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TELNO 393 OF 12 OCT 79

*Prime Minister*

*Amr*

SAVING TO BAGHDAD, BEIRUT, CAIRO, DAMASCUS, TEL AVIV, UKMIS  
NEW YORK, WASHINGTON AND C G JERUSALEM.

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MINISTER OF STATE'S VISIT TO JORDAN: 9-11 OCTOBER.

1. ALTHOUGH MR HURD'S VISIT WAS VERY BRIEF, ALLOWING HIM ONLY ONE FULL DAY AND PART OF THE FOLLOWING MORNING HERE, HE WAS ABLE TO HAVE WIDE-RANGING DISCUSSIONS WITH ALL THOSE WHO AT PRESENT PLAY A CENTRAL ROLE IN THE DIRECTION OF JORDANIAN AFFAIRS: KING HUSSEIN, CROWN PRINCE HASSAN, THE PRIME MINISTER, THE HEAD OF THE ROYAL COURT, THE COMMANDER IN CHIEF AND KEY MINISTERS IN THE JORDANIAN GOVERNMENT INCLUDING THE MINISTER OF INFORMATION (HIS FORMAL HOST, WHO ATTENDED MR HURD ALMOST THROUGHOUT HIS VISIT), AND THE MINISTER OF INDUSTRY AND TRADE. HE ALSO MET OVER LUNCH THE HEADS OF A NUMBER OF IMPORTANT JORDANIAN INSTITUTIONS AND ENTERPRISES: THE GOVERNOR OF THE CENTRAL BANK, THE PRESIDENT OF THE AMMAN UNIVERSITY AND THE CHAIRMEN OF THE POTASH COMPANY AND THE ROYAL JORDANIAN AIRLINE. IN ADDITION MR HURD SIGNED AN INVESTMENT PROTECTION AGREEMENT WITH THE MINISTER OF INDUSTRY, VISITED A REFUGEE CAMP WITH THE UNRWA REPRESENTATIVE, ATTENDED A CEREMONY AT WHICH THE CROWN PRINCE LAID THE FOUNDATION STONE OF THE NEW INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY SCHOOL AND MET ABOUT 20 RESIDENT REPRESENTATIVES OF BRITISH FIRMS OVER DRINKS AT MY HOUSE. IN THE COURSE OF HIS VISIT HE ALSO MET THE LEADER OF THE TEAM NEGOTIATING THE SALE OF BRITISH TANKS TO JORDAN, THE DIRECTOR OF THE MILITARY ASSISTANCE OFFICE AND TWO MEMBERS OF EGGD, ALL OF WHOM HAPPENED TO BE IN JORDAN AT THE SAME TIME AS HIMSELF.

2. UNFORTUNATELY THERE WAS INSUFFICIENT TIME IN AN ALREADY VERY CROWDED PROGRAMME TO VISIT ANY OF THE IMPORTANT PROJECTS BEING CARRIED OUT BY BRITISH FIRMS IN THE VICINITY OF AMMAN OR FURTHER AFIELD, EG THE FIRST STAGE OF THE LARGE POTASH PROJECT

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BEING UNDERTAKEN BY WIMPEYS ON THE DEAD SEA, THE EXPANSION OF AQABA PORT, THE PHOSPHATE MINE AT EL HASA AND THE NEW QUEEN ALIA AIRPORT. HOWEVER THE VISIT COULD HARDLY HAVE COME AT A MORE OPPORTUNE MOMENT IN OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS, WITH THE \$400 MILLION TANK DEAL, THE PURCHASE OF NEW AIRCRAFT FOR ALIA (IN WHICH ROLLS ROYCE ENGINED TRISTAR AND THE AIRBUS ARE IN COMPETITION WITH BOEING) AND THE SECOND STAGE OF THE POTASH PROJECT ALL UNDER NEGOTIATION AND A SIZEABLE CONTRACT FOR THE EQUIPMENT OF THE NEW ALIA AIRPORT JUST SIGNED BY CABLE WIRELESS. AS IS HIS WONT, THE MINISTER OF INDUSTRY URGED THAT MORE JOINT BRITISH/JORDANIAN VENTURES SHOULD BE ESTABLISHED IN JORDAN TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE POSSIBILITIES OF THE LOCAL AND NEIGHBOURING ARAB MARKETS. DR DAJANI CLAIMED THAT NEITHER MONEY NOR MANPOWER WERE LACKING: WHAT WAS NEEDED WERE FOREIGN ENTREPRENEURS PREPARED TO USE JORDAN AS A BASE FOR PENETRATING OTHER ARAB MARKETS, THUS ENABLING JORDAN TO ACT AS A CONDUIT FOR WESTERN TECHNOLOGY TO THE ARAB WORLD. HE CLAIMED THAT JORDAN WAS TAKING OVER, IN PART AT LEAST, THE BUSINESS AND COMMERCIAL ROLE IN THE MIDDLE EAST PREVIOUSLY PLAYED BY LEBANON AND IRAN AND HOPED THAT BRITISH FIRMS WOULD SEIZE THE OPPORTUNITIES OPEN TO THEM.

3. MR HURD IMMEDIATELY ESTABLISHED AN EASY AND FRIENDLY RELATIONSHIP WITH KING HUSSEIN AND ALL THE OTHER LEADING JORDANIANS HE MET. THE POLITICAL DISCUSSIONS RANGED WIDELY, WERE CONDUCTED WITH GREAT FRANKNESS AND COVERED A NUMBER OF BROAD THEMES. KING HUSSEIN, WHO HAD RECENTLY RETURNED FROM NEW YORK, SAID HE WAS INTENDING TO VISIT SEVERAL ARAB COUNTRIES, STARTING WITH SYRIA, TO PREPARE FOR AN ARAB SUMMIT MEETING LATER IN THE YEAR AND CREATE THE CONDITIONS REQUIRED FOR AN ARAB INITIATIVE. NEITHER THE KING NOR HIS IMMEDIATE ADVISERS SHOWED ANY DISPOSITION TO UNDERRATE THE DIFFICULTIES OF THE TASK THEY HAD SET THEMSELVES. BUT THEY WERE WELL SATISFIED WITH THE IMPROVEMENT IN JORDAN'S RELATIONS WITH THE PLO AND THE GREATER REALISM WHICH THEY FELT NOW CHARACTERISED PLO THINKING. THEY EXPRESSED ACUTE CONCERN OVER THE INTERNAL SITUATION IN SYRIA, AND SOME UNEASINESS LEST THE RENEWED QUARREL BETWEEN SYRIA AND IRAQ MIGHT GET IN THE WAY OF A NEW ARAB INITIATIVE. THEY WERE ALSO VERY WORRIED OVER THE SITUATION IN THE LEBANON AND THOUGHT THAT A SOLUTION TO THE LEBANON'S PROBLEMS COULD ONLY BE ACHIEVED BY WORKING CLOSELY WITH THE SYRIANS.

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4. HIS JORDANIAN INTERLOCUTORS READILY AGREED WITH MR HURD WHEN HE STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF GETTING THE TIMING RIGHT IN LAUNCHING ANY NEW INITIATIVE AND THAT THEIR PURPOSE SHOULD BE TO SUPPLEMENT RATHER THAN ATTEMPT TO REPLACE RESOLUTION 242. THEY FELT THAT NOT ONLY WAS PRACTICAL CO-OPERATION WITH THE PLO NOW POSSIBLE IN, FOR EXAMPLE, ADMINISTERING FUNDS CONTRIBUTED BY OTHER ARAB COUNTRIES TO ASSIST THE WEST BANK, BUT THAT THIS MIGHT PREPARE THE WAY FOR WIDER CO-OPERATION IN THE FUTURE. THEY BROADLY SHARED MR HURD'S VIEWS ON THE NEED TO WEAN THE PLO AWAY FROM TERRORISM, POINTING OUT THAT JORDAN HAD ALWAYS BEEN OPPOSED TO THE USE OF SUCH METHODS, ALTHOUGH THE PRIME MINISTER REMARKED THAT THERE WAS LITTLE TO CHOOSE BETWEEN THE PALESTINIANS AND ISRAELIS WITH REGARD TO INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM. THEY ALSO THOUGHT THAT A GRADUAL CHANGE WAS COMING ABOUT IN ARAB VIEWS, AND THAT EVEN COUNTRIES HITHERTO THOUGHT OF AS RADICAL WERE MODIFYING THEIR POSITIONS.

5. DEVELOPMENTS ON THE WEST BANK AND THE EXTENT TO WHICH THE ISRAELIS WERE SUCCEEDING IN CHANGING THE FACTS THERE WERE A PRINCIPAL THEME IN THE TALKS. THE CROWN PRINCE'S WORKING BREAKFAST FOR MR HURD INCLUDED A SLIDE PRESENTATION WITH MAPS AND DIAGRAMS TO SHOW DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGES AND THE DIVERSION OF WEST BANK RESOURCES, PARTICULARLY WATER, FOR USE IN ISRAEL ITSELF. THE CROWN PRINCE EMPHASIZED THAT ALMOST 28% OF THE LAND ON THE WEST BANK HAD BEEN EXPROPRIATED BY THE ISRAELI SETTLERS FOR PRESENT AND FUTURE SETTLEMENTS AND THAT, EVEN IF THE ISRAELI SETTLERS NOW NUMBERED 10,000, THE INTENTION OF BOTH THE MAIN POLITICAL PARTIES IN ISRAEL WAS TO INCREASE THEIR NUMBER WHILE FORCING OUT THE PRESENT INHABITANTS AND MAINTAINING THE WEST BANK AS A CAPTIVE ECONOMIC MARKET FOR ISRAEL.

6. BOTH KING HUSSEIN AND ABDUL HAMID SHARAF IN DISCUSSING THEIR RECENT VISIT TO NEW YORK SPOKE WITH SOME BITTERNESS ABOUT JORDANIAN RELATIONS WITH THE US. SHARAF THOUGHT THE KING'S TALK WITH MR VANCE HAD BEEN USEFUL. IN PARTICULAR MR VANCE HAD NOT PRECLUDED A PARALLEL EFFORT TO CAMP DAVID, AND BOTH HE AND MR SAUNDERS HAD SEEMED TO WELCOME THE KING'S IDEA FOR A NEW ARAB INITIATIVE WITH EUROPEAN SUPPORT. THE WHITE HOUSE WAS HOWEVER A DIFFERENT MATTER AND THEY HAD BEEN DISTURBED TO HEAR



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REPORTS WHILE IN NEW YORK (MOST OF THEM MISLEADING, ACCORDING TO MY US COLLEAGUE) OF A PROPOSED NEW US INITIATIVE ON LEBANON, WHICH WOULD INVOLVE ALL PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT INCLUDING MAJOR HADDAD AND THE ISRAELIS. THE KING WAS PARTICULARLY CRITICAL OF ATTEMPTS TO FORCE HIM TO SEE MR STRAUSS, WHICH HE CLAIMED COULD ONLY HAVE EMBARRASSED HIM WITH THE OTHER ARAB STATES AT A TIME WHEN JORDAN'S OPPOSITION TO THE CAMP DAVID PROCESS WAS WELL KNOWN, AND TO MAKE A MEETING WITH MR STRAUSS A CONDITION FOR A SUBSEQUENT MEETING WITH PRESIDENT CARTER. WHEREVER THE TRUTH LIES IN ALL THIS, IT WAS CLEAR THAT THE KING HAD RETURNED EVEN MORE UNEASY ABOUT THE AMERICAN ROLE IN THE MIDDLE EAST THAN PRIOR TO HIS US VISIT.

7. PREDICTABLY, MR HURD'S JORDANIAN INTERLOCUTORS PLACED GREAT STRESS ON THE ROLE WHICH THEY HOPED EUROPE, AND BRITAIN AND FRANCE IN PARTICULAR, MIGHT PLAY IN HELPING THE ARABS TO FIND A WAY OUT OF THE PRESENT IMPASSE. THEY SAID THEY HAD WATCHED CLOSELY THE GRADUAL EVOLUTION OF THE EUROPEAN POSITION ON THE MIDDLE EAST, FELT THAT WE AND OUR EUROPEAN PARTNERS HAD MOVED IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION AND THAT EUROPE COULD NOW PLAY A MORE POSITIVE ROLE WHICH WOULD BE HELPFUL TO THE AMERICANS AND NEED NOT EMBARRASS THEM. THEY READILY UNDERSTOOD MR HURD'S EMPHASIS ON THE IMPORTANCE OF DOING NOTHING WHICH MIGHT PUT AT RISK US INVOLVEMENT IN THE SEARCH FOR A MIDDLE EAST PEACE SETTLEMENT AND ALSO THE EUROPEAN WISH NOT TO ADD TO PRESIDENT CARTER'S PRESENT TROUBLES. BUT THEY FELT STRONGLY THAT AN INCREASED EUROPEAN ROLE WOULD ACTUALLY PROVE HELPFUL TO THE AMERICANS IN EXTRICATING THEM FROM THE DIFFICULTIES INTO WHICH THEY HAD BEEN LED THROUGH THE CAMP DAVID PROCESS.

8. THE JORDANIANS WERE, I THINK, LESS RECEPTIVE TO MR HURD'S SUGGESTION THAT THE AUTONOMY TALKS OUGHT TO BE GIVEN A CHANCE AND COULD LEAD TO BENEFITS FOR THE PALESTINIANS WHICH THEY COULD LATER EXPLOIT TO THEIR ADVANTAGE. THEY SIMPLY DO NOT BELIEVE THAT MR EBAN'S PUBLICLY EXPRESSED FRARS ON THIS SCORE ARE GENUINE, AND THEY REMAIN FIRMLY CONVINCED THAT ISRAEL WILL NEVER VOLUNTARILY RENOUNCE HER CLAIM TO THE WEST BANK. THEY THEREFORE PIN NO FAITH ON THE CURRENT NEGOTIATIONS WHICH THEY BELIEVE THE EGYPTIANS ARE IN ANY CASE ILL-EQUIPPED TO CONDUCT BECAUSE OF THEIR IGNORANCE OF WEST BANK AFFAIRS. NOR DID MR HURD'S ARGUMENTS IN FAVOUR OF KEEPING JORDAN'S LINES OPEN TO EGYPT

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EVOKE A POSITIVE RESPONSE. THE MINISTER OF INDUSTRY AND TRADE IN PARTICULAR SPELT OUT VERY CLEARLY THE WAY IN WHICH JORDAN WAS CARRYING OUT TO THE LETTER THE BAGHDAD RESOLUTIONS TO CUT OFF JORDANIAN COMMERCIAL DEALINGS WITH EGYPT.

9. IT IS SCARCELY POSSIBLE IN A FEW PARAGRAPHS TO DO JUSTICE TO THE RANGE AND DEPTH OF MR HURD'S DISCUSSIONS HERE: I ASSUME RECORDS WILL BE DISTRIBUTED TO INTERESTED POSTS. HIS VISIT WAS, IF I MAY SAY SO, AN OUTSTANDING PERSONAL SUCCESS AND THE HEAD OF THE ROYAL COURT HAS SINCE TOLD ME HOW MUCH THE JORDANIANS HAD VALUED THEIR TALKS WITH HIM. FOR THEIR PART, THE JORDANIANS WENT OUT OF THEIR WAY TO DEMONSTRATE THE IMPORTANCE THEY ATTACHED TO HIS VISIT IN BOTH LARGE AND SMALL WAYS, GRANTING HIM THE TREATMENT USUALLY RESERVED FOR FOREIGN MINISTERS AND HEADS OF STATE. HIS VISIT RECEIVED VERY WIDE PUBLICITY ON TELEVISION AND IN THE PRESS (AS MUCH OR MORE THAN THAT ACCORDED TO MR GENSCHER ON HIS RECENT VISIT HERE).

10. I HOPE THAT, IN ANY USE MADE OF THIS TELEGRAM WITH OTHER GOVERNMENTS, CARE WILL BE TAKEN NOT TO REVEAL ANYTHING CONCERNING DEFENCE AND OTHER CONTRACTS FOR WHICH WE ARE COMPETING AND ALSO THAT THE KING'S CONFIDENCE REGARDING HIS FUTURE INTENTIONS AND HIS RELATIONS WITH THE US (PARAGRAPH 3 AND 6) WILL BE RESPECTED.

FCO PLEASE PASS SAVING ADDRESSES.

URWICK

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ADDITIONAL DISTN,  
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[PASSED SAVING AS REQUESTED]

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