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FM UKMIS NEW YORK  
TO DESKBY 130800Z FCO  
TELNO 1940  
OF 130100Z NOVEMBER 90  
INFO IMMEDIATE WASHINGTON, MOSCOW, PEKING, PARIS

*This contains  
most of our  
key about  
trying to  
introduce  
resolution?*

YOUR TELNO 925 : IRAQ/KUWAIT : NEXT STEPS AT THE UNITED NATIONS

SUMMARY

1. DISCUSSION WITH U S PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE ON OUR FUTURE TACTICS. PICKERING SUGGESTS ON PERSONAL BASIS POSSIBLE INCLUSION OF "PEACE" ELEMENTS AND A DEADLINE IN DRAFT RESOLUTION: DEMARCHES AT HIGH LEVEL IN CAPITALS OF OTHER COUNCIL MEMBERS: AND A TIMETABLE FOR ACTION OVER NOVEMBER AND DECEMBER.

DETAIL

2. I CALLED ON THE U S PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE ON 12 NOVEMBER AND, AS INSTRUCTED, EXPLAINED OUR THINKING ON THE TACTICS FOR THE NEXT STEPS ON IRAQ/KUWAIT AT THE UNITED NATIONS, BASED ON THE AGREEMENT ON STRATEGY YOU HAD REACHED WITH BAKER. I SET OUT OUR IDEAS FOR THE MOUNTING OF A SECURITY COUNCIL DEBATE, INVOLVING VIDEO AND PHOTOGRAPHIC MATERIAL, IN WHICH THE AMIR OF KUWAIT AND FOREIGN MINISTERS OF THE GCC MIGHT PARTICIPATE. I ALSO EXPLAINED HOW THIS MIGHT RUN STRAIGHT INTO VOTING ON AN ENABLING RESOLUTION FOR MILITARY ACTION, AND ASKED PICKERING FOR HIS PERSONAL VIEWS ON THE CONTENT AND TIMING OF SUCH A RESOLUTION. I GAVE PICKERING THE TEXT OF THE DRAFT IN YOUR TELNO 926.

3. PICKERING, GIVING HIS PERSONAL REACTION AND MAKING IT CLEAR HE HAD HAD NO READ-OUT FROM THE BAKER TOUR, LET ALONE ANY INSTRUCTIONS ON HOW TO PROCEED, SAID OUR DRAFT RESOLUTION LOOKED GOOD. HE AGREED THAT IT WAS NECESSARY TO STATE THE GENERAL OBJECTIVES OF MILITARY ACTION, BUT SUBJECT TO THAT SAW OUR TEXT AS A GOOD WAY OF SECURING THE MAXIMUM LATITUDE. BUT HE WONDERED WHETHER TO MAKE IT EASIER TO DIGEST THERE SHOULD NOT BE INCLUDED SOME IDEAS FROM THE "PEACE" DRAFTS CURRENTLY BEING CIRCULATED. WE WOULD ANYWAY HAVE THE PEACE LANGUAGE PUSHED AT US: IT WOULD THEREFORE BE BETTER TO HAVE SOME ACCEPTABLE ELEMENTS INCLUDED FROM THE OUTSET. WE MIGHT LOOK TO SEE WHAT PRINCIPLES (FOR EXAMPLE REGIONAL SECURITY) MIGHT BE BROUGHT IN WITHOUT CAUSING ANY DAMAGE. THERE MIGHT BE A REFERENCE TO PRINCIPLES WHICH WOULD APPLY TO ANY DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN IRAQ AND KUWAIT AFTER IRAQI WITHDRAWAL: THIS WOULD NOT REALLY GIVE THE IRAQI'S ANYTHING.

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4. PICKERING ADDED THAT HE BELIEVED SOME TACTICAL USE MIGHT ALSO BE MADE, IN THAT CONTEXT, OF THE INCLUSION OF A DEADLINE. THIS COULD BE PUT IN SUCH A WAY THAT IT WAS NOT A DEADLINE AFTER WHICH MILITARY ACTION WOULD BE TAKEN, BUT A DEADLINE BEYOND WHICH ALL PEACE EFFORTS WOULD LAPSE. THE COMBINATION OF THE PEACE ELEMENTS AND SUCH A DEADLINE WOULD BE A POWERFUL ONE, AND COULD HELP MAKE THE DRAFT BROADLY ACCEPTABLE WITHIN THE COUNCIL. THE RESOLUTION MIGHT THUS NEED TO BE IN BIPARTITE FORM, WITH THE PEACE ELEMENTS IN PART (A) TOGETHER WITH A DATE AND THE ELEMENTS FROM OUR DRAFT IN PART (B).

5. ON THE TIMING AND HANDLING OF THE DRAFT RESOLUTION, PICKERING SUGGESTED THAT THE FIRST STAGE WOULD BE TO GO IN WITH THE TEXT AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL IN PARIS, MOSCOW AND PEKING. USE COULD BE MADE OF CONTACTS WITH MITTERRAND AND GORBACHEV AT THE CSCE SUMMIT. IT WAS ESSENTIAL THAT THE DRAFT SHOULD HAVE BEEN FULLY ENDORSED IN CAPITALS. NEGOTIATIONS CONFINED TO NEW YORK COULD ALL TOO EASILY BE BLOWN OFF COURSE AS A RESULT OF LOCAL PRESSURE. IN A SUBSEQUENT PHASE THE TEXT WOULD NEED TO BE SOLD TO THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL (WITH THE EXCEPTION OF CUBA AND YEMEN WHO WERE PROBABLY BEYOND REDEMPTION): THIS TOO SHOULD BE DONE IN CAPITALS.

6. PICKERING DID NOT BELIEVE THAT THE ENDING OF THE U S PRESIDENCY AT THE END OF NOVEMBER NEED BE A DETERMINING FACTOR WHERE THE TIMING OF THE EXERCISE WAS CONCERNED. IT MIGHT BE OF SOME BENEFIT TO BE IN THE CHAIR IN ORDER TO LAUNCH THE COUNCIL DEBATE. BUT IT WOULD NOT BE SUBSTANTIALLY MORE DIFFICULT TO HAVE A RESOLUTION PASSED UNDER THE PRESIDENCY OF YEMEN IN THE MONTH OF DECEMBER: THE YEMENI MIGHT BE ABLE TO INTRODUCE A DAY OR TWO'S DELAY BUT HIS POSITION WOULD IF ANYTHING HAMPER HIM FROM INTRODUCING UNHELPFUL AMENDMENTS. ONE MAJOR TIMING QUESTION WAS HOW LONG IT WOULD TAKE TO MAKE THE NECESSARY ARRANGEMENTS FOR A REALLY CONVINCING KUWAITI INPUT INTO THE DEBATE. ANOTHER WAS THE STATE OF CONSULTATIONS ON THE INTRODUCTION OF THE DRAFT RESOLUTION. WE BOTH AGREED THAT, SINCE IT WAS ESSENTIAL TO AVOID THE TWO EXERCISES BEING UNCOUPLED THE SECOND TIMING POINT WAS AS IMPORTANT AS THE FIRST.

7. WE AGREED THAT THE ULTIMATE TIME LIMIT, IN TERMS OF COUNCIL ACTION, WAS THE END OF DECEMBER. THE CHANGE IN THE COMPOSITION OF THE COUNCIL AND THE PARTICIPATION OF FIVE NEW MEMBERS WOULD ADD A SIGNIFICANT ELEMENT OF UNCERTAINTY THEREAFTER. THE CHANGE IN COMPOSITION WAS LIKELY TO WORK TO OUR DISADVANTAGE.

8. WE CONCLUDED THAT IT SHOULD BE POSSBLE TO HAVE THE COUNCIL DEBATE

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READY TO RUN AT THE EARLIEST IN THE LAST WEEK OF NOVEMBER, AFTER THE LONG THANKSGIVING WEEKEND. PICKERING SAID HE COULD IF NECESSARY DRAG OUT PROCEEDINGS IN THE COUNCIL SO THAT THE DEBATE WAS SPREAD OVER AN ENTIRE WEEK. TOWARDS THE END OF THE WEEK THE DRAFT RESOLUTION WOULD BE TABLED, HAVING PREVIOUSLY BEEN DISCUSSED IN CAPITALS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE IDEAS OUTLINED ABOVE. THIS TIMETABLE WOULD STILL ALLOW FOR SOME SLIPPAGE.

9. WE AGREED FINALLY THAT WE SHOULD REPORT BACK TO CAPITALS ON OUR DISCUSSION AND COMPARE NOTES AGAIN ON 13 NOVEMBER IN THE LIGHT OF REACTIONS. THE U S MISSION WOULD DRAFT OVERNIGHT THE LANGUAGE WHICH MIGHT BE ACCEPTABLE IN A 'PEACE' SECTION OF A BIPARTITE RESOLUTION. WE WOULD DRAW UP A POSSIBLE SCENARIO FOR THE TIMING AND HANDLING OF ACTION ON THE RESOLUTION, ON THE BASIS OF THE IDEAS WE HAD DISCUSSED. OUR DRAFT OF THIS PAPER IS BEING SENT BY FAX TO EMERGENCY UNIT AND UND. WE SHOULD BE GRATEFUL FOR YOUR COMMENTS ON THE DRAFT, AND FOR YOUR FURTHER INSTRUCTIONS DESKBY 131500Z.

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