



Assumed by Prime Minister  
with Foreign Secretary this  
afternoon. Agreed to go for  
non-participation - or, failing that,  
abstention - with a strong  
explanation of vote.

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

24 July 1980

Dear Michael,

re. Arab - 25/7

UN Special Session on Palestine

The Prime Minister may like an account of where we now stand. The Session began on 22 July and is expected to end in a vote on an Arab draft resolution on 29 July. I attach the latest version of the Arab draft.

At the meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the Nine on 22 July, it was felt strongly that, although the Arab draft was likely to be extreme and objectionable in several respects, it would cut across the action decided upon by Heads of Government in Venice if the Nine were to vote against an Arab draft. A decision was therefore taken that the Nine should abstain in any vote, explaining that this abstention was not intended as a comment on the terms of the resolution but as a product of the fact that M. Thorn was about to set out on a mission of contact with all the interested parties and that it would be inappropriate for the Nine to take up a position at this stage. As the Prime Minister will be aware, Lord Carrington was at an earlier stage inclined to think that an abstention on an extreme draft would be insufficient and to favour the promotion of a rival European draft to demonstrate clearly the Nine's position. However, the arguments against becoming involved in negotiation on texts on the eve of M. Thorn's mission, in particular the likely failure of such a draft to achieve significant support, were strong and the Nine decided not to pursue this idea. Lord Carrington therefore decided to acquiesce in the decision to abstain since it was clear that this was the only basis in which the Nine could maintain a common position and avoid a plethora of national statements and the danger of differing votes, which would have given the worst possible start to M. Thorn's mission.

The Nine's decision to abstain, though intended to be confidential, quickly became known in New York. The Americans have lobbied us along with the rest of the Nine in strong terms on the lines of the attached speaking note. There is a danger of a damaging row. The Israelis are also likely to react strongly and there is a risk that they may refuse to see M. Thorn, which would have serious consequences for the credibility of European action. However, Lord Carrington believes that to appear to back down under US pressure would be very damaging in the Middle East and would certainly undermine the credibility of M. Thorn with his Arab interlocutors. Given the commitment we have made to the Nine, Lord Carrington therefore believes that we should maintain our decision. We are, nevertheless, exploring the possibility of the Nine not participating in the vote (as opposed to

/abstaining





abstaining) as a means of demonstrating as clearly as possible that the Nine are not giving tacit approval to the Arab resolution. In either case the Nine would make clear in explanation of vote that we were not basing our decision on the substance of the resolution but on the need to avoid taking up a position which could prejudice the Thorn mission.

*Yours Esq*

*Paul*

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Private Secretary

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FROM UKMIS NEWYORK 212314Z JULY 80

TO IMMEDIATE F C O

TELEGRAM NUMBER 1039 OF 21 JULY

INFO TEL AVIV AMMAN CAIRO DAMASCUS WASHINGTON BEIRUT UKREP  
BRUSSELS

M I P T: EMERGENCY SPECIAL SESSION ON PALESTINE.

1. TEXT OF THE REVISED RESOLUTION IS AS FOLLOWS:

BEGINS:

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY,

A) RECALLING ITS RESOLUTIONS 34/65A OF 29 NOVEMBER 1979, IN WHICH IT, INTER ALIA, URGED THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO CONSIDER AND TAKE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE A DECISION ON THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE EXERCISE OF THE INALIENABLE RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE (CEIRPP) ENDORSED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY IN ITS RESOLUTIONS 31/20, 32/40A, 33/28A AS WELL AS IN RESOLUTION 34/65A.

B) NOTING WITH REGRET AND CONCERN THAT THE SECURITY COUNCIL IN ITS MEETING NO. 2220 ON 30 APRIL 1980 FAILED TO TAKE A DECISION AS A RESULT OF THE NEGATIVE VOTE OF THE UNITED STATES.

C) RECALLING RULES 8(B) AND 9(B) OF THE RULES OF PROCEDURE OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY,

D) HAVING CONSIDERED THE LETTER OF THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF SENEGAL, CHAIRMAN OF THE CEIRPP, DATED 1 JULY 1980 (DOC. NO.

E) HAVING HEARD THE STATEMENT OF THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANISATION (PLO), THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE,

F) RECALLING AND REAFFIRMING ITS RESOLUTION 3236 (XXIX) AND ALL OTHER RELEVANT UNITED NATIONS RESOLUTIONS PERTINENT TO THE QUESTION OF PALESTINE,

G) EXPRESSING GRAVE CONCERN THAT NO JUST SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM OF PALESTINE HAS BEEN ACHIEVED AND THAT THIS PROBLEM CONTINUES TO AGGRAVATE THE MIDDLE EAST CONFLICT, OF WHICH IT IS THE CORE, AND TO ENDANGER INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY,

1) REAFFIRMS ALSO THE INALIENABLE RIGHT OF THE PALESTINIANS TO RETURN TO THEIR HOMES AND PROPERTY FROM WHICH THEY HAVE BEEN DISPLACED AND UPROOTED, AND CALLS FOR THEIR RETURN;

2) REAFFIRMS THE INALIENABLE RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE INCLUDING:

A) THE RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION WITHOUT EXTERNAL INTERFERENCE;

B) THE RIGHT TO NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND SOVEREIGNTY;

3) REAFFIRMS THE RIGHT OF THE PLO, THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE, TO PARTICIPATE ON AN EQUAL FOOTING IN ALL EFFORTS, DEBATES, AND CONFERENCES ON THE QUESTION OF PALESTINE AND THE MIDDLE EAST WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE UNITED NATIONS;

4) EXPRESSES ITS OPPOSITION TO ALL POLICIES AND PLANS AIMED AT THE RESETTLEMENT OF THE PALESTINIANS OUTSIDE THEIR HOMELAND;

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/ 5) ENDORSES



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- 5) ENDORSES AGAIN THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE CEIRPP AS CONTAINED IN PARAGRAPHS 59 TO 72 OF ITS REPORT A/31/35:
- 6) REQUESTS AND AUTHORISES THE SECRETARY-GENERAL IN CONSULTATION WITH THE CEIRPP:
  - A) TO TAKE THE NECESSARY MEASURES TO ENSURE THE IMMEDIATE IMPLEMENTATION OF SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 237 (1967) OF 14 JUNE 1967:
  - B) TO EMPLOY THE RESOURCES OF THE UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND WORKS AGENCY FOR PALESTINIAN REFUGEES IN THE NEAR EAST AND OTHER HUMANITARIAN ORGANISATIONS DEALING WITH REFUGEES, IN CO-OPERATION WITH THE PLO AND THE HOST COUNTRIES, TO ASSIST IN THE SOLUTION OF ANY LOGISTICAL PROBLEMS INVOLVED IN THE RESETTLEMENT OF THOSE RETURNING TO THEIR HOMES:
- 7) CALLS UPON THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TO PROCEED TO MAKE THE NECESSARY ARRANGEMENTS IN CO-OPERATION WITH THE STATES DIRECTLY INVOLVED AND THE PLO, TO ENABLE THE PALESTINIANS RENDERED REFUGEES SINCE 1947 TO EXERCISE THEIR RIGHT TO RETURN TO THEIR HOMES AND PROPERTY AND FOR THOSE WHO WISH NOT TO RETURN TO RECEIVE JUST AND EQUITABLE COMPENSATION, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE RELEVANT UNITED NATIONS RESOLUTIONS, PARTICULARLY GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION 194 (III):
- 8) REAFFIRMS THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF THE INADMISSABILITY OF THE ACQUISITION OF TERRITORY BY FORCE:
- 9) CALLS UPON ISRAEL TO COMPLETELY WITHDRAW UNCONDITIONALLY FROM ALL THE PALESTINIAN AND OTHER ARAB TERRITORIES, INCLUDING JERUSALEM, OCCUPIED SINCE 1967 WITH ALL PROPERTY AND SERVICES INTACT, AND URGES THAT SUCH WITHDRAWAL FROM ALL THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES SHOULD START BEFORE 15 NOVEMBER 1980:
- 10) REQUESTS AND AUTHORISES THE SECRETARY-GENERAL:
  - A) TO ESTABLISH THE NECESSARY MACHINERY TO ARRANGE, SUPERVISE AND CONFIRM THE WITHDRAWAL OF ISRAEL FROM ALL THE OCCUPIED PALESTINIAN AND OTHER ARAB TERRITORIES INCLUDING JERUSALEM:
  - B) TO TAKE OVER THE EVACUATED PALESTINIAN TERRITORIES AND, SUBSEQUENTLY WITH THE CO-OPERATION OF THE LEAGUE OF ARAB STATES, HAND OVER THE EVACUATED PALESTINIAN AREAS TO THE PLO, THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE:



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- 11) REAFFIRMS THAT A COMPREHENSIVE, JUST AND LASTING PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST CANNOT BE ESTABLISHED IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE RELEVANT UNITED NATIONS RESOLUTIONS WITHOUT THE WITHDRAWAL OF ISRAEL FROM ALL THE OCCUPIED PALESTINIAN AND OTHER ARAB TERRITORIES, INCLUDING JERUSALEM, AND WITHOUT THE ACHIEVEMENT OF A JUST SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM OF PALESTINE ON THE BASIS OF THE ATTAINMENTS OF THE INALIENABLE RIGHT OF RETURN OF THE PALESTINIANS AND THE INALIENABLE RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE IN PALESTINE, TO SELF-DETERMINATION, NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND SOVEREIGNTY AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THEIR OWN INDEPENDENT STATE;
- 12) CALLS UPON ALL STATES TO DESIST FORTHWITH FROM SUPPLYING ISRAEL WITH ANY MILITARY AND/OR ECONOMIC AID (MATERIAL, TECHNICAL AS WELL AS HUMAN) IN VIEW OF THE CONTINUED OCCUPATION OF ARAB AND PALESTINIAN TERRITORIES, INCLUDING JERUSALEM, AND THE DENIAL OF THE INALIENABLE RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE;
- 13) REQUESTS THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TO REPORT TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AT ITS THIRTY-FIFTH SESSION ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PRESENT RESOLUTION;
- 14) REQUESTS THE SECURITY COUNCIL, IN THE EVENT OF NON-COMPLIANCE BY ISRAEL WITH THIS RESOLUTION, TO CONVENE IN ORDER TO REVIEW THE SITUATION AND TO ADOPT EFFECTIVE MEASURES UNDER CHAPTER VII OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS;
- 15) DECIDES TO ADJOURN THIS EMERGENCY SPECIAL SESSION TEMPORARILY AND TO AUTHORISE THE PRESIDENT TO RECONVENE AGAIN THIS SESSION AT THE REQUEST OF THE CEIRPP.

ENDS.

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We understand that the Foreign Ministers of the community are inclined to abstain on the draft resolution which is being circulated at the emergency special session on Palestine. We are very surprised and disappointed to hear this. We ourselves, of course, will vote against the resolution. On the merits of the text, we had assumed that we would have the support of our friends and allies in opposing it. In our view, abstention on such a resolution will be badly misinterpreted in the Middle East, both by Israel and the Arabs. It will feed Israeli suspicions, and encourage the Arabs in the view that they can hope to get something for nothing if they keep the pressure up on the West.

As you know, the present text of the resolution is completely irresponsible. It calls for "unconditional" withdrawal by Israel from the occupied territories, which are then to be turned over to the PLO, so that the PLO can create an independent state. Not only does the resolution make no mention of resolution 242 and its basic equation of territories for peace, it states explicitly that Israeli withdrawal is to be "unconditional". If Israel balks, and does not begin its withdrawal by November 15, the resolution recommends the imposition of economic sanctions. The resolution contains no affirmation of Israel's right to exist. Although there are likely to be minor changes in the text of the resolution before it is introduced, these basic premises are unlikely to change.

Given these negative elements in the resolution, in particular its attempt to undermine resolution 242 and to question Israel's right to exist, we believe abstentions by the EC-9 would be contrary to the position imparted to us after the Venice meeting that the nine have no intention of undermining the Camp David negotiations and that they foresaw continued cooperation between us on encouraging moderate and constructive solutions in the Middle East. We believe such abstentions would be damaging to our common objectives in the Middle East since this would be widely perceived as a split between the U.S. and the EC-9 on the basic requirements for a peace settlement in the Middle East. We believe strongly that a responsible and balanced approach to the problems of the Middle East requires a vote against this resolution.





25 JUL 1980