REPUBLICA DE CHILE MINISTERIO DE RELACIONES EXTERIORES EMBAJADA OF CHILE EN JORDANIA COPIA LITORM

OF.ORD.NR. 74/90 OBJ: Remitir original carta Rey Hussein a S.E. Presidente Aylwın

REF: Mi Fax 01/90 y télex nro. 170.

Ammán, 3 de Octubre de 1.990.

PERIODO PRESIDENCIAL 008920 ARCHIVO

DEL EMBAJADOR DE CHILE EN JORDANIA AL SR. DIRECTOR DE CEREMONIAL Y PROTOCOLO.

1.- Cumplo en dirigirme a US. con el propósito de remitir, como anexo al presente oficio, el original de la carta enviada por S.M. el Rey Hussein Bin Talal de Jordania, a S.E. el Presidente de la República, la que mucho agradeceré hacer llegar a su alto destinatario.

2.- Al respecto, me permito subrayar a US. que, a través de las co municaciones indicadas en la referencia, esta Embajada procedió a enviar oportunamente a ese Ministerio copia del trascendente mensa je del monarca hachemita.



SALUDA A US.

NELSON HADAD HERESI Embajador

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Amman

20 September, 1990

You Excellency,

In the knowledge that Jordan's stance viz-a-viz the crisis in the Gulf has been misrepresented over the past seven weeks, I would like to share with you a clear statement of our position and thinking.

I take pride in our traditional openness and I am communicating with our friends in a constructive spirit as we all strive to attain world peace.

With my highed esteen, L'am Dir. 2 Jour Sincere Firend. Africa.

His Excellency Sr. Patricio Aylwin Azocar President of the Republic of Chile Santiago Republic of Chile



A thoughtful, perceptive, humane letter of encouragement from an American citizen by the name of Mr. Edwin Brown, of Chapel Hill, North Carolina, which I recently received, helped reinvigorate my belief in the ultimate decency and sense of fair play of the American people, and indeed in the decency of mankind.

He wrote that:

"It must be tempting for you to conclude that all your efforts to restore some sanity in high places are futile, and not even understood by the millions of the relatively innocent who will bear the brunt of any military, social and economic debacle. And yet you are at this moment launched on one last, intrepid effort to convince your official counterparts throughout the Arab World of the folly of a 'military solution'."

Mr. Brown went on to suggest that maybe what America needs is not an additional ally "but a friend ready to speak truth to power". That "if the Hashemite Kingdom is to play such a role, may these words of counsel, which I learned so long ago that I no longer remember their source, sustain you. 'If your cause is worthy it is not necessary to hope in order to undertake, nor is it necessary to succeed in order to persevere'."

I shall, after thirty seven years of service amongst my people in Jordan and in the Arab World, and with a total commitment to justice, peace and human rights and dignity, and for as long as what remains of my life, remember Mr. Brown's letter and cherish his sentiments with gratitude.

He quoted an American statesman who had earned my admiration and respect, the late Adlai Stevenson, as saying after his electoral defeat, "I'm like the boy who badly stubbed his toe ... too old to cry, too frank to pretend it didn't hurt".

Well, I will never admit to defeat because that would mean taking the easy way out which I could never have done from the outset, since it is the way of those who do not care but for themselves, and of those who lie to hide their lies, and of those who manipulate for what they perceive to be a limited, short term advantage. I often wonder how such individual beings could enjoy life and live with themselves when the lives of people in an entire region such as ours and beyond, and the lives of future generations, are at stake.

I have never conceived of the possibility of adopting the characteristics of a chameleon and I am incapable of doing so. The hurt is there from those who do not know the facts because in the world of today they should, and those who are easily misled by believing what they hear or read without verifying. Who can blame them when more often than not they receive inputs from supposedly responsible people in positions of authority and power.



The United States has a far greater responsibility on the moral plane now than at anytime in its history, to uphold the standards, principles and lofty ideals in its equal treatment of people the world over, and to provide leadership and set an example in its treatment of similar issues with one standard in all parts of our universe.

This is what old friends of the United States, such as I, expect as we seek to maintain and strengthen our relations, in partnership, and to build a better tomorrow, based always on the solid foundations of trust and mutual respect with the Government and people of the United States, as well as with Governments and people the world over.

In this spirit, I address this message to you at this time of serious and ominous crisis in this region, where my Government and I have been and still are exerting every effort to address it and contribute to resolving it peacefully, honourably and fairly. We must avert an explosion in this highly inflammable area, straddling the world's richest oil reserves, that would cause untold death, destruction and misery, with disastrous repercussions far beyond this vital region, and this period of human life.

We believe that the position of Jordan could not be clearer to any one who seeks the truth. It is based on the principles of international law which Jordan has respected and always called on all nations to respect.

Despite its close relations with Iraq, Jordan had no prior knowledge nor any form of involvement in the Iraqi plan to act militarily against Kuwait. Neither I nor my Government and people were ever involved in such ventures anywhere. Nor was I ever privy to the Iraqi leadership's thought process leading to its decision to invade Kuwait, nor its timing of the operation nor its scope.

Jordan stands by the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war. This is the basis of our stand on all related issues, including the Falklands crisis, and the Arab-Israeli conflict, where we were involved in the formulation of Security Council Resolution 242 twenty-three years ago, and which must be the basis and foundation of the diligently sought honourable, just and lasting Palestinian and Arab/Israeli peace.

In upholding this principle, Jordan could not contradict itself by accepting, endorsing or recognizing any demographic or political changes that result from war in this region or anywhere else in the world. Hence, we have continued to recognize the State and Government of Kuwait and will continue to do so unless and until the people of Kuwait, under conditions of total freedom, choose to exercise their legitimate right of selfdetermination and elect otherwise.

While Jordan recognizes the sovereign right of Saudi Arabia to seek assistance from friendly states, and the sovereign right of the United States of America to respond to its request, we strongly feel that the presence of United States and allied forces on the land of the State which is the custodian of the two holiest shrines of Islam, must be terminated



within the shortest possible period of time lest it results in incalculable grave consequences involving Arabs and Muslims the world over for generations to come. (This is the first time that Islamic history has seen the arrival of non Arab and non Muslim forces on the soil of the custodian and, moreover, at a time when the United States' strategic ally, Israel, occupies the third most holy Islamic shrine in illegally annexed Arab Jerusalem, as well as Christendom's holiest sites in Jerusalem and Bethlehem, an occurrence that now inflames the deepest sensitivities of all Arabs and Muslims alike.)

ter. Jordan has been and is still seeking to contribute to that end to the best of its abilities sparing no effort in pursuing this worthy cause.

Jordan respects all Security Council Resolutions and is committed to complying with them in good faith. The Jordanian Government has, well within the required time frame, implemented the Security Council embargo on Iraq despite devastating results to our national economy which threaten, with immediate clear evidence, the present and future of Jordan in every sphere of life. Jordan's problems are compounded by a humanitarian problem of great magnitude afflicting Jordanians, and Jordanian expatriates in Kuwait, the Gulf and elsewhere who have lost or are losing everything and are returning home in growing numbers. Jordan is further attempting to shoulder its humanitarian responsibilities towards the hundreds of thousands of other nationals who are continually passing through our border with Iraq, and are in need of every means of help and support before travelling on to their respective countries. All this while Jordan is considered to be in a war zone and is practically facing a state of siege.

Since the outset Jordan believed in the need for a major Arab politcal effort to help address and resolve the crisis according to the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war. Jordan is continuing to spare no effort to achieve this end.

At the same time, Jordan has always realized that the crisis was not born in a vacuum as many believe. It had its origins in a complexity of causes which must be recognized in order to avert further and future crises. Essentially, these causes have three interrelated dimensions:

1. Bilateral relations. The border dispute between Iraq and Kuwait is not unique in the Arab world. Jordan has for long advocated the resolution of this and other border problems still awaiting to be finally defined. However, contemporary Kuwait and part of Iraq belonged to the same province under the Ottoman Empire and the Muslim states that predated it. The political border between these countries was drawn not in answer to indigenous political needs, but to facilitate their administration by the British mandatory authorities of that time and to secure British interests. Consequently, even before independence, Iraq sought to reincorporate Kuwait into its territory on the grounds that it had been a district of Basra. The present Iraqi Government was the first that did not actively pursue this claim. It sought an agreement with Kuwait that would secure it



an independent access to the sea which it considers of vital national interest, and define the Iraqi/Kuwaiti border once and for all by mutual agreement. We believe that this crisis cannot be finally resolved unless a mutually acceptable solution is urgently reached.

Another aspect of the problem was Iraq's perception that Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates were waging an economic war against it by exceeding their oil production levels agreed upon within the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, OPEC. This resulted in Iraq sustaining substantial material losses resulting in its inability to meet the basic needs of its people, let alone service and pay its national debt. This was clearly spelled out by Iraq at the Arab Summit meeting in Baghdad on 27 - 30 May, 1990, followed later by an Iraqi memorandum to the League of Arab States implying a clear warning of dangerous consequences unless the situation was urgently and satisfactorily resolved. We in Jordan regarded these developments with grave concern.

2. The second dimension of the problem is regional. We take note of the feeling that linking this crisis to other problems may exacerbate rather than facilitate the solution of any one of them. Yet it must be recognized that the extreme frustration which resulted from the lack of progress in solving the Arab-Israeli problem has had a bearing on this crisis. The absence of enthusiasm for implementing Security Council Resolution 242 which, like Resolution 660, is based on the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war, has embittered Arab public opinion and caused it to question the motives behind the United States' zeal to implement Resolution 660. The United States had always advised Arabs to accept a negotiated settlement and to be willing to accept the principle of reciprocal compromise to achieve a final Arab/Israeli settlement. Arabs accepted the advice on both counts. Yet now they perceive the United States as unwilling to even consider a negotiated settlement between Iraq and Kuwait, and unwilling to accept a compromise short of an unconditional Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait.

Under the circumstances, priority must be given to defusing the explosive situation in the Gulf; but credible assurances must be given to ensure that other problems of a similar nature would definitely and urgently be addressed thereafter, ideally within the context of a long sought after International Peace Conference.

Another serious danger in this region is the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. A United Nations Forum must soon be set up to oversee the removal of all forms of weapons of mass destruction from all parts of the region, including nuclear, chemical and bacteriological weapons. The experience of the two Superpowers in this field would be invaluable, especially as far as verification procedures are concerned.

The third aspect of the regional dimension concerns the socio-political order in the region. In the Arab world national identity has not obliterated Arab feelings of belonging to the greater Arab Nation. Considerable tension has arisen from the vast disparity in the standards of living be-



tween the oil-rich, sparsely populated Arab countries on the one hand, and the manpower-rich, debt-ridden countries on the other. To redress this problem, it has been suggested that an Arab Investment Fund and an adequate comprehensive plan be created to support meaningful development in the region in a manner beneficial to all and to the cause of harmony, progress, cohesion, complementarity and stability within the entire Arab region.

3. The final dimension of the problem is the nature of relations between this region and the rest of the world. When the Cold War came to an end and the world moved from confrontation to co-operation, and a new world order began to emerge, we sought to co-operate to be a part of this order. We cautioned against the marginalization of our region as the world concentrated on developments in Europe. The Middle East must receive its share of the world's attention and assistance to resolve its problems, or the region will become a hotbed of extremism born of despair.

A most important aspect which affects our relations is public perceptions, and I would offer Jordan as an example since public opinion can be easily monitored in this country, where democracy ensures every citizen's freedom of expression. In the period leading to the Gulf crisis, the public was constantly wounded by the lack of understanding and demonization of Arabs, their culture, and their causes which manifested itself in the world. It has always been believed that friendship has to be reciprocated; it cannot be one sided, nor can it flourish if one side constantly holds the other in public scorn and denies the Arabs their right to equally achieve their fullest potential in all areas of knowledge and development as with any other people in the world. When the crisis broke out the public was unanimous in asking for Iraq's withdrawal. However, this feeling was eclipsed once foreign forces landed in Saudi Arabia. Political forces of secular nationalism and religious conservatism were united for the first time in their opposition to this presence. In the former group, it invoked memories of colonial domination, while the latter saw it as a desecration of the holy places.

These facts highlight the dangerous consequences of an armed explosion, which would persist and spread far beyond the immediate scope of the battles in the field. They also highlight the necessity for a substantial Arab input in the diplomatic solution because, irrespective of the justice of the solution, there must not be room to misrepresent it as a resolution imposed from outside the area. Many would seek to create this misconception in order to detract from the legitimacy of the solution. An objective, neutral, Arab involvement must be an integral part of a United Nations solution to the problem.

As regards all countries and peoples in the region, every encouragement must be given to their Governments to ensure their orderly and rapid transformation into democracies recognized as such by any acceptable yardstick in this world, where citizens enjoy equal rights, and where human rights are recognized, enjoyed and respected.



Finally, we believe that this crisis has highlighted the need for a new approach to relations with this region. It underscores the need for interregional and intra-regional dialogue through which all countries of the region can pool their resources and combine their efforts in facing the challenges of progress and building a brighter, stable future.

These are the dimensions of the crisis in this region, and the obvious essentials for their solution from our perspective. In the short run, it might indeed have been more beneficial to Jordan and to myself if we had been of the kind that sought immediate benefits rather than taking the high road of facing up to the challenge that requires us to struggle for real solutions to a real crisis. We chose as always not to forsake our national and regional duties, ethics, honour and principles, which I am sure all will ultimately realize that we have always upheld.

Jordan is paying a terrible price for its commitment to honour, principles, justice and peace. Jordan stands tall and its record speaks for itself. We do not waver in our belief that truth will finally reach one and all and break through darkness as does a new dawn.

We hope to co-operate with our friends in securing a peaceful resolution of all issues in this region, so that all its countries and peoples can live free from the threat of war, and combine their efforts in building a better future which is their right.

> Amman September, 1990