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AN: D830751-0383

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 SSO-00 1026 W
-----161767 202306Z 162
O 202230Z DEC 83 ZFF4

FM AMEMBASSY ROME
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 7254
INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY BEIRUT IMMEDIATE
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EXDIS CAPTION REMOVED BY S/S (EK) ON 11/29/93

MIL ADDEES HANDLE AS SPECAT EXCLUSIVE; LONDON AND S/SN-
PASS HILLER (RUMSFELD PARTY)

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, HOPS, XF, IR, IQ, SY, US
SUBJECT: RUMSFELD'S LARGER MEETING WITH IRAQI DEPUTY
PH AND FM TARIQ AZIZ, DECEMBER 19

1. S-ENTIRE TEXT

2. AFTER 2 1/2 HOUR PRIVATE MEETING DECEMBER 19,
AMBASSADOR RUMSFELD AND FOREIGN MINISTER TARIQ AZIA
JOINED PELLETREAU, TEICHER, STINER, ROSS, MILLER, AS
WELL AS UNDER SECRETARIES MUHAMMAD SAHHAF AND ISMAT
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KITTANI ON THE IRAQI SIDE IN FOREIGN MINISTRY CONFERENCE

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JAN 13 1994

Date:

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3. RUMSFELD OPENED BY NOTING THAT WHILE THERE WERE DIFFERENCES OF VIEW BETWEEN US, WE ALSO SEE A NUMBER OF AREAS OF COMMON INTEREST. WE BOTH DESIRE REGIONAL PEACE, STABILITY, AND CORRECTING REGIONAL IMBALANCE. AZIZ HAD TALKED ABOUT "THE UNNATURAL IMBALANCE" WHICH CAN EXIST AT A CERTAIN POINT IN HISTORY, GIVING A COUNTRY MORE WEIGHT THAN IT DESERVED. THE U.S. AGREED WITH THIS PERCEPTION. THREE PRINCIPAL AREAS THAT HAD BEEN DISCUSSED IN THIS REGARD:

-- ENDING THE IRAN-IRAQ WAR IN A WAY THAT WOULD NOT FEED IRAN'S AMBITIONS;

-- BRINGING EGYPT BACK INTO THE ARAB WORLD AS A COUNTER-WEIGHT IN THE MIDDLE EAST; AND

-- FREEING LEBANON OF FOREIGN FORCES.

HE INVITED AZIZ TO SUMMARIZE IRAQ'S POSITION FOR THE GROUP.

4. AZIZ ELOQUENTLY AND WITHOUT NOTES PRESENTED OVERVIEW OF IRAQI POLICIES, NOTING THAT IRAQ HAD FOR THE LAST SEVERAL YEARS BEEN DEVELOPING ITS DIRECT HIGH-LEVEL EXCHANGE WITH THE U.S. IN ORDER TO CLARIFY POSITIONS AND REMOVE MISUNDERSTANDINGS THAT HAD EXISTED BETWEEN US BECAUSE OF A LACK OF SUCH CONTACTS. AZIZ STATED THAT IRAQ ALWAYS WANTED FRIENDS TO KNOW WHAT IT THOUGHT IN ORDER TO IDENTIFY AREAS OF COMMONALITY AND CLARIFY ELEMENTS OF DIFFERENCE. IN THIS REGARD HE REFERRED TO THREE "IRAQI INITIATIVES FOR HIGH-LEVEL CONTACT WITH THE U.S.":

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FORMER FOREIGN MINISTER HAKHADI'S 1982-MEETING WITH THE SECRETARY AT THE UN, HIS OWN MEETINGS WITH THE SECRETARY IN PARIS AND MORE RECENTLY IN NEW YORK, AND IRAQ'S WILLINGNESS TO RECEIVE AMBASSADOR RUMSFELD AT THIS TIME.

5. AZIZ ASSERTED THAT IRAQ HAD NO COMPLEXES. WHILE IT HAD ITS OWN IDEALOGY AND CONVICTIONS, IT REALIZED THAT IT HAD TO DEAL WITH THE REST OF THE WORLD AS IT WAS AND UNDERSTAND IT. AT SEVERAL JUNCTURES HE ASSERTED THAT IRAQ "WAS NOT ISOLATIONIST." HOWEVER, EVEN A SOCIALIST-

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REVOLUTIONARY REGIME SUCH AS THE PRESENT BAAATH GOVERNMENT HAD TO ACT WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF FIVE THOUSAND YEARS OF MESOPOTAMIAN CIVILIZATION. HE EMPHASIZED IRAQ'S INCREASING MATURITY AND ABILITY TO LEARN FROM PAST MISTAKES AND EXPERIENCE OVER PAST 15 YEARS. THEREFORE, IRAQ WAS READY TO SPEAK FRANKLY AND SINCERELY, INCLUDING DISCUSSING ITS NEEDS, AND WAS READY TO LISTEN TO AND CONSIDER U.S. VIEWS CAREFULLY. MOREOVER, IRAQ WOULD NOT CONDUCT ITS RELATIONSHIP IN SECRET. IT WOULD DECLARE FORTHRIGHTLY TO ITS PEOPLE ITS POSITIONS. HE CITED IRAQI REAPPROCHEMENT WITH EGYPT AS SUCH AN UNDERTAKING. WHILE MANY CRITICIZED IRAQ BECAUSE IT HAD HOSTED THE BAGHDAD SUMMIT WHICH SUSPENDED EGYPTIAN MEMBERSHIP IN THE ARAB LEAGUE, THE RAPPROCHEMENT WAS THE RIGHT THING FOR THE ARAB WORLD AT THIS TIME JUST AS THE DECISION TO ISOLATE EGYPT WAS A CORRECT DECISION WHEN IT WAS TAKEN.

6. AZIZ STRESSED IRAQ'S DESIRE FOR REGIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL STABILITY. THE IRAQI LEADERSHIP WAS AMBITIOUSLY DEVELOPING THE COUNTRY. THE PRESIDENT EVEN NOW CON-

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----162001 202311Z /62

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FM AMEMBASSY ROME

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 7255

INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY BEIRUT IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS IMMEDIATE

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SUBJECT: RUMSFELD'S LARGER MEETING WITH IRAQI DEPUTY

*TINUES TO DEVOTE CONSIDERABLE ATTENTION TO THE COUNTRY'S
ECONOMIC PROGRESS.*

7. AZIZ NOTED THAT OIL MADE THIS POSSIBLE AND THAT, AS
AN EXPORTER OF OIL, IRAQ NEEDED LONG-TERM, STABLE, AND
GOOD RELATIONS WITH ITS CUSTOMERS. THE WEST WAS ALSO
BENEFITING BY IRAQ'S DEVELOPMENT. OVER FIVE HUNDRED OF

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THE 800 FOREIGN COMPANIES WORKING IN IRAQ WERE FROM THE
WEST. THEIR PARTICIPATION IN THE ECONOMY SERVED IRAQ'S

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NEEDS AND REQUIRED IRAQ TO TAKE A LONGRANGE VIEW OF ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH SUCH COUNTRIES. REGIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL INSTABILITY RAN COUNTER TO IRAQ'S INTEREST.

8. TURNING TO IRAQ'S RELATIONSHIP WITH THE U.S., AZIZ NOTED THAT RUMSFELD WOULD FIND IRAQ'S PRESIDENT A THOUGHTFUL MAN WHO ANALYZED SITUATIONS AND LEARNED FROM EXPERIENCE. HE WAS NOT AFRAID TO STATE THINGS THAT HE MIGHT NOT HAVE SAID FIVE OR SIX YEARS AGO. AZIZ OBSERVED THAT, ALTHOUGH THERE MIGHT STILL BE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN US, WE COULD DEVELOP HEALTHY RELATIONS AND MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING. HE NOTED THAT PRESIDENT SADDAM MIGHT CHOOSE TO ADDRESS THIS ISSUE NEXT MORNING IN HIS MEETING WITH RUMSFELD. THE PRESIDENT HIMSELF WOULD HAVE TO DECIDE THE FUTURE BASIS OF RELATIONS, BUT AZIZ NOTED THAT HE FELT FREE TO SAY THAT THE PRESIDENT WOULD WANT A GOOD RELATIONSHIP. THIS DESIRE WOULD NOT FLOW FROM THE EXIGENCIES OF THE WAR, AS WOULD BE SHOWN BY FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS (COMMENT: THE TONE OF HIS COMMENTS SEEMED TO HOLD OPEN THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE PRESIDENT MIGHT BE CONSIDERING A RESUMPTION OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS. END COMMENT).

9. AZIZ THEN RETURNED TO THE CONCEPT OF REGIONAL IMBALANCE, CLEARLY HAVING SYRIA IN MIND. HE ASSERTED THAT WHILE SOME COUNTRIES, SUCH AS IRAQ, EGYPT AND SAUDI ARABIA, HAD REAL WEIGHT AND IMPORTANCE REGARDLESS OF CIRCUMSTANCES, IT WOULD NOT BE DENIGRATING OTHER COUNTRIES TO SAY THAT SOME WERE LESS IMPORTANT IN THE LONG RUN. HE ALSO NOTED THAT, WHILE SOME CONFLICTS WERE UNDERSTANDABLE AND HAD A REAL BASIS, OTHERS SUCH AS THE
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CRISIS BROUGHT ON BY THE IRANIAN REVOLUTION AND THE SITUATION IN LEBANON WERE OUT OF THE "THEATRE OF THE ABSURD." THESE IRRATIONAL CONFLICTS COULD ONLY BE OVERCOME BY RESTORING EQUILIBRIUM.

10. AZIZ THEN REQUESTED U.S. AND WESTERN HELP IN ENDING THE IRAN-IRAQ WAR. ACKNOWLEDGING THAT U.S. DID NOT HAVE RELATIONS WITH IRAN, HE ASSERTED THAT U.S. COULD CONTRIBUTE MORE THAN IT WAS TO REDUCING IRAN'S ABILITY TO CONTINUE THE WAR. HE SAID HE HAD BEEN HEARTENED BY THE LINE IN THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER THAT STATED, "THE

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IRAN-IRAQ WAR COULD POST-SERIOUS PROBLEMS FOR THE ECONOMIC AND SECURITY INTERESTS OF THE U.S., ITS FRIENDS IN THE REGION AND IN THE FREE WORLD." THIS DEMONSTRATED THAT THE U.S. NOW REALIZED THAT THE IRAN-IRAQ WAR WAS NOT AN ISOLATED BILATERAL CONFLICT BUT HAD SERIOUS IMPLICATIONS FOR REGIONAL AND WORLD PEACE, AND THIS WAS VERY IMPORTANT. HOWEVER, SOME FRIENDS OF U.S. CONTINUED TO TAKE A SHORTSIGHTED VIEW BY CONTRIBUTING TO IRAN'S WAR-MAKING CAPABILITY. IRAQ DID NOT OBJECT TO WESTERN PARTICIPATION IN IRANIAN DEVELOPMENTAL PROJECTS THAT CONTRIBUTED TO THE COUNTRY'S PEACEFUL DEVELOPMENT AND ABSORBED IRANIAN FOREIGN EXCHANGE. HOWEVER, GRANTING NON-PROJECT-RELATED LOANS TO IRAN OR SELLING WEAPONS WAS HIGHLY OBJECTIONABLE. "IRAQ IS NOT COMPLAINING ABOUT THE PAST. WE MUST DEAL WITH CURRENT REALITIES," HE SAID. IRAQ RECOGNIZED THAT IRANIANS HAD THE RIGHT TO CHOOSE THEIR OWN GOVERNMENT, BUT IRAN DID NOT HAVE THE RIGHT TO INTERFERE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF OTHERS. WHILE SOME ARAB BROTHERS HAD SUPPORTED IRAQ ALL ALONG, ONLY

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INFO OCT-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 SSO-00 /026 W

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O 202230Z DEC 83 ZFF4

FM AMEMBASSY ROME

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 7256

INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY BEIRUT IMMEDIATE

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*NOW, AFTER THE BOMBING IN KUWAIT AND THE PLOT TO KILL
GCC LEADERS IN QATAR, DID THEY REALIZE THE EXTENT OF THE
DANGER IRAN POSED TO THEM. EVEN THE U.S. AND FRANCE
HAD SUFFERED.*

*11. AZIZ PRAISED THE COOPERATION THAT HAD OCCURRED
BETWEEN THE U.S. AND IRAQI AMBASSADORS AT THE UN ON UNSC*

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*RESOLUTION 540, BUT HE URGED THAT WE DO MORE TO IMPRE-
MENT IT. AN EARLY END TO THE WAR WOULD CREATE A*

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HEALTHIER SITUATION. HE WAS GLAD THAT RUMSFELD HAD STRESSED THIS ALSO IN THEIR EARLIER MEETING AND SUGGESTED THAT HE DO SO THE FOLLOWING DAY IN HIS MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT. IF THIS VIEW COULD BE DEVELOPED IT WOULD BE A GREAT HELP TO ENDING THE WAR AND CONTRIBUTING TO IMPROVED U.S.-IRAQI RELATIONS.

12. RUMSFELD CONCLUDED THE MEETING BY RETURNING TO THE THEME OF REDRESSING THE PRESENT REGIONAL IMBALANCE. HE STATED THAT WHEN HE ACCEPTED THE JOB OF SPECIAL NEGOTIATOR HE HAD QUICKLY REALIZED IMPORTANCE OF IRAQ IN THE AREA AND NECESSITY OF MAKING A VISIT. WHILE IT WAS NATURAL FOR SOVEREIGN STATES TO HAVE AREAS OF AGREEMENT AND DISAGREEMENT, STABILITY AND INTERDEPENDENCE AMONG NATIONS COULD LEAD TO DEVELOPMENT AND PROGRESS. IT WAS REGRETTABLE THAT A WHOLE GENERATION OF AMERICANS AND IRAQIS WERE GROWING UP WITHOUT CONTACTS. THE U.S. COULD BE HELPFUL, TO SOME EXTENT, IN ENDING THE WAR. WE WOULD APPROACH OUR ALLIES IN TERMS OF SPECIFIC INSTANCES WHERE THEY ARE DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY PROVIDING WEAPONS WHICH ENABLE IRAN TO CONTINUE THE WAR, AND ALL WOULD TRY TO FOSTER THEIR STRATEGIC UNDERSTANDING OF THE DANGERS OF FOCUSING ON NARROW, SHORT-TERM INTERESTS.

13. RUMSFELD SAID THE U.S. ALSO TOOK A LONG-TERM VIEW. THE ARAB COUNTRIES WERE IMPORTANT TO THE ENTIRE WORLD. IT WAS REGRETTABLE, THEREFORE, THAT THE REQUIREMENT FOR ARAB UNANIMITY ALLOWED THE MOST RADICAL STATES TO DOMINATE THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN ARAB CONSENSUS AND THEREBY THE DIRECTION OF ARAB STATES' DECISIONS.

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14. FOR JCS: SUGGEST PASS EUCOM AND CINCUSNAVEUR.

15. BEIRUT MINIMIZE CONSIDERED. RABB

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