

I'll bet H A K and
others wish they had
paid attention to this

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CITE TEHRAN SECTION 1 of 2

TO: HENRY A. KISSINGER (EYES ONLY), WHITE HOUSE

FROM: AMB. HELMS, TEHRAN

1. DURING TALK WITH KING HUSSEIN ON 5 JULY AT CASPIAN RESORT WHERE HE VISITING SHAH, THERE SEEMED TO BE TWO PARTICULAR THINGS ON HIS MIND: THREAT FROM SYRIA AND IRAQ, AND POLITICAL STABILITY IN SAUDI ARABIA.

2. AS SOVIET ARMS POUR INTO SYRIA AND IRAQ, HUSSEIN HAS LEARNED FROM HIS INTELLIGENCE SERVICE THAT AN ATTACK FOR PURPOSE OF RETAKING GOLAN HEIGHTS WAS ORIGINALLY PLANNED FOR JUNE, HAS OBVIOUSLY SLIPPED, BUT COULD OCCUR AT ANY TIME FROM NOW ON. JORDANIANS HAVE COPY OF ACTUAL MILITARY PLAN WHICH HAS BEEN COORDINATED WITH EGYPTIANS. (YOU CAN GET IT FROM AGENCY IF ITS DETAILS ARE OF INTEREST.) IT HAS ALSO BEEN COORDINATED WITH IRAQ IN THE PROCESS OF SECRET MILITARY TALKS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES, ACCORDING TO JORDANIAN INTELLIGENCE. (HUSSEIN TOLD ME IN ULTIMATE CONFIDENCE THAT ONE OF THEIR SOURCES IS COMMANDER OF ONE OF ARMORED BRIGADES WHICH WOULD LEAD ASSAULT ON ISRAELI ANTI-TANK DEFENSES. IN ADDITION, JORDANIANS AND

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ISRAELIS ARE EXCHANGING INTELLIGENCE THESE DAYS ON MILITARY THREAT.)

3. OF COURSE, FOREGOING MAY BE EXAGGERATED, ATTACK MAY NEVER COME, SYRIA MAY CONTENT HERSELF WITH PRESSURING LEBANON ON FEDAYEEN ISSUE AND LEAVE GOLAN HEIGHTS ALONE. BUT TO HUSSEIN, ADVENT OF ALGERIAN, MOROCCAN, EVEN SUDANESE TROOPS PLUS SOME EQUIPMENT MEANS SERIOUS MILITARY PLANS ARE AFOOT IN SYRIA. HE POINTS OUT THAT THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ARMY BRIGADE HAS BEEN ORDERED TO DEPART JORDAN FOR IRAQ TO GET TRAINING TO BE USED FOR FOMENTING TROUBLE IN PERSIAN GULF AREA. (ALTHOUGH PALESTINIANS ARE TRAINING IN IRAQ, IT SEEMS A BIT ALARMIST TO BELIEVE THEY WOULD USE REGULAR ARMY MEN IN BRIGADE STRENGTH, OR LESS, WHEN THEY HAVE SUFFICIENT NUMBER OF RESIDENT TERRORISTS IN GULF TO CARRY OUT DESIRED TASKS.) THE BRIGADE MAY BE PERSUADED TO STAY IN JORDAN AND BE PAID BY GOJ, BUT HUSSEIN SEES THIS PROPOSED MOVE AS FURTHER INDICATION OF TROUBLE FROM ARAFAT WHO IS NOW TRAINING HIS PERSONNEL IN BAGHDAD SAFE FROM ISRAELI RAIDS OR SUPPRESSION BY LEBANESE. PUT ANOTHER WAY, HUSSEIN IS GENUINELY WONDERING WHETHER JORDAN CAN HANDLE ITS MILITARY DEFENSE, WHEN REQUIRED, WITH ARMS WHICH HE SEES AS NO

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MATCH AGAINST WHAT SOVIETS AND OTHERS ARE GIVING SYRIA AND IRAQ. HE HAS BEEN FIRM IN REFUSING TO PLACE HIS FORCES UNDER EGYPTIAN COMMAND WHICH MAKES HIM MAVERICK IN THIS AREA OF ARAB WORLD. HE RECOGNIZES THAT ISRAEL CAN COPE WITH SYRIANS AND IRAQIS, BUT HE HAS HIS OWN TERRITORY TO WORRY ABOUT. IN SHORT, HE FEELS WHAT MIGHT BE DESCRIBED AS A DESPERATE NEED FOR MORE AND UP-DATED MILITARY EQUIPMENT. IN ORDER TO MEET THIS NEED HE TURNS TO THE UNITED STATES. IN THIS CONNECTION, SHAH HAS ALREADY SENT WORD TO ME THROUGH COURT MINISTER ALAM THAT HE IS QUOTE VERY CONCERNED UNQUOTE ABOUT JORDAN AND WANTS TO TALK WITH THE PRESIDENT ABOUT IT WHEN HE IS IN WASHINGTON LATER THIS MONTH. HAVE NO FURTHER DETAILS AS OF NOW.

4. ON SUBJECT OF POLITICAL STABILITY IN SAUDI ARABIA, HUSSEIN EXPRESSES SAME KIND OF CONCERN AS DOES SHAH INDEPENDENTLY. (IF THERE HAS BEEN COLLUSION ON THIS OVER TIME BETWEEN THESE TWO MONARCHS, WHICH I DOUBT, IT WOULD DERIVE FROM THEIR INDIVIDUAL OBSERVATIONS OF SAME PHENOMENA.) WHEN I CHALLENGED HUSSEIN TO EXPLAIN TO ME WHY HE WAS MORE PESSIMISTIC THAN AMERICAN DIPLOMATIC AND INTELLIGENCE OFFICIALS, HE RATTLED OFF HIS OWN SERIES OF POINTS, AND THEY CORRESPONDED GENERALLY WITH

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THOSE IN SHAH'S RECITAL WHICH I HAD HEARD UPON ARRIVAL HERE:
KING FEISAL LIVES IN A DREAM WORLD OF ZIONIST-COMMUNIST CONSPIRACY, HE PERMITS EVERY KIND OF SUBVERSIVE AND RADICAL GROUP TO WANDER AROUND HIS COUNTRY FINANCIALLY SUPPORTED ON THE THEORY THAT THEY WILL BE DOCILE IF GIVEN HANDOUTS, COMMUNIST CELLS BEING TURNED UP FROM TIME TO TIME, SAUDI OFFICERS ARRESTED FOR PLOTTING, AND A GOVERNMENT WHICH LIVES IN THE PAST AND SEEMS INCAPABLE OF MAKING ANY REASONABLE REFORMS OR OF PLANNING ANY SOCIAL PROGRESS. HUSSEIN HAS ONE ADDITIONAL INDICATOR OF HIS OWN: HE CLAIMS THAT THE ~~X~~ SAUDI BRIGADE WHICH HAS BEEN IN JORDAN SINCE 1967 IS A HOTBED OF COMPLAINTS ABOUT THE SAUDI SYSTEM, CORRUPTION IN THE GOVERNMENT AND MILITARY, AND GENERAL DISAFFECTION WITH LIFE IN THE COUNTRY. SINCE THE OFFICERS AND MEN OF THIS BRIGADE ARE ROTATED FROM SAUDI ARABIA, IT IS NEVER THE SAME SET OF INDIVIDUALS ~~WH~~ WHO ARE DOING THE COMPLAINING. (WE HAVE HEARD OF HUSSEIN'S CONCERN ABOUT SAUDI ARABIA'S STABILITY BEFORE. IN FACT, SOME OF THE POINTS HE MAKES DO NOT STAND UP. FEISAL DOES NOT PERMIT "EVERY KIND OF RADICAL AND SUBVERSIVE GROUP" IN SAUDIA. HE PERMITS ONLY FATAH, WHICH HE BELIEVES IS MOST MODERATE PALESTINIAN GROUP

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AND WHICH HE BELIEVES HE CAN INFLUENCE THROUGH HIS STIPENDS AS WELL AS BUY SECURITY FOR HIS COUNTRY. THERE IS ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL REFORM, ALBET SLOW BY WESTERN STANDARDS, AND HUSSEIN'S COMMENTS ON PLOTS ARE DATED.)) BUT WHATEVER THE MERITS OF THE DIFFERING ASSESSMENTS, HUSSEIN HAS A RECOMMENDATION WHICH MAKES SENSE. PUT IN HIS WORDS, QUOTE THERE SHOULD BE CONTINGENCY PLANNING FOR THE EVENTUALITY THAT WE SUDDENLY HEAR ONE DAY THAT A SAUDI RADIO STATION HAS BEEN TAKEN OVER BY A RADICAL GROUP WHICH IS ASKING FOR MILITARY HELP FROM IRAQ AND/OR PDRY AND THE HELP IS GIVEN. AFTER ALL, SAUDI ARABIA IS THE RIPE PLUM IN THE AREA UNQUOTE.

5. THESE THOUGHTS ARE PASSED ALONG TO HELP KEEP THE PRESIDENT AND YOU UP-TO-DATE ON THE MOOD ~~HERE~~⁹ HEREABOUTS. IT IS EASY TO BE A CASSANDRA. ON THE OTHER HAND IT IS EQUALLY EASY TO BE LULLED BY UP-BEAT REPORTS AND PROMISES OF ACTION. ONE MUST CLEARLY PAY ATTENTION TO THE CONCERNS OF EXPERIENCED LEADERS LIKE THE SHAH AND HUSSEIN WHO SEE THE ARAB COUNTRIES QUOTE TAKING A TURN FOR THE WORSE EVERYWHERE UNQUOTE. HUSSEIN HAD GOOD WORDS FOR PRESIDENT FRANGIE'S COURAGE, THEN PROCEEDED TO EXAMINE THE OTHER LEADERS ONE BY ONE, ALL DISPARAGINGLY.

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THERE NO NEED TO SPELL THIS OUT. IT IS WELL KNOWN. MY POINT IS THAT IT BEHOOVES US TO BE MORE RESPONSIVE TO EVENTS IN THE AREA, WHETHER SUBVERSION IN OMAN AND THE GULF ^{OR} ~~OR~~ REQUESTS FOR AID FROM YEMEN, AND TO BE QUICKER AND MORE FLEXIBLE IN OUR RESPONSES. AN EXAMINATION OF JUST WHAT AMERICAN POLICY IS ACHIEVING IN THE ARAB PART OF THE GULF AREA MIGHT BE INTERESTING. I GATHER YOU HAVE A NSSM IN THE WORKS AND PERHAPS IT CAN BE DONE IN THAT CONTEXT. BUT AS I HAVE RECOMMENDED BEFORE, WE SHOULD STRENGTHEN OUR REPRESENTATION IN THIS AREA. FOR EXAMPLE, IT SEEMS HARD TO BELIEVE THAT A RESIDENT AMBASSADOR IN THE UAE IS A POOR IDEA OR A QUESTION OF MANPOWER. THE FOREIGN SERVICE DOES NOT NEED ANY MORE THINNING OUT. IT NEEDS TO BE DEPLOYED MORE EFFECTIVELY, AND NOT NECESSARILY WITHIN EACH BUREAU. PUT ANOTHER WAY, DO EUROPEAN EMBASSIES REALLY NEED ALL THAT PERSONNEL IN 1973?

6. HAVE SENT NONE OF ABOVE TO STATE DEPARTMENT. WILL SEND BLAND CABLE SIMPLY RECORDING THAT I HAD VISIT WITH KING HUSSEIN.

7. WARM REGARDS AND THANKS AGAIN FOR ARRANGEMENTS ON SHAH'S VISIT. ~~EE, IMPDET~~ (Deleted in Hqs)

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See Ambros message
Cook channel
of about

6-7-8 July

1973

tell passengers
White House
talk w King Henry
at Capricorn