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DED:IP

FROM AMMAN 121800Z APRIL 83

Mr Coles
NO 10 DOWNING ST.

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELNO 174 OF 12 APRIL 1983

Prime Minister

FOR PRIVATE SECRETARY

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Given by King Hussein to
Mr. Lynn in confidence -

MIPT: JORDAN/US

see overleaf especially

1. FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF LETTER DATED 10 APRIL FROM
KING HUSSEIN TO PRESIDENT REAGAN.

A.J.C. 13/4

BEGINS.

DEAR MR PRESIDENT.

AS YOU WELL KNOW, IT IS AFTER ENERGETIC AND PROTRACTED CONSULTATION WITH THE VARIOUS PARTIES CONCERNED THAT I DEEPLY REGRET THAT I HAVE BEEN UNABLE TO OFFER YOU MY CONCLUSIVE REPLY TO YOUR INVITATION TO ME, JORDAN AND THE PALESTINIANS TO JOIN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND OTHER PARTIES IN THE ARAB /ISRAELI CONFLICT IN PURPOSEFUL NEGOTIATIONS IN THE SEARCH FOR A LONG OVERDUE, JUST AND LASTING PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

IT HAS BEEN MY FIRM CONVICTION, MR PRESIDENT, THAT YOUR SEPTEMBER 1ST SPEECH OF 1982, AND THE SUBSEQUENT PEACE PLAN WHICH I HAD THE HONOUR TO DISCUSS WITH YOU LAST DECEMBER, HAS BEEN THE CAUSE OF MIDDLE EAST PEACE TO DATE. IT WAS THE FIRST BOLD AND SINCERE ATTEMPT BY THE UNITED STATES AT INFLUENCING THE COURSE OF TRAGIC EVENTS IN THIS AREA SINCE 1956 SEMICLON PARTICULARLY IN VIEW OF THE MOST OMINOUS AND DISTRESSING CIRCUMSTANCES IN THE ARAB TERRITORIES UNDER ISRAELI OCCUPATION SINCE JUNE OF 1967. THESE IMPLICATIONS ARE CRITICALLY DECISIVE FOR ALL STATES IN THIS AREA AND POSSIBLY WORLD PEACE.

AS YOU WELL KNEW, ALL ALONG, MR PRESIDENT, I HAVE BEEN HONOUR BOUND BY THE RABAT ARAB SUMMIT RESOLUTIONS OF 1974 WHICH DESIGNATED THE PALESTINIAN LIBERATION ORGANISATION AS THE SOLE LEGITIMATE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PEOPLE OF PALESTINE. AS SUCH THE PLO STATUS WAS REAFFIRMED BY THE ARAB SUMMIT AT FEZ LAST SEPTEMBER.

SINCE THAT SUMMIT, AND PARTICULARLY SINCE OUR MEETINGS IN WASHINGTON D.C. IN DECEMBER, 1982, I HAVE BEEN ENGAGED IN A CEASELESS EFFORT TO RECONCILE THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE FEZ SUMMIT DECISIONS (THE ARAB PEACE PLAN) AND YOUR OWN AMERICAN PEACE INITIATIVE. I HAVE BEEN DRIVEN SOLELY BY A SENSE OF THE DEEPEST CONCERN FOR THE FUTURE OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE, ESPECIALLY THOSE UNDER OCCUPATION, FOR THEIR JUST CAUSE AND INALIENABLE RIGHTS ON THE LAND OF THEIR FOREFATHERS.

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MY SERIOUS CONCERN FOR THE FUTURE OF GENERATIONS TO COME IN THIS ENTIRE AREA, IF NOT THE WORLD, HAS MOTIVATED ME, AS IT ALWAYS WILL, BY MY ABSOLUTE COMMITMENT TO THE CAUSE OF ESTABLISHING A DURABLE, JUST AND COMPREHENSIVE PEACE IN OUR REGION.

I HAVE ENCOUNTERED A COMBINATION OF PROBLEMS WHICH HAVE REMAINED INSURMOUNTABLE.

1. THE EXCLUSION OF THE PLO FROM THE PROPOSED PEACE NEGOTIATIONS UNDER THE PROVISIONS OF THE UNITED STATES PEACE INITIATIVE AND WASHINGTON'S REFUSAL TO RECOGNIZE THE PLO UNLESS IT ACCEPTED SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338 AND RECOGNITIONS OF ISRAEL'S RIGHT TO EXIST, BY ENDORSING THE FEZ SUMMIT RESOLUTIONS THE PLO HAS IMPLICITLY MET THE AFOREMENTIONED CONDITIONS AND YET THE PLO WAS EXCLUDED FROM THE NEGOTIATING TABLE, AT LEAST AT THE INITIAL STAGE.

2. THE PROCRASTINATION BY ISRAEL OVER THE WITHDRAWAL FROM LEBANON WHICH WAS ANTICIPATED IN DECEMBER OF LAST YEAR HAS BEEN AGGRAVATED BY PRIME MINISTER BEGIN'S OUTRIGHT REFUSAL OF THE UNITED STATES PEACE PLAN, TOGETHER WITH ISRAEL'S ACCELERATED SETTLEMENT ACTIVITIES IN THE OCCUPIED AREAS. THE DESCRIPTION BY WASHINGTON OF ISRAELI SETTLEMENT POLICY AS OBSTRUCTIVE RATHER THAN ILLEGAL WAS INDEED UNFORTUNATE. MATTERS WERE MADE WORSE BY THE UNPRECEDENTED REPRESSION METED OUT TO THE PEOPLE OF THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, AS WELL AS VIOLATIONS OF RELIGIOUS SHRINES. ALL THIS HAS COME IN THE WAKE OF THE MASSACRES IN SABRA AND CHATILA.

ALL THESE FACTORS SERIOUSLY AFFECTED THE US CREDIBILITY IN THIS AREA AND HELPED THOSE WHO WISHED TO CAST DOUBTS OVER THE UNITED STATES ABILITY TO INFLUENCE ISRAEL TOWARDS THE HONOURABLE PEACE WHICH WE HAVE ALWAYS SOUGHT, AND TO CAUSE ISRAEL TO MOVE AWAY FROM THE DANGEROUS COURSE WHICH IT HAS CHARTED FOR HERSELF IN THE AREA. IT IS IRONIC THAT ISRAEL STILL DEPENDS ON AMERICAN SUPPORT, TOLERANCE AND FRIENDSHIP WHICH HAS SUSTAINED IT FOR SO LONG.

3. THE EXCLUSION OF THE U.S.S.R. FROM PARTICIPATION IN THE PEACE EFFORT HAS HAD A DISRUPTIVE IMPACT IN VIEW OF ITS NEGATIVE INFLUENCE WITH REGARD TO THE UNITED STATES PEACE PLAN.

4. THE COMPLETE INADEQUACY OF CONSTRUCTIVE ASSISTANCE AND REAL SUPPORT FOR OUR POSITION THROUGHOUT BY SOME OF OUR ARAB BROTHERS AND MUTUAL FRIENDS.

IF ONE IS TO NEGLECT MENTIONING CERTAIN UNFORTUNATE VIEWS PROFFERED TO THE LEADERS OF THE PLO BY VARIOUS QUARTERS IN THE ARAB WORLD WHICH MAY HAVE BEEN WELL INTENTIONED BUT WHICH SADLY DIMINISHED JORDAN'S CREDIBILITY

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WITH THE P.L.O. DURING THE ENTIRE PROCESS. IT HAS GIVEN THEM THE FALSE IMPRESSIONS THAT THE PEACE PLAN, AS WE UNDERSTAND, COULD BE IMPROVED UPON IN DUE COURSE THROUGH OTHER MEANS. INTERESTED PUBLIC FIGURES LIKE DR. HENRY KISSINGER HAVE UNFORTUNATELY CONTRIBUTED TO THIS END.

5. AS A RESULT OF THESE FACTORS IT APPEARS THAT THE P.L.O. LEADERSHIP HAS BEEN UNABLE TO LIVE UP TO ITS DECLARED INTENT TO US TO SECURE THE APPROVAL OF THEIR ORGANIZATION TO RATIFY THE JOINTLY DRAFTED AGREEMENT WHICH WOULD HAVE BEEN PRESENTED TO THE ARAB HEADS OF STATE AS THE PLAN OF THOSE PARTIES MOST IMMEDIATELY CONCERNED WITH THE CONFLICT. THIS PALESTINIAN/JORDANIAN POSITION WOULD UNDOUBTEDLY HAVE OBTAINED ARAB CONSENSUS AND SUPPORT ENABLING US TO ACCEPT YOUR INVITATION TO JOIN IN PEACE NEGOTIATIONS BASED ON YOUR PLAN, AND OUR SUBSEQUENT AMERICAN/JORDANIAN UNDERSTANDING AS TO ITS MEANING AND OBJECTIVE.

CONFRONTED WITH THESE DEVELOPMENTS I SADLY FEEL COMPELLED TO ADVISE YOU THAT AS MATTERS STAND I HAVE REACHED A DEAD-END. AFTER STRIVING WITH ALL MY HEART AND ABILITIES TO SURMOUNT COUNTLESS OBSTACLES I CANNOT, UNDER THE PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES, ACCEDE TO THE REQUESTS OF SOME IN THIS AREA TO PROCRASTINATE FURTHER IN APPRAISING YOU OF ALL THE REALITIES WHEN I, MYSELF, AM UNABLE TO IDENTIFY A SINGLE RAY OF HOPE THAT I HAVE NOT PURSUED OVER THE PAST SEVERAL MONTHS. UNFORTUNATELY, MR. PRESIDENT, WITHIN OUR LIMITED RESOURCES WE HAVE DONE OUR BEST BUT FOR THE TIME BEING IT SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN TO NO AVAIL.

I HAVE DECIDED, MR PRESIDENT, TO MAKE PUBLIC OPINION AWARE OF THESE DEVELOPMENTS. I FEEL I OWE IT AT LEAST TO PALESTINIANS, JORDANIANS AND ARABS, AS I OWE IT EQUALLY TO YOU, MR. PRESIDENT, AND TO YOUR GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE.

I HOPE, MR PRESIDENT, AND KNOW THAT DESPITE ALL THIS THE CAUSE OF THE ARAB PEOPLE OF PALESTINE WILL EVER REMAIN ALIVE IN YOUR HEART AND IN THE CONSCIENCE OF THE GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE OF YOUR GREAT NATION , FOR THEIRS IS A JUST CAUSE THAT MERITS YOUR GREATEST ATTENTION AND SUPPORT.

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I THANK YOU, MR. PRESIDENT, FOR YOUR CONFIDENCE AND TRUST
IN ME, AND FOR YOUR FRIENDSHIP AND THAT OF YOUR GOVERNMENT
AND PEOPLE FOR JORDAN AND MYSELF OF WHICH WE ARE PROUD OF,
AND WHICH WE FULLY RECIPROCATE.

I AM SIR
YOUR SINCERE FRIEND,
HUSSEIN

ENDS

URWICK

LIMITED
MD/NGRAD
PS
PS/HR HURD
PS/PUS
SIR J BULLARD
SIR J LEAHY
MR EGERTON

COPIES TO:-
MR COLS NO 10 DOWNING ST.

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