ADVANCE COPY

SECRET FM WASHINGTON TO DESKBY 222000Z FC0 TELNO 2008 OF 221910Z AUGUST 90 INFO DESKBY 222000Z MODUK INFO DESKBY 222000Z UKMIS NEW YORK INFO IMMEDIATE RIYADH, ACTOR

SIC I9M MY TELNO 2006 MODUK FOR DUS(P) IRAQ/KUWAIT: POLITICO-MILITARY ASPECTS teres 1-3 are overtoble. Br pere. 4 in or inter. mo

## SUMMARY

- 1. POSSIBILITY OF IMMINENT US ACTION TO DISABLE IRAQI TANKERS CONTINUES - THOUGH UNDER CLOSE POLITICAL CONTROL. DETAILS ON THE LONGER TERM BUILD UP OF US GROUND AND AIR FORCES, TIMESCALES AND INTENTIONS. DETAIL
- 2. WE HAVE OBTAINED FROM CLARKE (ASSISTANT SECRETARY POL-MIL BUREAU, STATE) A FULL READOUT ON THE MILITARY ASPECTS OF THE SITUATION IN THE GULF, COVERING BOTH THE MARITIME OPERATION AND THE GROUND/AIR BUILD UP IN AND AROUND SAUDI ARABIA. CLARKE SAID THAT IT REPRESENTED THE LATEST STAGE OF PENTAGON PLANNING - AND POLITICAL CONTROL OF IT - BUT WE HAVE CHECKED TO ENSURE THAT THERE ARE NO CROSSED WIRES WITH THE ACCOUNTS OBTAINED SEPARATELY FROM THE PENTAGON BY THE DEFENSE STAFF IN THE EMBASSY. 3. WE HAVE ALSO SPOKEN TO THE NSC. THE ELEMENT OF MOST IMMEDIATE POLITICAL CONCERN IS THE NAVAL EMBARGO AND RELATED RULES OF ENGAGEMENT. WE HAVE OBTAINED THE FOLLOWING (PROMPTED IN PART BY THE INSTRUCTIONS IN YOUR TELNO 1464):
  - PRESIDENTIAL COMMAND AUTHORITY WAS GIVEN YESTERDAY Α. AFTERNOON (21 AUGUST) FOR THE US COMMANDER IN THE GULF TO USE FORCE TO DISABLE ANY UNCOOPERATIVE VESSELS AT THE LATEST POINT AT WHICH THE US INTELLIGENCE AUTHORITIES JUDGED SUCH INTERCEPTION TO BE FEASIBLE - IRRESPECTIVE OF WHETHER THE UN HAD PASSED A RESOLUTION BY THEN. THAT TIME WAS GIVEN AS 1800 HOURS EASTERN TIME - 2200Z - TODAY (22 AUGUST). DISABLEMENT WOULD BE BY MEANS OF A BLIND ROUND (SAND FILLED) FIRED INTO THE BRIDGE:

PAGE 1 SECRET

- B. THE DEADLINE WAS HOWEVER NOW UNDER REVIEW IN THE LIGHT OF THE DISCUSSIONS AT THE UN TODAY. HIGH PRIORITY WAS PLACED ON SECURING THE FURTHER RESOLUTION IN NEW YORK. BAKER WAS CURRENTLY ATTEMPTING TO SPEAK TO SHEVARDNADZE IN THE HOPE THAT THE PERSONAL RELATIONSHIP THEY HAD BUILT UP WOULD ENABLE RUSSIAN RETICENCE TO BE OVERCOME. EITHER WAY CLARKE THOUGHT THAT THE NEED FOR ACTION TO DISABLE UP TO 3 VESSELS MIGHT STILL ARISE IN THE NEXT 24 HOURS:
- AS A RESULT OF THEIR DISCUSSIONS WITH THE GULF STATES THE AMERICANS BELIEVE THEY HAVE SUFFICIENT AGREEMENT TO COVER ENFORCEMENT INSIDE THE TERRITORIAL SEAS OF THOSE STATES. THEY WERE ASKING FOR PURSUIT IN MOST CASES BLANKET AGREEMENT RATHER THAN AD HOC) AND ONLY IN OMANI AND UAE WATERS, FOR AGREEMENT TO USE FORCE IF NECESSARY. CLARKE NOTED OUR INTEREST IN BEING KEPT CLOSELY INFORMED.
- 4. TURNING TO THE POSITION ON THE GROUND IN SAUDI ARABIA, WE ASKED CLARKE WHETHER THE REFERENCE IN THE US/SAUDI FRAMEWORK AGREEMENT TO THE INITIATION OF OFFENSIVE OPERATIONS OUTSIDE SAUDI TERRITORY (PLEASE PROTECT) IMPLIED AN EXPECTATION OF NEEDING TO TAKE DIRECT MILITARY ACTION AGAINST SADDAM IN KUWAIT AND IRAQ, SOONER OR LATER. CLARKE WOULD NOT BE DRAWN IN DETAIL BUT INDICATED BY A NOD AND A WINK THAT THAT WAS INDEED THE PLANNING ASSUMPTION. THIS PARTICULAR PARAGRAPH HAD BEEN BY FAR THE HARDEST TO NEGOTIATE WITH THE SAUDIS, BUT WAS THE MOST IMPORTANT. IT WAS TO BE HOPED, HOWEVER, THAT ANY SUCH ACTION COULD BE LATER RATHER THAN SOONER, IN VIEW OF THE TIME NEEDED TO BUILD UP A CAPABILITY TO DO THE JOB QUICKLY AND EFFECTIVELY.

  5. CLARKE PROVIDED THE FOLLOWING DETAILS ON FORCE STRENGTHS:
  - A. AT PRESENT EFFECTIVE FORCES WERE CONFINED TO NAVAL FORCES AND AIRCRAFT: 44 F15 AT ABU DHABI: 48 A10'S (ANTI-TANK) AND 48 AIR DEFENCE F15 AT DHARHAN: 24 F15 AT THUMRAIT: 44 F16 AT DUBAI: 20 ANTI SAM F4 AND 18 HARRIERS AT BAHREIN: 18 F117 (STEALTH) AT KHAMRIS. ON 23 AUGUST THIS WOULD BE AUGMENTED BY 2 SQNS OF F111E (FROM LAKENHEATH) AND MORE A10 TO TAIF. MARINE F18 AND A6S WOULD ALSO THEN BE AVAILABLE:
  - B. THE TIMETABLE FOR THE GROUND FORCE BUILD UP WAS:

18 AIRBORNE CORPS 3 X BDES 82 AB DIV - 24 AUG

> PAGE 2 SECRET



1 X BDE 101 AB DIV - 07 SEP

1 X BDE 24 INF DIV (MECH) - 28 AUG

1 X BDE 197 INF BDE - 9 SEP

ARMD DIV - (2 OCT)

2 X BDE 1ST CAV

3 ARMD CAV REGT (BDE STR)

1 X BDE 2 ARMD DIV

US MARINE FORCES

1ST MEB - 13 SEP

4TH MED - 14 SEP

7TH MEB - 23 AUG

- C. THUS A FULL IN-PLACE FORCE OF 3 HEAVY DIVISIONS WITH TANKS WAS STILL 10 WEEKS AWAY:
- A FUTHER REQUEST FOR C 135S TO BE STATIONED AT CYPRUS WAS CURRENTLY ON-HOLD AGAINST THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE GREEKS OR TURKS WOULD AGREE TO TAKE SOME AT LEAST OF THE REQUIREMENT:
- E. THE AMERICANS UNDERSTAND PRINCE BANDAR TO HAVE BEEN ASKING THE UK AND RUSSIANS FOR A GROUND FORCE PRESENCE POSSIBLY ON 21 AUGUST (WE HAVE NO INFORMATION OF THIS). CLARKE COMMENTED QUOTE IF SO, WE NEED TANKS UNQUOTE.
- 5. IF THE FULL BUILD UP IS ACHIEVED, CLARKE SAID THAT THERE WOULD BE AROUND 200,000 US TROOPS IN THE AREA, INCLUDING 50,000 NAVAL.

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21

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