

ADVANCE COPIES

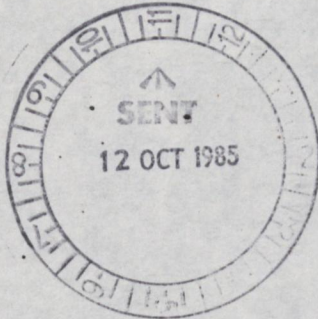
1518

MIDDLE EAST

PS  
PS/MR RENTON  
PS/PUS  
MR DEREK THOMAS  
MR FERGUSSON  
MR EGERTON  
HD/NENAD  
HD/MED.

NO. 10 DOWNING STREET ✓  
CABINET OFFICE DIO

ADVANCE COPY



IMMEDIATE

PUSD (2)  
NEWS DEPT.  
~~RESIDENT CLERK~~

1.10.85

CONFIDENTIAL  
FM WASHINGTON

TO IMMEDIATE FCO  
TELNO 2854

OF 112300Z OCT 85

INFO PRIORITY AMMAN, TEL AVIV, CAIRO, DAMASCUS, JERUSALEM, MOSCOW,  
TUNIS, RIYADH, LUXEMBOURG, PARIS, BONN, ROME.  
MY TWO IPTS

ARAB/ISRAEL

SUMMARY

1. MURPHY CAUTIOUS ABOUT TALK OF PROGRESS. PLO AND SOVIET REPRESENTATION STILL MAJOR OBSTACLE. BUT DISCUSSIONS ARE NOW MORE CLOSELY FOCUSED FOLLOWING HUSSEIN'S VISIT. PERES IS NEXT. THE AMERICANS SEE A LONG HAUL.

DETAIL

2. MINISTER CALLED TODAY ON MURPHY (STATE DEPARTMENT ASSISTANT SECRETARY, NEAR EAST). FROM THEIR DISCUSSIONS, IT APPEARS THAT MURPHY AT LEAST HAS NOT BEEN DISTRACTED BY THE HIJACK FROM THE PRINCIPAL ISSUES OF THE PEACE PROCESS.

3. THE UNITED STATES ARE STILL DIGESTING THE RESULTS OF KING HUSSEIN'S VISIT. MURPHY CONFIRMED THAT THERE HAD BEEN NO BREAK-THROUGH (OUR TELNO 2759). HOWEVER, AT THE KING'S SUGGESTION TALKS HAD FOCUSED ON THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ISSUE ON WHICH THERE WAS NOW BETTER UNDERSTANDING. THE U S FELT THAT WITH RIFAI IN PARTICULAR THEY HAD RECEIVED A BETTER HEARING OF THEIR CONCERNS

IN PARTICULAR THEY HAD RECEIVED A BETTER HEARING OF THEIR CONCERNS THAN IN MAY OR AUGUST. THE JORDANIANS NOW UNDERSTOOD THAT THE CONFERENCE WOULD HAVE TO BE A PRELUDE TO AND NO SUBSTITUTE FOR DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS. AND THE UNITED STATES DID NOW FORESEE A ROLE FOR THE U N SECRETARY GENERAL IN CONVENING THE CONFERENCE (PARAGRAPH 4. OF AMMAN TELNO 543), BUT ONLY WHEN ALL ANGLES HAD BEEN COVERED. 4. HOWEVER, THE UNITED STATES REMAINED MORE CAUTIOUS THAN THE JORDANIANS ABOUT THE SOVIET UNION'S ABILITY TO BLOCK THE PROGRESSION FROM A CONFERENCE FORMAT TO DIRECT TALKS STILL WORRIED THE UNITED STATES. NOR HAD THE ADMINISTRATION OVERCOME ITS STRONG VISCERAL REACTION AGAINST INVITING THE SOVIET UNION INTO THE MIDDLE EAST. 5. ON PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATION, MURPHY SPOKE OF POSSIBLE ASCENDING LEVELS OF PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATION FROM THE START TO THE END OF THE PROCESS ALTHOUGH HE SPOKE OF ISRAEL'S "DEAD-SET" AGAINST TALKING TO THE PLO ALONGSIDE HUSSEIN. THE U S WOULD BE REVIEWING THE PROCESS IN ALL ASPECTS WITH PERES NEXT WEEK. 6. SHULTZ'S BOTTOM LINE, MURPHY SAID, REMAINED THAT THE PROCESS COULD NOT BE SET ROLLING WITHOUT AGREEMENT ON A PROCEDURE WHICH WOULD LEAD, WITHIN A STRICT TIMEFRAME, TO DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS.

THE EARLY STAGES, THE AMERICANS UNDERSTOOD, WERE NECESSARY FOR KING HUSSEIN. BUT THE UNITED STATES HAD TO BE CONFIDENT THAT THE PROCESS WOULD NOT BECOME DERAILED AND LEAVE THE UNITED STATES APPEARING TO FIX THE TERMS OF A SETTLEMENT WITH THE JORDANIANS AND PALESTINIANS. AT THAT POINT, THE UNITED STATES WOULD LOSE ISRAEL. HUSSEIN OVERESTIMATED THE UNITED STATES' ABILITY TO DELIVER FROM ISRAEL AND WAS UNABLE TO GIVE FIRM ENOUGH ASSURANCES ABOUT PLO ACTIONS.

COMMENT

7. NOTHING MURPHY SAID CONTRADICTED THE SUBSTANCE OF AMMAN TELNO 543. BUT HE WAS WARY OF CLAIMING PROGRESS AND PAINTED A LESS OPTIMISTIC PICTURE THAN BOEKER. THE LONG HAUL WHICH MURPHY ENVISAGES CANNOT BE HELPED BY THE ACCELERATING PROGRESSION OF VIOLENT INCIDENTS IN THE REGION, THE FULL EFFECT OF WHICH ON AMERICAN THINKING HAS PROBABLY NOT YET WORKED THROUGH. FOR THE MOMENT, THOUGH, THE UNITED STATES REMAIN FULLY ENGAGED. MURPHY INDEED SAID HE WOULD WELCOME FURTHER IDEAS FROM US ON THE STRUCTURE AND AGENDA OF ANY INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE. ANY IDEAS WE CAN FEED IN WILL HELP US TO KEEP ABREAST OF AMERICAN THINKING AT A TIME WHEN THEY EVIDENTLY WANT TO HOLD DEVELOPMENTS IN THE PROCESS VERY CLOSE.

8. SEE MIFT (NOT TO ALL).

WRIGHT

YYYY

ORWBAN 2927