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Collection Name EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT, NSC: NSPG MEETINGS

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File Folder

NSPG 0089 05/17/1984 [IRAN-IRAQ WAR]

FOIA

F1772

Box Number

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Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

B-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]

B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
B-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
B-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]

B-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]

B-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]

B-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]

B-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection Name EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT, NSC: NSPG MEETINGS

Withdrawer

DLB 1/31/2007

File Folder

NSPG 0089 05/17/1984 [IRAN-IRAQ WAR]

FOIA

F1772

Box Number

91305

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ID Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages		Restrictions
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C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

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TITLE

NATIONAL SECURITY PLANNING GROUP MEETING

DOCDATE

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PARTIC

PRESIDENT

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TAFT, W

PERLMAN, D

KELLEY, P

THOMSON, H

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FORTIER

KEEL, A

ECKERT, W

HOWE, J

SHULTZ, G

BAKER, J

MCFARLANE

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END OF DOCUMENT

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

May 17, 1984

TOP SECRET

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. CHARLES HILL

Executive Secretary
The Department of State

COLONEL JOHN H. STANFORD Executive Secretary The Department of Defense

MR. THOMAS B. CORMACK
Executive Secretary
Central Intelligence Agency

BRIGADIER GENERAL GEORGE A. JOULWAN Executive Assistant to the Chairman Joint Chiefs of Staff

SUBJECT:

Agenda for the National Security Planning Group (NSPG) Meeting: Response to Escalation in the Gulf War (TS)

Attached is an agenda for the meeting of the NSPG this afternoon from 1:30-2:00 p.m. in the White House Situation Room. (2)

Robert M. Kimmitt Executive Secretary

Attachment Agenda

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White House Guidelines, August 28, 1997

By NARA, Date 1 31 0 7

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

NATIONAL SECURITY PLANNING GROUP (NSPG) MEETING
White House Situation Room
Thursday, May 17, 1984
1:30-2:00 p.m.
AGENDA

I.	INTR	ODUCTION Robert McFarlane
II.		OMATIC EXCHANGESARAB EXPECTATIONS S. SUPPORT Secretary Shultz
III.		TARY RESPONSES TO IRANIAN ATTACKS ULF ARAB SHIPPPING Secretary Taft GEN Kelley
	-	Possible escalation scenarios if U.S. provides direct assistance
	-	Utility of U.S. tacair deployments to Saudi Arabia
	-	Role of AWACs and possible need for U.S. tanker support
	-	Vulnerability of U.S. forces and installations to Iranian reprisals
IV.	NEXT	STEPSAll
	-	Pros and cons of U.S. statement supporting planned Saudi/GCC statements to deter future Iranian aggression
	-	Public diplomacy to quiet oil market
	-	U.S. position regarding possible UK initiative in UN
	_	Response to King Fahd

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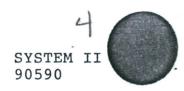
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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

May 17, 1984

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ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT M. KIMMIT

SIGNED

FROM:

PHILIP A. DUR

SUBJECT:

Transmittal of National Security Planning Group

(NSPG) Meeting Agenda

Attached at Tab I is memo you could send to your counterparts forwarding the agenda (Tab A) for this afternoon's NSPG meeting.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign and transmit (via LDX) the memo at Tab I with Tab A attached.

Approve ____

Disapprove ____

Attachments

Tab I - Kimmitt Memo to Agency Counterparts Tab A - Agenda

cc: Don Fortier Geoff Kemp Howard Teicher

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NSPG 4

MEMORANDUM

CONFIDENTIAL ACTION

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

May 17, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT M. KIMMITT

FROM:

VYCKY LARA Vyhy

SUBJECT:

Attendance List for National Security Planning

Group Meeting, May 17, 1984 (U)

The following officials plan to attend the National Security Planning Group Meeting on Iran/Iraq which is scheduled for May 17, 1984 in the Situation Room from 1:30 to 2:00. (C)

The President

The Vice President's Office Mr. William Eckert

State:

Secretary George P. Shultz
Admiral Jonathan Howe (Director, Bureau of Politico-Military
Affairs)

Defense

Dep Sec William H. Taft, IV Dr. Fred C. Ikle

Energy

Mr. Donald Pearlman

CIA

Mr. William J. Casey

Mr. Robert Gates (Deputy Director for Intelligence)

OME

Dr. Alton Keel

JCS

General P. X. Kelley (Acting Chairman)
Lt General Herman O. Thomson (Director, Plans & Policy)

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White House Guidelines, August 78, 1997

By Oll NARA, Date 1/3/107

CONFIDENTIAL

White House:

Mr. Edwin Meese, III

Mr. James A. Baker, III

Mr. Michael K. Deaver

Mr. Robert C. McFarlane

Admiral John M. Poindexter

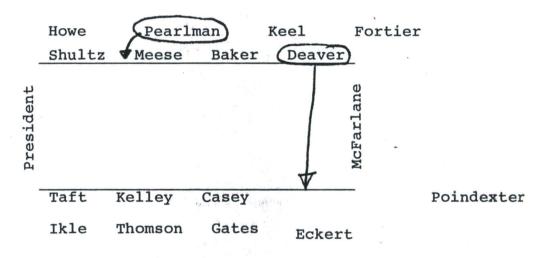
NSC:

Mr. Donald R. Fortier

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Attached	for	your	approval	is	a	seating	plan	for	this	meeting.
		Ag	proved				As Ar	nende	ed_K	

Attachment Seating Plan

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REQUEST FOR APPOINTMENTS

To:

Officer-in-charge Appointments Center Room 060, OEOB

The Vice President's Office Mr. William Eckert

<u>State:</u>
<u>Secretary George P. Shultz</u>
<u>Admiral Jonathan Howe</u>

Defense:
Dep Sec William H. Taft, IV
Dr. Fred C. Ikle

Energy:
Mr. Donald Pearlman

CIA:
Mr. William J. Casey
Mr. Robert Gates

OMB: Dr. Alton Keel White House:

Mr. Edwin Meese, III
Mr. James A. Baker, III
Mr. Michael K. Deaver
Mr. Robert C. McFarlane
Admiral John M. Poindexter

NSC: Mr. Donald R. Fortier

MEETING LOCATION

Building West Wing/White House Requested by 372 3044

Room No. Situation Room Room Room No. Telephone May 17, 1984

Time of Meeting Date of request

Additions and/or changes made by telephone should be limited to three (3) names or less.

APPOINTMENTS CENTER: SIG/OEOB - 395-6046 or WHITE HOUSE - 456-6742

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NSPG Meeting
May 17, 1984
Time: TBA 1.30 TO 2:00
Situation Room
Principal + 1
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SUBJECT: Iran / Iraq

OVF- Ecker State - (Sheila) 632-5804 Howe / Shutty Defense - (Betty) 697-6064 TAFT / TKIE

JCS - (SGT. OTT) 695-4824 General PX Kelley (chairman

CIA - Casey/Gates

MEESE - cond

BAKER

DEAVER -

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TO

MCFARLANE

FROM DUR

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AGENDA

PERSIAN GULF

SUBJECT TALKERS FOR 17 MAY NSPG MTG RE ESCALATION OF GULF WAR

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

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MEETING WITH THE NATIONAL SECURITY PLANNING GROUP

DATE: Thursday, May 17, 1984

LOCATION: White House Situation Room

TIME: 1:30-2:00 p.m.

FROM: Robert C. McFarlane

I. PURPOSE: To review the recent escalation in the Gulf war and determine an appropriate response.

II. BACKGROUND: In a meeting with Secretary Shultz this morning, Prince Bandar asked for U.S. support of Saudi actions in response to Iranian attacks on ships calling at Gulf Arab ports, namely: a public statement from the U.S. which would condemn Iranian attacks on non-belligerent shipping and deter future attacks. Accelerated arms deliveries and possible augmentation of USAF AWACs and aerial tankers to support enhanced Saudi air defenses. In addition to considering the Saudi request, we will want to review public measures we could take to calm the international oil market place.

In light of the Saudi request and in anticipation of this afternoon's discussion, the following considerations seem pertinent:

- To date, our public statements on the increasing number of attacks on non-belligerent shipping have been balanced. We denounce escalation by both sides. We need to consider whether we want to distinguish between attacks on ships conducting trade with belligerent (Iran or Iraq) as opposed to non-belligerent ships engaged in the neutral trade.
- The Saudis want us to consider deploying additional AWACs and tankers which would provide direct support to their fighters in the air defense role. Given: (1) that the Saudis will be stretched very thin to provide adequate fighter cover for Gulf shipping, and (2) that our AWACs and tankers could become more vulnerable to Iranian reprisals, we should probably tie the support the Saudis want to access for a modest number of U.S. fighters which would deploy simultaneously to Saudi Arabia.
- -- We should probably avoid rhetorical statements intended to deter further Iranian attacks on non-belligerent shipping. Such statements, unless they are accompanied by actions and a posture which would allow us to deal effectively with more aggression could be perceived as hollow and could expose us to risks that we are unable to meet.

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BY RW NARA DATE 2 21/12

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- Several European countries, most notably the UK, have stressed multilateral approaches, in part to be able to have a veto on what we do. We need to work closely with our friends, but we also need to protect our option for military response to further Iranian aggression, if the Iranians continue to escalate and we are asked to assist the Saudis and others.
- III. PARTICIPANTS: See attached list (Tab A).
- IV. PRESS PLAN: None.
- V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS: See attached agenda (Tab B).

Prepared by: Philip A. Dur

Attachments

Tab A - List of participants

Tab B - Agenda

REQUEST FOR APPOINTMENTS

To:

Officer-in-charge Appointments Center Room 060, OEOB

Please admit the following appointments on	May 17	, 1984
forPresident	of	White House
(NAME OF PERSON TO BE VIS	ITED)	(AGENCY)
The Vice President's Office Mr. William Eckert	<u>e</u> :	White House: Mr. Edwin Meese, III Mr. James A. Baker, III
State:	•	Mr. Michael K. Deaver
Secretary George P. Shultz Admiral Jonathan Howe		Mr. Robert C. McFarlane Admiral John M. Poindexte
Defense: Dep Sec William H. Taft, I'Dr. Fred C. Ikle	V	NSC: Mr. Donald R. Fortier
Energy: Mr. Donald Pearlman		
CIA: Mr. William J. Casey		

JCS:

OMB:

General P. X. Kelley

Mr. Robert Gates

Dr. Alton Keel

Lt General Herman O. Thomson

MEETING LOCATION

Additions and/or changes made by telephone should be limited to three (3) names or less.

APPOINTMENTS CENTER: SIG/OEOB - 395-6046 or WHITE HOUSE - 456-6742

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

33387

NATIONAL SECURITY PLANNING GROUP (NSPG) MEETING
White House Situation Room
Thursday, May 17, 1984
1:30-2:00 p.m.
AGENDA

I.	INTRO	ODUCTION Robert McFarlane
II.		OMATIC EXCHANGES ARAB EXPECTATIONS S. SUPPORT Secretary Shultz
III.		TARY RESPONSES TO IRANIAN ATTACKS ULF ARAB SHIPPPING Secretary Taft GEN Kelley
	-	Possible escalation scenarios if U.S. provides direct assistance
	-	Utility of U.S. tacair deployments to Saudi Arabia
	-, ,	Role of AWACs and possible need for U.S. tanker support
	-	Vulnerability of U.S. forces and installations to Iranian reprisals
IV.	NEXT	STEPS All
	-	Pros and cons of U.S. statement supporting planned Saudi/GCC statements to deter future Iranian aggression
	-	Public diplomacy to quiet oil market
	-	U.S. position regarding possible UK initiative in UN
	-	Response to King Fahd

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

May 16, 1984

ACTION

SIGNED

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

FROM:

PHILIP A. DUR

SUBJECT:

National Security Planning Group (NSPG) Meeting:

Recent Escalation in the Gulf war

Attached at Tab I is a memo you could send to the President regarding the subject NSPG scheduled for this afternoon from 1:30-2:00 p.m. in the White House Situation Room.

At Tab II is a checklist for your use during the meeting. There are no significant disagreements with State and DOD on how we should proceed.

Don Fortier and Howard Teicher concur.

RECOMMENDATION

That you initial the memo to the President at Tab I and forward with Tabs A and B attached.

		App	prove	9	I	Disa	appro	ove			
That	you	use	the	checklist	provided	at	Tab	II	during	the	meeting.
		App	prove	9	Ι	Disa	appro	ove			

Attachments

Tab I - McFarlane Memo to the President

Tab A - List of Participants

Tab B - Agenda

Tab II - Checklist for use by Robert McFarlane

White House Guidelines, August 28, 1997

NARA, Date 1/31/01

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CHECKLIST FOR CONCLUSION OF NSPG: RESPONSE TO ESCALATION IN THE GULF

- The discussion should address the items on the agenda. most important considerations include:
 - Nature of our public statement--should we begin distinguishing between the neutral trade and the belligerent trade.
 - How should we handle possible UK initiative with the
 - Adequacy of RSAF to protect oil shipping with and without additional AWACs and tankers.
 - Responsiveness of U.S. tacair to Saudi request.
 - How vulnerable are we now to Iranian reprisals, both conventional and unconventional.
 - Can we accelerate certain Saudi arms requests (e.g., AIM-7M improved SPARROW).
- Ideally, we would reach following decisions/conclusions:
 - Public statement which, while balanced (denouncing acts of escalation by both belligerents), distinguishes between neutral and belligerent trade.
 - No rhetorical efforts to deter future Iranian attacks. Deterrent actions are in order.
 - Positive reply to request for AWACs/tankers provided tacair accompanies to provide adequate defense.
 - Public diplomacy to quiet international oil market.
 - Cautious response to UK diplomatic initiative -- don't tie our hands, if we have to respond with force deployments.
 - Letter to Fahd stressing need for action on request, if he wants U.S. help to deter future Iranian attacks.

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FROM DUR

DOCDATE 17 MAY 84

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SUBJECT AGENDA FOR 17 MAY NSPG MTG RE ESCALATION OF GULF WAR

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

May 17, 1984

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MEMORANDUM FOR MR. CHARLES HILL

Executive Secretary
The Department of State

COLONEL JOHN H. STANFORD

Executive Secretary

The Department of Defense

MR. THOMAS B. CORMACK Executive Secretary

Central Intelligence Agency

BRIGADIER GENERAL GEORGE A. JOULWAN Executive Assistant to the Chairman

Joint Chiefs of Staff

SUBJECT:

Agenda for the National Security Planning Group (NSPG) Meeting: Response to Escalation in the

Gulf War (78)

Attached is an agenda for the meeting of the NSPG this afternoon from 1:30-2:00 p.m. in the White House Situation Room. (8)

Robert M. Kimmitt Executive Secretary

Attachment Agenda

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By NARA, Date 1316

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NARA, Date 5/20/02

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

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NATIONAL SECURITY PLANNING GROUP (NSPG) MEETING
White House Situation Room
Thursday, May 17, 1984
1:30-2:00 p.m.
AGENDA

I.	INTRO	DDUCTION Robert McFarlane
II.		OMATIC EXCHANGESARAB EXPECTATIONS S. SUPPORT Secretary Shultz
III.		TARY RESPONSES TO IRANIAN ATTACKS JLF ARAB SHIPPPING Secretary Taft GEN Kelley
	-	Possible escalation scenarios if U.S. provides direct assistance
	-	Utility of U.S. tacair deployments to Saudi Arabia
	-	Role of AWACs and possible need for U.S. tanker support
	-	Vulnerability of U.S. forces and installations to Iranian reprisals
IV.	NEXT	STEPS
	-	Pros and cons of U.S. statement supporting planned Saudi/GCC statements to deter future Iranian aggression
		Public diplomacy to quiet oil market
	-	U.S. position regarding possible UK initiative in UN
	-	Response to King Fahd

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

May 17, 1984

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ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT M. KIMMITT

SIGNED

FROM:

PHILIP A. DUR

SUBJECT:

Transmittal of National Security Planning Group

(NSPG) Meeting Agenda

Attached at Tab I is memo you could send to your counterparts forwarding the agenda (Tab A) for this afternoon's NSPG meeting.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign and transmit (via LDX) the memo at Tab I with Tab A attached.

Approve		Disapprove	
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Attachments

Tab I - Kimmitt Memo to Agency Counterparts
Tab A - Agenda

cc: Don Fortier
Geoff Kemp
Howard Teicher

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White House Guidelines, August 28, 1997

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

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May 17, 1984

INFORMATION

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

ROBERT C. MCFARLANERCY

SUBJECT:

Follow-up to the National Security Planning Group (NPSG) Meeting, May 17, 1984: Escalation in the

Gulf War

We need to decide whether to issue a statement supportive of Saudi concerns about recent Iranian escalation. Alternatively, you could respond with a letter to King Fahd reaffirming our earlier offers of assistance in defending the freedom of navigation to and through the Gulf and cooperating with Saudi Arabia to defend against hostile threats to the Kingdom.

During a meeting this morning with Secretary Shultz, Prince Bandar delivered a message from King Fahd which included a decision by the Saudi Arabian Government (SAG) to respond forcibly against future Iranian attacks. He also requested that the U.S. issue a statement expressing concern over recent Iranian attacks and continued support for Saudi Arabia. The request for a statement is premised on the belief that such a declaration by the U.S. would help deter future aggression from Iran. Prince Bandar also informed us that the SAG may request an acceleration of certain weapons and munitions and other assistance such as additional tankers and AWACs aircraft.

As Secretary Shultz explained to Prince Bandar, you and other Administration officials have already made statements along the lines suggested by the Saudis, although not explicitly directed at Iranian escalation. Moreover, it is not at all clear that more rhetoric, however strident, will deter the Iranians from further attacks on shipping. As George explained to Bandar, actions may be more important than statements at this point. The consensus is that we should issue a more modest statement through the Department of State spokesman recognizing the strong position taken by all the Gulf Cooperation Council Foreign Ministers to present the Iranians with a united front in the event of further aggression. There is also a consensus that the reassurances sought by the Saudis should be conveyed in a letter from you to King Fahd.

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The letter, which we expect to have for you tomorrow morning, will reaffirm our determination to defend freedom of navigation in the Gulf and assist in defending Saudi Arabia, with several important conditions. One is the prior need for active diplomacy by all who share our objectives to dampen the cycle of violence and escalation in the Gulf. We will point out to King Fahd that we are already actively engaged in this effort. Secondly, the Saudis must be reminded that we simply cannot mount a credible deterrent or an effective defense unless the Saudis request our assistance and provide access for the forces we will need to do the job. You made these points in an earlier letter to the King, but they bear repeating.

As to Saudi requests for direct assistance in the form of additional tankers and AWACs aircraft, the consensus is that we should respond positively to serious requests. There are several critical considerations in this regard. We need to keep in mind that our current tanker and AWACs presence in Saudi Arabia (and our warships in the Gulf) represent a certain exposure to Iranian attack. As GEN Kelley explained, the Saudis should be capable of providing defenses for the assets we presently have in the Kingdom.

If we increase that exposure, however, and if the situation continues to deteriorate, we will want to ensure that there are adequate U.S. assets to defend our forces in the region and to expeditiously respond to the threats we have said we were prepared to defend against. Under present circumstances, we could make an incremental change in our posture (e.g., an additional AWACs and 1-2 tankers) and still rely on Saudi tactical air to provide protection. If the situation worsens or if the Saudis request a significant augmentation of AWACs, we should insist on a coincident TACAIR deployment to reduce our exposure to Iranian reprisals.

A second point of concern, in this regard, is War Powers considerations. At present, our assets are in Saudi Arabia to train the Royal Saudi Air Force. If we augment our normal posture in response to increasing hostilities, we will need to consult with the Congress as we undertake additional deployments.

In sum, the Saudis seem to be asking us to reaffirm our commitments and demonstrate our concern about recent events. We agree we should do that, but we need to stress again to the Saudis the need for politically justifiable and militarily effective measures in response to continued Iranian aggression. This will be the thrust of your letter to King Fahd.

TOP SECRET

Prepared by: Philip A. Dur

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MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

May 17, 1984

TOP SECRET

ACTION

SIGNED

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

FROM:

PHILIP A. DUR

SUBJECT:

Follow-up to National Security Planning Group

(NSPG) Meeting, May 17, 1984: Escalation in the

Gulf War

Attached at Tab I is a memo you could send to the President to follow-up on the discussion at this afternoon's NSPG. State is preparing both a short press statement for the Department spokesman and a draft letter to King Fahd. They should be here by morning.

Don Fortier concurs.

RECOMMENDATION

That you initial the memo to the President at Tab I.

Approve ____ Disapprove

cc: Howard Teicher

Attachment

Tab I - McFarlane Memo to the President

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White House Guidelines, August 26, 1997

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

May 21, 1984

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MEMORANDUM FOR JOHN M. POINDEXTER

FROM:

PHILIP A. DUR

SUBJECT:

Notes of National Security Planning Group (NSPG) Meeting, May 17: Escalation in the Gulf War

Attached at Tab I are notes of the NSPG meeting on the Gulf. It might be useful if we could provide these notes to the Vice President prior to the next meeting of the NSPG. If you deem it useful, I could pass them to Don Gregg.

RECOMMENDATION

That Tab I be passed to the Vice President.

Approve RMK

Disapprove

Attachments

Tab I - Notes of NSPG Meeting May 17

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

May 22, 1984

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MEMORANDUM FOR DONALD GREGG

FROM:

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PHILIP A. DU

SUBJECT:

Notes of the National Security Planning Group (NSPG) Meeting, May 17: Escalation in the Gulf

War

The attached is provided for the Vice President's use before the next NSPG (Thursday, May 24).

Please do not reproduce and return to this office after reviewing.

Attachment
Notes of the NSPG Meeting, May 17

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

May 23, 1984
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Brian/Kathleen:

Corrections made as indicated by RMK. Returned for your original file.

Also attached is note to Don Gregg forwarding the notes of the NSPG to the Vice President.

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

National Security Planning Group (NSPG) Meeting
May 17, 1984, 1:30-2:30 p.m., White House Situation Room

SUBJECT:

Escalation in the Gulf War (TS)

PARTICIPANTS:

The President

The Vice President's Office: COL Bill Eckert

State:

Secretary George Shultz RADM Jonathan Howe

OSD:

Deputy Secretary William Taft IV Mr. Fred Ikle

DOE:

Mr. Donald Perleman

CIA:

Mr. Robert Gates

JCS:

General P.X. Kelley

The White House:

Mr. Edwin Meese, III Mr. James A. Baker, III Mr. Robert C. McFarlane RADM John M. Poindexter

NSC:

Mr. Donald R. Fortier CAPT Philip A. Dur

Minutes

McFarlane: Purpose of the meeting is to discuss how we should deal with worsening Gulf situation and recent attacks on shipping by both Iran and Iraq.

Prince Bandar called on Secretary Shultz this morning with a message from King Fahd asking for U.S. support.

We need to discuss what our public posture should be:

- Should we distinguish between attacks on belligerent and non-belligerent shipping?
- Can we improve deterrence through actions?
- If we decide to act, should we have TACAIR to accompany the additional AWACS and tankers the Saudis may be seeking?
- How should we deal with Allies and can we avoid international efforts which could veto unilateral actions?

Asked Secretary Shultz to summarize diplomatic efforts.

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<u>Shultz</u>: We have made many statements expressing concern about escalation through the State press spokesman and White House. We have stressed need to get acceptance of UNSC resolution 540; we have said attacks on shipping should stop; and we have stressed our determination to protect freedom of navigation in the Gulf. In short, we have made an abundance of public statements.

We have presented a demarche to the Government of Iraq through our interests section in Baghdad. We have made similar demarches to Iran through our friends and Allies who still have relations with Iran. The Vice President will give a message to President Zia (Pakistan) for relay to Tehran.

Our closest Allies are fully informed of our efforts and our sentiments.

I am not optimistic about the results of these demarches. The British, for example, want to take the situation to the UN. The GCC statement (foreign ministers) just issued also seeks to engage the UN. We don't think the UN efforts will be very successful, but they are bound to be presented. Our UNDEL will try to forestall efforts which inhibit our ability to act. Ken Dam will try to caution the UK in his conversations with Geoffrey Howe.

We think the EC-10 effort is useful.

Prince Bandar called on me this morning and made the following points:

- If Iran continues to escalate, the Saudis have decided they will respond forcibly.
- King Fahd wants us to make a statement (condemning Iranian attacks).
- Fahd is concerned about escalating shipping insurance rates. Oil Minister Yamani is going to London and speak to Lloyds.
- Fahd feels we should issue a strong statement to deter further Iranian aggression. He wants an explicit statement from the President or at least the Secretary of State.
- The Saudis are very concerned about Ariel Sharon's recent allegations. They worry the Israelis will try to use their leverage to keep us from assisting the Arabs.

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SENSITIVE

Shultz (continued):

- The Saudis want us to accelerate arms deliveries in the pipeline and they may ask for more AWACS and tankers.

I told Bandar we were concerned friends and that applied in peacetime and crises. The Israelis have told us there is no basis for Sharon's allegations, and I told Bandar the King should not worry that U.S.-Israeli relations would constrain our freedom of action.

The U.S. is counseling restraint and is engaged in active diplomacy to calm the situation. While we welcomed other efforts to quiet things down, I noted that going to the UN has downsides.

I questioned the need for more public statements since we have made so many. I told him I thought that <u>actions</u> spoke louder than words where deterrence was concerned.

I said if we're going to be effective in deterring aggression, we would have to move on access to Saudi facilities and combined planning. I told him we needed a decision on this.

Since I met with Bandar, the GCC foreign ministers have met in emergency session and released a public statement which contains three major points:

- The GCC condemns Iranian attacks.
- They consider that an attack on one member is an attack on all.
- They intend to take these acts of aggression to both the Arab League and the Security Council.

<u>President</u>: If I understand correctly, we have information that Iraq has attacked 34 ships and that Iran has attacked three.

Now as I see it, it's none of our business if one of these countries at war interrupts the oil sales of the other. But Iran is attacking non-belligerents and, therefore, there is a distinction between what Iraq is doing and what Iran is doing. Am I right?

Shultz: Well, from the Iranian viewpoint, the Iraqis are getting their money from Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, so in that sense those countries are not innocent.

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SENSITIVE-

President: But the 34 ships the Iraqis attacked were in the trade with Iran, right?

Gates: Most of those 34 ships were not tankers. There was a wide variety of ships including some combatants. In the last month (April to May), the Iraqis have begun attacking tankers. There have been six attacks on tankers--roughly one every four days.

<u>President</u>: I think Iraq is trying to shut off Iran's oil exports because they are a source of hard currency which is being used to finance the war.

But the Iranians also consider their attacks as going against the source of funds.

Our message to both is to insulate their sources of funds by stopping these attacks on shipping.

The GCC seems bent on laying the blame entirely on Iran.

McFarlane: I would like to call on Defense now to speak about our deterrence posture and measures we could take to enhance deterrence. Will Taft.

Taft: I will defer to General Kelley, who will brief on our military posture and the possible escalation scenarios.

General Kelley: (Briefed from map)

- Outlined U.S. force dispositions.
- Outlined locations of attacks on shipping.
- GCC air and air defense capabilities.
- Positions of Middle East Force ships (noted that flagship of the force was enroute to Pakistan).
- KITTY HAWK Battle Group can provide air cover over the middle reaches of the Gulf but can only sustain this posture for 48 hours and then only with USAF tanker support.
- KITTY HAWK aircraft can also conduct limited strikes against Iranian targets (specifically Busher, Bandar, Abbas) but this cannot be sustained.

General Kelley (continued):

- Four AWACS in Saudi Arabia currently support one orbit for 12 hours/day. If we want sustained 24 hour coverage, we need 5 aircraft. If you want 2 orbits, as envisaged in our PORT GRAND OPLAN, we need a total of 10 AWACS.
- There is not great risk to AWACs from Iranian aircraft because AWACS can evade.
- The only way we can provide air cover over Gulf is to deploy U.S. TACAIR to Saudi Arabia.
- The Saudis may try to solve this problem themselves but we doubt they can maintain continuous CAP coverage.
- There is a U.S. alternative and that is to bring in enough F-15s to protect the AWACS orbits [probably meant 2 orbits] and help defend shipping.
- Protection of U.S. shipping is a big problem. Between now and July 1, ten U.S. flag tankers on charter to the Military Sealift Command will be transiting to the Gulf to take on fuel either in Bahrein or Kuwait. We need to decide what we should do about those tankers. The first one is scheduled to make a lift in Kuwait on May 23.
- The bottom line, Mr. President, is without access to Saudi bases, we cannot bring our combat capabilities to bear on the problem of protecting shipping in the Gulf.

Shultz: We need diplomatic efforts before we can get involved. We want to be there at the request of another country, if not the entire GCC. Ideally, we would also have the support of the British and the French.

Taft: That is right. We need to exhaust diplomatic effort to solve the crisis before we get involved militarily.

Shultz: This is the same old story--military power and diplomacy are not separate categories. We need both. Military effectiveness depends on successful diplomatic efforts (access, etc.). Successful diplomacy must have a military dimension. In this case, we need several things to be successful.

- We need a united front in the Administration.
- We need a carefully orchestrated and finely tuned political-military effort. They are interdependent and indispensable to our credibility.

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SENSITIVE

McFarlane: George, if our interest is in maintaining our credibility, what should our public posture be? What should we say to the Saudis, the UK, and our other Allies and how can we calm the oil markets?

Shultz: Let me answer the last question first. I think the recent statements of the Secretary of Energy about how oil continues to flow, how the stockpiles are etc., have already had a calming effect. I think we should continue on this line using similar statements from State, the White House, and Energy.

On the second point, I'm not convinced we should make any more public statements except to stress our interest in the security of the area. The press spokesmen seem the best way of continuing to make this point. If anyone here feels strongly to the contrary and feels there is mileage in another statement, I don't have any problem.

If you send a message to Fahd, I think it should be a strong and reassuring statement not a general or equivocal one.

We should make the Saudis come to us though. So far we've made all the commitments and have heard nothing from them. We need to stress these are shared responsibilities, and if they want our help, they are going to have to ask for it.

We have laid down markers on the subjects with the Gulf states and one of these days one of these countries is going to ask for our help. When they do we are going to have to respond.

We will need a unified government.

We will need a tightly coordinated political-military plan.

We have to anticipate that the party could get very rough. We are far away, it will be tough to get there with what we need. There is going to be terrorism and we have to ready for some street fighting.

Meese: Mr. President, I know you have another meeting to get to, but let me see if I can summarize this meeting with what I think are four key principles.

- We must protect U.S. flag vessels and we need to have the capability to retaliate against attacks on our shipping at the source of the aggression.
- We need to intensify and maximize the diplomatic effort to resolve this crisis.

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SENSITIVE

Meese (continued):

- We should provide logistical support for nations in the region trying to protect their shipping and terratory.
- If we are asked to assist, we should only intervene directly as part of a truly international effort. We should not intervene unilaterally.

Shultz: That then is a formula for failure, because by the time we rally the support you have said is necessary, the game will be lost.

Meese: Is there really an alternative? How do you protect
tankers?

General Kelley: You should know that we have a tanker scheduled to take a load of fuel into Kuwait next week. We could use the Middle East Force to escort that tanker, but then you expose the southern Gulf.

<u>Shultz</u>: (To Meese) What if Kuwait says, "You've been here asking for access to help in defending shipping, OK help. We're asking for it."

Meese: We ought to be pressing the UK and France to help.

<u>Shultz</u>: Are you saying we should back away? I'm sure it's going to be rough, if we go in. May be we should back out of the commitments we've made. Having pulled out of Lebanon, maybe we should ease away from this before it gets rough. Recognize that the effect will be catastrophic.

Baker: I thought our only commitment was to keep the Strait of Hormuz open to shipping and surely to defend our ships.

<u>President:</u> How much do we import from the Gulf? What is the normal U.S. flag traffic in the Gulf?

General Kelley: We have normally 2-3 U.S. flag tankers (MSC controlled) in the Gulf. I think there is a total of 7. These are the ships that give us concern, the MSC ships. We do have other places we can go to get our JP-5.

McFarlane: Maybe we could ask our deputies to carry on.

President: Let me say one more thing:

We've said we're not going to see the Gulf closed.

The British and French have said the same thing.

TOP SECRET

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SENSITIVE

President (continued):

What George has said... If we are going to have any influence in this part of the world, if we are going to help settle the problems of the Middle East, we can't stand aside. We can't have another blow to the confidence we've tried to build.

These are very serious considerations.

We've been involved in trying to settle the Middle East problems, trying to bring the Arabs and the Israelis together, that is what drew us into Lebanon in the first place.

We cannot be found wanting now, but it has to be at the request of these countries.

Meese: Somehow we have to involve other countries who are more dependent than we.

Taft: We've been very concerned about the reactions of those other countries in the face of Iranian attacks. The Iraqis are creating this situation (by escalating against tankers bound for Iran).

Shultz: I think, Mr. President, that it is important to review what we have said and what we have done to date.

- Publicly, we've said we'd keep the Strait open and the Gulf safe for shipping.
- We've given a more detailed commitment to each of the GCC countries, wherein we said we would protect non-belligerent shipping and help protect the oil facilities.
- The condition was they would have to ask for our help.
- While we have stressed the need for multilateral participation, our emphasis has been the need for <u>quick</u> action. For that, we've said we need access.
- We have given the GCC reason to understand that if they ask for our help, they will get it. That is the record of our discussions.

<u>President</u>: They are reluctant to ask us for help (or give us access) because they fear Iran. Have the GCC been asked to intercede with Iraq to stop these attacks?

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SENSITIVE

Shultz: We have. We have told them that the Straits and the Gulf are international waters and that they must be kept open--that has been our objective.

<u>President</u>: I must say, the Iraqis appear braver in attacking unarmed ships, than they have been in attacking Iranian military targets.

-- Adjourned --