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# Department of State

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ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-00 /000 W

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FM AMEMBASSY AMMAN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6367

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 03 AMMAN 09063

NODIS/SIERRA

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS : PREL, JO, U.S. XF

SUBJECT : KING HUSSEIN'S OCTOBER 19 LETTER TO THE  
PRESIDENT ON LEBANON AND THE PEACE PROCESS

1. SECRET - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. AMBASSADOR RECEIVED TODAY FOLLOWING LETTER DATED OCTOBER 19, 1983 FROM KING HUSSEIN TO PRESIDENT REAGAN. DEPARTMENT SHOULD NOTE THAT LETTER CONTAINS EXTREMELY SENSITIVE INFORMATION ON THE KING'S PLANS AFFECTING THE PEACE PROCESS. INTERNAL DEPARTMENT DISTRIBUTION SHOULD BE DECIDED ACCORDINGLY. PLEASE NOTE FURTHER THAT KING HAS CLASSIFIED THE LETTER "TOP SECRET." EMBASSY COMMENTS ON LETTER FOLLOW SEPTTEL.

3. ORIGINAL BEING POUCHED TO S/S UNDER REGISTRY NO. 5804441.

4. BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT,

IT HAS BEEN A WHILE SINCE I WROTE YOU, SIR,  
ON SUBJECTS OF MUTUAL CONCERN.

DECLASSIFIED

NLRR M08-098/14 #56916

BY RW NARA DATE 5-20-10

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- I AM FOLLOWING WITH GREAT ANXIETY ALL THE DEVELOPMENTS ON THE LEBANESE SCENE WHICH RELATE TO OUR COMMON GOAL OF ESTABLISHING THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE LEBANESE GOVERNMENT OVER ALL LEBANESE TERRITORIES. WE MUST EMPHASISE THE INDEPENDENCE OF THAT BEREAVED COUNTRY THROUGH THE ATTAINMENT OF THE TOTAL WITHDRAWAL OF ALL FOREIGN FORCES AND MINIMISE THE NEGATIVE INPUTS OF EXTERNAL INFLUENCES ON THE DOMESTIC SCENE IN THAT COUNTRY. THE EFFORTS AT ACHIEVING LEBANESE NATIONAL RECONCILIATION TO FREEZE, IF NOT TOTALLY RESOLVE, DIFFERENCES AMONGST THE DIFFERENT COMMUNITIES THERE, ARE ATTEMPTS WITH WHICH WE HAVE BEEN INVOLVED TO THE BEST OF OUR ABILITY. THE SUCCESS OF THESE EFFORTS MAY WELL PROVIDE THE LAST CHANCE OF AVERTING THE TOTAL DISINTEGRATION OF THE LEBANON, WITH THE UNTOLD COMPLICATIONS AND INHERENT DANGERS TO THE AREA AS A WHOLE. IF WE WERE EVER TO WITNESS SUCH A TRAGIC END.

- MR. PRESIDENT, MUCH HAS HAPPENED SINCE I WROTE YOU ON 10 APRIL APPRAISING YOU, WITH DEEP REGRET, OF MY INABILITY TO PROCEED ON THE COURSE WE DISCUSSED DURING OUR MEETING OF DECEMBER LAST. WE AVAILED OURSELVES OF THE OPPORTUNITY WHICH YOUR PEACE PLAN OF 1 SEPTEMBER 1982 AFFORDED ALL CONCERNED IN THE ARAB ISRAELI PROBLEM, THE ROOT CAUSE OF MIDDLE EAST INSTABILITY AND THE MAJOR THREAT TO PEACE, BOTH IN THE AREA AND POSSIBLY THE WORLD. I EXPLAINED THEN, THE REASONS FOR THE FAILURE OF OUR BEST EFFORTS TO SECURE PALESTINIAN PARTICIPATION AND ARAB SUPPORT, REASONS THAT RESULTED PRIMARILY FROM THE ISRAELI REJECTION OF YOUR PLAN. THE ISRAELIS, AS IS WELL

KNOWN, RESPONDED TO YOUR PROPOSAL BY INTENSIFYING SETTLEMENT ACTIVITIES AND INCREASING REPRESSION IN THE OCCUPIED WEST BANK AND GAZA. ISRAEL

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PROCRASTINATED ON THE SUBJECT OF ITS UNCONDITIONAL  
WITHDRAWAL FROM LEBANON, TOGETHER WITH OTHER  
FORCES THERE, PRIOR TO THE PROJECTED DATE OF THE  
BEGINNING OF 1983. FURTHERMORE, THE MASSACRES AT  
SABRA AND SHATILA ALL BUT DESTROYED AMERICAN  
CREDIBILITY IN THE AREA. THE UNITED STATES WAS  
UNABLE TO ENVISAGE A SOVIET ROLE IN THE SEARCH FOR  
PEACE. TOGETHER WITH THE UNITED STATES' REFUSAL  
TO ACCEPT THE P. L. O. AS A PRINCIPAL NEGOTIATING  
PARTNER IN THE PROPOSED PEACE PROCESS, THE UNITED  
STATES INSISTED THAT THE P. L. O. ACCEPT SECURITY  
COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338 AND RECOGNISE  
ISRAEL'S RIGHT TO EXIST AS PRIOR CONDITIONS TO  
ANY OFFICIAL UNITED STATES P. L. O. DIALOGUE.

- ALL THESE FACTORS, AND OTHERS OF WHICH YOU  
ARE AWARE, OBLIGED ME TO STATE TO YOU MY INABILITY  
TO MOVE FURTHER, DESPITE MY MOST VIGOROUS ATTEMPTS,  
TO SUCCESSFULLY ELIMINATE THE DIFFERENCES AT THAT  
TIME BETWEEN THE ARAB FEZ SUMMIT PROPOSALS FOR  
PEACE, AND THE AMERICAN PEACE PLAN OUTLINED BY YOU,  
MR. PRESIDENT, ON 1 SEPTEMBER 1982.

- WE HAVE NOTED SINCE THEN, WITH DEEP CONCERN,  
THE BEGINNINGS OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE SYRIAN  
GOVERNMENT'S PLAN TO BRING THE P. L. O. TOTALLY UNDER  
ITS CONTROL. THE GOVERNMENT OF JORDAN MADE IT

NOTE: NODIS/SIERRA PER C. HILL S/S.



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FM AMEMBASSY AMMAN  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6368

S E C R E T SECTION 02 OF 03 AMMAN 09063

NODIS/SIERRA

E. O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS : PREL, JO, US, XF  
SUBJECT : KING HUSSEIN'S OCTOBER 19 LETTER TO THE

CLEAR THAT IT REGARDED SYRIAN MOVES IN THAT CONNECTION AS SERIOUS, IN THAT THEY UNDERMINED THE LEGITIMACY OF THE P. L. O.'S REPRESENTATION OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE, AS ADOPTED BY THE ARAB SUMMIT AT RABAT, MOROCCO IN 1974.

- EVENTS IN LEBANON HAVE BEEN THE FOCAL POINT OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY'S INTEREST IN RECENT MONTHS, WITH THE EXECUTION OF THE SYRIAN GOVERNMENTS' PLANS TO RECREATE THE P. L. O. AS A TOTALLY SUBJUGATED INSTRUMENT OF ITS WILL, IF NOT ITS CONTRACTUAL ALLIES OR OTHERS, PASSING WITHOUT MUCH NOTICE.

- MR. PRESIDENT, I DO NOT KNOW IF IT IS THE UNITED STATES' POLICY OBJECTIVE TO GIVE THE GOVERNMENT OF SYRIA THE ABILITY TO ADD THE PALESTINIAN CARD TO THAT OF THE LEBANON, WHICH IT APPEARS TO HAVE SECURED TO A MAJOR DEGREE. HOWEVER, I FEEL VERY STRONGLY THAT THIS SUBJECT REQUIRES THAT WE BOTH SEEK THE CLEAREST UNDERSTANDING OF OUR RESPECTIVE



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PERSONAL, AS WELL AS GOVERNMENTAL AND NATIONAL POSITIONS.

- THE P.L.O. HAS BEEN RECOGNISED BY US AS THE SOLE LEGITIMATE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE SINCE 1974. WE IN JORDAN HAVE UPHELD THIS POLICY TO THE POINT OF FREEZING CONSTITUTIONAL PARLIAMENTARY LIFE SINCE THE RABAT DECISION ON PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATION.

- WE BELIEVE THAT THE FINAL STEPS ARE IMMINENT IN TRANSFORMING THE P.L.O. INTO A SYRIAN SURROGATE. WE THEREFORE FEEL STRONGLY THAT WE WILL NOT BE ABLE TO DEAL WITH THE P.L.O. IF IT IS TO FALL UNDER SYRIAN CONTROL. A SERIOUS CRISIS IS PREDICTABLE IN OUR RELATIONS WITH SYRIA AND THEIR RE-CREATED P.L.O.

- IN THE LIGHT OF MANY DEVELOPMENTS, BUT MOST PARTICULARLY AFTER AN INTOLERABLY LONG PERIOD OF JORDAN'S EXISTANCE WITHOUT DEMOCRATIC PARLIAMENTARY LIFE, WE ARE NOW MOST SERIOUSLY CONSIDERING THE RECALL OF THE JORDANIAN PARLIAMENT INTO SESSION. WE FEEL UNABLE TO CONTINUE TO BEAR RESPONSIBILITY AT THIS CRUCIAL TIME IN ITS ABSENCE. THE JORDANIAN PARLIAMENT, AS YOU WELL KNOW, REPRESENTS THE EAST AND OCCUPIED WEST BANK OWING TO THE CONTINUED ISRAELI OCCUPATION OF THOSE TERRITORIES SINCE 1967. THE OLD PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY CAN, HOWEVER, WITHIN THE CONSTITUTION, APPOINT REPRESENTATIVES FROM THE WEST BANK TO FILL

VACANCIES, CAUSED BY THE LAPSE OF TIME, FROM WEST BANK CONSTITUENCIES. ELECTIONS COULD BE

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PAGE 04 OF 04 AMMAN 09063 02 OF 03 191853Z C05/05 009261 NO  
HELD IN THE EAST BANK OF JORDAN TO FILL VACANT  
POSITIONS AND PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRATIC LIFE  
WOULD ENSUE.

- IN THE FOLLOWING PERIOD I HOPE THAT  
THE CONCEPT OF FUTURE RELATIONS BETWEEN BOTH  
PALESTINE AND JORDAN COULD BE FORMULATED IN  
THE MOST ACCEPTABLE AND EXEMPLARY FRAMEWORK  
TO REPRESENT A COMMITMENT BY ALL, WHICH WOULD  
BE RATIFIED THROUGH THE EXERCISE OF A FREE  
PLEBISCITE, ONCE OCCUPATION IS AT AN END. IN  
OTHER WORDS, THROUGH THE EXERCISE OF THE  
LEGITIMATE AND SACRED RIGHT OF SELF DETERMINATION,  
PALESTINE MAY INCORPORATE THE OCCUPIED WEST BANK  
AND THE GAZA STRIP. NONE OF THIS HOWEVER, AND  
ACCORDING TO JORDANIAN CONSTITUTION, WOULD  
INFRINGE UPON THE RIGHTS OF PALESTINIANS IN A  
FINAL SETTLEMENT OF THE PALESTINIAN, ARAB  
ISRAELI CONFLICT, NOR WOULD JORDAN INFRINGE ON  
THE RIGHTS OF PALESTINIANS TO BE INVOLVED IN  
ANY PEACE PROCESS LEADING TO THAT END.

- HOWEVER, IN THIS NEW CONTEXT OF DIRECT  
JORDANIAN INVOLVEMENT WITH THE FATE OF THE  
OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, IT BECOMES VITAL THAT WE  
RECEIVE YOUR COMMITMENT IN UNEQUIVOCAL TERMS.  
IT IS VITAL TO US TO KNOW IN NO UNCERTAIN TERMS  
THAT YOU, SIR, THE ADMINISTRATION AND THE  
AMERICAN NATION ARE COMMITTED TO THE IMPLEMENT-

NOTE: NODIS/SIERRA PER C. HILL S/S.

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FM AMEMBASSY AMMAN  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6369

SECRET SECTION 03 OF 03 AMMAN 09063

NODIS/SIERRA

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS : PREL, JO, US, XF  
SUBJECT : KING HUSSEIN'S OCTOBER 19 LETTER TO THE

ATION OF SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 242 AS WE  
BOTH FORMULATED IT IN 1967 AND THAT THE UNITED  
STATES ACTS IMMEDIATELY TO BUTTRESS JORDAN'S  
CAPABILITIES TO MEET ALL CHALLENGES, NOT AFTER  
THE FACT, BUT IMMEDIATELY.

- OBVIOUSLY ALL THIS PRESUPPOSES THAT YOUR  
GOVERNMENT RECOGNISES THAT THE OCCUPIED WEST  
BANK IS OCCUPIED JORDANIAN TERRITORY AND THAT  
WHAT APPLIED TO OCCUPIED EGYPTIAN TERRITORIES,  
APPLIES TO THESE TERRITORIES IN THEIR ENTIRETY  
AND WITHOUT EXCEPTION.

- I NEED NOT REMIND YOU, SIR, OF OUR  
COMMITMENT TO THE CAUSE OF ESTABLISHING A JUST  
AND DURABLE MIDDLE EAST PEACE. WE ARE COMMITTED  
TO THE PALESTINIAN CAUSE AND THE RIGHTS OF ALL  
PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT TO LIVE IN PEACE AND  
SECURITY, ONCE A JUST, HONOURABLE PEACE IS  
ACHIEVED.

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- I HAVE CHOSEN TO WRITE TO YOU SIR, THIS PERSONAL LETTER ON THESE HIGHLY SENSITIVE MATTERS AT THIS CRITICAL JUNCTURE, AND IN ABSOLUTE CONFIDENCE.

- WITH MY HIGHEST ESTEEM AND SINCEREST WISHES.

/S/ YOUR SINCERE FRIEND, HUSSEIN I.

END TEXT.

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NOTE: NODIS/SIERRA PER C. HILL S/S.

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