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INFO UKREP BRUSSELS, WASHINGTON, UKMIS NEW YORK, TEL AVIV,
RABAT, CAIRO, BEIRUT, DAMASCUS, AMMAN, ALL OTHER EC POSTS

INFO SAVING MOSCOW AND ALL OTHER MIDDLE EAST POSTS

THE FEZ SUMMIT AND THE EIGHT POINT PLAN.

1. I WAS SUMMONED YESTERDAY BY THE DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER FOR POLITICAL AFFAIRS, TOGETHER WITH MY FRENCH AND GERMAN COLLEAGUES. WHEN I QUERIED THIS RATHER CURIOUS SELECTION OF AMBASSADORS IT TURNED OUT THAT MANSOURI WAS INTENDING TO ADDRESS "THE MOST IMPORTANT" OF THE MEMBER STATES OF THE COMMUNITY. I EXPLAINED MATTERS TO HIM AND IT WAS AGREED THAT I WOULD SUMMON ALL THE COMMUNITY REPRESENTATIVES TOMORROW AND GIVE THEM THE RESULTS OF OUR MEETING WITH MANSOURI BUT WITHOUT REVEALING THAT THE FRENCH AND GERMAN AMBASSADORS HAD BEEN WITH ME. MANSOURI SAID HE WOULD BE TALKING TO OTHER AMBASSADORS AND MENTIONED THE AMERICAN AND THE JAPANESE.
2. MANSOURI SAID HE WANTED TO GIVE US AN ACCOUNT OF THE SUMMIT AND TO DISCUSS WHERE THE PLAN HAD GOT, WHAT IT WAS INTENDED TO DO ABOUT IT AND HOW EUROPE COULD HELP.
3. THE SAUDIS, WHEN THEY PUT DOWN THE PLAN ON THE SUMMIT AGENDA, HAD CALCULATED THAT 15 MEMBERS OF THE ARAB LEAGUE WOULD SUPPORT THEM AND THAT 6 HAD RESERVATIONS. OF THESE LIBYA AND PDRY WERE OUT-AND-OUT REJECTIONISTS AND COULD NOT BE EXPECTED TO AGREE. IRAQ AND ALGERIA TRADITIONALLY WENT ALONG WITH WHATEVER THE PLO WANTED. THE PLO WAS EXPECTED TO SUPPORT THE PLAN. THAT LEFT SYRIA. EFFORTS WERE MADE, AS WE WOULD HAVE SEEN, TO PERSUADE SYRIA AND IN THE RUN-UP TO THE SUMMIT THE SAUDIS WERE HOPEFUL. IN THE EVENT SYRIA PLAYED THE KEY ROLE AT THE FOREIGN MINISTER'S MEETING.
4. KHADDAM'S CRITICISM WAS CONCENTRATED ON POINT 7. IT WAS REASONABLY OBJECTIVE AND THERE WAS NO ATTACK ON SAUDI ARABIA. RECOGNITION OF ISRAEL WAS IN THE SYRIAN VIEW THE ARABS' ONLY CARD AND NOT TO BE PLAYED UNLESS THE REST OF THE 8 POINTS HAD BEEN ACCEPTED BY ISRAEL AND THE USA, OR AT LEAST THE LATTER. THE SAUDIS HAD ARGUED THAT THEY WERE NOT ASKING FOR THE CARD TO BE PLAYED, ONLY TO BE SHOWN. RECOGNITION WAS TO BE PURELY CONDITIONAL (MANSOURI'S WORDS WERE TAKEN ALMOST VERBATIM FROM THE ARGUMENTS USED BY YOU ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS). THE PLO MINISTER, QADDOUMI, WENT ALONG WITH THE SYRIANS, LARGELY (MANSOURI CLAIMED) BECAUSE THE PLO WAS UNDER SYRIAN PRESSURE.

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5. WHEN IT BECAME CLEAR THAT THE PLAN WAS GOING TO BE OPPOSED BY SIX OF THE ARAB STATES, THE SAUDIS THOUGHT TO WITHDRAW IT ALTOGETHER. BUT THE OTHER MODERATES REFUSED AND IT HAD BEEN LEFT ON THE AGENDA FOR THE NEXT SUMMIT. INDEED NOW IT WAS THE OTHER MODERATES WHO WERE INSISTING ON PROMOTING THE PLAN. WE WOULD HAVE NOTICED RECENT STATEMENTS BY KING HUSSAIN AND KING HASSAN. THE MODERATES WERE DETERMINED THAT THE VOICE OF 15 STATES SHOULD NOT BE CAST ASIDE BECAUSE ONE STATE, SYRIA, WAS OPPOSED. SO THE PLAN HAD NOW BECOME THE MODERATES' PLAN AND NOT SAUDI ARABIA'S AND THE MODERATES WOULD GO AHEAD AND WOULD REJECT MODIFICATION OF POINT 7 (MANSOURI SAID SYRIA AND THE PLO HAD OFFERED TO ACCEPT THE PLAN IF POINT 7 COULD BE AMENDED). WITHOUT POINT 7 THE PLAN WOULD BE "UNBALANCED AND UNACCEPTABLE TO INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY".

6. THE EUROPEAN MEDIA HAD MISINTERPRETED THE OUTCOME OF THE SUMMIT, DESCRIBING IT AS A FIASCO AND A DEFEAT FOR SAUDI ARABIA. BUT THE PROCESS WAS NOT REPEAT NOT FINISHED: SO THERE WAS NO REPEAT NO DEFEAT. MANSOURI SAID HE WAS ASKING US FOR TWO THINGS:

- (A) EUROPEAN SUPPORT FOR THE PLAN, PUBLICLY AND OFFICIALLY PRONOUNCED, AT AS HIGH A LEVEL AS POSSIBLE:
- (B) EUROPEAN HELP IN ENLIGHTENING THE WESTERN MEDIA. HE KNEW WE COULD NOT DIRECT OUR PRESS BUT WE COULD EXPLAIN. OUR JOINT AIM MUST BE TO ENCOURAGE THE PLO TO ESCAPE FROM SYRIAN SHACKLES; HE BELIEVED THAT THE PLO WERE AT HEART IN FAVOUR OF THE PLAN BUT WERE UNABLE AT THE MOMENT TO TAKE AN INDEPENDENT POSITION.

7. I SAID I WAS SURE EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS WOULD WELCOME THE DECISION TO PERSEVERE WITH THE PLAN. BUT IF THEY WERE TO GIVE IT PUBLIC SUPPORT THEY WOULD NEED THE ARABS, AND PARTICULARLY SAUDI ARABIA, TO ANNOUNCE THAT THE FIRM INTENTION WAS (LAST WORD UNDERLINED) TO PERSEVERE. MANSOURI REPLIED THAT HASSAN AND HUSSAIN HAD ALREADY STATED THE ARABS' INTENTION TO PERSEVERE. IT WAS NO LONGER THE SAUDIS' PLAN: SO WE SHOULD NOT EXPECT SAUDI ARABIA TO TAKE THE LEAD IN PROMOTING IT.

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8. THE FRENCHMAN ASKED ABOUT A TIME-TABLE: WHEN WOULD THE NEXT SUMMIT TAKE PLACE? MANSOURI SAID THERE WAS NO HURRY. SOUNDINGS WOULD HAVE TO BE TAKEN AND THE FOREIGN MINISTERS WOULD HAVE TO MEET FIRST. MEANWHILE IT WAS HOPED TO GIVE THE PLAN A PUSH HERE AND THERE.

9. THE FRENCHMAN ALSO ASKED WHETHER IT WAS THE SAUDI INTENTION TO APPLY PRESSURE TO SYRIA, POINTING OUT THAT SYRIA RECEIVED CONSIDERABLE FINANCIAL AID FROM SAUDI ARABIA. MANSOURI UNDERSTANDABLY DID NOT ANSWER DIRECT BUT SAID THAT SAUDI ARABIA WOULD BE TRYING TO PERSUADE SYRIA TO CHANGE ITS VIEW: THERE MIGHT BE A TRADE-OFF. I SAID I HOPED THE SAUDIS WOULD NOT BUY SUPPORT FOR THE PLAN BY AGREEING TO JOIN IN CONDEMNATION OF EUROPEAN PARTICIPATION IN THE MFO. MANSOURI LAUGHED DEPRECATINGLY.

10. COMMENT LATER, AFTER OUR COMMUNITY MEETING.

FCO PSE PASS SAVING ADDRESSEES.

CRAIG:

[PASSED AS REQUESTED]

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