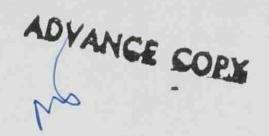
055725 MDADAN 9036

CONFIDENTIAL FK MOSCOW) TO DESKBY 131200Z FCO TELNO 1490 OF 131108Z AUGUST 90



INFO IMMEDIATE BAGHDAD, WASHINGTON, UKMIS NEW YORK, PARIS, KUWAIT

FCO TELS 1425/26: IRAQ/KUWAIT: (MESSAGE TO GORBACHEV AND SOVIET ATTITUDE

SUMMARY

- 1. MESSAGE CONVEYED VIA DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER, BELONOGOV. BELONOGOV DISTANCES SOVIET GOVERNMENT FROM EARLIER IMPLICIT CRITICISM OF DEPLYMENT OF US FORCES TO SAUDI ARABIA. HE ALSO CONTRADICTS WEEKEND TASS STATEMENT ABOUT EVACUATION OF SOVIET CITIZENS FROM IRAQ: NO AGREEMENT YET GIVEN BY IRAQI GOVERNMENT. SEEKS OUR VIEWS ON SITUATION OF EMBASSIES IN KUWAIT: INSTRUCTIONS REQUESTED.
- 2. SHEVARDNADZE SAID TO BE CONSIDERING A POSSIBLE MESSAGE TO YOU ABOUT UN MACHINERY AND MILITARY STAFF COMMITTEE.

DETAIL

- 3. I WAS GIVEN AN APPOINTMENT WITH DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER BELONDGOV EARLY ON 13 AUGUST TO DELIVER THE PRIME MINISTER'S MESSAGE TO GORBACHEV IN TUR.
- 4. I SPOKE AS INSTRUCTED, STRESSING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE PRESENCE OF BRITISH FORCES IN THE AREA AND THE EFFECTIVE IMPLEMENTATION OF SCR 661. I UNDERLINED THE VALUE OF CLOSE CO-ORDINATION BETWEEN THE FIVE AND OTHER INTERESTED COUNTRIES, AND OUR APPRECIATION OF THE SOVIET ROLE. BELONOGOV EXPRESSED RECIPROCAL SATISFACTION AT EFFECTIVE JOINT ACTION IN NEW YORK, AND PRAISED THE ACTIVE ROLE OF THE UK PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE.
- 5. BELONOGOV THAN SAID THAT THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT 'VIEWED WITH UNDERSTANDING! THE REASONS WHICH HAD LED THE UNITED STATES TO DEPLOY FORCES TO SAUDI ARABIA. HE EXPRESSED SIMILAR UNDERSTANDING OF THE DECISION BY OTHER STATES TO DO LIKEWISE, AT THE INVITATION OF THE SAUDI GOVERNMENT. AND HE EXPRESSED SATISFACTION AT THE DECISIONS TAKEN BY ARAB GOVERNMENT'S AT THE CAIRO SUMMIT.
- 6. I ASKED ABOUT KING FAHD'S REPORTED STATEMENT THAT THE SOVIET UNION WAS READY TO SEND ITS OWN FORCES.

PAGE 1 CONFIDENTIAL

055725 MDADAN 9036

DECISION HAD BEEN TAKEN. THE USSR STOOD CLEARLY FOR COLLECTIVE ACTION WITHIN A UN FRAMEWORK, THE SECURITY COUNCIL MUST CONTINUE TO CONCERN ITSELF CLOSELY WITH THE SITUATION IN THE PERSIAN GULF.

7. I INVITED BELONOGOV TO EXPAND ON SOVIET STATEMENTS IN NEW YORK ABOUT THE MILITARY STAFF COMMITTEE. HE REPLIED THAT THERE WAS NOW AN OPPORTUNITY FOR THE 'REBIRTH' OF THE MSC, GIVEN THE NEW POLITICAL SITUATION OF COOPERATION BETWEEN THE GREAT POWERS AFTER THE ENDING OF THE COLD WAR. HE HOPED THAT THE WESTERN POWERS WOULD SERIOUSLY REVIEW THIS OPPORTUNITY. HE DID NOT WISH TO GO INTO MORE DETAIL BECAUSE SHEVARDNADZE WAS CONSIDERING SENDING YOU A PERSONAL MESSAGE, PERHAPS IN THE VERY NEAR FUTURE, ON THIS SUBJECT. WE COMMENTED THAT A MESSAGE IN WHATEVER FORM SHEDDING MORE LIGHT ON SOVIET THINKING WOULD BE TIMELY. THE PROBLEM WITH THE MILITARY STAFF COMMITTEE WOULD BE IN BALANCING THE MERITS OF COLLECTIVE ACTION AGAINST A NEED FOR URGENT EFFECTIVE ACTION, WHICH CUMBERSOME UN PROCEDURES COULD VITIATE. BUT WE AND OTHERS WERE OBVIOUSLY READY TO HEAR SOVIET VIEWS, ESPECIALLY THOSE WHICH TOOK FULL ACCOUNT OF PRACTICAL NEEDS. BELONOGOV CONCLUDED THAT THERE SHOULD BE PLENTY OF TIME TO WORK OUT A ROLE FOR THE UN: HE EXPECTED THIS PROBLEM TO BE WITH US FOR WEEKS AND MONTHS.

8. REVERTING TO THE SOVIET ATTITUDE TO THE MULTINATIONAL FORCE, I EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT THE MFA SPOKESMAN'S STATEMENT ON 9 AUGUST HAD DESCRIBED THE DEPLOYMENT OF AMERICAN FORCES AS CONTRIBUTING TO THE BUILD-UP OF TENSION. BELONOGOV DISTANCED HIMSELF FROM HIS MINISTRY'S SPOKESMAN. THESE DAYS, SOVIET MASS MEDIA REPORTS NO LONGER REPRESENTED HIS GOVERNMENT'S OFFICIAL POSITION. HE REITERATED, WITH HEAVY EMPHASIS, HIS EARLIER REMARK ABOUT SOVIET UNDERSTANDING OF THE US POSITION. HE ADDED THAT CAREFUL NOTE HAD BEEN TAKEN OF PRESIDENT BUSH'S DESCRIPTION OF THE PURELY DEFENSIVE CHARACTER OF THE DEPLOYMENT. THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT WAS WORKING ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT THE STATES DEPLOYING FORCES IN THE PERSIAN GULF WERE NOT INTENDING TO INTIATE MILITARY OPERATIONS. I DESCRIBED OUR POSITION IN TERMS OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S LETTER.

EVACUATION

9. I INQUIRED ABOUT THE TASS STATEMENT OF 11 AUGUST (MY TELNO 1488), AND UNDERLINED THE CONTINUING VALUE OF VERY CLOSE COORDINATION ON THIS ASPECT. BELONOGOV REPLIED THAT HE HAD BEEN INTENDING TO MEET THE AMBASSADORS OF THE FIVE DURING THE DAY TO DISCUSS THE IRAQI ORDER TO CLOSE EMBASSIES IN KUWAIT. IN THE EVENT, THE FRENCHMAN HAD CALLED ON HIM ON 12 AUGUST: HE WOULD SEE THE AMERICAN AND THE CHINESE LATER TODAY. HE WISHED TO SEEK OUR VIEWS ON THE 'CONCRETE QUESTION' OF HOW

PAGE 2 CONFIDENTIAL

055725 MDADAN 9036

TO DEAL WITH IRAQ'S DEMAND. AS THE SOVIET UNION DID NOT RECOGNISE IRAQ'S ANNEXATION, IT COULD NOT JURIDICALLY ACCEDE TO THE DEMAND TO CLOSE ITS EMBASSY. ON THE OTHER HAND, THERE WERE COMPETING PRACTICAL CONSIDERATIONS. THE RUSSIANS WERE ALREADY SEEKING TO EVACUATE THEIR CITIZENS FROM KUWAIT, SAVE FOR SOME EMBASSY STAFF. THE SITUATION THERE WAS TENSE AND LIKELY TO DETERIORATE. THE PROBLEM OF OBTAINING FOOD AND WATER WAS GROWING, AND COULD ONLY BE EXACERBATED BY THE CLOSURE OF THE AIR AND SEA PORTS. KUWAIT DPENDED ON IMPORTED FOOD. IRAQ ALSO IMPORTED MUCH FOOD. IT WAS HARD TO BELIEVE THAT IRAQ, UNDER SANCTIONS, WOULD SUPPLY KUWAIT. HE WAS ALSO CONCERNED ABOUT THE PHYSICAL SAFETY OF HIS PEOPLE, WITH SHOOTING CONTINUING AND IRAQI SOLDIERS BEHAVING COARSELY. THE SOVIET UNION HAD RESERVATIONS ABOUT IRAQI ASSURANCES OF THE SAFETY OF FOREIGN DIPLOMATS IN KUWAIT. MOST OF THE 88D SOVIET CITIZENS IN KUWAIT HAD BEEN EMPLOYED ON ECONOMIC PROJECTS WHICH HAD NOW STOPPED, GIVING THEM NO REASON TO STAY.

- 10. THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT HAD THEREFORE DECIDED TO EVACUATE MOST OF ITS CITIZENS FROM KUWALL BUT THE EVACUATION HAD NOT/NOT STARTED. A SPECIFIC REQUEST FOR USE OF THE AIRPORT AND SEAPORT HAD BEEN REFUSED. THE ONLY ROUTE LAY OVERLAND. THIS RAISED COMPLICATED TRANSPORT PROBLEMS, GIVEN THE DISTANCE AND SHORTAGE OF VEHICLES. THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT HOPED TO COME UP WITH A PLAN IN THE NEAR FUTURE. IT WAS VERY IMPORTANT FOR THE FIVE PERMANENT MEMBERS TO HAVE A UNITED POSITION ON THE KUWALT ASPECT.
- 11. SO THAT I CAN REPLY, GRATEFUL FOR INSTRUCTIONS ON OUR INTENTIONS OVER THE KUWAIT EMBASSY, AND ANY FURTHER POINTS YOU WOULD LIKE ME TO PUT TO THE MFA ON KUWAIT.
- 12. TURNING TO EVACUATION FROM IRAQ, BELONOGOV SAID THAT THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT HAD NOT/NOT YET TAKEN A DECISION TO TRY TO EVACUATE ITS CITIZENS FROM IRAQ, EXCEPT FOR WOMEN AND CHILDREN. HE 'HOPED' THE IRAQIS WOULD NOT OBSTRUCT THIS.
- 13. I ASKED ABOUT THE TASS REPORT THAT IRAQ HAD AGREED TO THE EVACUATION OF SOVIET FAMILIES. BELONOGOV SAID THAT NO SUCH AGREEMENT HAD YET BEEN REACHED WITH IRAQ. THE TASS ACCOUNT WAS PARTIALLY WRONG. THE SITUATION IN BAGHDAD WAS VERY COMPLICATED, AND DECISIONS WERE MADE ONE DAY AND CHANGED THE NEXT. THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT WAS CONTINUING TO PRESS THE IRAQI AUTHORITIES.
- 14. I REGRETTED THAT THE RUSSIANS HAD NOT PUT THEIR NAMES TO THE 9 AUGUST JOINT DEMARCHE. BELONOGOV SAID THEY WERE IN A SPECIAL SITUATION IN IRAQ: THEY HAD 'TOO MANY PEOPLE THERE'.

PAGE 3 CONFIDENTIAL

D55725

15. ON A PERSONAL BASIS, WE SUGGESTED THAT THE SOVIET MFA MIGHT CONVENE A REGULAR CONSULTATIVE GROUP OF THE MAJOR INTERESTED EMBASSIES AT WORKING LEVEL, TO POOL INFORMATION IN MOSCOW (AND SAVE THE MFA THE TIME TAKEN UP BY INDIVIDUAL CALLS): BELONOGOV WAS SHY OF THIS. HE THOUGHT IT BETTER FOR COORDINATION TO BE CENTRED IN THE GROUP IN WASHINGTON. FOR THE TIME BEING, HIS WISH WAS TO CONCERT HERE ONLY ON THE QUESTION OF THE CLOSURE OF EMBASSIES IN KUWAIT.

THE WAY AHEAD.

16. BELONOGOV THOUGHT THE CRISIS HAD NOW REACHED A MOMENT OF RELATIVE CALM. THOUGH THIS COULD OF COURSE BE THE CALM BEFORE THE STORM. THE BEST WAY FORWARD WOULD BE TO USE UN SECURITY COUNCIL MEASURES TO THE MAXIMUM POSSIBLE EXTENT, SO THAT NO ONE COULD THINK THAT ANY SINGLE COUNTRY OR GROUP OF COUNTRIES WAS TAKING INTO ITS OWN HANDS MATTERS WHICH PROPERLY LAY WITH THE UN. ALL RELEVANT DECISIONS - POLITICAL ECONOMIC AND MILITARY - WOULD BEST BE TAKEN UNDER UN AUSPICES. WE SHOULD ALSO TAKE ACCOUNT OF THE REACTIONS OF CERTAIN COUNTRIES TO THE US DEPLOYMENT IN SAUDI ARABIA AND THE PERSIAN GULF.

COMMENT.

17. BAKER'S INTERCESSION WITH SHEVARDNADZE HAS CLEARLY SHIFTED THE SOVIET ATTITUDE TO THE MULTINATIONAL FORCE, AND THE PRIME MINISTER'S LETTER TO GORBACHEV WILL BE TIMELY IN PROVIDING ADDITIONAL REASSURANCE. BELONOGOV'S CONTRADICTION OF THE LINE TAKEN BY THE MFA SPOKESMAN (PRESUMABLY ON INSTRUCTION) WAS STRIKING. BUT, AS WITH OUR PREVIOUS INTERLOCUTORS, HE WAS NOT WILLING TO BE DRAWN ON THE QUESTION OF SOVIET MILITARY INVOLVEMENT IN THE GULF. WE MUST NOW AWAIT SHEVARDNADZE'S MESSAGE, IF IT MATERIALISES. AS OTHERS HAVE COMMENTED, SOME FORM OF ACTIVIATION OF THE MILITARY STAFF COMMITTEE WOULD OBVIOUSLY PROVIDE THE BEST HOPE OF CONTINUING TO CARRY THE SOVIET UNION CLOSELY WITH US. IT IS PERHAPS HELPFUL THAT THE RUSSIANS HAVE NOT BEEN AT ALL SPECIFIC ABOUT THE SORT OF ROLE WHICH THE MSC, IN THEIR VIEW, SHOULD PLAY.

18. BELONOGOV MADE NO REFERENCE TO GORBACHEV. OTHER THAN THE STATEMENT BY TASS THAT THE INTERDEPARTMENTAL WORKING GROUP ON THE EVACUATION HAS BEEN SET UP ON THE INSTRUCTIONS OF THE SOVIET PRESIDENT (PROBABLY A FORMALITY TO AUTHORISE THE PARTICIPATION OF DIFFERENT MINISTRIES), THERE IS NO VISIBLE SIGN HERE OF GORBACHEV PLAYING A DAY TO DAY PART IN THE DIRECTION OF POLICY. TO OUTWARD APPEARANCES HE IS ON HOLIDAY. WE HAVE BEEN TRYING TO CONTACT HIS FOREIGN AFFAIRS ADVISER ON OTHER BUSINESS, BUT HE TOO APPEARS TO BE AWAY.

PAGE 4 CONFIDENTIAL

055725 MDADAN 9036

19. CONTRADICTORY SOVIET STATEMENTS ABOUT THE EVACUATION ARE PUZZLING. THE RUSSIANS HAVE BEEN HAVING DAILY EXCHANGES WITH THE TRAQIS ABOUT EVACUATION ARRANGEMENTS, AND IT MAY BE THAT SIGNS OF PROGRESS IN THEIR BILATERAL NEGOTIATION LED THEM BOTH TO KEEP OUT OF OUR JOINT DEMARCHE AND TO JUMP THE GUN IN TELLING TASS THAT THE IRAQIS HAD AGREED. WE CAN ONLY SPECULATE ON THE PRICE THE IRAQIS MAY BE DEMANDING FOR THE EVACUATION OF SOVIET CITIZENS (EG SOVIET AGREEMENT NOT TO PARTICIPATE IN THE DEPLOYMENT OF MILITARY FORCES?), BUT FOR THE TIME BEING IT SEEMS THAT THE RUSSIANS ARE STILL IN THE SAME BOAT AS THE REST OF US: THEIR REQUEST FOR THE VIEWS OF THE 5 ON KUWAIT COULD BE AN OPENING TO BIND THEM INTO A JOINT POSITION ON THE LINES SUGGESTED IN BAGHDAD TELNO 758.

LOGAN

YYYY

DISTRIBUTION

3.5

ADVANCE 3632

IRAQ/KUWAIT

PS

PS/MR WALDEGRAVE

PS/PUS

MR TOMKYS

MR-GORE-BOOTH

MR FAIRWEATHER

MR GOULDEN

HD/MED

HD/NENAD

HD/NAD

HD/EED

HD/SOVIET D

HD/SED

HD/UND

HD/ACDD

HD/CONSULAR D

HD/NEWS D

HD / NPDD

HD/SECPOL D

HD/AMD

HD/ECD(E)

MR PRIDDLE, DEPT OF ENERGY

MR W D REEVES CABINET OFFICE

MR D J GOWAN CABINET OFFICE

MR BARRASS, CABINET OFFICE

(BY TUBE H29)

PS/NUMBER 10 DOWNING ST

SIR P CRADOCK,

(NO 10 DOWNING ST)

CABINET OFFICE DIO

(BY TUBE H29)

SIR ROBIN BUTLER, CAB OFFICE

AUS (C) MODUK

HD/SEC (0) (C) MODUK

MR LS SMITH BANK ENGLAND (2)

-EMERGENCY UNI-T

AFFA. TO

NNHN).

PAGE 5 CONFIDENTIAL

faxedto puy CONFIDENTIAL 055725 MDADAN 9036 ADVANCE COPY CONFIDENTIAL FN MOSCOW) TO DESKBY 131200Z FCO TELNO 1490 OF 131108Z AUGUST 90 INFO IMMEDIATE BAGHDAD, WASHINGTON, UKMIS NEW YORK, PARIS, KUWAIT FCO TELS 1425/26: IRAQ/KUWAIT: (MESSAGE TO GORBACHEV AND SOVIET ATTITUDE SUMMARY 1. MESSAGE CONVEYED VIA DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER, BELONOGOV. BELONOGOV DISTANCES SOVIET GOVERNMENT FROM EARLIER IMPLICIT CRITICISM OF DEPLYMENT OF US FORCES TO SAUDI ARABIA. HE ALSO CONTRADICTS WEEKEND TASS STATEMENT ABOUT EVACUATION OF SOVIET CITIZENS FROM IRAQ: NO AGREEMENT YET GIVEN BY IRAQI GOVERNMENT. SEEKS OUR VIEWS ON SITUATION OF EMBASSIES IN KUWAIT: INSTRUCTIONS REQUESTED. 2. SHEVARDNADZE SAID TO BE CONSIDERING A POSSIBLE MESSAGE TO YOU ABOUT UN MACHINERY AND MILITARY STAFF COMMITTEE. DETAIL 3. I WAS GIVEN AN APPOINTMENT WITH DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER BELONOGOV EARLY ON 13 AUGUST TO DELIVER THE PRIME MINISTER'S MESSAGE TO GORBACHEV IN TUR. 4. I SPOKE AS INSTRUCTED, STRESSING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE PRESENCE OF BRITISH FORCES IN THE AREA AND THE EFFECTIVE IMPLEMENTATION OF SCR 661. I UNDERLINED THE VALUE OF CLOSE CO-ORDINATION BETWEEN THE FIVE AND OTHER INTERESTED COUNTRIES, AND OUR APPRECIATION OF THE SOVIET ROLE. BELONOGOV EXPRESSED RECIPROCAL SATISFACTION AT EFFECTIVE JOINT ACTION IN NEW YORK, AND PRAISED THE ACTIVE ROLE OF THE UK PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE. BELONOGOV THAN SAID THAT THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT 'VIEWED WITH UNDERSTANDING' THE REASONS WHICH HAD LED THE UNITED STATES TO DEPLOY FORCES TO SAUDI ARABIA. HE EXPRESSED SIMILAR UNDERSTANDING OF THE DECISION BY OTHER STATES TO DO LIKEWISE, AT THE INVITATION OF THE SAUDI GOVERNMENT. AND HE EXPRESSED SATISFACTION AT THE DECISIONS TAKEN BY ARAB GOVERNMENT'S AT THE CAIRO SUMMIT. 6. I ASKED ABOUT KING FAHD'S REPORTED STATEMENT THAT THE SOVIET UNION WAS READY TO SEND ITS OWN FORCES. BELONOGOV SAID THAT NO SUCH PAGE 1 CONFIDENTIAL



DECISION HAD BEEN TAKEN. THE USSR STOOD CLEARLY FOR COLLECTIVE ACTION WITHIN A UN FRAMEWORK. THE SECURITY COUNCIL MUST CONTINUE TO CONCERN ITSELF CLOSELY WITH THE SITUATION IN THE PERSIAN GULF.

- 7. I INVITED BELONOGOV TO EXPAND ON SOVIET STATEMENTS IN NEW YORK ABOUT THE MILITARY STAFF COMMITTEE. HE REPLIED THAT THERE WAS NOW AN OPPORTUNITY FOR THE 'REBIRTH' OF THE MSC, GIVEN THE NEW POLITICAL SITUATION OF COOPERATION BETWEEN THE GREAT POWERS AFTER THE ENDING OF THE COLD WAR. HE HOPED THAT THE WESTERN POWERS WOULD SERIOUSLY REVIEW THIS OPPORTUNITY. HE DID NOT WISH TO GO INTO MORE DETAIL BECAUSE SHEVARDNADZE WAS CONSIDERING SENDING YOU A PERSONAL MESSAGE, PERHAPS IN THE VERY NEAR FUTURE, ON THIS SUBJECT. WE COMMENTED THAT A MESSAGE IN WHATEVER FORM SHEDDING MORE LIGHT ON SOVIET THINKING WOULD BE TIMELY. THE PROBLEM WITH THE MILITARY STAFF COMMITTEE WOULD BE IN BALANCING THE MERITS OF COLLECTIVE ACTION AGAINST A NEED FOR URGENT EFFECTIVE ACTION, WHICH CUMBERSOME UN PROCEDURES COULD VITIATE. BUT WE AND OTHERS WERE OBVIOUSLY READY TO HEAR SOVIET VIEWS, ESPECIALLY THOSE WHICH TOOK FULL ACCOUNT OF PRACTICAL NEEDS. BELONOGOV CONCLUDED THAT THERE SHOULD BE PLENTY OF TIME TO WORK OUT A ROLE FOR THE UN: HE EXPECTED THIS PROBLEM TO BE WITH US FOR WEEKS AND MONTHS.
- 8. REVERTING TO THE SOVIET ATTITUDE TO THE MULTINATIONAL FORCE, I EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT THE MFA SPOKESMAN'S STATEMENT ON 9 AUGUST HAD DESCRIBED THE DEPLOYMENT OF AMERICAN FORCES AS CONTRIBUTING TO THE BUILD-UP OF TENSION. BELONOGOV DISTANCED HIMSELF FROM HIS MINISTRY'S SPOKESMAN. THESE DAYS, SOVIET MASS MEDIA REPORTS NO LONGER REPRESENTED HIS GOVERNMENT'S OFFICIAL POSITION. HE REITERATED, WITH HEAVY EMPHASIS, HIS EARLIER REMARK ABOUT SOVIET UNDERSTANDING OF THE US POSITION. HE ADDED THAT CAREFUL NOTE HAD BEEN TAKEN OF PRESIDENT BUSH'S DESCRIPTION OF THE PURELY DEFENSIVE CHARACTER OF THE DEPLOYMENT. THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT WAS WORKING ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT THE STATES DEPLOYING FORCES IN THE PERSIAN GULF WERE NOT INTENDING TO INTIATE MILITARY OPERATIONS. I DESCRIBED OUR POSITION IN TERMS OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S LETTER.

EVACUATION

9. I INQUIRED ABOUT THE TASS STATEMENT OF 11 AUGUST (MY TELNO 1488), AND UNDERLINED THE CONTINUING VALUE OF VERY CLOSE COORDINATION ON THIS ASPECT. BELONOGOV REPLIED THAT HE HAD BEEN INTENDING TO MEET THE AMBASSADORS OF THE FIVE DURING THE DAY TO DISCUSS THE IRAQI ORDER TO CLOSE EMBASSIES IN KUWAIT. IN THE EVENT, THE FRENCHMAN HAD CALLED ON HIM ON 12 AUGUST: HE WOULD SEE THE AMERICAN AND THE CHINESE LATER TODAY. HE WISHED TO SEEK OUR VIEWS ON THE 'CONCRETE QUESTION' OF HOW

PAGE 2 CONFIDENTIAL TO DEAL WITH IRAQ'S DEMAND. AS THE SOVIET UNION DID NOT RECOGNISE IRAQ'S ANNEXATION, IT COULD NOT JURIDICALLY ACCEDE TO THE DEMAND TO CLOSE ITS EMBASSY. ON THE OTHER HAND, THERE WERE COMPETING PRACTICAL CONSIDERATIONS. THE RUSSIANS WERE ALREADY SEEKING TO EVACUATE THEIR CITIZENS FROM KUWAIT, SAVE FOR SOME EMBASSY STAFF. THE SITUATION THERE WAS TENSE AND LIKELY TO DETERIORATE. THE PROBLEM OF OBTAINING FOOD AND WATER WAS GROWING, AND COULD ONLY BE EXACERBATED BY THE CLOSURE OF THE AIR AND SEA PORTS. KUWAIT DPENDED ON IMPORTED FOOD. IRAQ ALSO IMPORTED MUCH FOOD. IT WAS HARD TO BELIEVE THAT IRAQ, UNDER SANCTIONS, WOULD SUPPLY KUWAIT. HE WAS ALSO CONCERNED ABOUT THE PHYSICAL SAFETY OF HIS PEOPLE, WITH SHOOTING CONTINUING AND IRAQI SOLDIERS BEHAVING COARSELY. THE SOVIET UNION HAD RESERVATIONS ABOUT IRAQI ASSURANCES OF THE SAFETY OF FOREIGN DIPLOMATS IN KUWAIT. MOST OF THE 880 SOVIET CITIZENS IN KUWAIT HAD BEEN EMPLOYED ON ECONOMIC PROJECTS WHICH HAD NOW STOPPED, GIVING THEM NO REASON TO STAY.

- 10. THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT HAD THEREFORE DECIDED TO EVACUATE MOST OF ITS CITIZENS FROM KUWAIT. BUT THE EVACUATION HAD NOT/NOT STARTED. A SPECIFIC REQUEST FOR USE OF THE AIRPORT AND SEAPORT HAD BEEN REFUSED. THE ONLY ROUTE LAY OVERLAND. THIS RAISED COMPLICATED TRANSPORT PROBLEMS, GIVEN THE DISTANCE AND SHORTAGE OF VEHICLES. THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT HOPED TO COME UP WITH A PLAN IN THE NEAR FUTURE. IT WAS VERY IMPORTANT FOR THE FIVE PERMANENT MEMBERS TO HAVE A UNITED POSITION ON THE KUWAIT ASPECT.
- 11. SO THAT I CAN REPLY, GRATEFUL FOR INSTRUCTIONS ON OUR INTENTIONS OVER THE KUWAIT EMBASSY, AND ANY FURTHER POINTS YOU WOULD LIKE ME TO PUT TO THE MFA ON KUWAIT.
- 12. TURNING TO EVACUATION FROM IRAQ, BELONOGOV SAID THAT THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT HAD NOT/NOT YET TAKEN A DECISION TO TRY TO EVACUATE ITS CITIZENS FROM IRAQ, EXCEPT FOR WOMEN AND CHILDREN. HE 'HOPED' THE IRAQIS WOULD NOT OBSTRUCT THIS.
- 13. I ASKED ABOUT THE TASS REPORT THAT IRAQ HAD AGREED TO THE EVACUATION OF SOVIET FAMILIES. BELONOGOV SAID THAT NO SUCH AGREEMENT HAD YET BEEN REACHED WITH IRAQ. THE TASS ACCOUNT WAS PARTIALLY WRONG. THE SITUATION IN BAGHDAD WAS VERY COMPLICATED, AND DECISIONS WERE MADE ONE DAY AND CHANGED THE NEXT. THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT WAS CONTINUING TO PRESS THE IRAQI AUTHORITIES.
- 14. I REGRETTED THAT THE RUSSIANS HAD NOT PUT THEIR NAMES TO THE 9 AUGUST JOINT DEMARCHE. BELONOGOV SAID THEY WERE IN A SPECIAL SITUATION IN IRAQ: THEY HAD 'TOO MANY PEOPLE THERE'.

PAGE 3
CONFIDENTIAL

15. ON A PERSONAL BASIS, WE SUGGESTED THAT THE SOVIET MFA MIGHT CONVENE A REGULAR CONSULTATIVE GROUP OF THE MAJOR INTERESTED EMBASSIES AT WORKING LEVEL, TO POOL INFORMATION IN MOSCOW (AND SAVE THE MFA THE TIME TAKEN UP BY INDIVIDUAL CALLS): BELONOGOV WAS SHY OF THIS. HE THOUGHT IT BETTER FOR COORDINATION TO BE CENTRED IN THE GROUP IN WASHINGTON. FOR THE TIME BEING, HIS WISH WAS TO CONCERT HERE ONLY ON THE QUESTION OF THE CLOSURE OF EMBASSIES IN KUWAIT.

THE WAY AHEAD.

16. BELONOGOV THOUGHT THE CRISIS HAD NOW REACHED A MOMENT OF RELATIVE CALM, THOUGH THIS COULD OF COURSE BE THE CALM BEFORE THE STORM. THE BEST WAY FORWARD WOULD BE TO USE UN SECURITY COUNCIL MEASURES TO THE MAXIMUM POSSIBLE EXTENT, SO THAT NO ONE COULD THINK THAT ANY SINGLE COUNTRY OR GROUP OF COUNTRIES WAS TAKING INTO ITS OWN HANDS MATTERS WHICH PROPERLY LAY WITH THE UN. ALL RELEVANT DECISIONS - POLITICAL ECONOMIC AND MILITARY - WOULD BEST BE TAKEN UNDER UN AUSPICES. WE SHOULD ALSO TAKE ACCOUNT OF THE REACTIONS OF CERTAIN COUNTRIES TO THE US DEPLOYMENT IN SAUDI ARABIA AND THE PERSIAN GULF.

COMMENT.

- 17. BAKER'S INTERCESSION WITH SHEVARDNADZE HAS CLEARLY SHIFTED THE SOVIET ATTITUDE TO THE MULTINATIONAL FORCE, AND THE PRIME MINISTER'S LETTER TO GORBACHEV WILL BE TIMELY IN PROVIDING ADDITIONAL REASSURANCE. BELONOGOV'S CONTRADICTION OF THE LINE TAKEN BY THE MFA SPOKESMAN (PRESUMABLY ON INSTRUCTION) WAS STRIKING. BUT, AS WITH OUR PREVIOUS INTERLOCUTORS, HE WAS NOT WILLING TO BE DRAWN ON THE QUESTION OF SOVIET MILITARY INVOLVEMENT IN THE GULF. WE MUST NOW AWAIT SHEVARDNADZE'S MESSAGE, IF IT MATERIALISES. AS OTHERS HAVE COMMENTED, SOME FORM OF ACTIVIATION OF THE MILITARY STAFF COMMITTEE WOULD OBVIOUSLY PROVIDE THE BEST HOPE OF CONTINUING TO CARRY THE SOVIET UNION CLOSELY WITH US. IT IS PERHAPS HELPFUL THAT THE RUSSIANS HAVE NOT BEEN AT ALL SPECIFIC ABOUT THE SORT OF ROLE WHICH THE MSC, IN THEIR VIEW, SHOULD PLAY.
- 18. BELONOGOV MADE NO REFERENCE TO GORBACHEV. OTHER THAN THE STATEMENT BY TASS THAT THE INTERDEPARTMENTAL WORKING GROUP ON THE EVACUATION HAS BEEN SET UP ON THE INSTRUCTIONS OF THE SOVIET PRESIDENT (PROBABLY A FORMALITY TO AUTHORISE THE PARTICIPATION OF DIFFERENT MINISTRIES), THERE IS NO VISIBLE SIGN HERE OF GORBACHEV PLAYING A DAY TO DAY PART IN THE DIRECTION OF POLICY. TO OUTWARD APPEARANCES HE IS ON HOLIDAY. WE HAVE BEEN TRYING TO CONTACT HIS FOREIGN AFFAIRS ADVISER ON OTHER BUSINESS, BUT HE TOO APPEARS TO BE AWAY.

PAGE 4 CONFIDENTIAL 19. CONTRADICTORY SOVIET STATEMENTS ABOUT THE EVACUATION ARE PUZZLING. THE RUSSIANS HAVE BEEN HAVING DAILY EXCHANGES WITH THE IRAQIS ABOUT EVACUATION ARRANGEMENTS, AND IT MAY BE THAT SIGNS OF PROGRESS IN THEIR BILATERAL NEGOTIATION LED THEM BOTH TO KEEP OUT OF OUR JOINT DEMARCHE AND TO JUMP THE GUN IN TELLING TASS THAT THE IRAQIS HAD AGREED. WE CAN ONLY SPECULATE ON THE PRICE THE IRAQIS MAY BE DEMANDING FOR THE EVACUATION OF SOVIET CITIZENS (EG SOVIET AGREEMENT NOT TO PARTICIPATE IN THE DEPLOYMENT OF MILITARY FORCES?), BUT FOR THE TIME BEING IT SEEMS THAT THE RUSSIANS ARE STILL IN THE SAME BOAT AS THE REST OF US: THEIR REQUEST FOR THE VIEWS OF THE 5 ON KUWAIT COULD BE AN OPENING TO BIND THEM INTO A JOINT POSITION ON THE LINES SUGGESTED IN BAGHDAD TELNO 758.

LOGAN

YYYY

DISTRIBUTION

35

ADVANCE 3639

IRAQ/KUWAIT

PS

PS/MR WALDEGRAVE

PS/PUS

MR TOMKYS

MR GORE-BOOTH

MR FAIRWEATHER

MR GOULDEN

HD / MED

HD/NENAD

HD/NAD

HD/EED

HD/SOVIET D

HD/SED

HD/UND

HD/ACDD

HD/CONSULAR D

HD/NEWS D

HD / NPDD

HD/SECPOL D

HD / AMD

HD/ECD(E)

MR PRIDDLE, DEPT OF ENERGY

MR W D REEVES CABINET OFFICE

MR D J GOWAN CABINET OFFICE MR BARRASS, CABINET OFFICE

(BY TUBE H29)

PS/NUMBER 10 DOWNING ST

SIR P CRADOCK,

(NO 10 DOWNING ST)

CABINET OFFICE DIO

(BY TUBE H29)

SIR ROBIN BUTLER, CAB OFFICE

AUS (C) MODUK

HD/SEC (O) (C) MODUK

MR LS SMITH BANK ENGLAND (2)

EMERGENCY UNIT

LANNA.

PAGE 5 CONFIDENTIAL