

IRAN/IRAQ

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TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 441 OF 11 JULY, 1982

INFO IMMEDIATE UKMIS NEW YORK

PRIORITY TEHRAN AMMAN JEDDA MOSCOW WASHINGTON PARIS CAIRO

UKMIS NEW YORK TELNO 1108 AND MY TELNO 433: IRAQ/IRAN IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL.

1. I TRUST WE CAN COME OFF THE FENCE IN GOOD TIME BEFORE ANY VOTE ON A RESOLUTION SIMILAR TO THAT SET OUT IN UKMIS TELNO 1107. TO ABSTAIN WILL BE TANTAMOUNT, IN IRAQI AND MODERATE ARAB EYES, TO A VOTE AGAINST, AND WOULD DO OUR INTERESTS HERE GREAT HARM. I NOTE THAT BOTH THE FRENCH AND THE US DELEGATIONS SAID THEY COULD GO ALONG WITH THE WORDING AS OF 9 JULY. DR HAMMADI LEFT HERE FOR NEW YORK ON 10 JULY.

2. THE REASONS WHY MR WHYTE'S INSTRUCTIONS, IN YOUR TELNO 607 TO NEW YORK, NEED URGENT MODIFICATION AS WE APPROACH A VOTE INCLUDE THE FOLLOWING:



INCLUDE THE FOLLOWING:

(A) IRAN, WHICH COULD HAVE ACHIEVED SUBSTANTIAL CHANGES IN DRAFT RESOLUTION IF IT HAD DEIGNED TO PARTICIPATE, SEEMS TO BE PREPARING INSTEAD TO TURN ITS BACK ON THE SECURITY COUNCIL. THIS IS A MOST DANGEROUS PRECEDENT, AS NUSEIBEH (JORDAN) APTLY POINTED OUT (PARA 5 OF UKMIS TUR). "NO MEMBER STATE HAD THE RIGHT TO TELL THE COUNCIL IT HAD NO BUSINESS TO TRY AND STOP A WAR."

(B) FURTHERMORE IRAN HAS NOW MADE SPECIFIC THREATS OF INVASION OF IRAQ (TEHRAN TELNO 418). IF THAT IS ITS ATTITUDE, IT PRESUMABLY DOES NOT (NOT) WORRY ABOUT THE CONSEQUENCE OF ITS DISDAIN OF THE COUNCIL AND ITS LEGITIMATE PROCEEDINGS, IN THIS CASE A DISTASTEFUL RESOLUTION.

(C) SINCE THE FALL OF KHORRAMSHAHR ON 25 MAY, IRAQ HAS REPEATEDLY AND PUBLICLY HUMILIATED ITSELF TO OBTAIN A CEASEFIRE. WITNESS ITS OFFER OF CEASEFIRE PLUS WITHDRAWAL PLUS ARBITRATION ON 10 JUNE (MY TELNO 360) SEMICOLON ITS UNILATERAL WITHDRAWAL OFFER OF 20 JUNE (MY TELNO 392) SEMICOLON ITS VIRTUALLY COMPLETE IMPLEMENTATION OF WITHDRAWAL TO THE 1975 BOUNDARIES BY 29 JUNE (MY TELNO 413) SEMICOLON AND ITS WILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT BOTH UN OBSERVERS TO CHECK THAT WITHDRAWAL HAS TAKEN PLACE (30 JUNE), AND OF A COMMISSION TO DETERMINE WHO WAS THE AGGRESSOR (APRIL). IT IS CLEAR ALSO, AS DR HAMMADI LET FALL WHILE IN DELHI (PARA 4 OF WETHERELL'S TELELETTER TO FINLAYSON OF 7 JULY) THAT IRAQ IS NOW PREPARED TO CONSIDER ANY REASONABLE PROPOSAL FOR THE PAYMENT OF REPARATIONS, IN CONCERT OF COURSE WITH ITS ARAB GULF BANK-ROLLERS.

(D) IRAQ HAS, ARGUABLY, ONLY HELD OUT AGAINST IRANIAN PRECONDITIONS WHICH IMPINGE DIRECTLY ON ITS INTERNAL AFFAIRS, IE WHO RULES IRAQ. THIS MUST BE FOR THE IRAQI PEOPLE TO DECIDE, AT LEAST WHEN WE DEBATE THINGS IN AN INTERNATIONAL FORUM.

(E) NO SINGLE ELEMENT OF THE DRAFT RESOLUTION CIRCULATED BY PRESIDENT SINCLAIR OF GUYANA (UKMIS TELNO 1107) IS PER SE

UNREASONABLE OR UNACCEPTABLE TO US, EXCEPT POSSIBLY THE PHRASE AT THE END OF PREAMBULAR PARAGRAPH 2 (PARA 3 OF YOUR TELNO 607 TO UKMIS), WHICH NO DOUBT WOULD BE DROPPED IF MR WHYTE INSISTED. FURTHERMORE, SIR A PARSONS IS ON RECORD AS HAVING TOLD SAHHAF THAT THE SORT OF TEXT THE IRAQIS CONTEMPLATED WOULD CAUSE US NO (NO) PROBLEMS, THOUGH THE IRANIANS WOULD OF COURSE NOT (NOT) ACCEPT IT (PARA 3 OF UKMIS NEW YORK TELNO 1049). HIS REMARKS WILL HAVE BEEN CAREFULLY NOTED. WHY THEREFORE SHOULD WE NOW FIND



(PARA 3 OF UKMIS NEW YORK TELNO 1049). HIS REMARKS WILL HAVE BEEN CAREFULLY NOTED. WHY THEREFORE SHOULD WE NOW FIND DIFFICULTY WITH SINCLAIR'S DRAFT AS A WHOLE ?

3. ALL THE ABOVE ARGUMENTS WILL APPLY WITH REDOUBLED FORCE IF IRAN ACTUALLY INVADES IRAQ, AS NOW SEEMS LIKELY. THE CONFRONTATION THEN WILL NO LONGER BE IRAQ VERSUS IRAN BUT THE SEVEN AGAINST THEBES (GULF MODERATES PLUS JORDAN PLUS EGYPT VERSUS IRAN). THE WAR WILL HAVE ENTERED A NEW AND MUCH MORE SERIOUS PHASE.

4. IN ALL THE CIRCUMSTANCES, I HOPE YOU WILL RECONSIDER THE INSTRUCTIONS SENT TO MR WHYTE IN YOUR TELNO 607 (ESPECIALLY ITS PARA 4) TO UKMIS NEW YORK. AS SIR A PARSONS PREDICTED, VIRTUALLY ANY TEXT WILL BE REJECTED BY IRAN. THAT SHOULD NOT (NOT) BE OUR CRITERION. ANY CHANCE OF BEING ON PUBLIC RECORD IN FAVOUR OF A CEASEFIRE AT THIS CRUCIAL TIME SHOULD SURELY BE SEIZED.

EGERTON

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