE ARAB WORLD. IRONICALLY ENOUGH, THIS APPLIED EQUALLY TO OUR MANY MUTUAL INTERESTS.

MAY I SHARE WITH YOU, MR PRESIDENT, MY PERSPECTIVE OF THE OVERALL SOVIET POSITION IN THE AREA? THE SOVIET ASSETS IN IRAN HAVE GROWN RATHER THAN DIMINISHED. THE SOVIETS ARE IN AFGHANISTAN. THE SOVIETS HAVE THEIR THIRD LONGEST BORDER WITH IRAN. THE SOVIETS ARE THE MOST LOGICAL INHERITORS OF THE PRESENT REGIME IN IRAN WHICH IS AN ANACHRONISM AND AN INSULT TO HUMAN RIGHTS, DIGNITY, AND THE TRUE TEACHINGS OF ISLAM. IRAN IS RIDING ON A TIDAL WAVE OF IGNORANCE, BITTERNESS, HATRED AND GREED WHICH SHOULD HAVE BEEN CONTAINED BY OUR COMBINED EFFORTS, IF NOT TOTALLY ISOLATED. IRAQ CHECKED IT AND WILL CONTINUE TO DO SO TO THE BEST OF ITS ABILITY SEMICLN BUT WITH FRESH AND CONTINUOUS SUPPORT THE IRANIAN TIDE MAY CAUSE UNTOLD DAMAGE BEFORE IT INEVITABLY EBBS. EVEN IF THE REMOTEST POSSIBILITY EXISTED IN TURNING THE TIDE IN ARAN TOWARDS FREEDOM, LIFE, AND PROGRESS, THIS SHOULD NOT HAVE BEEN CAUSE OR REASON TO NEGLECT SHORING UP IRAQ AND THE REST OF THE AREA IN THE FACE OF OBVIOUS SOVIET DESIGNS. THE SOVIETS, IN THE IMMEDIATE VICINITY, ARE IN SYRIA, SOUTH YEMEN, ETHIOPIA, AND LIBYA. ALIGNED WITH THE ARAB STATES IN THIS GROUP SADLY IS ALGERIA. WITHIN THIS GROUP ARE ALL THE RADICAL ELEMENTS IN THE ENTIRE AREA. THE SOVIETS HAVE BEEN AND ARE FOSTERING THE CREATION OF AN AUTONOMOUS KURDISH STATE WITH DIRECT LAND CONTACT WITH SOVIET TERRITORY. THE HURMUZ STRAITS ARE IN GRAVE JEOPARDY. SOVIET SURROGATE STATES STRADDLE BAB EL MANDAB. THE ENTIRE AREA IS VITAL TO THE SOVIET STRATEGIC OBJECTIVES. IT IS THEIR WAY TO AFRICA AND OFFERS GREATER FRONTAGE ON THE MEDITERRANEAN. IT IS ONE OF THE MOST VITAL COMMUNICATIONS CROSSROADS IN OUR WORLD. IT IS A PRIMARY SOURCE OF ENERGY, THE CONTROL OF WHICH IS VITAL IN SHAPING THE WORLD'S DESTINY. INSTABILITY IN THIS AREA IS INSTABILITY IN THE WORLD, BOTH AT THE LEVEL OF THE DEVELOPED AND DEVELOPING NATIONS. THE PRIMARY BENEFICIARY OF SUCH INSTABILITY WOULD ONLY BE COMMUNISM AND THE SOVIET UNION. I KNOW WHAT A DEVASTATING SHOCK IT WAS TO THE

SOVIETS TO HAVE LOST EGYPT. I KNOW THAT THE SOVIETS WOULD NOT HAVE SUBSEQUENTLY Poured INTO SO MANY STATES IN OUR AREA AND IN SUCH ABUNDANCE THE MOST SOPHISTICATED OF THEIR WEAPONRY IF THEY WERE NOT SURE THAT IT WOULD BE IN SAFE AND LOYAL HANDS. THE SOVIETS WOULD NEVER RISK A REPEAT OF THEIR EXPERIENCE WITH EGYPT IN ANY OTHER STATE. NOR ARE THESE WEAPONS TO BE USED FOR ISRAEL'S DESTRUCTION SINCE AN ARAB-ISRAELI UNRESOLVED CONFLICT IS TO THE ADVANTAGE OF SOVIET STRATEGY. THE SOVIETS HAVE NEVER ONCE HINTED AT ANY POSSIBLE CHANGE OF THEIR UNEQUIVOCAL AND TOTAL COMMITMENT TO THE SURVIVAL AND SECURITY OF ISRAEL FOR ALL TIMES. THE SOVIETS HAVE CLAIMED ALL ALONG THEIR COMMITMENT TO A SOLUTION OF THE ARAB-ISRAELI PROBLEM BASED ON SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 242 AND 338 IN ADDITION TO THE SOLUTION OF THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM THROUGH THE EXERCISE OF SELF-DETERMINATION INCLUDING THE CREATION OF A PALESTINIAN STATE STIPULATED IN THE U.N. PARTITION PLAN OF 1947 BASED ON WHICH ISRAEL WAS CREATED. THE UNITED STATES HAS ALSO INCORPORATED INTO THE CAMP DAVID ACCORDS, IN ADDITION TO THE ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 242 AND 338, REFERENCES TO THE RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE.

SOVIET ARMS ARE THUS IN THE HANDS OF SURROGATES WHO WOULD USE THEM IN OUR AREA PRIMARILY TO FURTHER SOVIET AIMS. IT IS VIRTUALLY IMPOSSIBLE FOR ME TO VISUALIZE SOVIET OR AMERICAN TROOPS APPEARING IN THE AREA, IN WHAT MAY WELL CREATE THE FLASHPOINT OF A DEVASTATING WORLD WAR. IT IS OBVIOUS TO ME HOWEVER, THAT THE SOVIETS WITH LONG-RANGE DYNAMIC PLANNING AND THROUGH THEIR AVAILABLE ASSETS WITHIN THE AREA, ARE CONTINUALLY GAINING GROUND IN A MOST OMINOUS WAY.

LET US LOOK AGAIN AT IRAN AND WE WILL FIND IN SUPPORT OF MY THEORY OF AMERICAN AND SOVIET INDIRECT COOPERATION THERE, THE FACT THAT SYRIA, LIBYA, AND THEIR COLLABORATORS IN THE AREA, ARE SUPPORTING IRAN, WITHOUT LIMITATIONS, WITH SOVIET WEAPONRY AND EXPERTISE. NORTH KOREAN AND OTHER EASTERN BLOCK COUNTRIES, IF NOT THE SOVIETS DIRECTLY, ARE ALSO ON THE IRANIAN SIDE. OTHER FREE WORLD SOURCES ARE AVAILABLE TO IRAN TOGETHER WITH ISRAEL WHICH HAS BEEN SUPPLYING AMMUNITION, VITAL SPARE PARTS, AND EQUIPMENT ON THE ONE HAND. ON THE OTHER HAND, ISRAEL IS OBVIOUSLY USING ITS INFLUENCE IN THE UNITED STATES TO MINIMIZE THE EFFECTS OF ITS SUPPORT TO IRAN AND OBVIOUSLY TO CONVINCE WASHINGTON THAT IRAQ SHOULD NOT BE HELPED AND THAT JORDAN SHOULD NOT BE MILITARILY EQUIPPED. ISRAELI INTRANSIGENCE IN REJECTING ALL THE BASIC PRINCIPLES, THE ACCEPTANCE OF WHICH WOULD FACILITATE RAPID PROGRESS TOWARDS THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A JUST, DURABLE ARAB-ISRAELI PEACE, IS CONTINUOUSLY CAMOUFLAGED AND THUS MAINLY ACCEPTED, DEFENDED OR TOLERATED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AS ARE MOST ISRAELI ACTIONS. HOW STRANGE, SIR, IT WAS TO BE ASKED OF JORDAN WOULD SUPPORT THE BRITISH RESOLUTION ON THE FALKLANDS AT THE SECURITY COUNCIL WHEN WE HAVE BEEN CALLING FOR THE UPHOLDING OF THE TWO PRINCIPLES INVOLVED FOR SO MANY YEARS, NAMELY THE INADMISSABILITY OF ACQUISITION OF TERRITORIES BY FORCE AND THE

SACRED RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION. WOULD THE FALKLAND CRISIS HAVE ARISEN HAD THOSE PRINCIPLES BEEN APPLIED IN THE MIDDLE EAST CONTEXT SINCE NOVEMBER OF 1967? WE ARE NOW APPRAISED OF THE IMMINENT DECISION BY THE UNITED STATES' GOVERNMENT TO REENACT THE AGREEMENT ON STRATEGIC COOPERATION WITH ISRAEL. WAS I, SIR, NOT CORRECT ALL ALONG WHEN I WARNED OF POLARIZATION IN THE AREA AS AN ISRAELI PRIME OBJECTIVE? IS IT THEN SURPRISING THAT ISRAEL SHOULD SUPPORT IRAN IN HER WAR AGAINST THE ARAB NATION ALONGSIDE SUCH SEEMINGLY STRANGE COMPANY, OR FOR US TO CONCLUDE THAT AT LEAST UNWITTINGLY, THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IS HELPING THE SOVIETS, AGAINST YOUR BEST INTERESTS IN THE IRANIAN SITUATION?

MR. PRESIDENT, BEFORE LONG I FORESEE THE POSSIBILITY OF AN IRANIAN MILITARY PENETRATION INTO IRAQ. IRAN'S AND SYRIA'S ANNOUNCED OBJECTIVE IS TO TOPPLE THE REGIME IN BAHGDAD. IT IS IS OBVIOUS THAT WHAT IS SOUGHT TO REPLACE IT IS A REGIME THAT IS AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE IRANIAN SYRIAN ALLIANCE. IRAN AND HER ALLIES WOULD THUS SOON THREATEN THE ENTIRE NON-RADICAL ARAB AREA EAST OF SUEZ.

I ADDRESS YOU NOW, SIR, TO APPRAISE YOU OF THE ONLY TWO CHOICES OPEN TO US. THEY ARE: A) TO DESPATCH FORCES TO IRAQ TO ASSIST, IF POSSIBLE, TO AVERT POSSIBLE DISASTER. THIS WOULD HAVE TO BE ACCOMPLISHED THE MOMENT IT APPEARS THAT IRANIAN FORCES ARE THREATENING TO MOVE INTO IRAQ. WE WOULD BE RISKING AT SUCH A POINT JORDAN'S EXPOSURE TO A DIRECT SYRIAN MILITARY THREAT WITH REDUCED JORDANIAN CAPABILITIES SEMICLN OR B) TO BE PREPARED TO INTERVENE MILITARILY AGAINST SYRIA IF IT MOVES MILITARILY AGAINST IRAQ. THE FACT IS THAT IF IRAQ FALLS, THEN THE ENTIRE AREA IS MORE THAN LIKELY LOST. OUR OPTIONS ARE THUS OBVIOUS AND LIMITED. THE GULF AND SAUDI ARABIA ARE MILITARILY A VACUUM. IT IS OBVIOUS THAT NEITHER THE UNITED STATES NOR JORDAN, NOR EGYPT, MAY HAVE THE TIME TO REACT ADEQUATELY TO REVERSE THE COURSE OF A SUDDEN DISASTER THAT COULD OVERTAKE ANY STATE IN THE AREA. THE CLOSE PROXIMITY OF IRAN AND THE VULNERABILITY OF THESE STATES WOULD PRECLUDE THAT. THIS WOULD BE PARTICULARLY THE CASE IF, HEAVEN FORBID, WE SUFFERED A SERIOUS REVERSE IN IRAQ.

I BELIEVE THAT EGYPTIANS AND JORDANIANS SHOULD IDEALLY AND URGENTLY DEVELOP AND COMPLETE CONTINGENCY PLANS WILL ALL CONCERNED, LEADING TO POSSIBLE JOINT PREPOSITIONING OF TROOPS IN THREATENED AREAS. HENCE I HAVE INTENSIFIED MY EFFORTS WITH EGYPT, SAUDI ARABIA, IRAQ, THE GULF STATES, AND OMAN, THAT ALL LIKE-MINDED ARABS COME TOGETHER AS SOON AS POSSIBLE TO ANTICIPATE ALL POSSIBILITIES AND TO BE IN A POSITION ALSO TO REACT ADEQUATELY TO ANY IRANIAN MOVE INTO IRAQ. UNDER NO CONDITIONS MUST WE PERMIT WEAKNESS TO LEAD TO A SUNNI-SHI ITE SECTARIAN CONFLICT WITHIN THE AREA - AN INEVITABLE CONSEQUENCE OF A REVERSAL. WE FEEL WE MUST BE IN A POSITION TO INVOKE THE CHARTER OF THE ARAB LEAGUE AND THE ARAB JOINT DEFENCE TREATY. I FEEL THAT THOSE AMONGST US WITH MATERIAL

MEANS SHOULD USE SOME OF THEM TO SAVE THE ARAB FUTURE RATHER THAN SUCCUMB TO BLACKMAIL AND FINANCE THEIR OWN DOWNFALL.

SIR, I BELIEVE THAT IF THINGS GO BADLY THE UNITED STATES WOULD INEVITABLY LOSE ALL IN THIS AREA. PEACE IN THE WORLD WOULD BE IN SERIOUS JEOPARDY AND ODDLY ENOUGH, I BELIEVE THAT ISRAEL WOULD INEVITABLY ALSO LOSE. I AM TRYING, SIR, TO COPE TO THE BEST OF MY ABILITIES WITH REALITIES AND EVENTS. I HOPE THAT YOUR UNDERSTANDING OF ALL THE THREATS, AND ACTIVE COOPERATION, WILL HELP US AVERT DISASTER AND GAIN THE INITIATIVE AT LEAST ONCE, WHEN THERE IS SO MUCH AT STAKE.

I ACKNOWLEDGE RECEIVING YOUR LETTER OF APRIL 23RD, 1982, CARRIED BY ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE WEST. ACCORDING TO YOUR WISHES WE REFRAINED FROM PRESENTING AN OFFICIAL REQUEST FOR AN F.16 F.5G MIX AND THE MOBILE ADVANCED HAWK. THE ISRAELI LOBBY IN WASHINGTON SEEMS, HOWEVER, TO BE SPARING NO EFFORT IN CAMPAIGNING AGAINST POSSIBLE FUTURE SALES TO JORDAN. HAVING NOT PRESENTED AN OFFICIAL REQUEST WE ARE IRONICALLY, HELPLESS TO REFUTE THEIR ARGUMENTS IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA ON A SUBJECT THAT FOR ALL PURPOSES DOES NOT EXIST. THE JMC MEETINGS WERE UNFORTUNATELY, AND IN MY CANDID OPINION, NON-PRODUCTIVE, IF NOT DISASTEROUS. THIS IS CERTAINLY TRUE IF YOU CONSIDER THE SIZE OF THE CHALLENGE WE FACE NOW AND THE IMMEDIATE URGENT GLARING INADEQUACIES WE SUFFER FROM. THE UNITED STATES' GOVERNMENT KNOWS WHAT WE POSSESS AND LACK IN ANY EVENT.

IN ALL OF THIS I CAN ONLY HOPE THAT THE UNITED STATES' GOVERNMENT MAY SERIOUSLY CONSIDER AND SUCCEED IN KEEPING ISRAEL OFF OUR BACKS WHILE WE FACE OUR DESTINY - WHATEVER IT BE.

FINALLY, I HOPE THAT THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE MAY REALIZE AS I KNOW YOU DO, SIR, THAT WE ARE STILL YOUR FRIENDS AND COULD NOT BE OTHERWISE, REGARDLESS OF THE PRICE WE HAVE HAD TO AND MAY HAVE TO PAY FOR OUR FRIENDSHIP AND COMMUNALITY OF UNTARNISHED BELIEFS AND PRINCIPLES. IN ANY EVENT, I CAN ASSURE YOU THAT COME WHAT MAY, WE ARE STOUT OF HEART. GOD HELP US ALL AND GUIDE OUR STEPS.

WITH MY HIGHEST ESTEEM AND BEST REGARDS.

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