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MY TELNO 1731: SECRETARY-GENERAL'S MISSION TO ISRAEL

SUMMARY

1. RESOLUTION DEPLORING ISRAEL'S REFUSAL TO RECEIVE MISSION OF SECRETARY-GENERAL PASSED UNANIMOUSLY. SOME SPEAKERS FLEX THEIR MUSCLES IN ANTICIPATION OF FUTURE DEBATES ON OCCUPIED TERRITORIES. SOME THINLY VIELED CRITICISM OF MYSELF AS PRESIDENT FOR ALLEGEDLY DELAYING A VOTE IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE COUNCIL UNANIMITY.

DETAIL

2. NEGOTIATIONS WHICH PICKERING (UNITED STATES) CONDUCTED WITH AL-ASHTAL (YEMEN) AND RAZALI (MALAYSIA) ON THE AFTERNOON OF 24 OCTOBER EVENTUALLY RESULTED IN A COMPROMISE TEXT OF A SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION FOR WHICH THE AMERICANS WERE ABLE TO VOTE IN FAVOUR. AFTER COUNCIL MEMBERS HAD MET BRIEFLY IN INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS, A FORMAL MEETING WAS HELD.

3. THIS BEGAN WITH A CONTINUATION OF THE DEBATE ON THE SITUATION IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES. BEIN (ISRAEL) ACCUSED THE COUNCIL OF HAVING BEEN DIVERTED FROM THE REAL ISSUE OF IRAQ/KUWAIT. THE PLO HAD SERVED SADDAM HUSSEIN WELL BY STEALING THE SHOW. HE QUOTED AN (UNNAMED) ARAB AMBASSADOR AS HAVING SAID THE PLO HAD CAUSED THE INCIDENT OF 8 AUGUST TO DIVERT ATTENTION FROM KUWAIT. BEIN SAID IT WAS ARAFAT WHO HAD GIVEN SADDAM HUSSEIN THE IDEA THAT HE SHOULD THREATEN ISRAEL. SADDAM HUSSEIN HAD EVEN ACCUSED KUWAIT OF COMPLICITY IN A ZIONIST PLOT BEFORE INVADING IT. THE VIOLENCE ON THE TEMPLE MOUNT HAD BEEN THE LAST THING THAT ISRAEL HAD WANTED. THE ONLY BENEFICIARIES WERE SADDAM HUSSEIN AND HIS PLO CHEERLEADERS. SECURITY COUNCIL MEETINGS NOW FITTED INTO A SET PATTERN. IF AN ISRAELI WAS LYNCHED THE COUNCIL DID NOT MENTION IT. IF ISRAEL MENTIONED IT THE COUNCIL BLAMED ISRAEL. FOR THE PLO THE MESSAGE OF SCR 672 WAS THAT CRIME PAID. FATAH WAS NOW ENCOURAGING ITS ACTIVISTS TO ARM THEMSELVES WITH WEAPONS AND TO SLASH JEWS WITH



KNIVES. HENCE THE RECENT WAVE OF STABBINGS INCLUDING ONE ATTACK FOR WHICH THE PLO FORCE 17 CLAIMED RESPONSIBILITY. ISRAEL REGRETTED THE CONTENT AND TONE OF SCR 672, AND THE IDEA OF A MISSION TO ASCERTAIN THE FACTS WHEN ISRAEL HAD ALREADY BEEN CONDEMNED BY THE COUNCIL.

4. BEIN SAID THE ISRAELI COMMISSION SET UP TO LOOK INTO THE EVENTS OF 8 OCTOBER WOULD REPORT SOON. ISRAEL WOULD ASSIST THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TO PREPARE HIS REPORT TO THE COUNCIL. LIKE ALL SOVEREIGN STATES ISRAEL WOULD CONTINUE TO EXERCISE AUTHORITY IN THE TERRITORY IT CONTROLLED, ESPECIALLY IN ITS CAPITAL JERUSALEM. BEIN ACCUSED THE COUNCIL OF IGNORING RECENT SYRIAN ATROCITIES IN LEBANON IN WHICH INNOCENT PEOPLE, INCLUDING THE CHAMOUN FAMILY, HAD BEEN MURDERED IN COLD BLOOD AND NUNS HAD BEEN RAPED. HE CONCLUDED BY CLAIMING THAT THERE WAS NO PARALLEL BETWEEN SCRS 242 AND 660. THE FORMER DID NOT SPECIFY FROM WHICH TERRITORIES ISRAEL SHOULD WITHDRAW OR SPEAK OF THE STATUS QUO ANTE, AND ISRAEL WAS UNDER NO OBLIGATION TO TAKE ACTION UNTIL THERE WAS A SETTLEMENT ENDING THE ARABS' STATE OF BELLIGERENCY.

5. AL-KIDWA (PALESTINE) SAID THE COUNCIL HAD BEEN CALLED TO DEAL WITH A SPECIFIC ISSUE: THE ISRAELI REJECTION OF SCR 672 AND OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL'S MISSION. HE COULD NOT HELP BUT OBSERVE THE EXTREME DELAY IN THE COUNCIL'S HANDLING OF THIS ISSUE. IT HAD BEEN REMARKABLY SLOW IN COMPARISON WITH ITS PROMPT HANDLING OF OTHER ISSUES. THERE HAD BEEN SCHEMES TO STOP THE COUNCIL FROM FULFILLING ITS DUTIES. THESE CONTRADICTED THE CUSTOMS AND NORMS OF THE COUNCIL AND WERE PROOF THAT THE CLAIM OF A NEW ATMOSPHERE IN THE COUNCIL WAS A FALLACY. HE WAS PAINED TO NOTE THE STATEMENTS OF SOME PERSONS OF GREAT PROMINENCE IN THE COUNCIL ADVISING ISRAEL HOW TO ACCEPT THE SECRETARY-GENERAL'S MISSION WHILE NOT ABIDING BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION. (WE UNDERSTAND THAT THIS WAS INTENDED TO BE A REFERENCE TO ALLEGED REMARKS YOU MADE IN ISRAEL).

6. AL-KIDWA SAID HE NEVERTHELESS RECOGNISED THAT IF THE COUNCIL WAS TO DEAL SERIOUSLY WITH THE SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST THE PATTERN OF VOTES BY AN OVERWHELMING MAJORITY IN THE COUNCIL MUST CHANGE TO ONE OF UNANIMITY. THE PLO WAS READY TO FOLLOW A PRACTICAL COURSE TO HELP BRING THIS ABOUT. HE REFERRED TO HIS STATEMENT IN THE COUNCIL ON 12 OCTOBER (PARA 5 OF MY TELNO 1624) IN WHICH HE HAD SAID THE ISRAELIS WOULD IGNORE SCR 672 AND THAT THE COUNCIL WOULD HAVE TO MEET AGAIN TO DEAL WITH THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES. HE HAD BEEN PROVED RIGHT. THE DRAFT RESOLUTION NOW BEFORE THE COUNCIL WAS A FIRST STEP ON THE WAY TO THE COUNCIL SHOWING THAT IT WAS



SERIOUS IN DEALING WITH THE REBELLION AGAINST IT BY ISRAEL. THE COUNCIL SHOULD SEND A CLEAR SIGNAL OF ITS INTENTION TO ENFORCE ITS RESOLUTIONS AND MAKE THEM LEGALLY BINDING, ESPECIALLY THROUGH THE USE OF CHAPTER VII. THE COUNCIL SHOULD NOT TRY TO SHUFFLE ITS RESPONSIBILITIES ONTO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL, IN WHOM HE NEVERTHELESS STRESSED THE PLO HAD COMPLETE CONFIDENCE. WHEN THE COUNCIL CAME TO EXAMINE THE SECRETARY-GENERAL'S REPORT ON THE PROTECTION OF THE PALESTINIANS IT WOULD BE NO GOOD IF IT SIMPLY REITERATED THAT THE FOURTH GENEVA CONVENTION APPLIED. CONCRETE MEASURES SHOULD BE ADOPTED, SUCH AS THE DEPLOYMENT OF OBSERVERS OR A PEACEKEEPING FORCE IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES.

7. SALAH (DEPUTY PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF SUDAN) SAID HIS GOVERNMENT CONDEMNED ISRAEL FOR THE MASSACRE OF 8 OCTOBER. IT WAS AMAZING THAT ISRAEL CLAIMED THAT ITS SECURITY FORCES HAD FIRED AT UNARMED CIVILIANS IN SELF DEFENCE. THIS INCIDENT HAD NOTHING TO DO WITH THE GULF CRISIS OR THE MURDER OF CHAMOUN. THE ISRAELIS SPOKE AS IF CRIMES COMMITTED ELSEWHERE IN THE WORLD JUSTIFIED THEIR OWN CRIMES. SUDAN CALLED FOR SELF DETERMINATION FOR THE PALESTINIANS AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN INDEPENDENT STATE UNDER THE PLO. THE COUNCIL SHOULD APPLY SANCTIONS UNDER CHAPTER VII AGAINST ISRAEL. (THE (SOUTHERN) SUDANESE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE (LAGU) TOLD US IN CONFIDENCE THAT HE HAD CHOSEN NOT TO DELIVER THE STATEMENT HIMSELF BECAUSE HIS SYMPATHIES WERE WITH THE QUOTE OTHER SIDE UNQUOTE.)

8. FATTAL (SYRIA) THEN EXERCISED THE RIGHT OF REPLY TO BEIN'S COMMENTS ON SYRIAN ACTIONS IN LEBANON. HE SAID ISRAEL HAD BEEN INVOLVED IN A CHAIN OF MASSACRES. IT HAD COMMITTED WHAT AMOUNTED TO WAR CRIMES LIKE THOSE OF THE NAZIS UNDER THE TERMS OF THE FOURTH GENEVA CONVENTION. IF ISRAEL WANTED TO HELP LEBANON IT SHOULD WITHDRAW ITS FORCES FROM THE SOUTH SO THAT THE COUNTRY COULD REGAIN ITS SOVEREIGNTY. SYRIA WAS DOING ITS BEST TO HELP LEBANON RECOVER ITS SOVEREIGNTY IN A FRATERNAL WAY. ISRAEL HAD ACCUSED SYRIAN SOLDIERS OF VIOLATING RELIGIOUS PLACES. SYRIA RESPECTED ADHERENTS OF ALL RELIGIONS IN LEBANON, ESPECIALLY THE MARONITE CHRISTIANS. SYRIA HAD LOST MANY SOLDIERS IN THE FIGHT TO END THE CIVIL WAR IN LEBANON AND PROTECT IT AGAINST PARTITION. ISRAEL'S REAL FEAR WAS THAT PRESIDENT HRAOUI WOULD BEGIN TO EXERCISE POWER IN LEBANON AND DRIVE THE OCCUPIERS OUT OF THE SOUTH OF THE COUNTRY.

9. THE COUNCIL THEN MOVED TO FORMAL STATEMENTS BEFORE THE VOTE. AL-ASHTAL (YEMEN) SAID ISRAEL HAD REJECTED SCR 672 EVEN THOUGH IT TOOK ACCOUNT OF ISRAEL'S SENSITIVITY ABOUT THE SECURITY COUNCIL BY



HAVING THE MISSION SENT BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL. THE COUNCIL SHOULD NOW ADOPT UNIFORM PROCEDURES FOR DEALING WITH THOSE WHO DID NOT COMPLY WITH ITS RESOLUTIONS. WHAT WOULD IT DO ABOUT THE ILLEGAL ISRAELI ANNEXATION OF JERUSALEM AND THE GOLAN HEIGHTS? SHOULD ACTION UNDER CHAPTER VII NOT BE MENTIONED? THE SECRETARY-GENERAL'S REPORT WOULD NOT BE AN END IN ITSELF. HE EXPECTED THE COUNCIL TO RE-OPEN THE FILE ON THE CORE MIDDLE EAST PROBLEM SOONER OR LATER. THERE WAS NO PEACE PROCESS IN TRAIN AT PRESENT AND THE UNITED STATES HAD CUT OFF CONTACT WITH THE PALESTINIANS. THE FIVE PERMANENT MEMBERS WERE DEALING WITH ALL THE OTHER EXPLOSIVE INTERNATIONAL ISSUES AND THE ARABS HAD A RIGHT TO EXPECT THE COUNCIL TO DEAL WITH THE MIDDLE EAST PROBLEM SERIOUSLY.

10. NZENGEYA (ZAIRE) SAID HIS DELEGATION DEPLORED THE NEGATIVE ATTITUDE OF ISRAEL. RAZALI (MALAYSIA) SAID THERE HAD BEEN A DELAY IN MOVING TO THE DRAFT NOW BEFORE THE COUNCIL BECAUSE OF TIME WASTING ON THE QUESTION OF WHETHER THERE SHOULD BE A RESOLUTION OR A STATEMENT. IT WAS CLEAR THAT A RESOLUTION WAS NECESSARY TO DEAL WITH THE ATTEMPT BY ISRAEL TO PLACE ITSELF ABOVE THE LAW. IT WAS UNACCEPTABLE THAT THE UNANIMITY OF THE COUNCIL SHOULD BECOME AN OBSTACLE TO IT TAKING ACTION.

11. PENALOSA (COLOMBIA) CONDEMNED ISRAEL'S ACTS OF VIOLENCE AND ITS REFUSAL TO COOPERATE WITH THE SECRETARY-GENERAL. ALARCON (CUBA) SAID IT WAS IRONIC THAT THE COUNCIL HAD FINALLY MET TO DEAL WITH ISRAEL'S NON-COMPLIANCE WITH SCR 672 ON 24 OCTOBER, THE DAY ON WHICH THE SECRETARY-GENERAL HAD BEEN DUE TO PRODUCE HIS REPORT. ON 19 OCTOBER THE SECRETARY-GENERAL HAD EXPLAINED TO THE COUNCIL WHY HE HAD BEEN UNABLE TO SEND HIS MISSION. IN THE INTERVENING FIVE DAYS MEMBERS HAD HAD NEW AND BROADER EXPERIENCES IN THE PRACTICE OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL, INCLUDING A DEBATE ON THE QUESTION OF UNANIMITY.

12. THE COUNCIL THEN MOVED TO THE VOTE AND THE DRAFT RESOLUTION WAS PASSED UNANIMOUSLY AS SCR 673. TEXT IS IN MIFT. FOR COMMENT SEE MY SECOND IFT.

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MIPT: SECRETARY-GENERAL'S MISSION TO ISRAEL

1. FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF SCR 673 ADOPTED UNANIMOUSLY BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL ON 24 OCTOBER.

BEGINS

THE SECURITY COUNCIL,

REAFFIRMING THE OBLIGATIONS OF MEMBER STATES UNDER THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER,

REAFFIRMING ALSO ITS RESOLUTION 672 (1990),

HAVING BEEN BRIEFED BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON 19 OCTOBER 1990,

EXPRESSING ALARM AT THE REJECTION OF SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 672 (1990) BY THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT, AND ITS REFUSAL TO ACCEPT THE MISSION OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL,

TAKING INTO CONSIDERATION THE STATEMENT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL RELATIVE TO THE PURPOSE OF THE MISSION HE IS SENDING TO THE REGION AND CONVEYED TO THE COUNCIL BY THE PRESIDENT ON 12 OCTOBER 1990,

GRAVELY CONCERNED AT THE CONTINUED DETERIORATION OF THE SITUATION IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES,

1. DEPLORES THE REFUSAL OF THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT TO RECEIVE THE MISSION OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TO THE REGION:

2. URGES THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT TO RECONSIDER ITS DECISION AND INSISTS THAT IT COMPLY FULLY WITH RESOLUTION 672 (1990) AND TO



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PERMIT THE MISSION OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TO PROCEED IN KEEPING WITH ITS PURPOSE:

3. REQUESTS THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TO SUBMIT TO THE COUNCIL THE REPORT REQUESTED IN RESOLUTION 672 (1990):

4. AFFIRMS ITS DETERMINATION TO GIVE FULL AND EXPEDITIOUS CONSIDERATION TO THE REPORT.

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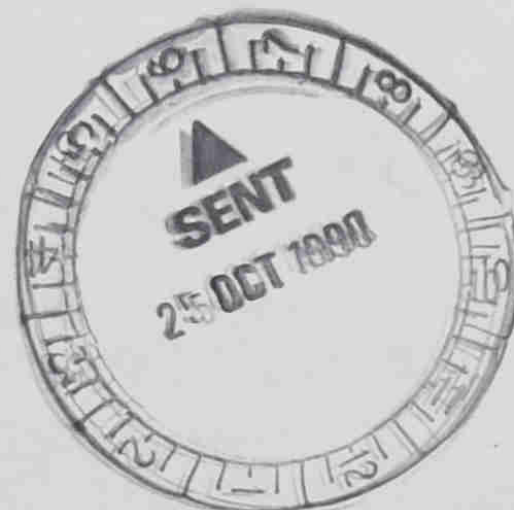
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MY TWO IPTS : SECRETARY-GENERAL'S MISSION TO ISRAEL : COMMENT

1. THE SECOND AND UNNECESSARY ACT OF THIS DRAMA HAS NOW BEEN BROUGHT TO A REASONABLY SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION. THE UNANIMITY OF THE COUNCIL, SO LABORIOUSLY ACHIEVED AFTER THE JERUSALEM KILLINGS (SCR 672), HAS BEEN SUSTAINED, AND THE RISK OF A U S VETO OR ABSTENTION AVOIDED EVEN THOUGH THE CRITICISMS BY THE JEWISH LOBBY IN THE UNITED STATES HAVE BEEN VOCAL AND EVENTS ON THE GROUND HAVE SLIGHTLY BLURRED THE CLEAR BLACK AND WHITE PICTURE PRESENTED BY THE ORIGINAL EVENT. THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT HAVE CONTINUED TO PLAY INTO THE HANDS OF THEIR CRITICS AND TO CAUSE DESPAIR TO THEIR FEW REMAINING FRIENDS BY REFUSING ANY COOPERATION WITH THE SECRETARY-GENERAL'S MISSION, EVEN COOPERATION SHORT OF ACTUALLY RECEIVING THE MISSION THEMSELVES.
2. WE COULD ALL HAVE DONE WITHOUT THIS SECOND ACT WHICH WAS ONLY PRECIPITATED BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL'S DECISION VERY FORMALLY TO THROW IN THE TOWEL ON HIS MISSION AND REPORT BACK TO THE COUNCIL. IN RETROSPECT, I SUSPECT HE MUST REALISE IT WOULD HAVE BEEN BETTER IF HE HAD NOT DONE SO AND HAD SIMPLY SUBMITTED HIS REPORT AT THE END OF THE MONTH AND RECORDED IN IT HIS UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPTS TO SEND A MISSION TO THE REGION. BUT THAT IS NOW WATER UNDER THE BRIDGE.
3. ACT THREE WILL BE THE SECRETARY-GENERAL'S REPORT WHICH IS NOW IN GESTATION AND WHICH IS ALMOST CERTAINLY GOING TO HAVE TO BE WRITTEN WITHOUT THE BENEFIT OF A VISIT TO THE REGION. IT CAN HARDLY BE LESS FAR REACHING THAN THE 1988 GOULDING REPORT ON THE SAME SUBJECT, WHOSE CONCLUSIONS RAPIDLY FOUND THEIR WAY INTO THE 'TOO DIFFICULT' TRAY. IT MAY GO FURTHER. AND IT WILL ARRIVE ON THE COUNCIL TABLE AT A TIME WHEN EVENTS ON THE GROUND AND ELSEWHERE IN THE REGION ARE IN AN EXCEPTIONALLY SENSITIVE STATE.
4. ACT FOUR WILL NOT BE POSSIBLE TO DELAY FOR VERY LONG AND IT WILL BE PLAYED UNDER A U S PRESIDENCY OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL. NO-ONE



HERE WOULD OFFER MUCH MONEY ON AVOIDING A U S VETO AT THAT STAGE.

5. ALL THIS IS BAD NEWS FOR US AND OTHERS WHO ARE TRYING TO KEEP THE UNITED NATIONS' EYE FIRMLY ON THE BALL OF THE GULF CRISIS. IT CERTAINLY IS NOT REALISTIC TO SUPPOSE ANY MORE THAT WE CAN RAPIDLY GET THE ISSUE OF PALESTINE ONTO THE BACK BURNER. WE ARE IN FOR A LENGTHY DAMAGE LIMITATION EXERCISE ON THAT FRONT. BUT WE SHOULD STILL BE ABLE TO GET GULF RESOLUTIONS THROUGH THE COUNCIL, ALBEIT PROBABLY WITH SMALLER MAJORITIES THAN IN THE PAST. THAT WILL BE PUT TO THE TEST LATER THIS WEEK. FORTUNATELY MOST OF THE MEASURE NEEDED TO COUNTER IRAQI ACTION AND TO MAINTAIN A TOUGH SANCTIONS REGIME ARE ON THE STATUTE BOOK ALREADY.

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