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TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TEL NO 12 OF 8 JANUARY

INFO WASHINGTON, PARIS, BONN, CAIRO, DAMASCUS, ALGIERS, TUNIS, LAGOS,
TEL AVIV, JEDDA, AMMAN*A number of interesting points
Read in full.*

FOLLOWING FROM PRIVATE SECRETARY

SECRETARY OF STATE'S AUDIENCE WITH THE KING

1. THE SECRETARY OF STATE HAD AN AUDIENCE WITH KING HASSAN IN MARRAKESH YESTERDAY EVENING.
2. THE KING WAS PERSUADED THAT EUROPE HAD AN IMPORTANT ROLE TO PLAY ON THE MIDDLE EAST, BUT HE ALSO THOUGHT THAT THERE COULD BE NO SOLUTION WITHOUT THE PARTICIPATION OF THE SOVIET UNION. EUROPE SHOULD THINK OF WAYS TO ENGINEER THIS, EG BY A NEW GENEVA CONFERENCE. THERE COULD BE NO PAX AMERICANA, OR EURO-AMERICAN PEACE IN THE AREA SEMI-COLON THE RUSSIANS WOULD HAVE TO BE INVOLVED. MOSCOW MIGHT EVEN BE INTERESTED IN A BARGAIN, WHEREBY A FACE-SAVING SOLUTION IN AFGHAN-ISTAN WAS TRADED AGAINST SOVIET INVOLVEMENT IN A PEACEFUL SOLUTION IN THE MIDDLE EAST. BUT NOTHING WOULD BE POSSIBLE UNTIL BEGIN WENT. LOGICALLY, THE ISRAELIS FACED A STARK CHOICE: EITHER THEY SHOULD BOMB ARAB CAPITALS IMMEDIATELY, OR BEGIN THE PEACE PROCESS. IF THEY DELAYED A DECISION FOR A FEW MORE YEARS, IT WOULD BE TOO LATE, SINCE SEVERAL ARAB COUNTRIES WOULD BY THAT TIME POSSESS ATOMIC WEAPONS. ISRAELI PUBLIC OPINION WAS INCREASINGLY IN FAVOUR OF A SETTLEMENT.
3. KING HUSSEIN WOULD NOT, HOWEVER, FAVOUR A FEDERAL SOLUTION. THE SIX AND A HALF MILLION PALESTINIANS, WITH THEIR INTERNATIONAL COMMERCIAL AND POLITICAL CONTACTS, WOULD DROWN THE TWO AND A HALF MILLION JORDANIANS, AND KING HUSSEIN HIMSELF WOULD BE SWALLOWED UP. THERE WOULD HAVE TO BE A PALESTINIAN STATE SEMI-COLON THE PALESTINIANS WOULD ACCEPT ANY AREA, PROVIDED THEY HAD A HARBOUR.
4. THE KING RESERVED COMMENT ON KISSINGER'S RECENT DECLARATIONS UNTIL HE SAW HIM IN A FEW DAYS TIME. KISSINGER WAS IN THE HABIT OF TYING KNOTS ONLY TO UNTIE THEM HIMSELF. IT WAS NO GOOD REVERTING TO TALK OF A STEP BY STEP SOLUTION: A GIANT STEP FORWARD WAS NOW NEEDED. THE SITUATION HAD NOW BECOME RATHER SILLY: IT WAS LARGELY A QUESTION OF MUTUAL RECOGNITION BETWEEN THE ISRAELIS AND THE PLO. EUROPE SHOULD PROMOTE A SOLUTION WHEREBY THE PLO RECOGNISED ISRAEL, IN RETURN FOR ISRAELI RECOGNITION OF THE PLO'S RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION IMMEDIATELY AFTERWARDS. THIS COULD BE GUARANTEED BY THE EUROPEANS.
5. THE KING THOUGHT THAT THE SITUATION IN SYRIA WAS CRITICAL. HOWEVER, ASAD WAS PREPARED TO RETREAT WITH HIS ARMY TO THE NORTHERN MOUNTAINS, WHENCE HE SPRANG, AND WHICH HE HAD BEEN CAREFULLY DEVELOPING, IN THE EVENT OF A CIVIL WAR. HE TOLD LORD CARRINGTON IN CONFIDENCE THAT THE SAUDIS HAD PAID THE SYRIANS 300 MILLION POUNDS TO CALL OFF THEIR CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE JORDANIANS.
6. LORD CARRINGTON ENQUIRED ABOUT THE PROSPECTS OVER THE SPANISH SAHARA. THE KING CLAIMED THAT MILITARILY THE PROBLEM WOULD BE SOLVED WITHIN TEN DAYS. POLITICALLY IT MIGHT TAKE RATHER LONGER. A DEVICE WAS NEEDED - NOT NECESSARILY A REFERENDUM - TO ACHIEVE A POLITICAL SOLUTION. THE ALGERIANS NOW REALISED THAT MOROCCO WAS NOT PREPARED TO SURRENDER A SQUARE INCH OF SPANISH SAHARA AND PRESIDENT CHADLI WAS SHOWING MORE UNDERSTANDING OF THE MOROCCAN POSITION. AGAIN SPEAKING

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IN CONFIDENCE, HE MENTIONED THAT THERE HAD BEEN A SERIES OF TOP LEVEL CONTACTS WITH THE ALGERIANS. THE LIBYANS HAD MADE ENORMOUS MISTAKES IN THIS AND IN OTHER AREAS, FROM WHICH THE MOROCCANS, AMONGST OTHERS, WERE NOW BENEFITTING. THEIR INVOLVEMENT IN CHAD WOULD REBOUND AGAINST THEM, AND MOROCCO WAS NOT ALONE IN LOOKING FORWARD TO WATCHING THE LIBYANS SINK INTO A VIETNAM-TYPE BOG, AS THE PEOPLE OF CHAD ACCUSED GOUKOUMI OF SELLING THEM OUT TO TRIFOLI. GADAFI'S LATEST MISTAKE HAD BEEN TO PROCLAIM UNION BETWEEN LIBYA AND CHAD.

7. THE KING SOUGHT LORD CARRINGTON'S HELP IN CONNECTION WITH NIGERIAN ATTITUDES TO LIBYA, AND TO THE PROBLEM OF THE SPANISH SAHARA. IN HIS VIEW THERE WERE TWO GROUPS IN THE NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT, ONE OF WHICH FAVOURED THE LIBYANS, AND WAS BEING SECRETLY SUBSIDISED BY THEM (HE MENTIONED THE NIGERIAN DEFENCE MINISTER AMONGST OTHERS). LORD CARRINGTON MENTIONED THAT, JUDGING BY THE RECENT ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE EXPULSION OF LIBYAN DIPLOMATS, THE NIGERIANS WERE BEGINNING TO GET THE MESSAGE.

8. LORD CARRINGTON SAID THAT HE WAS GLAD THAT THE AWARD OF THE DAVY LOEWY (MADOR) CONTRACT HAD ADDED SUBSTANCE TO ANGLO-MOROCCAN RELATIONS, AND MENTIONED THAT THE PRESENT BRITISH GOVERNMENT HAD RELAXED RESTRICTIONS ON ARMS SALES TO MOROCCO. THE KING SAID THAT BRITISH FIRMS HAD HIGH QUALITY WEAPONS, AND THAT HE HOPED THAT DISCUSSIONS IN THIS AREA WOULD CONTINUE.

9. THE KING STRESSED AT SEVERAL POINTS THAT HE HOPED THAT CONTACTS BETWEEN US WOULD BE MAINTAINED AND DEVELOPED, INCLUDING IN THE INTELLIGENCE FIELD. HE MENTIONED THAT HE WOULD BE ATTENDING THE ARAB SUMMIT CONFERENCE IN MECCA ON 22 JANUARY, AND THAT HE WOULD BE INTERESTED IN ANY MESSAGE LORD CARRINGTON WISHED TO SEND HIM BEFORE THAT DATE. BRITAIN HAD IN THE PAST BEEN SOMETHING OF A PRISONER OF THE COMMONWEALTH. HE WELCOMED HER RENEWED INTEREST IN FRENCH-SPEAKING NORTH AFRICAN COUNTRIES. LORD CARRINGTON TRANSMITTED THE PRIME MINISTER'S GOOD WISHES, AND STRESSED HOW MUCH THE QUEEN HAD ENJOYED HER VISIT TO MOROCCO.

10. THE KING REPEATEDLY STRESSED THAT HE WAS SPEAKING VERY FRANKLY TO LORD CARRINGTON, AND HIS CONFIDENCE SHOULD OF COURSE BE FULLY RESPECTED.

DAWBARN

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SIR J. GRAHAM

MR. J. C. MOBERLY

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