ADVANCE COPY PRIME MINISTER'S CONFIDENTIAL DEDIP PERSONAL MESSAGE FM AMMAN SENIAL No. T139A 90 TO DESKBY 261530Z FCO Subject a Master TELNO 330 OF 261900Z JUNE 90 INFO DESKBY 261530Z WASHINGTON, UKMIS NEW YORK INFO DESKBY 270630Z TEL AVIV 1. MIPT. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF KING HUSSEIN'S MESSAGE TO THE PRIME MINISTER: BEGINS: DEAR PRIME MINISTER AS RECENT DEVELOPMENTS HAVE EXACERBATED AN ALREADY DECLINING AND DANGEROUS ATMOSPHERE IN THE REGION, I WOULD LIKE TO APPRISE YOU OF MY THOUGHTS BY SENDING YOU A COPY OF MY LETTER TO PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH. I DO BELIEVE WE ARE AT A CROSSROAD AND THAT WITHOUT A CONCERTED WILLINGNESS OF ALL PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT TO ARRIVE AT THE PATH FOR PEACE UNTOLD CONSEQUENCES WILL RESULT. AS ALWAYS I VALUE YOUR COURSEL, SUPPORT AND FRIEND-SHIP AND I LOOK FORWARD TO THE EARLIEST OPPORTUNITY OF SEEING YOU AGAIN. MEANWHILE, NOOR JOINS ME IN SENDING YOU AND MR. THATCHER OUR WARMEST PERSONAL GOOD WISHES. WITH MY HIGHEST ESTEEM. I AM. YOUR SINCERE FRIEND. HUSSEIN ENDS. 2. SEE MIPT.

3. PLEASE ADVANCE TO PS/NO 10.

REEVE

MESSAGE FROM KING HUSSEIN TO PRESIDENT BUSH. -

1. THE CHIEF OF THE ROYAL COURT HAS ASKED ME TO TRANSMIT TO THE PRIME MINISTER A COPY OF A LETTER DATED 24 JUNE FROM KING HUSSEIN TO PRESIDENT BUSH, TOGETHER WITH A COVERING LETTER DATED 25 JUNE FROM THE KING TO MRS THATCHER. TEXTS ARE IN MY TWO IFTS. I ASSUME THAT THE AMERICANS ARE UNAWARE THAT WE MAVE BEEN GIVEN A COPY OF THE BUSH LETTER.

- 2. I HAD ALREADY SOUGHT AN AUDIENCE WITH THE KING WHICH MAY TAKE PLACE LATER TODAY (26 JUNE) OR TOMORROW. I SHALL USE THE OPPORTUNITY TO SEEK HIS FURTHER COMMENTS. AT FIRST READING, HIS LETTER TO PRESIDENT BUSH APPEARS SELF-EXPLANATORY. BY HIS NORMAL STANDARDS, IT IS EXTREMELY BLUNT, THOUGH SOME OF THE TELLING POINTS HE MAKES RISK BEING DEVALUED BY MORE QUESTIONABLE ARGUMENTS, NOT LEAST HIS ONE-SIDED DEFENCE OF IRAQ. THERE ARE TWO IMMEDIATE POINTS ON WHICH I SHOULD COMMENT:
- 1) IN THE PENULTIMATE PARAGRAPH, HE REFERS IN RATHER OPAQUE TERMS TO THE POSSIBILITY THAT A LACK OF AMERICAN MILITARY AND ECOMONIC SUPPORT TO JORDAN MAY HAVE CAUSED QUOTE OTHERS AMONGST OUR FRIENDS UNQUOTE TO REDUCE THEIR ASSISTANCE. BASED ON MY PREVIOUS DISCUSSIONS WITH THE KING, I BELIEVE THIS IS A REFERENCE TO SAUDI ARABIA (AND PERHAPS OTHER GULF STATES) RATHER THAN TO BRITAIN OR OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES.
- 11) THE KING REFERS TO THE POSSIBILITY OF INVOLVEMENT BY THE FIVE PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL AS PERHAPS QUOTE THE BEST AVAILABLE OPTION UNQUOTE FOR A NEW PEACE INITIATIVE. THIS WOULD SEEM TO PROVIDE A USEFUL PEG IN ANY DISCUSSIONS WE MAY HAVE WITH THE AMERICANS ABOUT POSSIBLE ACTIVITY BY THE FIVE, IF INDEED WE SHARE THE KING'S VIEW THAT THIS IS THE MOST HOPEFUL AVENUE FOR FURTHER PROGRESS. HIS SUGGESTION THAT THE FIVE SHOULD ALSO GET INVOLVED ON THE ISSUE OF WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION WOULD SEEM MORE QUESTIONABLE.

3. PLEASE ADVANCE TO PS/NO 10. -

REEVE

advanced to Noto ce-ferred to HD/HENAD for distributura advice leftel suggested CONFIDENTIAL DEDIP EM AMMAN TO IMMEDIATE FCO **TELNO 334** OF 281835Z JUNE 90 INFO PRIORITY WASHINGTON, UKMIS NEW YORK, TEL AVIV MY TELNO 329 TO FCO: MESSAGE FROM KING HUSSEIN TO PRESIDENT BUSH SUMMARY 1. KING HUSSEIN COMMENTS ON HIS LETTER TO PRESIDENT BUSH. ADVOCATES A ROLE BY THE FIVE AS A MEANS OF INJECTING GREATER BALANCE INTO US POLICY. VERY ANXIOUS FOR EARLY MOVEMENT TO HELP CONTAIN INTERNAL PRESSURES. DETAIL 2. WHEN I SAW KING HUSSEIN ON 27 JUNE, I SAID THAT I KNEW THAT MRS THATCHER WOULD BE VERY GLAD TO HAVE HAD THE FULL ACCOUNT OF HIS THINKING CONTAINED IN HIS LETTER TO PRESIDENT BUSH. THE LETTER WOULD HAVE REACHED HER SHORTLY AFTER THE MEETING OF THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL IN DUBLIN AT WHICH A STRONG STATEMENT ON THE MIDDLE EAST SITUATION HAD BEEN ISSUED. I SUBSEQUENTLY GAVE A COPY OF THE STATEMENT TO ZAID BIN SHAKER (WHO WAS PRESENT AT BY AUDIENCE WITH THE KING). 3. IN DISCUSSION, THE KING SPOKE ABOUT HIS SUGGESTION FOR A ROLE BY THE FIVE PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL. HE SAID THAT HE WAS NOT ALONE AMONG ARAB LEADERS IN CONCLUDING THAT, BECAUSE OF ITS COMMITMENT TO ISRAEL, THE US SIMPLY COULD NOT PLAY AN EVEN-HANDED ROLE IN PROMOTING PEACE WHEN ACTING ON A BILATERAL BASIS. CLEARLY THE US WOULD HAVE TO PLAY A LEADING PART IN ANY NEGOTIATIONS, BUT THE INVOLVEMENT OF THE FIVE WOULD BE MORE LIKELY TO INJECT SOME BALANCE INTO THE US APPROACH. I COMMENTED THAT WE UNDERSTOOD BAKER WAS STILL WORKING TO KEEP SHAMIR ENGAGED IN PEACE DISCUSSIONS AND WAS DETERMINED NOT TO LET HIM BACKTRACK ON PREVIOUS COMMITMENTS. THE KING DID NOT RESPOND DIRECTLY. HE SAID THE DECLARED POSITION OF THE NEW ISRAELI GOVERNMENT AND THE TOTAL HAMOBILITY OVER PEACE NEGOTIATIONS POSED A MOST SERIOUS THREAT TO THE WHOLEAREGION, NOT LEAST TO APAB MODERATES SUCH AS JORDAN.

THE KING WAS DEPRESSED AND UNSMILING. THE COMMENTS HE MADE OR OTHER ISSUES (WHICH I AM REPORTING SEPARATELY) INDICATE THAT HE SEES THE PRESENT SITUATION AS MORE DANGEROUS THAN ANY SINCE 1967, BUT WITH THE ADDED RISK OF INTERNAL DISTURBANCES. FROM MY SEPARATE DISCUSSIONS WITH HIS ADVISERS, I CONCLUDE THAT THE LEADERSHIP IS VERY ANXIOUS FOR ANY EVIDENCE OF MOVEMENT OVER THE PEACE PROCESS WHICH IT CAN USE TO ANSWER THE GROWING NUMBER OF RADICAL VOICES WITHIN JORDAN (AT THE FOREFRONT OF WHOM ARE THE ISLAMIST MOVEMENTS) WHO ARGUE THAT MODERATION HAS PRODUCED NOTHING, GIVEN JORDAN'S CONTINUING COOPERATION WITH THE US IN SO MANY FIELDS (INCLUDING MILITARY EXERCISES), THE DILEMMA OF HOW TO REACT TO US POLICY IS PARTICULARLY ACUTE HERE. THE KING'S POLITICAL ADVISER TOLD ME THAT THE KING HAD BEEN ANGRIER ABOUT THE VETO THAN ANY OTHER ASPECT OF US POLICY PRECISELY BECAUSE IT PERPETUATED A STALEMATE AND CLOSED OFF THE POSSIBILITY OF INTERNATIONALISING THE PEACE PROCESS IN A VERY MODEST WAY. THE JORDANIANS ARE PLEASED THAT THE EUROPEANS ARE TAKING A POSITION WHICH CLEARLY SEPARATES THEIR OWN POLICY FROM THAT OF THE US. BUT AT THE SAME TIME THE KING RECOGNISES THE INESCAPABLE NEED FOR US INVOLVEMENT: HENCE HIS INTEREST IN ACTIVITY BY THE FIVE.

5. IN THE CONTEXT OF THE KING'S LETTER TO MRS TMATCHER, I ENQUIRED FROM ZAID BIN SHAKER WHETHER THE KING HAD ANY PLANS FOR VISITING BRITAIN IN THE NEAR FUTURE. BIN SHAKER SAID THAT HE HAD NO IDEA WHEN THE KING WOULD BE ABLE TO GET AWAY. THE SITUATION INTERNALLY WAS VERY DIFFICULT. HE DOUBTED WHETHER AN EARLY VISIT TO BRITAIN WOULD BE POSSIBLE.

5. PLEASE ADVANCE TO PS/NO 10.

REEVE