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SECRET SECTION 01 OF 05 LONDON 27592

NODIS CAPTION REMOVED BY S/S (EK) ON 11/29/93

FROM RUMSFELD

DEPARTMENT PASS TO S/SN - MILLER

E. O. 12356: DECL: 12/21/13

TAGS: PREL, IO, LE, SY, IR

SUBJECT: RUMSFELD ONE-ON-ONE MEETING WITH IRAQI DEPUTY
PRIME MINISTER AND FOREIGN MINISTER TARIO AZIZ

1. S - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. DEPARTMENT REPEAT TO BAGHAD, AMMAN, BEIRUT, JIDDA,
RIYADH, DAMASCUS, CAIRO, TEL AVIV, USMISSION USUN NEW YORK.

3. SUMMARY: IN A WIDE RANGING TWO AND ONE-HALF HOUR
UNEXPECTED ONE-ON-ONE MEETING RUMSFELD HAD WITH DEPUTY
PRIME MINISTER AND FOREIGN MINISTER TARIO AZIZ, THE TWO
AGREED THE U. S. AND IRAQ SHARED MANY COMMON INTERESTS...
PEACE IN THE GULF, KEEPING SYRIA AND IRAN OFF BALANCE
AND LESS INFLUENTIAL, AND PROMOTING EGYPT'S REINTEGRATION
INTO THE ARAB WORLD. TARIO ALSO REVIEWED THE STATUS OF
IRAQI OIL EXPORTS AND PLANS FOR INCREASING CAPACITY -
INCLUDING CONSTRUCTION OF NEW PIPELINE. IN RESPONSE TO
TARIO'S COMPLAINT THAT TOO MANY U. S. FRIENDS WERE
SUPPLYING ARMS TO IRAN, DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY. RUMSFELD

Date: JAN 13 1994

IS/FPC/CDR.
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SAID THE U. S. WAS SYMPATHETIC TO THIS PROBLEM AND WOULD TALK WITH OUR FRIENDS TO TRY TO GET THEM TO STOP. TARIO COMMENTED THAT LEBANON WAS A MINOR PROBLEM AND ONLY IMPORTANT BECAUSE OF THE CURRENT CRISIS. FOCUSING UNDUE U. S. ATTENTION ONLY STRENGTHENS THE HAND OF LEBANON'S FACTIONAL LEADERS. ON IRAN, TARIO OPINED THAT THE WAR WAS KEEPING THE MULLAHS IN POWER BY SERVING AS A DISTRACTION FROM IRAN'S SERIOUS DOMESTIC PROBLEMS.
END SUMMARY.

4. COMMENTING THAT THE CHANGES IN MY SCHEDULE RESULTED FROM AN APPOINTMENT WITH KING FAHD IN SAUDI ARABIA. I COMMENTED THAT THE KING WAS VERY PLEASED THAT I WAS COMING TO IRAQ AND ASKED ME TO EXTEND HIS REGARDS. PRESIDENT HUBARAK, KING HUSSEIN, AND KING HASAN ALSO HAD SIMILAR MESSAGES. ALL OF THEM HAD IN ONE WAY OR ANOTHER RECENTLY TALKED TO ME ABOUT IRAQ AND EXPRESSED THE CONVICTION THAT IT WAS A CAPITAL I SHOULD VISIT, THAT THERE WERE PEOPLE I SHOULD MEET, AND THAT IRAQ HAD A ROLE IN THE MIDDLE EAST THAT WAS IMPORTANT. TARIO INDICATED THE LEVELS OF RELATIONSHIPS IRAQ HAD WITH EACH, SAYING HE WAS PLEASED TO KNOW THAT THEY HAD BEEN POSITIVE IN THEIR COMMENTS.

5. I OPINED THAT THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES HAD BEEN STRAINED SINCE 1967. WHEN ASKED TO UNDERTAKE THIS JOB, I HAD LOOKED AT A MAP, TALKED TO PEOPLE, AND IN SHORT ORDER CONCLUDED THAT IRAQ WAS A COUNTRY I WISHED TO VISIT. IT WAS CLEAR FROM A GEOSTRATEGIC STANDPOINT, WE HAD INTERESTS THAT WERE SIMILAR AND THAT IT WAS WORTH TALKING ABOUT BOTH THE SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES OF OUR VIEWS. I SAID TO HIM THAT I WAS NOT HERE TO SEEK DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS; THAT

WAS SOMETHING THAT EACH NATION HAD TO DECIDE FOR ITSELF. AS HE KNEW, IRAQ HAD BROKEN RELATIONS IN 1967 AND WE

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WERE READY IF THEY FELT THAT A HIGHER PROFILE IN THE
RELATIONSHIP WOULD BE USEFUL IN INDICATING TO THE WORLD
THAT RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES ARE IMPORTANT AND
THAT THERE ARE MORE SIMILARITIES THAN DIFFERENCES.

6. TARIO RESPONDED BY NOTING THAT WE HAD HAD CONTACTS.
HE DESCRIBED THE VARIOUS LEVELS OF CONTACTS BETWEEN OUR
TWO COUNTRIES. HE WENT ON TO POINT OUT THAT THEY DID NOT
WANT PEOPLE TO FEEL THAT THEY CHANGED THEIR POSITIONS
BECAUSE THEY WERE IN A WAR WITH IRAN OR WERE HAVING
DIFFICULTIES. IN FACT IRAQ HAD A LONGSIGHTED VIEW AND
FELT THAT RELATIONSHIPS WERE IMPORTANT AND NEEDED TO BE
UNDERPINNED BY STRONG SENSE OF REALITY. HE ADDED THAT
U. S.-IRAQI RELATIONS WAS AN ISSUE THAT MIGHT BE
ADDRESSED BY THE PRESIDENT DURING OUR MEETING THE NEXT
DAY.

7. I SAID I THOUGHT WE HAD AREAS OF COMMON INTEREST,
PARTICULARLY THE SECURITY AND STABILITY IN THE GULF
WHICH HAD BEEN JEOPARDIZED AS A RESULT OF THE IRANIAN
REVOLUTION. I ADDED THAT THE U. S. HAD NO INTEREST IN AN
IRANIAN VICTORY; TO THE CONTRARY, WE WOULD NOT WANT
IRAN'S INFLUENCE EXPANDED AT THE EXPENSE OF IRAQ. AS
WITH ALL NATIONS WE RESPECT IRAQ'S INDEPENDENCE,
SOVEREIGNTY, AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY. IN OUR VIEW, THE
BEHAVIOR OF IRAN, SYRIA AND LIBYA IS UNACCEPTABLE. IT
IS IN OUR INTEREST AND THE INTEREST OF THOSE NATIONS THAT

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FROM ATTACKING SUCH A VULNERABLE POINT WOULD BE TO HAVE A NUMBER OF COUNTRIES INVOLVED WITH THE PROPOSED PIPELINE AND WITH THE REFINERY. HE SAID THEY ARE INTERESTED BUT NEED TO FIND THE RIGHT FORMULA. HE FELT THAT IT COULD BE DONE FOR LESS THAN TWO BILLION DOLLARS AND RECOGNIZED THAT IT WOULD TAKE ABOUT TWO YEARS BECAUSE OF THE PLANNING REQUIRED. I SAID I COULD UNDERSTAND THAT THERE WOULD NEED TO BE SOME SORT OF ARRANGEMENTS THAT WOULD GIVE THOSE INVOLVED CONFIDENCE THAT IT WOULD NOT BE EASILY VULNERABLE. (THIS MAY BE AN ISSUE TO RAISE WITH ISRAEL AT THE APPROPRIATE TIME.)

9. WE DISCUSSED SYRIA AND AGREED THAT IT WAS IN BOTH OF OUR INTERESTS THAT THERE BE LIMITS ON SYRIA'S AMBITION. WE TALKED AT LENGTH ABOUT IRAQI-EGYPTIAN RELATIONS. NOTING THAT IRAQ HAD STEPPED FORWARD AND BEEN RELATIVELY BOLD WITH RESPECT TO UNDERTAKING A SERIES OF CONTACTS WHICH RECOGNIZED THE VALUE OF EGYPT IN THE ARAB WORLD. HE THEN SAID THAT WHILE THERE ARE SOME COUNTRIES LIKE LEBANON AND SYRIA THAT FROM TIME TO TIME MAY HAVE SOME IMPORTANCE BECAUSE OF SPECIFIC PROBLEMS RELATED TO THEM, THERE ARE COUNTRIES LIKE IRAQ, SAUDI ARABIA, AND EGYPT THAT ARE IMPORTANT YEAR IN AND YEAR OUT. WHAT WAS IMPORTANT WAS THAT THOSE COUNTRIES REGARDLESS OF CRISES, IN GOOD TIMES AND BAD, HAD A STABILIZING ROLE TO PLAY IN THE REGION. BECAUSE EGYPT WAS ONE OF THOSE, HE FELT IT WAS UNNATURAL FOR THEM NOT TO BE A PART OF THE ARAB WORLD.

10. I EMPHASIZED OUR INTEREST IN OPPOSING INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM AND EXTREMISM. WE TALKED ABOUT ISRAEL AND A FAIR ARAB-ISRAEL PEACE. WE DISAGREED ABOUT HOW TO DEAL WITH THE PLO. TAMMO IS CONVINCED THAT UNLESS THE U. S. DEALS WITH THE PLO, THERE WOULD BE NO SOLUTION. HE

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FEELS THAT HUSSEIN IS WISER THAN SADAT [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] AND KNOWS THAT HE CANNOT STEP FORWARD WITHOUT ARAFAT AND THE PALESTINIANS; HE SAID FLATLY THAT WITHOUT THE PLO HUSSEIN WILL NOT STEP FORWARD AND SHOULD NOT.

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11. WE TALKED ABOUT BILATERAL COMMERCIAL RELATIONS. HE POINTED OUT THAT THE BUILDING WE WERE SITTING IN COULD NOT HAVE BEEN BUILT AS WELL OR AS QUICKLY AS IT WAS WITHOUT THE HELP OF AMERICANS, FRENCH, GERMANS, OR JAPANESE. IF A COUNTRY IS TRULY INTERESTED IN MODERNIZATION AS IRAQ IS, THE ONLY WAY IS TO HAVE TIES WITH WESTERN NATIONS.

12. WE DISCUSSED THE IRAN/IRAQ WAR IN DETAIL. I ASKED HIM A GREAT MANY QUESTIONS ABOUT THE DETAILS OF THE FIGHTING. THERE ARE FOUR OR FIVE SECTORS. WEAPONS USED RUN THE ENTIRE SPECTRUM, BUT MACHINE GUNS AND ARTILLERY HAVE BEEN PARTICULARLY EFFECTIVE. THE IRANIANS ARE USING RELATIVELY FEW TANKS. THEY TEND TO PREPARE FOR A MAJOR ATTACK FOR WEEKS ONLY TO HAVE IT REPULSED BY MACHINE GUNS AND ARTILLERY. THE IRANIAN FORCES ESSENTIALLY MOUNT HUMAN-WAVE ASSAULTS WITH THE SO-CALLED KHOMEINI GUARDS (YOUNG PEOPLE WITH A PIECE OF PAPER IN THEIR POCKETS THAT IS THEIR TICKET TO PARADISE), HEAVING THEMSELVES FORWARD UNTIL THEY BREAK AND RUN AS A RESULT OF THE RETURN FIRE. TARIO SAID THAT HE FELT THE WAR WAS OVER IN THE STRATEGIC SENSE IN THAT IRAQ WILL NOT LOSE. WHAT HE DIDN'T KNOW WAS THE TACTICAL ISSUE OF WHEN THE

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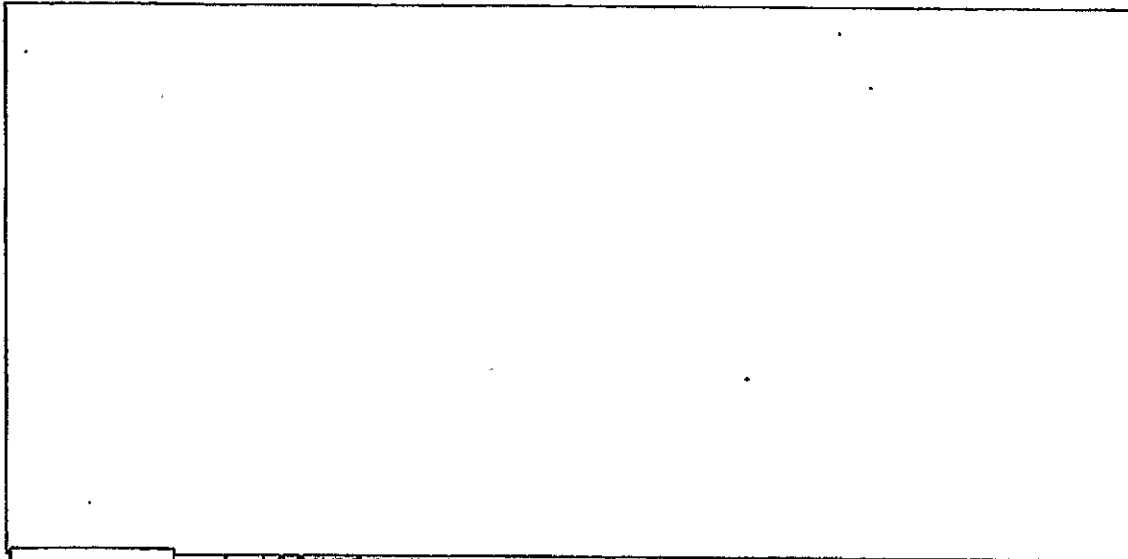


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[REDACTED] I ASSURED HIM I WOULD TAKE HIS LIST OF COUNTRIES HELPING IRAN AND THAT THE U.S. WOULD WORK WITH THE COUNTRIES INVOLVED ON A SUSTAINED BASIS TO TRY TO REDUCE THE FLOW OF ARMS TO IRAN. AFTER PRESSING HIM FOR MORE FACTS I WAS INTERESTED IN HIS RESPONSE. HE SAID YOU KNOW IF SOMEONE WANTS TO DO SOMETHING THAT IS NOT IN THEIR INTERESTS THEY CAN HIDE IT. FARID SAID WHAT IS IMPORTANT IS THAT THE U.S. USE ITS INFLUENCE, NOT TO STOP A PARTICULAR WEAPONS TRANSACTION, BUT TO CREATE AN UNDERSTANDING ON THE PART OF THOSE COUNTRIES THAT WHAT THEY'RE DOING IS DAMAGING THEIR OWN INTERESTS.

14. I INDICATED THAT MOST OF THOSE COUNTRIES FURNELING ARMS TO IRAN HAVE PROBLEMS. TO THE EXTENT THESE COUNTRIES ARE GOING SO FAR AGAINST THEIR INTERESTS, IT WILL BECOME BLIND. I THOUGHT THAT IF WE APPROACHED THE LEADERSHIP OF THESE COUNTRIES ON A BROAD PHILOSOPHICAL BASIS IT MIGHT BE HELPFUL. HE WAS CLEARLY PLEASED AND RELIEFED THAT I UNDERSTOOD HIS CONCERN AND THAT I

WANTED THE U.S. TO UNDERTAKE SUCH AN EFFORT. COMMENT: [REDACTED] AT FIRST WERE THAT WE WOULD OP WITH

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S E C R E T SECTION 04 OF 05 LONDON 27592

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FROM RUMSFELD

DEPARTMENT PASS TO S:SN - MILLER

E. O. 12356: DECL: 12/21/13
TAGS: PREL. IO. LE. SY. IR
SUBJECT: RUMSFELD ONE-ON-ONE MEETING WITH IRAQI DEPUTY

THAT OUR INTENTION WAS THAT IT WOULD END WITHOUT BRETTING THE APPETITE OF SYRIA. I EXPRESSED AMAZEMENT THAT AFTER THE KINDS OF COMMENTS HE MADE ABOUT THE PLO AND THE PALESTINIENS THE ARAB WORLD SHOULD SIT QUIETLY BY WHILE SYRIA KILLED PLO FIGHTERS. HE REPLIED THAT SYRIA NATIONALIZED HIS POLICE WITH ARAFAT BY CONTINUING IT WAS PLO INTERNATIONAL FIGHTING. I ASKED IF SYRIA WOULD GOIN TO JERUSALEM COULD NOT THEY FIND STILL ANOTHER PRETEXT TO JUSTIFY ACTIVITY AGAINST JERUSALEM? IF NATIONS WISHED TO COOPERATE THE SYRIANS THEY CAN ALWAYS FIND EXCUSES. HE SAID JERUSALEM IS A HOLY CITY NATION AND SUCH A CLAIM OF POLICE SHOULD BE JUSTIFIED ON A PRETEXT. HE TALKED ABOUT THE GOAL OF EXPANDING POLICE AUTHORITY. THE GOAL OF HIS POLICE IS TO CONTROL THE LANDS AND TERRITORIES OF THE SYRIANS.

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17. TARIO POINTED OUT THAT LEBANON REALLY WAS A MINOR PROBLEM. ITS ONLY IMPORTANCE WAS THAT IT WAS A CRISIS NOW. IT REALLY WAS NOT A COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLE OF LEBANON THINK OF THEMSELVES AS OF A CERTAIN SECT. HE SAID WHEN AN IRAQI IS ASKED WHO HE IS, THE REPLY IS "I AM AN IRAQI." OTHER COUNTRIES HAVE A SIMILAR PRIDE OF NATIONAL IDENTITY -- BUT NOT IN LEBANON. IN LEBANON THEY THINK OF THEIR SECT OR THEIR VILLAGE AND HAVE NO SENSE OF COHESION. HE SAID THE PROBLEM WITH THE US FOCUSING ON A MINOR PROBLEM LIKE LEBANON IS THAT IT ELEVATES SYRIA TO A ROLE IT DOESN'T DESERVE. THIS IS UNNATURAL. FURTHER IT ELEVATES THE FACTIONAL LEADERS. IT MAKES JUMBLATT SOMEBODY. OBVIOUSLY, ANYBODY IN THAT SITUATION IS GOING TO PLAY IT TO THE MAXIMUM. HE IS GOING TO MAKE THE BEST DEAL, TAKE SOME MONEY, AND DO WHATEVER HE FEELS LIKE DOING, BECAUSE THIS IS HIS MOMENT IN THE SUN. IMAGINE A SUPERPOWER PAYING ATTENTION TO A JUMBLATT. HE HOPED THAT WE WOULD NOT FOCUS ON LEBANON EXCESSIVELY, BECAUSE SOMETIMES YOU CAN SOLVE LITTLE PROBLEMS BY DEALING CORRECTLY WITH THE LARGER ONES. EVEN PRYING THE FACTIONS AWAY FROM SYRIA REALLY WOULDN'T DO MUCH NOW. THERE HAD TO BE A GREATER DEGREE OF COHESION WITHIN THE COUNTRY BEFORE THINGS COULD COME TOGETHER. I TOLD HIM THE SOL NEEDED HARKER COUNTERS. HE INDICATED IRAQI WOULDN'T BE OF ANY HELP BECAUSE TO DO SO WOULD WEAKEN ITS ABILITY TO GET ASSISTANCE FROM OTHERS.

18. WITH RESPECT TO THE PEACE PROCESS, TARIO
 SAID THE CURRENT SITUATION WAS THE BEST

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HUSSEIN WAS DEPENDENT ON THE PLO. AFTER A
LENGTHY DISCUSSION, HE FELT THAT MY VIEW THAT
THE PLO HAD NOT DELIVERED IS NOT ENOUGH. IN
FACT, HE AGREED, THE PLO HAS SURVIVED CLOSE TO
TWO DECADES. IT IS THE POLITICAL VOICE OF THE
PALESTINIANS, AND NO MATTER WHAT KING HUSSEIN
DOES HE CAN'T MOVE WITHOUT THEM. FURTHER,
HUSSEIN KNOWS THAT AND HE WON'T MOVE WITHOUT
THEM. IT'S UP TO THE US TO FIND A WAY TO
COMMUNICATE WITH ARAFAT.

19. WE TALKED AT LENGTH ABOUT THE CONSENSUS
DIRECTION-MAKING PROBLEM THAT WAS INHIBITING THE
FUTURE OF THE ARAB WORLD. IF THE ARAB WORLD
CONTINUES DOWN THE PATH OF USING CONSENSUS
TEN YEARS FROM NOW, IT WILL ALWAYS HAVE BEEN THE
LOWEST COMMON DENOMINATOR FOR EACH DECISION.
AS A RESULT, IT WILL END WITH THE SPOILER
WINNING AND THE SENSIBLE MAJORITY UNABLE TO
MOVE ITSELF FORWARD, TO MODERNIZE, TO DEVELOP,
OR TO CREATE STABILITY AND AN ENVIRONMENT
WITH CONSTRUCTIVE INTERACTION WITH THE WEST.
HE PRESSED AS TO WHAT THE VIEWS OF OTHER ARAB
NATIONS WERE. I TOLD HIM THAT I BELIEVED THAT
MOROCCO, JORDAN, UZBEK, AND EGYPT AGREED WITH
THIS CONJECTURE. HE ASKED ABOUT THE SAUDIS.

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FROM RUMSFELD

DEPARTMENT PASS TO S/SN - MILLER

E. O. 12356: DECL: 12/21/13

TAGS: PREL. IO. LE. SY. IR

SUBJECT: RUMSFELD ONE-ON-ONE MEETING WITH IRAQI DEPUTY

I SAID THEY ARE QUIET ON THE QUESTION OF CONSENSUS AND THAT I TAKE AS NOT BEING IN AGREEMENT. WE ALSO DISCUSSED THE SOVIET UNION. I SAID THE US SPEAKS PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF CONFLICTS, RECOGNITION OF THE RIGHT OF SOVEREIGN NATIONS TO MAKE THEIR OWN JUDGMENTS AND BELIEF IN A STRONG INTERNATIONAL ORDER AND SECURITY IN THE GULF. OUR POLICY FOR LIBERALS WERE AIMED TOWARDS STRENGTHENING OUR FRIENDS AND HELPING TO CREATE A ZONE OF SECURITY AND STABILITY.

20. WHAT STUCK ME WAS HIS INTEREST IN THE ECONOMIC AREA. I DID NOT BELIEVE THAT ECONOMISTS HAD BEEN CLOSED OUT OF THE CON. HE RECOGNIZED THAT THERE WAS NO WAY FOR HIS COUNTRY TO BE INVOLVED WITH THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE MIDDLE EAST. HE SAID THAT THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE MIDDLE EAST WOULD BE A MAJOR TEST FOR THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY.

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