

4251290
SECRET

SECRET

UK EYES ALFA

FROM AMMAN 110930Z DEC 83

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELNO 576 OF 11 DEC 83

MIPT: JORDAN/MIDDLE EAST.

13
Tom Pearson advice phone
MT

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF KING HUSSEIN'S LETTER
TO PRESIDENT REAGAN DATED 9 DECEMBER.

BEGINS.

I HAVE RECEIVED WITH APPRECIATION YOUR LETTERS OF NOVEMBER
26 AND NOVEMBER 27 1983. I WAS PLEASED TO RECEIVE YOUR
COMMITMENT TO PURSUING THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS
VIGOROUSLY OVER THE COMING MONTHS, 'THE NECESSITIES OF ELECTORAL
POLITICS' IN THE UNITED STATES NOT WITHSTANDING. I WAS HEARTENED
BY YOUR VIEW THAT 'THE PURSUIT OF PEACE' IS WIDELY AND
ENTHUSIASTICALLY SUPPORTED IN AMERICA.

MR PRESIDENT,

YOU HAVE ENCOURAGED ME OFTEN -TIMES TO ADDRESS YOU WITH
FORTHRIGHTNESS OVER ALL ASPECTS OF OUR MUTUAL RELATIONS, PARTICULARLY
AS THEY AFFECT THE POSSIBILITIES OF OUR ATTAINMENT OF OUR COMMON
GOALS AND OBJECTIVES. LET ME DO SO ONCE AGAIN SIR, BY STATING IN
ABSOLUTE CANDOUR THAT I HAVE CLEARLY PERCEIVED OVER THE
YEARS OF MY CLOSE ASSOCIATION WITH THE UNITED STATES, HOW OFTEN
THE WORTHIER OF OBJECTIVES WERE CLEARLY DETERMINED AND IDENTIFIED
BY THE HIGHEST AUTHORITIES IN THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT.
YET HOW OFTEN THE LACK OF A DYNAMIC, COHERENT AND CONSISTENT
STRATEGY AND SUPPORTIVE POLICY RENDERED THEM UNATTAINABLE. NY
FILES AND RECORDS COVERING THE PERIOD SINCE 1967 ATTEST TO MANY
EXAMPLES OF UNFULFILLED COMMITMENTS AND LOST OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE
ESTABLISHMENT OF THE JUST AND LASTING MIDDLE EAST PEACE
WHICH STILL ELUDES US. TWO EXAMPLES FROM OUR RECENT PAST WHICH
WERE SO DEVASTATING TO US CREDIBILITY ARE WORTH MENTIONING.

1. THE OBJECTIVES OF THE US AND ITS EUROPEAN PARTNERS IN LEBANON
WERE TO SECURE AN UNCONDITIONAL TOTAL WITHDRAWAL OF ALL FOREIGN
FORCES FROM THAT COUNTRY AND TO SECURE ITS SOVEREIGNTY OVER ALL
OF ITS TERRITORIES, ITS INDEPENDENCE AND THE UNITY OF ITS PEOPLE.
HOW THEN WAS THE UNITED STATES SIDE-TRACKED TO THE POINT OF EMBARRA-
SSING ITS EUROPEAN PARTNERS THROUGH BECOMING INVOLVED IN AN AGREEMENT
WITH THE GOVERNMENTS OF ISRAEL AND LEBANON, AS THE GUARANTOR OF A
PEACE TREATY, IN EVERY ASPECT OTHER THAN ITS NAME, WHICH PLACED THAT
AGREEMENT ABOVE AND BEFORE EVERY LEBANESE COMMITMENT AS A MEMBER
OF THE ARAB LEAGUE OF NATIONS, THUS INVOLVING LEBANON IN A SEPARATE
PEACE ARRANGEMENT WITH ISRAEL TO ITS DETRIMENT, AND THAT OF THE
ARABS, AND AWAY FROM THE LOGICAL VENUE OF STRIVING TO SECURE
A COMPREHENSIVE ARAB ISRAELI PEACE THROUGH THE PARTICIPATION
OF ALL THE PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT ?

SECRET

/ WHAT.

WHAT GAVE THE UNITED STATES THE RIGHT, FOLLOWING THIS DEVELOPMENT, TO ANNOUNCE THAT IT RECOGNISED THAT SYRIA HAD LEGITIMATE SECURITY CONCERNS IN SOVEREIGN LEBANON, AND WAS THIS RECOGNITION ANYTHING OTHER THAN AN ATTEMPT TO APPEASE SYRIA BY GIVING IT A SHARE TO BALANCE WHAT ISRAEL SECURED AT THE EXPENSE OF LEBANESE SOVEREIGNTY THROUGH THE AFORE-MENTIONED AMERICAN, ISRAELI, LEBANESE AGREEMENT ?

HOW, FINALLY, COULD THE UNITED STATES, ON PRINCIPLE, DENY THE SOVIETS THEIR CLAIMED SECURITY RIGHTS IN AFGHANISTAN, WHILE CONCEDED SIMILAR RIGHTS TO BOTH ISRAEL AND SYRIA IN LEBANON ?

2. ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS IN THE OCCUPIED ARAB TERRITORIES . IT IS A KNOWN FACT THAT THE INTENSIFICATION OF THESE ACTIVITIES FOLLOWED THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENTS OUTRIGHT REJECTION OF THE UNITED STATES' PRESIDENT'S PEACE INITIATIVE OF 1 SEPTEMBER 1982. IT IS A KNOWN FACT THAT THIS ISRAELI SETTLEMENT ACTIVITY PRIOR TO 1 SEPTEMBER 1982 AND SINCE THE RATIFICATION OF THE CAMP DAVID ACCORDS, WAS IN DIRECT VIOLATION OF THE SAID ACCORDS. IT IS A KNOWN FACT THAT THESE SETTLEMENTS AND THEIR CREATION, CONTRAVENE ALL LEGAL AND INTERNATIONAL ACCORDS, AS THEY RELATE TO TERRITORIES OCCUPIED BY FORCE. IT IS A FACT THAT THESE SETTLEMENTS HAVE BEEN CONSTRUCTED THROUGH FUNDS SECURED FROM THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THAT THE DEMOGRAPHIC AND PHYSICAL CHANGES THAT ARE OCCURRING IN THOSE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES ALL BUT MAKE IT IMPOSSIBLE TO VISUALISE HOW ANY PEACE PROCESS TO COME COULD OVERCOME THE PHYSICAL OBSTACLES TO PEACE WHICH THEY REPRESENT.

I AM PLEASED TO NOTE THAT IN YOUR LETTER OF 26 NOVEMBER 1983, YOU HAVE RE-AFFIRMED A NUMBER OF ASSURANCES WHICH YOU GAVE ME WHEN WE MET IN DECEMBER OF LAST YEAR. I KNOW THAT ONE OF THEM AFFIRMED THE UNITED STATES' GOVERNMENT'S COMMITMENT TO SECURE A FREEZE ON THESE SETTLEMENT ACTIVITIES ONCE WE INDICATED A READINESS TO ENTER NEGOTIATIONS FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 242. I HASTEN TO POINT OUT HOWEVER, THAT THE MAIN CAUSE OF OUR INABILITY TO DO SO WAS ISRAEL'S INTRANSIGENT POLICIES AND AGGRESSIVE NEGATIVE ACTIONS, AND THE EVER ERODING CREDIBILITY OF THE UNITED STATES' IMAGE IN THIS ENTIRE AREA. CONSEQUENTLY ANY POSSIBLE FREEZE IN ISRAELI SETTLEMENT ACTIVITY BEYOND THIS POINT IN TIME, MAY BE GROWINGLY LESS CONSEQUENTIAL IN ENHANCING THE UNITED STATES CREDIBILITY, SINCE THE PHYSICAL DAMAGE IS ALL BUT COMPLETELY DONE.

FINALLY, THE CONCLUSION OF THE STRATEGIC CO-OPERATION AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL AT THIS TIME, AND UNDER PREVALENT CIRCUMSTANCES IN THE AREA, HAS ALTERED THE UNITED STATES' STATUS FROM THAT OF THE PEACE MAKER, TO THAT OF THE COMMITTED ALLY OF ONE OF THE BELLIGERENTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST CONFLICT. THIS TRAGIC STEP HAS FURTHER PUSHED THE MOMENTUM IN THE AREA TOWARDS THE DREADED REALITY OF POLARISATION AND HAS GIVEN THE RADICAL ELEMENTS IN THE ENTIRE MIDDLE EAST AN UNPRECEDENTED BOOST TO PURSUE THEIR OBJECTIVES OF AREA DESTABILISATION, WITH ALL THE INHERENT DANGERS TO IT, AND TO WORLD PEACE.

SECRET

IN.

SECRET

IN VIEWING THIS EVENT, IT WOULD APPEAR THAT THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT, AS THE ALLY OF ISRAEL, HAS CHOSEN TO FORSAKE ITS ROLE AS THE OBJECTIVE PEACE MAKER. IT IS ALSO SADLY EVIDENT THAT THIS ACTION REPRESENTS AN ABANDONMENT OF YOUR INITIATIVE OF 1 SEPTEMBER 1982, WHICH I AM SURE YOU WILL AGREE, WE EARNESTLY STROVE TO KEEP ALIVE BY ALL MEANS WITHIN OUR POWER. I AM SURE, MR. PRESIDENT, YOU WOULD AGREE WITH ME, THAT FOR US TO CONTINUE BEYOND THIS POINT TO TRY TO KEEP ALIVE YOUR GOVERNMENT'S CLEARLY ABANDONED INITIATIVE OF 1-SEPTEMBER 1982, WOULD NOT ONLY BE FUTILE, BUT WOULD BE PATHETICALLY RIDICULOUS.

AS YOU WELL KNOW, SIR, WE HAD BEEN DEEPLY DISTURBED BY THE AMERICAN VETO OF A JORDANIAN RESOLUTION ON ISRAELI SETTLEMENT ACTIVITIES EARLIER ON IN THE YEAR. WE HAD FELT THAT PRESENT CONDITIONS IN THE AREA, INCLUDING THOSE OF ISRAEL, WOULD HAVE AFFORDED THE UNITED STATE'S GOVERNMENT A UNIQUE OPPORTUNITY TO PERSUADE ISRAEL, IN ITS OWN INTEREST, AS WELL AS THAT OF THE UNITED STATES AND ALL IN THIS AREA, AWAY FROM THE DEVASTATING POLICIES WHICH IT FOLLOWED. TO OUR UTTER INCREDULITY WE ARE UNABLE TO PERSUADE OURSELVES, LET ALONE OTHERS, THAT ISRAEL WAS NOT REWARDED HANDSOMELY FOR ITS ACTIONS, ENCOURAGED TO PURSUE ITS POLICIES WITH GREATER ZEAL THROUGH FRESH MATERIAL AND MILITARY AID, TECHNOLOGICAL INDUCEMENTS, TOPPED BY A STRATEGIC ALLIANCE WITH THE UNITED STATES. INDEED, THE RECEPTION IN WASHINGTON OF BRIGADIER BENJAMIN ELIEZER, THE CO-ORDINATOR OF ACTIVITIES IN THE ADMINISTERED TERRITORIES, COULD ONLY GIVE ALL SUBSEQUENT ISRAELI ACTIONS AFFECTING THE UNFORTUNATE PALESTINIANS, THE STAMP OF WASHINGTON'S DIRECT APPROVAL BEYOND THIS POINT.

WITH ALL THIS BEFORE US, SIR, I SEE NO ALTERNATIVE BUT TO SUGGEST THAT THE ONLY POSSIBLE FUTURE COURSE TO RESOLVE THE ARAB ISRAELI ISSUE AND THE PALESTINIAN TRAGEDY, LIES IN STRIVING TO CONVENE AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE TO BE ATTENDED BY ALL THE PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT AND THE TWO SUPER POWERS, ALLIED TO TWO OF THE BELLIGERENTS, AND OTHERS, POSSIBLY ALL PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL OF THE UNITED NATIONS, TO SECURE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A JUST AND LONG OVERDUE MIDDLE EAST PEACE.

3
SECRET

LT GENERAL

SECRET

LT. GENERAL SHAKER, THE COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF THE JORDANIAN ARAB ARMED FORCES IS NOW IN WASHINGTON FOR HIS REGULAR TALKS WITH HIS AMERICAN COUNTERPARTS. I THUS HASTENED TO SEND YOU THIS LETTER TO NSUR THAT YOU ARE FULLY AWARE OF MY FEELINGS AND THE POSITION OF MY GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE, AS WELL AS THE MAJORITY WITHIN OUR ARAB WORLD, OVER RECENT EVENTS. I LEAVE IT TO YOU, SIR, TO DTERMINE THUS THE LEVEL AND SCOPE OF POSSIBLE FUTURE MILITARY CO-OPERATION BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES TO BE DISCUSSED WITH LT. GENRAL SHAKER WITHIN THE SCOPE OF THESE REALITIES.

WITH MY WARMEST PERSONAL REGARDS,
I REMAIN, SIR,
YOUR SINCERE FRIEND,
HUSSEIN.

ENDS.

URWICK

LIMITED

ND. NENAD

ND. MED

ND. NAD

ND. PUSD

PS

PS/ MR LUCE

PS/ PUS

SIR J LEAHY

MR EGERTON

COPIED SENT TO
No. 10 B. STREET

4
SECRET