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## AUDIENCE WITH KING HUSSEIN

## SUMMARY

1. KING HUSSEIN IS NOW FOCUSING HIS EFFORTS ON AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE FOR WHICH HE IS SEEKING SOVIET AND SYRIAN SUPPORT. THE PRELIMINARY STAGES OF THE EARLIER JORDANIAN PLAN APPEAR TO HAVE BEEN DROPPED. HE AWAITS A REPLY FROM ARAFAT ON THE PLO'S READINESS TO CO-OPERATE. HE CLAIMS THAT IN THE LIGHT OF THE US DECISION ON ARMS SUPPLIES HE WILL NOW LOOK TO OTHER SOURCES INCLUDING THE UK, FRANCE AND PERHAPS THE SOVIET UNION.

## DETAIL

2. I HAD AN AUDIENCE (GRANTED WITHIN TEN MINUTES OF MY REQUESTING (H.T) WITH KING HUSSEIN ON 10 NOVEMBER. I SAID THAT I HAD FOUND PEOPLE IN LONDON VERY CONCERNED ABOUT THE RECENT DETERIORATION OF THE MIDDLE EAST SITUATION, SAD THAT THE JORDANIAN/PALESTINIAN MEETING WITH YOU HAD NOT BEEN ABLE TO TAKE PLACE AND VERY GRATEFUL FOR THE KING'S EFFORTS TO PUT STRAIGHT PUBLICLY THE RECORD ON THE LATTER QUESTION.

3. ON THE JORDANIAN/PALESTINIAN MEETING THE KING MERELY COMMENTED 'IF THERE WAS A FAULT IT WAS OURS'. HE THEN SAID THAT MUCH HAD HAPPENED RECENTLY AND HE WOULD LIKE TO BRIEF ME.

4. MURPHY'S VISIT TO AMMAN ON 22 OCTOBER HAD BEEN QUITE POSITIVE. HE HAD MADE IT CLEAR THAT THE AMERICANS NOW ACCEPTED IN PRINCIPLE THE IDEA OF AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE BUT THERE WAS STILL A CONSIDERABLE GAP ON DETAILS. UNDEED, AT TIMES THE AMERICANS SEEMED TO BE THINKING OF SOMETHING QUITE DIFFERENT FROM WHAT JORDAN HAD IN MIND. ON PLO PARTICIPATION THE US POSITION SEEMED TO HAVE BECOME MORE FLEXIBLE. THE US CONDITION OF PLO ATTENDANCE WAS THAT THEY SHOULD PUBLICLY ACCEPT RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338 AND STATE THEIR WILLINGNESS TO NEGOTIATE WITH ISRAEL. THEY WOULD NOT HAVE TO ACCEPT EXPLICITLY ISRAEL'S RIGHT TO EXIST. PERES HAD TOLD THE AMERICANS THAT IT WAS A FACT THAT ISRAEL EXISTED AND HE DID NOT NEED AN EXPLICIT STATEMENT ON THE POINT FROM THE PLO.

5. THE KING SAID THAT HE HAD RECEIVED A SOVIET DELEGATION LED BY BRUTENS (OF THE CPSU INTERNATIONAL DEPARTMENT) ON 9 NOVEMBER. HE HAD EXPLAINED THE JORDANIAN CONCEPT OF AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE I.E. A CONFERENCE CONVENED BY THE UN SECRETARY-GENERAL AND CONSISTING OF THE FIVE PERMANENT SECURITY COUNCIL MEMBERS AND THE PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT. THE CONFERENCE WOULD ESTABLISH WORKING GROUPS CONSISTING OF (A) A JORDANIAN/PALESTINIAN DELEGATION AND ISRAEL ON THE WEST BANK (B) SYRIA AND ISRAEL ON THE GOLAN (C) 'IF EGYPT WANTED TO BE THERE', A THIRD GROUP CONSISTING OF EGYPT AND ISRAEL ON GAZA. WHILE HE DID NOT WANT OTHER CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS TO INTERFERE WITH THE NEGOTIATIONS WITHIN WORKING GROUPS, IF THE

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LATTER RAN INTO DIFFICULTY THEY COULD PERHAPS REPORT BACK TO THE FULL CONFERENCE TO SEE WHETHER HELP COULD BE OBTAINED IN RESOLVING THE DIFFICULTIES. THE RUSSIANS HAD COMMENTED THAT THEY WOULD WANT THE CONFERENCE TO BE 'SUBSTANTIAL'. HE IMPLIED THAT THEY WERE PREPARED TO GO ALONG WITH HIS IDEAS.

6. THE KING RAISED WITH THE SOVIET DELEGATION THE QUESTION OF RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL. THEY APPARENTLY SHOWED INTEREST BUT SAID THEY WOULD WANT ISRAEL TO 'MEET THEM HALF WAY'.

7. ON SYRIA, THE KING SAID THAT THE JORDANIAN PRIME MINISTER HOPED TO GO TO DAMASCUS ON 12 NOVEMBER TO LAY THE BASIS FOR A SUMMIT BETWEEN HIMSELF AND ASAD. HE CLAIMED THAT THE SYRIANS WERE SUPPORTIVE OF JORDANIAN IDEAS ON AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE THOUGH IN RESPONSE TO MY QUESTION HE CONFIRMED THAT SYRIA RETAINED ITS RESERVATIONS ABOUT THE 11 FEBRUARY HUSSEIN/ARAFAT AGREEMENT AND ANY ROLE FOR ARAFAT. HE SAID THAT THE SYRIANS WERE PREPARED TO ATTEND AN ARAB SUMMIT PROVIDED ARAFAT WAS NOT THERE.

8. WITH REGARD TO RELATIONS WITH THE PLO THE KING REFERRED TO ARAFAT'S STATEMENT IN CAIRO ON THE CESSATION OF PLO-ORGANISED VIOLENCE OUTSIDE ISRAEL AND THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES. I SAID THAT I HAD NOTED FROM TODAY'S JORDANIAN PRESS THAT THE KING HAD TOLD THE NEW YORK TIMES THAT THE PLO WOULD, AT THE APPROPRIATE TIME, HAVE TO RENOUNCE ALL ACTS OF VIOLENCE BOTH INSIDE AND OUTSIDE ISRAEL. HE CONFIRMED THAT THAT WAS HIS VIEW. THE DISTINCTION HE MADE WAS BETWEEN VIOLENCE ORGANISED BY PLO WHICH SHOULD STOP, WHEREVER IT TOOK PLACE, AND SPONTANEOUS ACTS OF VIOLENCE AGAINST AN OCCUPYING POWER WHICH NO-ONE COULD STOP AND WHICH, BY DEFINITION, THE PLO DID NOT ORGANISE.

9. AT THIS MEETING WITH ARAFAT ON 28 OCTOBER IN ADDITION TO DISCUSSING THE QUESTION OF VIOLENCE, HE HAD MADE IT PLAIN THAT IF THE PLO WERE TO HAVE A ROLE IN PEACE NEGOTIATIONS THEY WOULD HAVE TO BE READY TO STATE, SHORTLY BEFORE AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE, THAT THEY ACCEPTED 242 AND 338 AND WERE WILLING TO NEGOTIATE WITH ISRAEL. AND FROM NOW ON THE PLO HAD TO SPEAK WITH ONE VOICE. HE WAS NOW AWAITING FOR ARAFAT'S REPLY ON THESE TWO POINTS. I ASKED WHAT HE WOULD DO IF THE REPLY WAS UNSATISFACTORY. HE SAID HE WOULD THEN MAKE PUBLIC THE INADEQUACIES OF THE PALESTINIAN LEADERSHIP AND LEAVE IT TO THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE TO DECIDE ON THE NEXT STEP. THAT MIGHT RESULT IN SOME NEW ARRANGEMENT FOR THE PEOPLE OF THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES. BUT, AS HE CONSTANTLY TOLD THE PLO, IN THAT SITUATION THE PALESTINIANS IN THE TERRITORIES WOULD PROBABLY GET A VERY UNSATISFACTORY DEAL. WITH THE PLO REPRESENTING THEM PROPERLY AND INTELLIGENTLY THEY STOOD A FAR BETTER CHANCE.

10. THE KING THEN SAID WITH SOME EMPHASIS THAT HE WAS NOT WORKING FOR THE PLO OF THE LARNACA MURDERS, THE ACHILLE LAURO HIJACKING AND THE COLLAPSE OF THE LONDON TALKS. HE WAS WORKING FOR A PLO OF HIS OWN CONCEPTION WHICH WOULD SEEK RESPONSIBLY A PEACEFUL AND HONOURABLE SETTLEMENT. AS FAR AS JORDAN WAS CONCERNED THE PLO HAD TO BE PARTY TO THE FINAL SETTLEMENT. I ASKED WHETHER THEY HAD TO BE PRESENT AT THE OPENING OF AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE. HE REPEATED THAT THEY HAD TO BE A PARTY TO A FINAL SETTLEMENT.

11. ON RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES, HUSSEIN SAID THAT JORDAN'S TALKS WITH THE RUSSIANS AND SYRIANS (SEE PARAS 5 TO 7 ABOVE) WERE

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IN IMPLEMENTATION OF HIS UNDERTAKING TO THE US TO TRY TO PERSUADE THEM TO GO ALONG WITH HIS CONCEPT OF NEGOTIATIONS. NOW IS WAS FOR THE AMERICANS TO TAKE UP THE CUDGELS SIMILARLY.

12. HE ASKED FOR HIS REACTIONS FOR THE FURTHER POSTPONEMENT OF THE US DECISION ON ARMS SUPPLIES TO JORDAN. HE SAID THAT AS FAR AS HE WAS CONCERNED THIS WAS FINAL. HE SIMPLY DID NOT BELIEVE THAT PRESIDENT REAGAN WOULD BE ABLE TO DELIVER IN MARCH WHAT HE COULD NOT DELIVER NOW. SO JORDAN WOULD LOOK TO ITS FRIENDS ELSEWHERE, TO THE UNITED KINGDOM, FRANCE AND PERHAPS THE SOVIET UNION. HE ADDED THAT HE HAD BEEN CAREFUL NOT TO CLOSE THE DOOR PUBLICLY ON US ARMS SUPPLIES (HE APPARENTLY SAID TO LE MONDE IN A RECENT INTERVIEW THAT IF THE PRESENT TENDENCY CONTINUED, IT WOULD BE THE END OF "THE

RELATIONSHIPS WE HAVE WITH THE UNITED STATES AS OUR PRINCIPAL ARMS FURNISHER"). BUT THAT WAS BECAUSE HE DID NOT WANT TO GIVE THE AMERICANS THE OPPORTUNITY TO BLAME HIM FOR THE FINAL STEP. I SUGGESTED THAT HE WAS NOT CLOSING THE DOOR, MERELY EXPRESSING DISBELIEF THAT THE AMERICANS COULD SUPPLY WHAT HE WANTED. HE IMPLIED THAT IT CAME TO THE SAME THING.

13. HE FINALLY ASKED THE KING WHETHER HE WOULD BE RIGHT IN THINKING THAT, ON ARAB/ISRAEL, ALL HIS EFFORTS WERE NOW CONCENTRATED ON AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE AND THAT THE IDEAS FOR PRELIMINARY MEETINGS HAD FALLEN AWAY. HE CONFIRMED THAT THIS WAS THE CASE. THERE MIGHT BE SOME SORT OF US/PALESTINIAN MEETING BUT ONLY JUST BEFORE THE CONFERENCE OPENED AND EVEN THEN NOT TO DO ANY SUBSTANTIVE WORK.

COMMENT

14. THE ABOVE RAISES SEVERAL IMPORTANT QUESTIONS E.G. WHETHER JORDAN IS SIGNIFICANTLY SHIFTING ITS POSITION TOWARDS THE SOVIET UNION AND SYRIA, IF SO WHERE THAT LEAVES JORDAN'S RELATIONS WITH THE US AND HOPES OF PEACE NEGOTIATIONS WITH ISRAEL IN WHATEVER FORUM, AND WHETHER JORDAN IS NOW PROPOSING TO MAKE SERIOUS EFFORTS TO OBTAIN MORE ARMS FROM US, FRANCE AND THE SOVIET UNION. HE WILL TRY TO SUGGEST ANSWERS TO THESE POINTS IN A FEW DAYS TIME. HE HOPE TO SEE THE JORDANIAN PRIME MINISTER AND FOREIGN MINISTER SHORTLY AND ALSO TO COMPARE NOTES WITH THE U.S. AMBASSADOR.

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3  
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