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**Collection:** Near East and South Asia (NESA) Affairs  
Directorate, NSC: Records

**Folder Title:** Exchanges with Iran (2 of 4)

**Box:** RAC Box 4

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# WITHDRAWAL SHEET

## Ronald Reagan Library

**Collection Name** BURNS, WILLIAM: FILES *NEAR EAST AND SOUTH ASIAN AFFAIRS DIRECTORATE, NS* **Withdrawer** CAS 1/18/2012  
**File Folder** EXCHANGES WITH IRAN (2) **FOIA**  
**Box Number** 92155 *RAC Box 4* M11-392  
BYRNE

ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
127622	CABLE	270022Z JUL 88 9STATE 241715) <b>R 11/26/2002 NLSF97-107/2 #166</b>	2	7/27/1988	B1
127623	CABLE	TOKYO 13817 (2709327Z) <b>D 11/26/2002 F97-107/2 #167; R 11/21/2017 M393/1 #127623</b>	5	7/27/1988	B1
127625	CABLE	301743Z APR 88 (BERN 02999) <b>R 11/26/2002 NLSF97-107/2 #168</b>	2	7/27/1988	B1
127626	CABLE	BERN 02999 (301743Z APR 88) <b>D 11/26/2002 F97-107/2 #169; UPHELD 11/21/2017 M393/1 #127626</b>	4	4/30/1988	B1
127627	CABLE	BERN 03168 (061127Z) <b>D 11/26/2002 F97-107/2 #170; UPHELD 11/21/2017 M393/1 #127627</b>	4	5/6/1988	B1
127629	CABLE	STATE 136025 (290455Z) <b>D 11/26/2002 F97-107/2 #171; UPHELD 11/21/2017 M393/1 #127629</b>	4	4/29/1988	B1
127630	CABLE	RE MESSAGE <b>D 11/26/2002 F97-107/2 #172; UPHELD 11/21/2017 M393/1 #127630</b>	2	4/17/1988	B1

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

- 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]
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- B-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- B-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) 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.

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**FOIA**

M11-392

**Box Number** 92155

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ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
127631	CABLE	RE MESSAGE <b>D 11/26/2002 F97-107/2 #173; R 11/21/2017 M393/1 #127631</b>	4	4/17/1988	B1
127633	CABLE	RE SECURITY ALERT <b>R 11/26/2002 NLSF97-107/2 #174</b>	1	4/17/1988	B1
127634	CABLE	RE MESSAGE <b>R 11/26/2002 NLSF97-107/2 #175</b>	3	4/17/1988	B1
127635	CABLE	RE MESSAGE <b>R 11/26/2002 NLSF97-107/2 #176</b>	3	4/17/1988	B1
127637	CABLE	RE IRAN-IRAQ <b>R 11/26/2002 NLSF97-107/2 #177</b>	3	4/17/1988	B1
127638	CABLE	RE MESSAGE <b>R 11/26/2002 NLSF97-107/2 #178</b>	4	4/17/1988	B1
127639	CABLE	RE PRESIDENTIAL MESSAGE <b>R 11/26/2002 NLSF97-107/2 #179</b>	3	4/17/1988	B1
127640	CABLE	RE US MILITARY ACTION <b>R 11/26/2002 NLSF97-107/2 #180</b>	4	4/17/1988	B1
127641	CABLE	RE IRAN: TALKING POINTS <b>R 11/26/2002 NLSF97-107/2 #181</b>	3	4/17/1988	B1

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ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
127643	CABLE	RE ALERT MESSAGE <i>R</i> 11/26/2002 <i>NLSF97-107/2 #182</i>	1	4/17/1988	B1
127644	CABLE	RE ALERT MESSAGE <i>R</i> 11/26/2002 <i>NLSF97-107/2 #183</i>	1	4/17/1988	B1
127645	CABLE	RE ALERT MESSAGE <i>R</i> 11/26/2002 <i>NLSF97-107/2 #184</i>	1	4/17/1988	B1
127646	CABLE	RE IRAN: TALKING POINTS <i>R</i> 11/26/2002 <i>NLSF97-107/2 #185</i>	3	4/17/1988	B1

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

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## Ronald Reagan Library

**Collection:** BURNS, WILLIAM J.: Files  
**Box:** 92155  
**File Folder:** Exchanges With Iran (2)

**Archivist:** loj/loj  
**FOIA ID:** F97-107/2, Wills  
**Date:** 11/28/2000

DOCUMENT NO. & TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
<del>1. cable</del>	<del>270022Z Jul 88 [State 241715], 2p</del>	<del>7/27/88</del>	<del>P1/F1</del>
2. cable	R 11/26/02 F97-107/2 #166 270932Z Jul 88 [Tokyo 13817], 5p	7/27/88	P1/F1
<del>3. cable</del>	<del>D 11/26/02 F97-107/2 #167</del>	<del>7/27/88</del>	<del>P1/F1</del>
4. cable	R " " #168 301743Z Apr 88 [Bern 02999], 4p	4/30/88	P1/F1
5. cable	D 11/26/02 F97-107/2 #169 061127Z May 88 [Bern 03168], 4p	5/06/88	P1/F1
6. cable	D " " #170 290455Z Apr 88 [State 136025], 4p	4/29/88	P1/F1
7. cable	D " " #171 re Iran: Message for delivery in Tehran, 2p	4/17/88	P1/F1
8. cable	D " " #172 re Message for Secretary General, 4p	4/17/88	P1/F1
<del>9. cable</del>	<del>D " " #173</del>	<del>4/17/88</del>	<del>P1/F1</del>
10. cable	R " " #174 re Security Alert, 1p	4/17/88	P1/F1
<del>11. cable</del>	<del>R " " #175</del>	<del>4/17/88</del>	<del>P1/F1</del>
12. cable	R " " #176 re Message to President of Security Council, 3p	4/17/88	P1/F1
<del>13. cable</del>	<del>R " " #177</del>	<del>4/17/88</del>	<del>P1/F1</del>
14. cable	R " " #178 re Iran Iraq: Followup to Resolution 598, 3p	4/17/88	P1/F1
<del>15. cable</del>	<del>R " " #179</del>	<del>4/17/88</del>	<del>P1/F1</del>
16. cable	R " " #180 re Message on Military Operation, 4p	4/17/88	P1/F1
<del>17. cable</del>	<del>R " " #181</del>	<del>4/17/88</del>	<del>P1/F1</del>
	R " " #182 re Presidential Message, 3p	4/17/88	P1/F1

### RESTRICTIONS

P-1 National security classified information [(a)(1) of the PRA].  
P-2 Relating to appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA].

P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA].  
P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA].  
P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA].  
P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA].

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**Archivist:** loj/loj  
**FOIA ID:** F97-107/2, Wills  
**Date:** 11/28/2000

DOCUMENT NO. & TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
<del>18. cable</del>	<del>re Alert Message to Bern, 1p</del>	<del>4/17/88</del>	<del>P1/F1</del>
	R 11/26/02 F97-107/2 #183		
<del>19. cable</del>	<del>re Alert Message to Abu Dhabi, et al, 1p</del>	<del>4/17/88</del>	<del>P1/F1</del>
	R " " #184		
<del>20. cable</del>	<del>re Iran: Talking Points on Gulf Military Action, 3p</del>	<del>4/17/88</del>	<del>P1/F1</del>
	R " " #185		

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**NODIS ROUTING SLIP**

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Cable Number: 241715

<b>POWELL</b>	O	
<b>NEGROPONTE</b>	C	
<b>STEVENS</b>	C	
Oakley	C	
Burns	C	
Perito	C	
Cobb	C	



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NCS

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OUTGOING

Department of State

**EYES ONLY**

*Powell*

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C08/15 001663 NOD377

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ORIGIN OFFICE P-01

INFO SWO-01 D-01 S-02 SS-08 EAP-01 NEA-01 /015 A2 CDT

DIST AUTH BY

READ BY

DISTRIBUTED BY

EXSEC  
DEPEXSEC

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(S/S-1)  
DATE/TIME

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REPEATED TO  
BY

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DATE/TIME

\_\_\_\_\_  
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SENSITIVE

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EXECUTIVE SECRETARY  
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DECLASSIFIED

NLS 197-107/2 #166

BY CAS, NARA, DATE 11/26/02

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Department of State



PAGE 02 OF 02 STATE 241715  
ORIGIN NODS-00

C08/15 001663 NOD377

INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 /000 R

DRAFTED BY: P: AWEASTHAMJR. PGEN 81

APPROVED BY: P: MHARMACOST

EAP/J: TFOSTER (SUBS)

S/S: JCOLLINS

NEA: APBURLEIGH (SUBS)

S/S-O: DTROTTER

-----347322 270021Z /60

O 270022Z JUL 88 ZFF6  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO AMEMBASSY TOKYO IMMEDIATE

~~SECRET~~ STATE 241715

NODIS  
FOR AMBASSADOR MANSFIELD FROM ARMACOST

E. O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: PREL, IR, JA  
SUBJECT: SUGGESTED CONSULTATIONS ON IRAN/GULF-RELATED  
ISSUES

REF: TOKYO 13694

1. ~~S~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. APPRECIATE YOUR FURTHER REPORT (REFTEL) ON JAPANESE  
THINKING ON GULF ISSUES. WE ARE IN FULL AGREEMENT WITH  
THE PROPOSAL OF VICE MINISTER MURATA IN PARAS 5 AND 6 OF  
REFTEL THAT WE CONSULT CLOSELY AS THE SITUATION EVOLVES.  
ASSUMING WE CAN WORK SATISFACTORY DATES FOR A VISIT TO  
WASHINGTON BY DEPUTY MINISTER KURIYAMA, WE WILL BE  
PREPARED TO DISCUSS ALL THE ISSUES LISTED THEREIN.

SHULTZ

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Cable Number: 13817

POWELL	0	
NEGROPONTE	C	
STEVENS	C	
Redman	C	
Cobb	C	
Burns	C	
Perito	C	



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Department of State

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**EYES ONLY** Powell

PAGE 01 OF 05 TOKYO 13817 00 OF 02 270957Z C08/08 002088 NOD387  
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INFO SS-08 /008 A2

127623

DIST AUTH BY

READ BY

DISTRIBUTED BY

EXSEC  
DEPEXSEC

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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NLRRM393/1 # 127623

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BY

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NARA DATE

11/21/17

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ACTION NODS-00

INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 /000 W  
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O 270932Z JUL 88 ZFF-4  
FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9421

~~SECRET~~ TOKYO 13817

NODIS

E. O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: PREL, IR, US, JA  
SUBJECT: IRAN AND THE U. S.

REF: (A) STATE 241715 (B) TOKYO 13694  
- (C) TOKYO 237617

1. ~~SECRET~~ -- ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY. IRANIAN FM VELAYATI CONVEYED LETTER TO FM UNO DESCRIBING IRANIAN DECISION ON 598 AS A NEW POLICY OF GOODWILL, NOT A TACTIC. VELAYATI CALLED ON TOKYO TO PURSUE FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF 598. UNO URGED IRANIAN AMBASSADOR TO ENCOURAGE TEHRAN TO DEVOTE SERIOUS CONSIDERATION TO SHULTZ MESSAGE. IRANIAN AMBASSADOR COMMENTED THAT IRANIAN GOVERNMENT IS HINDERED BY ANTI-U. S. PUBLIC OPINION AND THEREFORE IS LOOKING FOR U. S. GOODWILL GESTURE. DCM CONVEYED U/S ARMACOST'S WILLINGNESS TO DISCUSS WESTERN RESTRICTIONS AGAINST IRAN DURING AUGUST MEETING IN WASHINGTON. END SUMMARY.

3. MOFA MIDDLE EAST DIRECTOR GENERAL ONDA CALLED IN DCM JULY 27 TO INFORM HIM ABOUT MEETING THAT DAY BETWEEN JAPANESE FOREIGN MINISTER UNO AND IRANIAN

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AMBASSADOR TO JAPAN ADELI. ONDA POINTED OUT THAT ADELI HAD JUST RETURNED FROM TEHRAN, WHERE HE HAD BEEN SINCE EARLY JULY -- DURING IRANIAN DELIBERATIONS ON ACCEPTANCE OF UNSCR 598. ADELI PRESENTED A LETTER TO FM UNO FROM IRANIAN FM VELAYATI. ONDA CHARACTERIZED THE LETTER AS A RESPONSE TO A PREVIOUS MESSAGE FROM UNO TO VELAYATI JUST AFTER IRANIAN ACCEPTANCE OF UNSCR 598. IN THAT LETTER, UNO EXPRESSED PLEASURE OVER IRANIAN ACCEPTANCE OF 598 AND URGED IRAN TO COOPERATE WITH THE UNSYG TO IMPLEMENT FULLY THE RESOLUTION.

4. READING FROM THE LETTER, ONDA STATED THAT VELAYATI'S RETURN MESSAGE TO UNO STATES THAT THE IRANIAN DECISION ON 598 IS NOT TACTICAL. ACCEPTING 598 IS A FIRM POLICY TO DEMONSTRATE IRANIAN GOODWILL AND TO DEPRIVE THE ENEMY OF ANY "PRETEXTS". (NOTE: ONDA INTERPRETED THIS AS EVIDENCE THAT IRAN IS SUFFERING UNDER DIPLOMATIC DISADVANTAGES OF THE WAR.) VELAYATI ASKED THAT THE JAPANESE MAKE DECENT AND FIRM EFFORTS TO BRING ABOUT IMPLEMENTATION OF ALL PARTS OF UNSCR 598. (NOTE: ONDA NOTED THE IRONY THAT NOW TEHRAN IS PRESSING THE JAPANESE TO IMPLEMENT 598.)

5. UNO ASKED AMBASSADOR ADELI TO INFORM TEHRAN THAT TOKYO URGED SERIOUS AND POSITIVE CONSIDERATION BE GIVEN TO SECRETARY SHULTZ' RECENT MESSAGE TO VELAYATI. UNO RECALLED HIS OWN MEETING WITH SECRETARY SHULTZ AND CONFIRMED TO ADELI THAT THE USG IS SERIOUS. IN ADDITION, UNO ADDED HIS OWN VIEW THAT IT IS IMPORTANT FOR IRAN TO ESTABLISH CONTACT WITH THE U.S. ON ALL ISSUES. IN ADDITION, AN IMPROVEMENT IN US-IRANIAN RELATIONS WILL AID RESOLUTION OF THE IRAN-IRAQ DISPUTE. ADELI RESPONDED THAT HIS GOVERNMENT IS "CONSIDERING FULLY THE MESSAGE."

6. ADELI WENT ON TO POINT OUT THAT HE (ADELI) HAD BEEN IN TEHRAN DURING THE PAST MONTH AND THOUGH HE DID NOT

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FULLY PARTICIPATE IN THE DISCUSSIONS ON 598. HE CLAIMED TO HAVE BEEN NEAR CIRCLES THAT DISCUSSED THE IRAN-IRAQ WAR AND SECRETARY SHULTZ' MESSAGE. AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND, ADELI OFFERED HIS PERSONAL COMMENT THAT "THE ATMOSPHERE IN TEHRAN IS SUCH THAT THE U.S. HAS DAMAGED MANY POPULAR GROUNDS OF U.S. SUPPORT. THE GENERAL FEELINGS OF PEOPLE ARE SUCH THAT GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS FIND IT DIFFICULT TO START MOVEMENT TOWARDS REESTABLISHMENT OF RELATIONS WITH THE U.S. IRAN HAS MADE A GREAT STEP BY ACCEPTING 598 AND I THINK IT IS THE U.S. TURN TO MAKE A FRIENDLY GESTURE TO BUILD THE NECESSARY GROUNDS FOR REESTABLISHING RELATIONS. THE GOVERNMENT OF IRAN, INCLUDING KHOMEINI, HAS NO ANIMOSITIES TOWARDS ANYONE, BUT THE U.S. OUGHT TO STOP ITS HOSTILE ATTITUDE TOWARDS IRAN. IF THE U.S. MAKES SUCH STEPS, IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO ESTABLISH NORMAL COMMUNICATIONS. ANY CONCRETE MEASURES OR ANNOUNCEMENT TO DENOUNCE ESCALATION OF THE CONFLICT (I.E. CRITICIZE IRAQI ATTACKS) OR ENCOURAGE THE PARTIES TO FULLY ACCEPT 598 WILL AUTOMATICALLY IMPROVE THE IMAGE OF THE U.S. IN IRAN."

7. ONDA DECLINED COMMENT ON ADELI'S REMARKS NOTING THAT THE IRANIAN AMBASSADOR IS SOMETIMES ACCURATE AND SOMETIMES NOT. HOWEVER, ONDA NOTED AGAIN THAT ADELI HAD BEEN IN TEHRAN DURING THE IRANIAN DELIBERATIONS AND THEREFORE MAY BE REFLECTING TEHRAN'S THINKING. ONDA OFFERED THAT THE IRANIANS ARE CLEARLY AWARE OF THE IMPORTANCE OF SECRETARY SHULTZ' MESSAGE BUT ARE STILL

CONSIDERING IT. ONDA PREDICTED THAT DFM KURIYAMA WILL RECEIVE A CONCRETE RESPONSE WHEN HE VISITS TEHRAN.

8. DCM EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR THE JAPANESE EFFORTS

AND FOR THE COMMENTS REGARDING IRAN. DCM RECALLED VFM MURATA'S JULY 26 COMMENTS CONCERNING CONSULTATIONS ON OIL IMPORTS FROM IRAN, ON RESTRICTIONS OF EXPORTS TO IRAN,

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PAGE 05 OF 05 TOKYO 13817 00 OF 02 270957Z C08/08 002088 NOD387  
AND ON THE WEST'S GENERAL APPROACH TO IRAN AND IRAQ IN  
THE FUTURE (REF B). DCM SAID THAT U/S ARMACOST WILL BE  
PLEASED TO DISCUSS THESE MATTERS WHEN DFM KURIYAMA  
TRAVELS TO WASHINGTON IN AUGUST.

9. ONDA WELCOMED THIS, NOTING THAT KURIYAMA WILL  
PROBABLY BE IN WASHINGTON BETWEEN AUGUST 10-12. ONDA  
CONTINUED BY RECALLING THAT JAPAN HAD BEEN ASKING TEHRAN  
TO ACCEPT RESOLUTION 598 AND NOTHING MORE. HOWEVER, NOW  
THAT IRAN HAS ACCEPTED, TEHRAN EXPECTS SOME GESTURE OF  
JAPANESE APPRECIATION. ACKNOWLEDGING THE NEED TO MONITOR  
THE PEACE PROCESS, ONDA SAID THAT IF A CEASEFIRE IS  
IMPLEMENTED, THEN THERE IS NO LONGER A WAR. UNDER THOSE  
CONDITIONS, MEASURES INTRODUCED (OIL IMPORT RESTRICTIONS,  
EXPORT OF CERTAIN GOODS) BECAUSE OF THE CONFLICT NEED TO  
BE RECONSIDERED.

MANSFIELD

~~SECRET~~

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NODIS ROUTING SLIP

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Cable Number: 13775

POWELL	O	
NEGROPONTE	C	
STEVENS	C	
Rodman	C	
Cabb	C	
Burns	C	
Perito	C	



~~SECRET~~

Department of State

NCS  
**EYES ONLY**

S/S-0  
INCOMING

*Powell*

PAGE 01 OF 02 TOKYO 13775 270652Z

C08/08 001926 NOD381

-----27/0703Z

INFO SS-08 /008 A2

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EXECUTIVE SECRETARY  
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DECLASSIFIED

NLS F97-107/2 #168

BY CJS NARA, DATE 11/26/02

~~SECRET~~

NODIS  
NODIS  
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**NODIS ROUTING SLIP**

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Cable Number: 241715

<b>POWELL</b>	O	
<b>NEGROPONTE</b>	C	
<b>STEVENS</b>	C	
Oakley	C	
Burns	C	
Perito	C	
Cobb	C	

NODIS ROUTING SLIP

5/3/88

The attached State Dept message contains sensitive information which is being provided to you on a strict "need-to-know" basis. This message should not be reproduced, and its contents should be discussed only with the addressees listed below.

Cable Number: Bern 2999

POWELL	O	
NEGROPONTE	C	
STEVENS		has seen
Perito	C	
Oakley	C	
Rodman	C	
Kelly B	C	
Turns	C	

Kell

C



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NODIS ROUTING SLIP

5/6/88

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Cable Number: Bern 3168

POWELL	O	
NEGROPONTE	C	
STEVENS		has seen
Perito	C	
Oakley	C	
Rodman	C	
Rostow	C	
Kelly B	C	

Cockell C

Burns C

RONALD W. REAGAN LIBRARY

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Cable Number: STATE 136025

POWELL	O	
NEGROPONTE	c	
STEVENS	c	
Perito	c	
Oakley	c	
Burns	c	
Rodman	c	
Cockell	c	

Stow c  
Kelly B c

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Amb Oakley



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WITHDRAWAL SHEET AT THE FRONT OF THIS FOLDER.

~~SECRET~~

B 1420 4/17

127631 20

NEA: APBURLEIGH  
04/17/88, EXT. 77177 PGEN 6047  
P:MHARMACOST

L: ADSOFAER  
S/S-O:

S/S:  
IO: NSSMITH

IMMEDIATE USUN

*D. to hlt*

NODIS

MA  
APB  
ADS

DECL: OADR

PREL, MOPS, IR

MESSAGE FOR SECRETARY GENERAL

1. ~~SECRET~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. PLEASE CONVEY THE FOLLOWING AS SOON AS POSSIBLE TO THE SECRETARY GENERAL FOR PASSAGE TO IRANIAN DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER LARIJANI. IT IS A RESPONSE TO THE LARIJANI MESSAGE TO US PASSED IN USUN 1007 AND SUPERSEDES THE REPLY WE SENT IN STATE 115337. YOU SHOULD ASCERTAIN WHETHER THE SECRETARY GENERAL WOULD BE AGREEABLE IN PRINCIPLE TO CONTINUING TO SERVE AS A CONDUIT FOR MESSAGES TO/FROM LARIJANI, AS SUGGESTED IN LAST POINT BELOW.

3. BEGIN MESSAGE:

-- THE U.S. HAS TAKEN CERTAIN MILITARY ACTIONS AGAINST IRANIAN MILITARY TARGETS IN THE PERSIAN GULF, AS YOUR GOVERNMENT IS BEING NOTIFIED FORMALLY IN TEHRAN THROUGH THE GOOD OFFICES OF THE GOVERNMENT OF SWITZERLAND.

-- WE HAVE TAKEN THIS ACTION AS A RESULT OF THE PROVOCATIVE NEW MINELAYING ACTIVITIES OF IRANIAN MILITARY

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED

NLRR M393/i #127631  
BY *RW* NARA DATE 11/21/17

21

## FORCES IN THE GULF.

-- ON APRIL 14 THE USS SAMUEL B. ROBERTS WAS STRUCK BY ONE OF SEVERAL RECENTLY LAID MINES. THERE WAS SERIOUS INJURY TO SEVERAL AMERICAN SAILORS AS WELL AS DAMAGE.

-- THE MINES WERE VERY RECENTLY EMPLACED IN INTERNATIONAL WATERS AND IN INTERNATIONAL SHIPPING LANES USED, AS IRAN WAS WELL AWARE, BY THE U.S. AMONG OTHERS.

-- PRIOR TO THIS LATEST SERIOUS PROVOCATION FROM IRAN, WE HAD RECEIVED YOUR MESSAGE THROUGH THE SECRETARY GENERAL, TO WHICH WE RESPONDED ON APRIL 13. THAT RESPONSE HAS NOW BEEN RESCINDED.

-- IN THE MESSAGE, YOU STATED THAT IRAN WANTED TO IMPROVE ITS RELATIONS WITH THE WEST. WE WOULD OF COURSE WELCOME THIS. SPECIFICALLY, WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT A BETTER RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN IRAN AND THE U.S. IS IN THE INTEREST OF BOTH COUNTRIES.

-- HOWEVER, AN IMPROVED RELATIONSHIP MUST BE BASED ON MUTUAL RESPECT.

-- IRAN'S INTERNATIONAL BEHAVIOR -- AS RECENTLY UNDERScoreD BY THE LATEST MINING -- IS THE PRINCIPAL BARRIER TO AN IMPROVED RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN IRAN AND THE U.S. BY ITS ACTIONS IRAN HAS CHALLENGED THE RIGHT OF THE U.S. AND OTHER NATIONS TO ENJOY FREEDOM OF NAVIGATION IN INTERNATIONAL WATERS. OUR PRESENCE DOES NOT THREATEN IRAN.

-- EVIDENCE CONTINUES TO EMERGE OF IRANIAN INVOLVEMENT IN THE OUTRAGEOUS KUWAIT AIRWAYS HIJACKING INCIDENT STILL UNDERWAY IN ALGIERS. TWO INNOCENT VICTIMS HAVE ALREADY BEEN KILLED. MANY ARE STILL BEING HELD.

-- FURTHER, IRAN HAS DECISIVE INFLUENCE WITH THOSE WHO ARE HOLDING NINE INNOCENT AMERICANS AND OTHERS HOSTAGE IN LEBANON, AND THE U.S. KNOWS THIS. IRAN IS INTERFERING IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF STATES IN THE PERSIAN GULF AND THE ARABIAN PENINSULA WITH WHICH THE U.S. HAS CLOSE RELATIONS.

-- IF IRAN IS PREPARED TO CHANGE ITS CONDUCT IN THESE AREAS, IT WILL FIND THE U.S. PREPARED TO RESPOND.

-- IN YOUR MESSAGE, IT WAS SUGGESTED THAT THE U.S. SHOULD NOT SUPPORT IRAQ. IRAN SHOULD KNOW THAT



THE U.S. DOES NOT SUPPORT EITHER BELLIGERENT IN THE WAR. THE U.S. SEEKS THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE END TO THE WAR IN ACCORDANCE WITH RESOLUTION 598. BUT WE HAVE SEEN NO INDICATION THAT IRAN IS PREPARED FOR SUCH A NEGOTIATED, COMPREHENSIVE SETTLEMENT.

-- THE U.S. POSITION IS NEITHER PRO-IRAQ NOR ANTI-IRAN. IT IS PRO-PEACE AND STABILITY IN THE REGION.

-- THE U.S. HAS NORMAL RELATIONS WITH IRAQ. IT INTENDS TO MAINTAIN THOSE RELATIONS AND WILL NOT INTERFERE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF IRAQ.

-- NOR WILL THE U.S. INTERFERE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF IRAN. THE U.S. HAS SAID THAT IT RECOGNIZES THE REVOLUTION AS A FACT AND DOES NOT SEEK TO REVERSE IT.

-- BEFORE THE EVIDENCE OF IRANIAN COMPLICITY IN THE ONGOING HIJACKING AND THE NEW MINING IN THE GULF, WE WERE PREPARED TO CONSIDER ARRANGEMENTS FOR A DIRECT MEETING, AS YOU HAD PROPOSED.

-- BUT WE HAVE CONCLUDED FROM THE MOST RECENT IRANIAN PROVOCATIONS THAT THE TIME IS NOT RIGHT FOR SUCH A MEETING.

-- IF IRAN WISHES TO CONVEY FURTHER VIEWS, WE WOULD BE PREPARED TO RECEIVE THEM. HOWEVER, THE MOST EFFECTIVE MESSAGE IRAN COULD PASS WOULD BE THROUGH THE EXERCISE OF RESTRAINT AND RESPONSIBILITY IN ITS INTERNATIONAL BEHAVIOR.

-- AS YOU MAY BE AWARE THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES HAS PASSED THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF IRAN THROUGH OUR PROTECTING POWER:

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF IRAN HAS REPEATEDLY BEEN WARNED OF THE CONSEQUENCES OF PLACING MINES IN THE INTERNATIONAL WATERS OF THE PERSIAN GULF IN VIOLATION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW. IN ITS MESSAGE OF OCTOBER 9, 1987 TO THE GOVERNMENT OF THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF IRAN THROUGH THE GOOD OFFICES OF THE GOVERNMENT OF SWITZERLAND, THE UNITED STATES SAID THAT "THE GOVERNMENT OF THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF IRAN SHOULD TAKE NOTE THAT SUCH HOSTILE ACTIONS WILL BE DEFENDED AGAINST IN THE FUTURE BY U.S. FORCES, JUST AS IN THE RECENT PAST." THE UNITED STATES SAID THE SAME THING ON OCTOBER 19: "WE CANNOT ACCEPT IRAN'S MINELAYING IN INTERNATIONAL WATERS OR IN THE WATERS OF NEUTRAL STATES." DESPITE THESE -- AND OTHER -- WARNINGS, AND THE FACT THAT U.S. FORCES IN THE PERSIAN GULF HAVE NOT THREATENED IRANIAN FORCES, THE

GOVERNMENT OF THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF IRAN HAS PERSISTED IN THIS ILLEGAL AND RECKLESS CONDUCT, CAUSING INJURY TO U.S. NAVY PERSONNEL AND DAMAGE TO A U.S. NAVY SHIP, THE USS SAMUEL B. ROBERTS ON APRIL 14, 1988. UNITED STATES FORCES HAVE NOW EXERCISED THEIR RIGHT OF SELF-DEFENSE. 23

THE EXTREME SERIOUSNESS WITH WHICH THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES VIEWS SUCH UNACCEPTABLE ACTIVITY BY IRANIAN VESSELS SHOULD BE UNDERSTOOD BY THE GOVERNMENT OF THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF IRAN. ANY FURTHER PROVOCATIVE OR HOSTILE IRANIAN MILITARY OR TERRORIST ACTIONS AGAINST U.S. PERSONNEL OR TARGETS WILL RECEIVE A FIRM U.S. RESPONSE. 11



~~SECRET~~

B 1500 4/17

NEA: JWOLF  
04/17/88, EXT. 74589  
P:MHARMACOST

NEA: APBURLEIGH

FLASH ALDAC, SPECIAL EMBASSY PROGRAM FLASH, BEIRUT FLASH, KABUL  
FLASH, MOSCOW FLASH, BAGHDAD FLASH, LENINGRAD FLASH

EXDIS  
FOR CHIEF OF MISSION/CHARGE/PRINCIPAL OFFICER FROM ARMACOST

MA  
JW  
APB

DECL: OADR

ASEC, PREL, MOPS, IR

SECURITY ALERT

1. ~~S~~ ENTIRE TEXT

2. AS YOU RECEIVE THIS TELEGRAM, THE U.S. IS UNDERTAKING APPROPRIATE MILITARY ACTION IN SELF DEFENSE AGAINST IRANIAN MILITARY TARGETS IN THE PERSIAN GULF. THIS IS IN RESPONSE TO THE IRANIAN MINING ATTACK WHICH INJURED 10 AMERICAN SAILORS AND DAMAGED THE USS SAMUEL B. ROBERTS IN INTERNATIONAL WATERS LAST WEEK, AND IS INTENDED TO DETER FUTHER AGGRESSION.

3. YOU WILL RECEIVE A COORDINATED THREAT ASSESSMENT AND ALERT SHORTLY, BUT AGAIN I EMPHASIZE TO YOU THE RISK OF IRANIAN RETALIATION AGAINST U.S. DIPLOMATIC AND MILITARY ASSETS WORLDWIDE, PARTICULARLY IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND EUROPE. ACCORDINGLY, YOU SHOULD DEVOTE YOUR PERSONAL ATTENTION IN THE COMING DAYS AND WEEKS TO THE SECURITY POSTURE OF YOUR MISSION.

4. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED  
NLS F97-107/2 #174  
BY CJS, NARA, DATE 11/26/02



CONFIDENTIAL

B 1500 4/17

NEA/RA: JWOLF  
04/17/88, EXT. 74589 PGEN 6049  
P:MHARMACOST

IO: NSSMITH  
S/S:

L: ADSOFAER  
S/S-O:

~~NIACI~~ IMMEDIATE USUN

IMMEDIATE UN SE

MA  
JW

DECL: OADR

PREL, MOPS, IR

MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT OF SECURITY COUNCIL

1. AMBASSADOR SHOULD IMMEDIATELY DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL

2. MESSAGE FOLLOWS:

HIS EXCELLENCY  
THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL  
UNITED NATIONS  
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

IN ACCORDANCE WITH ARTICLE 51 OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS, I WISH, ON BEHALF OF MY GOVERNMENT, TO REPORT THAT UNITED STATES FORCES HAVE EXERCISED THEIR INHERENT RIGHT OF SELF-DEFENSE UNDER INTERNATIONAL LAW BY TAKING DEFENSIVE ACTION IN RESPONSE TO AN ATTACK BY THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF IRAN AGAINST A UNITED STATES NAVAL VESSEL IN INTERNATIONAL WATERS OF THE PERSIAN GULF. THE ACTIONS

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED  
NLS E97-107/2 #175  
BY CSJ NARA, DATE 11/26/02

TAKEN ARE NECESSARY TO DETER FUTURE ATTACKS, AND ARE PROPORTIONATE TO THE THREAT POSED BY SUCH CONDUCT.

AT APPROXIMATELY 10:10 EDT ON APRIL 14, THE USS SAMUEL B. ROBERTS WAS STRUCK BY A MINE APPROXIMATELY 60 MILES EAST OF BAHRAIN, IN INTERNATIONAL WATERS. TEN U.S. SAILORS WERE INJURED, ONE SERIOUSLY, AND THE SHIP WAS DAMAGED. THE MINE WHICH STRUCK THE ROBERTS WAS ONE OF AT LEAST FOUR MINES LAID IN THIS AREA. WE HAVE SUBSEQUENTLY IDENTIFIED THE MINES BY TYPE, AND WE HAVE CONCLUSIVE EVIDENCE THAT THESE MINES WERE MANUFACTURED RECENTLY IN IRAN. THE MINES WERE LAID IN SHIPPING LANES KNOWN BY IRAN TO BE USED BY U.S. VESSELS, AND INTENDED BY THEM TO DAMAGE OR SINK SUCH VESSELS. THIS IS BUT THE LATEST IN A SERIES OF OFFENSIVE ATTACKS AND PROVOCATIONS IRANIAN NAVAL FORCES HAVE TAKEN AGAINST NEUTRAL SHIPPING IN THE INTERNATIONAL WATERS OF THE PERSIAN GULF.

THROUGH DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS, WE HAVE INFORMED THE GOVERNMENT OF THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF IRAN ON FOUR SEPARATE OCCASIONS, MOST RECENTLY OCTOBER 19, 1987, THAT THE UNITED STATES WOULD NOT ACCEPT IRAN'S MINELAYING IN INTERNATIONAL WATERS OR IN THE WATERS OF NEUTRAL STATES. IN OCTOBER, MY GOVERNMENT INDICATED THAT THE UNITED STATES DID NOT SEEK MILITARY CONFRONTATION WITH IRAN, BUT THAT IT WOULD BE PREPARED TO MEET ANY ESCALATION OF MILITARY ACTIONS BY IRAN WITH SUCH COUNTER-MEASURES AS MAY BE NECESSARY TO ACHIEVE THE CESSATION OF SUCH ILLEGAL AGGRESSION.

STARTING AT APPROXIMATELY 0100 [EDT] APRIL 18, U.S. FORCES ATTACKED MILITARY TARGETS IN THE PERSIAN GULF WHICH HAVE BEEN USED FOR ATTACKS AGAINST NON-BELLIGERENT SHIPPING IN INTERNATIONAL WATERWAYS OF THE GULF.

THE U.S. ACTIONS HAVE BEEN AGAINST LEGITIMATE MILITARY TARGETS. ALL FEASIBLE MEASURES WILL BE/ WERE TAKEN TO MINIMIZE THE RISK OF CIVILIAN DAMAGE OR CASUALTIES. [ADD FACTS IF AVAILABLE]

I ASK THAT YOU CIRCULATE THE TEXT OF THIS LETTER AS A DOCUMENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL.

END TEXT.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

//



NEA: JWOLF  
04/17/88, EXT. 74589  
P:MHARMACOST

IO: NSSMITH  
S/S:

L: ADSOFAER  
S/S:O

NIACT/IMMEDIATE USUN

MA  
JW

DECL: OADR

PREL, MOPS, IR

MESSAGE FOR SECRETARY GENERAL

1. ~~C~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. PLEASE PASS FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO THE SECRETARY GENERAL FROM THE SECRETARY.

-- THE PRESIDENT HAS TODAY ORDERED U.S. MILITARY FORCES TO TAKE ACTION AGAINST CERTAIN IRANIAN MILITARY TARGETS IN THE PERSIAN GULF. THESE TARGETS HAVE BEEN USED FOR ATTACKS AGAINST NON-BELLIGERENT SHIPPING IN INTERNATIONAL WATERWAYS OF THE GULF. THIS ACTION IS NECESSARY TO DEFEND U.S. VESSELS IN THE AREA. THE ACTION IS UNDERWAY.

-- THE UNITED STATES ACTION IS IN DIRECT RESPONSE TO IRAN'S RECENT MINING OF INTERNATIONAL WATERWAYS, ONE OF WHICH STRUCK AND SEVERELY DAMAGED THE THE USS SAMUEL B. ROBERTS. TEN AMERICAN SAILORS WERE INJURED DURING THAT MINING ATTACK. SERIOUS DAMAGE WAS DONE TO THE SHIP.

CONFIDENTIAL

DECLASSIFIED

NLS F97-107/2 #176

BY CR NARA, DATE 11/26/02

-- WE HAD HOPED THAT ACTIONS THE UNITED STATES TOOK LAST FALL IN RESPONSE TO VARIOUS PROVOCATIONS BY IRAN WOULD HAVE SERVED TO CONVINCING IRAN OF THE UNITED STATES' RESOLVE TO DEFEND OURSELVES IN THE GULF.

-- FOUR TIMES LAST FALL, WE INFORMED THE GOVERNMENT OF IRAN THAT WE COULD NOT ACCEPT IRAN'S MINELAYING IN INTERNATIONAL WATERS, OR IN THE WATERS OF NEUTRAL STATES. WE MADE CLEAR WE DID NOT SEEK FURTHER CONFRONTATION WITH IRAN.

-- WE HAVE CONCLUSIVE EVIDENCE THAT THE MINE WHICH STRUCK THE SAMUEL B. ROBERTS APRIL 14 WAS ONE OF SEVERAL MINES LAID RECENTLY BY IRAN IN THE INTERNATIONAL SEA LANES OFF BAHRAIN. THE MINES WERE IN INTERNATIONAL SHIPPING LANES KNOWN BY IRAN TO BE USED BY U.S. VESSELS AND THEIR ACTION WAS INTENDED TO DAMAGE OR SINK SUCH VESSELS. WE ALSO KNOW THAT THE MINES WERE PART OF A LOT MANUFACTURED RECENTLY IN IRAN.

-- THE ACTION WE ARE TAKING IS A NECESSARY AND PROPORTIONATE MILITARY RESPONSE TO THE UNLAWFUL USE OF FORCE AGAINST THE UNITED STATES. IT IS A LAWFUL EXERCISE OF THE RIGHT OF SELF-DEFENSE ENSHRINED IN ARTICLE 51 OF THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER. I WILL ALSO INFORM THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL IN WRITING.

-- THESE BELLIGERENT ACTIONS BY IRAN, IN RECKLESS DISREGARD OF NEUTRAL NATIONS' RIGHT TO FREE PASSAGE, UNDERSCORE THE URGENCY OF STRONG INTERNATIONAL MEASURES IN THE UNITED NATIONS TO PASS A FOLLOW-ON RESOLUTION TO RESOLUTION 598. AS THE MINING INCIDENT LAST WEEK MAKES CLEAR, IRAN'S BASIC BEHAVIOR REMAINS UNCHANGED.

-- SECRETARY SHULTZ AND FOREIGN MINISTER SHEVARDNADZE AGREED IN GENEVA THURSDAY ON THE NEED FOR JOINT DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS TO HELP END THE IRAN-IRAQ WAR. IT WILL HIGH ON THE MOSCOW MINISTERIAL AGENDA THIS WEEK.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

//



CONFIDENTIAL

B 1530 4/17

NEA: APBURLEIGH  
04/17/88, EXT. 77177  
P:MHARMACOST

L: ADSOFAER  
S/S:

IO: NSSMITH  
S/S-O:

IMMEDIATE UN SE

IMMEDIATE BAGHDAD

EXDIS

MA  
APB

DECL: OADR

PREL, MOPS, IR

IRAN-IRAQ: FOLLOWUP TO RESOLUTION 598

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. AS ADDRESSEE POSTS ARE AWARE, THE PRESIDENT ORDERED U.S. MILITARY FORCES TO TAKE ACTION AGAINST CERTAIN IRANIAN MILITARY TARGETS IN THE PERSIAN GULF THE MORNING OF APRIL 18, 1988. DETAILS HAVE BEEN SENT SEPTTEL. FOLLOWING THOSE ACTIONS, AS WELL AS THE SECRETARY'S EXPECTED DISCUSSIONS OF THE IRAN-IRAQ WAR IN MOSCOW THIS WEEK, THE USG INTENDS TO MAKE A MAJOR DIPLOMATIC EFFORT TO REFOCUS THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY'S ATTENTION ON THE ROOT CAUSE OF TENSION IN THE GULF REGION: THE IRAN-IRAQ WAR. AMBASSADORS/CHARGES ARE INSTRUCTED TO APPROACH HOST GOVERNMENTS AT APPROPRIATELY SENIOR LEVELS TO MAKE THE FOLLOWING POINTS ABOUT ONGOING UNSC CONSIDERATION OF AN ENFORCEMENT RESOLUTION AS A FOLLOWON TO RESOLUTION 598 ADOPTED JULY 20, 1987. SEPTTELS HAVE PROVIDED POSTS WITH FACTUAL DESCRIPTION OF THE U.S. MILITARY ACTIONS AS WELL AS PRESS GUIDANCE. THESE SHOULD BE PASSED TO HOST GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS AS APPROPRIATE.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED  
NLS E97-107/2 7177  
BY OKS, NARA, DATE 11/26/02

## 3. TALKING POINTS:

-- AS YOU KNOW, THE U.S. HAS BEEN FORCED TO TAKE MILITARY ACTION IN SELF-DEFENSE AGAINST CERTAIN IRANIAN MILITARY TARGETS IN THE PERSIAN GULF ON APRIL 18. WE DID THIS BECAUSE OF THE INCONTROVERTIBLE EVIDENCE WE HAVE THAT IRAN HAS NEWLY LAID MINES IN THE GULF WITH THE CLEAR INTENTION OF TARGETTING NON-BELLIGERENT, INTERNATIONAL SHIPPING, INCLUDING U.S. VESSELS, IN INTERNATIONAL WATERS OF THE PERSIAN GULF. SEVERE INJURIES TO MEMBERS OF THE CREW AND DAMAGE TO THE USS SAMUEL B. ROBERTS OCCURRED ON APRIL 14 WHEN AN IRANIAN-LAID MINE STRUCK THE VESSEL. WE HAVE ACTED WITH SUCH FORCE AS WE CONSIDER NECESSARY TO DETER FURTHER MINING ATTACKS. OUR ACTION WAS PROPORTIONATE TO THE THREAT POSED BY IRAN'S ILLEGAL MEASURES.

-- THE U.S. CONTINUES TO BELIEVE THAT THE ROOT CAUSE OF THE TENSION AND VIOLENCE IN THE GULF IS THE IRAN-IRAQ WAR. THE THREAT TO REGIONAL SECURITY AND STABILITY AND THE EVER-PRESENT POSSIBILITY OF A SPILLOVER OF THE WAR TO THIRD COUNTRIES REMAINS HIGH. MEANWHILE THE CIVILIAN POPULATIONS OF BOTH IRAQ AND IRAN ARE SUFFERING EXTRAORDINARY ASSAULT -- MOST RECENTLY FROM MISSILES AND CHEMICAL WARFARE AS WELL AS ARTILLERY. IN OUR VIEW, NEITHER BELLIGERENT IS ABLE TO ACHIEVE A DECISIVE MILITARY VICTORY IN THIS WAR.

-- THE DEEP AND WIDELY-SHARED CONCERN OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY WAS REFLECTED IN THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL'S UNANIMOUS ADOPTION OF RESOLUTION 598 ON JULY 20, 1987.

-- IT IS IMPORTANT TO RECALL THAT 598 IS A MANDATORY RESOLUTION, THUS REQUIRING EITHER COMPLIANCE AND FULL IMPLEMENTATION BY BOTH PARTIES OR, IN THE ABSENCE OF COMPLIANCE, APPROPRIATE ENFORCEMENT MEASURES.

-- IRAQ IMMEDIATELY ACCEPTED RESOLUTION 598 IN JULY AND HAS SEVERAL TIMES, MOST RECENTLY THIS MONTH, AGAIN REITERATED THAT ACCEPTANCE.

-- IRAN, ON THE OTHER HAND, HAS REFUSED TO ACCEPT 598. ACCORDING TO THE MOST RECENT REPORT OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL TO THE UNSC, IRAN STILL HAS NOT ACCEPTED 598, THOUGH IT HAS STATED A WILLINGNESS TO DISCUSS IMPLEMENTATION OF THE RESOLUTION.

-- THERE HAS BEEN A SLOWLY BUILDING CONSENSUS IN THE UNSC  
CONFIDENTIAL



THAT IRAN'S FORMAL ACCEPTANCE OF 598 IS REQUIRED IF FURTHER PROGRESS TOWARD IMPLEMENTATION IS TO BE POSSIBLE. THIS HAS NOT BEEN FORTHCOMING FROM IRAN.

-- INSTEAD, IN DIRECT CONFRONTATION WITH THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, AND IN CLEAR VIOLATION OF THE LETTER AND SPIRIT OF 598, IRAN HAS AGAIN RESORTED TO MINING INTERNATIONAL WATERWAYS IN THE PERSIAN GULF. IT HAS ALSO LAUNCHED FRESH GROUND OFFENSIVES AGAINST IRAQ.

-- WE ALSO BELIEVE THAT THERE IS NOW INCONTROVERTIBLE EVIDENCE THAT IRAN HAS BEEN COMPLICIT IN THE HIJACKING OF THE KUWAITI AIRWAYS AIRCRAFT NOW IN ALGIERS, REFLECTING CONTINUING IRANIAN WILLINGNESS TO SUPPORT TERRORISTS, CRIMINALS AND MURDERERS IN CLEAR VIOLATION OF ITS RESPONSIBILITIES UNDER INTERNATIONAL CONVENTIONS.

-- THIS WEEK IN MOSCOW SECRETARY SHULTZ WILL BE DIRECTLY ADDRESSING WITH FOREIGN MINISTER SHEVARDNADZE THE CHALLENGE FACING THE UNSC -- THE URGENT NEED FOR ACTION TO ENFORCE 598.

-- WE HAVE BELIEVED FOR SOME TIME THAT THE RIGHT ENFORCEMENT MEASURE WOULD BE AN ARMS EMBARGO DIRECTED AGAINST IRAN AS THE NONCOMPLIANT PARTY TO RESOLUTION 598 -- NONCOMPLIANT BECAUSE IT REFUSES TO ACCEPT 598.

-- AN ARMS EMBARGO WILL NOT END THE WAR, BUT IT WILL MAKE IRAN'S PURSUIT OF THE WAR MORE DIFFICULT -- AND IT MAY HELP, OVER TIME, CONVINCE THE IRANIANS TO NEGOTIATE A FAIR AND JUST END TO THE WAR, VIA THE COMPREHENSIVE RESOLUTION 598 MECHANISM.

-- WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE SO AND THAT THE TIME IS RIGHT -- NOW -- TO MOVE DECISIVELY.

-- WE ASK THAT YOU JOIN US IN ACTION AT THE SECURITY COUNCIL OVER THE COMING DAYS. WE SHOULD WORK TO PERFECT THE DRAFT RESOLUTION WHICH WAS CIRCULATED TO ALL COUNCIL MEMBERS IN DECEMBER. WE SHOULD ADOPT THAT RESOLUTION IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE.

\\



NEA: JWOLF  
04/17/88, EXT. 74589  
P:MARMACOST

L: ADSOFAER  
S/S:

EUR:  
S/S-O:

FLASH LONDON, PARIS FLASH, ~~BRUSSELS FLASH~~, THE HAGUE FLASH, BRUSSELS  
FLASH, ROME FLASH

NODIS  
FOR AMBASSADOR/CHARGE ONLY

MA  
JW

DECL: OADR

PREL,MOPS, IR

MESSAGE ON MILITARY OPERATION

1. S - ENTIRE TEXT

2. YOU ARE INSTRUCTED, ON AN URGENT BASIS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE AFTER [0200 GMT] APRIL 18, TO CONVEY THE FOLLOWING ORAL MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT TO THE HEAD OF STATE OR GOVERNMENT AS APPROPRIATE [IF NECESSARY THROUGH THE FOREIGN MINISTER TO ENSURE SPEEDY DELIVERY.] THERE WILL BE NO SIGNED ORIGINAL, AND YOU SHOULD NOT RPT NOT LEAVE THE MESSAGE AS A NON-PAPER. PLEASE REPORT DELIVERY, AS WELL AS ANY SUBSTANTIVE REACTION, IMMEDIATELY.

3. IN DELIVERING THIS MESSAGE, YOU SHOULD STRESS THE NEED FOR ABSOLUTE CONFIDENTIALITY UNTIL THE ACTION IT FORESHADOWS IS PUBLIC KNOWLEDGE. LIKEWISE YOU SHOULD NOT DISCUSS THIS MESSAGE WITHIN YOUR MISSION UNTIL THE ACTION HAS OCCURRED.

4. BEGIN MESSAGE.

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED  
NLS F97-107/e #178  
BY C/S NARA, DATE 11/26/02

-- I AM TODAY ORDERING U.S. MILITARY FORCES TO STRIKE CERTAIN IRANIAN MILITARY [ ] TARGETS IN THE PERSIAN GULF. THESE TARGETS HAVE BEEN USED TO ATTACK NON-BELLIGERENT SHIPPING IN THE INTERNATIONAL WATERS OF THE PERSIAN GULF. [ ] THE ACTION WHICH IS A DEFENSIVE MEASURE DESIGNED AND INTENDED TO DETER FURTHER IRANIAN MINING WILL COMMENCE WITHIN THE NEXT FEW HOURS. THE U.S. COMMANDER IN THE PERSIAN GULF IS COORDINATING WITH YOUR COMMANDERS IN THE GULF TO ASSURE THEY ARE FOREWARNED AND HAVE TIME TO TAKE DEFENSIVE PRECAUTIONS.

-- BECAUSE OF OUR SPECIAL POLITICAL RELATIONSHIP, AND THE PRESENCE OF YOUR FORCES WORKING ALONGSIDE OUR OWN, I WANTED TO INFORM YOU IN ADVANCE OF OUR ACTION AND ADVISE YOU OF THE REASONS FOR MY DECISION. I OF COURSE HOPE THAT YOU WILL SUPPORT THIS DECISION PRIVATELY AND IN YOUR PUBLIC STATEMENTS.

-- WE HAD HOPED THAT ACTIONS THE UNITED STATES TOOK LAST FALL IN RESPONSE TO VARIOUS PROVOCATIONS BY IRAN WOULD HAVE SERVED TO CONVINCING IRAN OF THE UNITED STATES' SERIOUSNESS OF PURPOSE AND OUR RESOLVE TO CONTINUE TO DEFEND OUR INTERESTS IN THE GULF.

-- FOUR TIMES LAST FALL, WE INFORMED THE GOVERNMENT OF IRAN THAT WE COULD NOT ACCEPT IRAN'S MINELAYING IN INTERNATIONAL WATERS, OR IN THE WATERS OF NEUTRAL STATES. WE MADE CLEAR WE DID NOT SEEK FURTHER CONFRONTATION WITH IRAN, BUT INDICATED WE WOULD BE PREPARED TO MEET ANY ESCALATION OF MILITARY ACTIONS BY IRAN WITH STRONG COUNTERMEASURES.

-- THE ACTION I AM ORDERING TODAY IS IN DIRECT RESPONSE TO IRAN'S RECENT MINING OF INTERNATIONAL WATERWAYS, ONE OF WHICH STRUCK AND SEVERELY DAMAGED THE THE USS SAMUEL B. ROBERTS. TEN AMERICAN SAILORS WERE INJURED DURING THAT MINING ATTACK. THE SHIP SUSTAINED SIGNIFICANT DAMAGE.

-- WE HAVE CONCLUSIVE EVIDENCE THAT THE MINE WHICH STRUCK THE SAMUEL B. ROBERTS WAS ONE OF SEVERAL MINES LAID RECENTLY BY IRAN IN THE INTERNATIONAL SEA LANES OFF BAHRAIN. IRAN KNOWS THESE LANES ARE REGULARLY USED BY U.S. VESSELS, AND UNDOUBTEDLY INTENDED BY ITS ACTS TO DAMAGE OR SINK SUCH VESSELS, WITH SERIOUS POTENTIAL LOSS OF LIFE OR INJURY TO SAILORS OR MERCHANTMEN ON BOARD.

-- WE KNOW THAT THE MINES WERE MANUFACTURED IN IRAN IN THE



SAME FACTORY THAT PRODUCED THE MINES FOUND ON THE IRAN AJR. WE BELIEVE THAT ONE OF THE MINES WAS MANUFACTURED WITHIN THE LAST MONTH. THE PLACE AND APPROXIMATE DATE OF PRODUCTION WERE DETERMINED FROM OUR INSPECTION OF THE EXTERNAL MARKINGS OF THE MINE.

-- WE ARE MAKING PUBLIC PHOTOGRAPHS OF ADDITIONAL MINES US NAVY DIVERS LOCATED AND EXPLODED IN THE AREA WHERE THE ROBERTS WAS STRUCK. [FOR ROME, BRUSSELS, LONDON, THE HAGUE: WE ARE MOST APPRECIATIVE OF YOUR WILLINGNESS TO PARTICIPATE IN THE CLEARING OF THIS NEW IRANIAN MINE FIELD IN INTERNATIONAL WATERS.]

-- THE ACTION WE WILL BE TAKING IS AN APPROPRIATE MILITARY RESPONSE TO THE UNLAWFUL USE OF FORCE AGAINST THE UNITED STATES, NECESSARY TO DETER FUTURE MINING BY IRAN AIMED AT VESSELS IN INTERNATIONAL WATERWAYS, INCLUDING U.S. VESSELS. IT IS A LAWFUL EXERCISE OF THE RIGHT OF SELF-DEFENSE ENSHRINED IN ARTICLE 51 OF THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER. WE ARE SO NOTIFYING THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL.

-- THESE BELLIGERENT ACTIONS BY IRAN, IN RECKLESS DISREGARD OF NEUTRAL NATIONS' RIGHT TO FREE PASSAGE, UNDERSCORE THE URGENCY OF STRONG INTERNATIONAL MEASURES IN THE UNITED NATIONS TO PASS A FOLLOW-ON RESOLUTION TO RESOLUTION 598. AS THE MINING INCIDENT LAST WEEK MAKES CLEAR, IRAN'S BASIC BEHAVIOR REMAINS UNCHANGED. REGRETTABLY, FURTHER ACTION WAS NECESSARY FOR EFFECTIVE DETERRENCE.

-- I HAVE INSTRUCTED SECRETARY SHULTZ TO RAISE WITH THE SOVIETS MY CONCERN ABOUT THE DETERIORATING SECURITY SITUATION IN THE REGION. THE ROOT CAUSE OF THIS IS THE CONTINUATION OF THE IRAN-IRAQ WAR. SECRETARY SHULTZ WILL UNDERSCORE THE NEED FOR RAPID SECURITY COUNCIL PASSAGE OF A FOLLOW-ON RESOLUTION. I COUNT ON YOUR HELP WITH OTHER MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO BREAK THE DEADLOCK.

-- LAST WEEK'S INCIDENT IN THE GULF ALSO FURTHER UNDERSCORES THE NEED FOR CONTINUED ALLIED VIGILANCE AGAINST IRANIAN THREATS TO INTERNATIONAL SHIPPING. WE ARE DETERMINED TO CONTINUE OUR NAVAL PROTECTION AND COUNTERMINE EFFORTS IN THE GULF. I TRUST YOU WILL DO THE SAME. WE NEED TO CONTINUE TO SEND THE IRANIANS [AND OTHERS IN THE GULF] A CLEAR AND UNAMBIGUOUS MESSAGE OF WESTERN SOLIDARITY.



//

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

B 1530 4/17

NEA: JWOLF  
04/17/88, EXT. 74589  
P:MARMACOST

S/S:

S/S-O:

FLASH ABU DHABI, DOHA FLASH, KUWAIT FLASH, MANAMA FLASH, MUSCAT  
FLASH, RIYADH FLASH  
IMMEDIATE BAGHDAD

MA  
JW

DECL: OADR

PREL, MOPS, IR

PRESIDENTIAL MESSAGE

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT
  2. THE PRESIDENT HAS ORDERED U.S. MILITARY FORCES TO STRIKE CERTAIN IRANIAN MILITARY TARGETS IN THE PERSIAN GULF WHICH ARE HAVE BEEN INVOLVED IN ATTACKS AGAINST NON-BELLIGERENT SHIPPING IN THE INTERNATIONAL WATERS OF THE GULF. OUR ACTION IS UNDERWAY AS OF [0500 GMT APRIL 18].
  3. YOU ARE INSTRUCTED TO CONVEY THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT TO THE HEAD OF GOVERNMENT OR, IF NECESSARY TO ENSURE TIMELY DELIVERY, TO THE FOREIGN MINISTER. IF YOU WISH, LEAVE A COPY. THERE WILL BE NO SIGNED ORIGINAL PLEASE REPORT ANY SIGNIFICANT REACTION IMMEDIATELY.
  4. BEGIN MESSAGE
- I AM TODAY ORDERING U.S. MILITARY FORCES TO STRIKE

CONFIDENTIAL

DECLASSIFIED  
NLS F97-107/2 4179  
BY C/S NARA, DATE 11/26/02

CERTAIN IRANIAN MILITARY TARGETS IN THE PERSIAN GULF. THESE TARGETS HAVE BEEN USED TO ATTACK NON-BELLIGERENT SHIPPING IN THE INTERNATIONAL WATERWAYS OF THE GULF. THESE ACTIONS ARE NOW UNDERWAY.

-- BECAUSE OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL RELATIONSHIP WE HAVE, AND YOUR SPECIAL INTEREST IN DEVELOPMENTS IN YOUR REGION, I WANTED TO INFORM YOU OF MY DECISION AND THE REASON FOR IT.

-- I HOPE YOU WILL SUPPORT MY DECISIONS, BOTH PRIVATELY AND IN YOUR PUBLIC STATEMENTS. I HOPE TOO THAT COUNTRIES OF THE GULF COOPERATION COUNCIL COLLECTIVELY WILL ALSO RAPIDLY INDICATE SUPPORT FOR ACTIONS THE UNITED STATES IS TAKING TO PROTECT NEUTRAL SHIPPING AND FREEDOM OF NAVIGATION IN THE GULF.

-- OVER A YEAR AGO, I DECIDED THAT THE UNITED STATES MUST TAKE A MUCH MORE ACTIVE ROLE IN DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS TO SECURE A COMPREHENSIVE SETTLEMENT TO THE IRAN-IRAQ WAR. AT THE SAME TIME, I ALSO DECIDED UNITED STATES MILITARY FORCES SHOULD INCREASE THEIR PRESENCE IN THE GULF TO ENSURE AMERICAN VESSELS' RIGHT OF FREE PASSAGE IN THE GULF, AND TO SEND A SIGNAL OF OUR COMMITMENT TO THE STABILITY OF THE COUNTRIES OF THE GULF COOPERATION COUNCIL.

-- IN TAKING THESE ACTIONS, THE UNITED STATES WAS NOT THEN, AND IS NOT NOW, CHOOSING SIDES. WE HAVE NOT SOUGHT MILITARY CONFRONTATION WITH IRAN, AND HAVE SO INFORMED IRAN IN NUMEROUS PUBLIC AND PRIVATE MESSAGES.

-- WE HAD HOPED THAT ACTIONS THE UNITED STATES TOOK LAST FALL IN RESPONSE TO PROVOCATIONS BY IRAN WOULD HAVE SERVED TO CONVINCE IRAN OF THE UNITED STATES' SERIOUSNESS OF PURPOSE AND OUR RESOLVE.

-- FOUR TIMES LAST FALL, WE INFORMED THE IRANIAN GOVERNMENT THROUGH DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS THAT WE COULD NOT ACCEPT IRAN'S MINELAYING IN INTERNATIONAL WATERS, OR IN THE WATERS OF NEUTRAL STATES. WE ALSO MADE CLEAR WE DID NOT SEEK FURTHER CONFRONTATION WITH IRAN, BUT INDICATED WE WOULD BE PREPARED TO MEET ANY ESCALATION OF MILITARY ACTIONS BY IRAN WITH STRONG COUNTERMEASURES.

-- OUR ACTION TODAY IS IN DIRECT RESPONSE TO IRAN'S NEW MINING OF INTERNATIONAL WATERWAYS, ONE OF WHICH STRUCK AND SEVERELY DAMAGED THE THE USS SAMUEL B. ROBERTS APRIL 14. TEN AMERICAN SAILORS WERE INJURED DURING THAT MINING

CONFIDENTIAL



## ATTACK.

-- WE HAVE CONCLUSIVE EVIDENCE THAT THE MINE WHICH THE ROBERTS STRUCK WAS ONE OF SEVERAL MINES LAID RECENTLY BY IRAN IN THE INTERNATIONAL SEA LANES OFF BAHRAIN. WE ALSO KNOW THAT THE MINES WERE MANUFACTURED RECENTLY IN IRAN. LATER TODAY, WE WILL BE MAKING PUBLIC PHOTOGRAPHS OF ADDITIONAL MINES US NAVY DIVERS LOCATED AND EXPLODED IN THE AREA WHERE THE ROBERTS WAS STRUCK.

-- THE ACTION WE HAVE TAKEN WERE NECESSARY TO DETER FUTURE MINING ATTACKS, AND WAS PROPORTIONATE TO THE THREAT POSED BY THE MINING ATTACKS UNDERTAKEN BY IRAN. IT IS A LAWFUL EXERCISE OF THE RIGHT OF SELF-DEFENSE ENSHRINED IN ARTICLE 51 OF THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER. WE ARE SO NOTIFYING THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL.

-- THESE BELLIGERENT ACTIONS BY IRAN, IN RECKLESS DISREGARD OF NEUTRAL NATIONS' RIGHT TO FREE PASSAGE, UNDERSCORE THE URGENCY OF STRONG INTERNATIONAL MEASURES IN THE UNITED NATIONS TO PASS A FOLLOW-ON RESOLUTION TO RESOLUTION 598. AS THE MINING INCIDENT LAST WEEK MAKES CLEAR, IRAN'S BASIC BEHAVIOR REMAINS IMPROPER AND THEREFORE UNACCEPTABLE.

-- I HAVE INSTRUCTED SECRETARY SHULTZ TO RAISE WITH THE SOVIETS MY CONCERN ABOUT THE DETERIORATING SECURITY SITUATION IN THE REGION AND TO UNDERSCORE THE NEED FOR RAPID SECURITY COUNCIL PASSAGE OF AN ENFORCEMENT RESOLUTION TO FOLLOW-ON RESOLUTION 598. I HOPE FOR STRONG GCC, AND ARAB LEAGUE, SUPPORT FOR THIS COURSE. I WOULD URGE YOU TO MAKE YOUR VIEWS KNOWN TO OTHER MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL.

-- I WANT TO ASSURE YOU THAT THE UNITED STATES INTENDS TO STAND FIRMLY WITH YOU IN FACING THE DANGERS WHICH THREATEN US ALL. WE WILL CONTINUE OUR NAVAL PROTECTION AND COUNTERMINE EFFORTS IN THE GULF.

\\

CONFIDENTIAL

~~SECRET~~

B 1530 4/17

NEA: JWOLF  
04/17/88, EXT. 74589  
P:MARMACOST

S/S:

S/S-O:

FLASH ANATO, BEIJING FLASH, TOKYO FLASH, AMMAN FLASH, BAGHDAD  
FLASH, CAIRO FLASH, ISLAMABAD FLASH, TEL AVIV FLASH, BERN FLASH+

MA  
JW

DECL: OADR

PREL, MOPS, IR

U.S. MILITARY ACTION IN PERSIAN GULF

1. ~~C~~ - ENTIRE TEXT

2. THE PRESIDENT HAS ORDERED U.S. MILITARY FORCES TO STRIKE CERTAIN IRANIAN MILITARY TARGETS IN THE PERSIAN GULF. OUR ACTION IS UNDERWAY AS OF APPROXIMATELY 0500 GMT APRIL 18. THESE TARGETS HAVE BEEN USED TO ATTACK NON-BELLIGERENT SHIPPING IN THE INTERNATIONAL WATERWAYS OF THE PERSIAN GULF. THESE NECESSARY AND PROPORTIONATE MEASURES ARE BEING TAKEN IN SELF-DEFENSE, TO DETER FURTHER IRANIAN AGGRESSION.

3. YOU ARE INSTRUCTED IMMEDIATELY TO CONVEY THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM THE SECRETARY TO THE FOREIGN MINISTER OR, IF NECESSARY TO ENSURE TIMELY DELIVERY, TO THE NEXT HIGHEST OFFICIAL. IF YOU WISH, LEAVE A COPY. THERE WILL BE NO SIGNED ORIGINAL PLEASE REPORT ANY SIGNIFICANT REACTION IMMEDIATELY.

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED  
NLS F97-107/2-110  
BY CS NARA, DATE 1/26/02



## 4. BEGIN MESSAGE

-- THE PRESIDENT HAS TODAY ORDERED U.S. MILITARY FORCES TO STRIKE CERTAIN IRANIAN MILITARY TARGETS IN THE PERSIAN GULF. THE ACTION HAS JUST COMMENCED. THESE TARGETS HAVE BEEN USED TO ATTACK NON-BELLIGERENT SHIPPING IN THE INTERNATIONAL WATERWAYS OF THE GULF.

-- I WANTED TO INFORM YOU OUR ACTION AND ADVISE YOU OF THE REASONS FOR THE PRESIDENT'S DECISION. THE PRESIDENT HOPES STRONGLY THAT [COUNTRY] WILL SUPPORT THIS DECISION PRIVATELY AND IN ITS PUBLIC STATEMENTS.

-- WE HAD HOPED THAT ACTIONS THE UNITED STATES TOOK LAST FALL IN RESPONSE TO PROVOCATIONS BY IRAN WOULD HAVE SERVED TO CONVINCED IRAN OF THE UNITED STATES' SERIOUSNESS OF PURPOSE AND OUR RESOLVE TO DEFEND OUR INTERESTS IN THE GULF.

-- FOUR TIMES LAST FALL, WE INFORMED THE GOVERNMENT OF IRAN THROUGH DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS THAT WE COULD NOT ACCEPT IRAN'S MINELAYING IN INTERNATIONAL WATERS, OR IN THE WATERS OF NEUTRAL STATES. WE MADE CLEAR WE DID NOT SEEK FURTHER CONFRONTATION WITH IRAN, BUT INDICATED WE WOULD BE PREPARED TO MEET ANY ESCALATION OF MILITARY ACTIONS BY IRAN WITH STRONG COUNTERMEASURES, DESIGNED TO DETER FURTHER AGGRESSION.

-- THIS ACTION IS IN DIRECT RESPONSE TO IRAN'S NEW MINING OF INTERNATIONAL WATERWAYS, ONE OF WHICH STRUCK AND SEVERELY DAMAGED THE THE USS SAMUEL B. ROBERTS APRIL 14. TEN AMERICAN SAILORS WERE INJURED DURING THAT MINING ATTACK.

-- WE HAVE CONCLUSIVE EVIDENCE THAT THE MINE WHICH STRUCK THE ROBERTS WAS ONE OF SEVERAL MINES LAID RECENTLY IN THE INTERNATIONAL SEA LANES OFF BAHRAIN. WE ALSO KNOW THAT THE MINES WERE MANUFACTURED RECENTLY IN IRAN. LATER TODAY, WE WILL BE MAKING PUBLIC PHOTOGRAPHS OF ADDITIONAL MINES THE US NAVY LOCATED AND DESTROYED IN THE AREA WHERE THE ROBERTS WAS STRUCK.

-- THE ACTIONS WE ARE TAKING ARE A NECESSARY AND APPROPRIATE RESPONSE MILITARY RESPONSE TO THE UNLAWFUL USE OF FORCE AGAINST THE UNITED STATES. IT IS A LAWFUL EXERCISE OF THE RIGHT OF SELF-DEFENSE ENSHRINED IN ARTICLE 51 OF THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER. WE ARE SO NOTIFYING THE PRESIDENT OF THE

~~SECRET~~



## SECURITY COUNCIL.

-- THESE BELLIGERENT ACTIONS BY IRAN, IN RECKLESS DISREGARD OF THE RIGHT OF NEUTRAL NATIONS TO FREE PASSAGE, UNDERSCORE THE URGENCY OF STRONG INTERNATIONAL MEASURES IN THE UNITED NATIONS TO PASS A FOLLOW-ON RESOLUTION TO RESOLUTION 598. AS THE MINING INCIDENT LAST WEEK MAKES CLEAR, IRAN'S BASIC BEHAVIOR REMAINS IMPROPER AND THEREFORE UNACCEPTABLE.

-- THE PRESIDENT HAS INSTRUCTED ME TO RAISE HIS CONCERNS WITH FOREIGN MINISTER SHEVARDNADZE THIS WEEK IN MOSCOW AND TO UNDERSCORE THE NEED FOR RAPID SECURITY COUNCIL PASSAGE OF A FOLLOW-ON RESOLUTION. [FOR BEIJING, BONN, TOKYO]. I COUNT ON YOUR PERSONAL HELP TO BREAK THE DEADLOCK THAT HAS TOO LONG FRUSTRATED THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE COUNCIL'S WILL.

4. [FOR BAGHDAD - SIMILAR MESSAGES ABOUT THE NEED FOR UN ACTION ARE BEING CONVEYED TO THE UK, FRANCE, ITALY, THE GCC STATES AND THE ALL UNSC CAPITALS.]

5. [FOR ALGIERS - YOU SHOULD INDICATE IN DELIVERING THE POINTS THAT WE ARE BRIEFING THE GOA IN VIEW OF ITS POSITION AS PROTECTING POWER FOR IRAN. WE WOULD URGE THE ALGERIAN GOVERNMENT TO IMPRESS ON IRAN THE NEED TO CEASE ITS RECKLESS AND ILLEGAL ACTIONS. NOTWITHSTANDING THE SPECIAL ALGERIAN/IRANIAN RELATIONSHIP, YOU SHOULD POINT OUT THAT IRAN'S CONTINUED PATTERN OF BEHAVIOR, AND IRAN'S CONTINUED INTRANSIGENCE VIS A VIS SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 598, MAKE IT INCUMBENT ON ALGERIA TO SUPPORT EFFORTS AT THE UNSC TO PASS A SANCTIONS RESOLUTION.]

//

ADDITIONAL ACTION ADDRESSEES: ALGIERS FLASH

NEA: JWOLF  
04/17/88, EXT. 74589  
P:MARMACOST

EUR: S/S:  
S/S-O:

NIACT/IMMEDIATE MOSCOW

MA  
JW

DECL: OADR

PREL, MOPS, IR

IRAN: TALKING POINTS ON MILITARY OPERATION

1. ~~S~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. EMBASSY SHOULD DELIVER FOLLOWING POINTS ASAP TO APPROPRIATE LEVEL IN MFA:

-- THE PRESIDENT HAS TODAY ORDERED U.S. MILITARY FORCES TO STRIKE CERTAIN IRANIAN MILITARY TARGETS IN THE PERSIAN GULF. THE TARGETS HAVE BEEN USED TO ATTACK NON-BELLIGERENT SHIPPING IN THE INTERNATIONAL WATERWAYS OF THE GULF.

-- THE ACTION HE HAS ORDERED IS IN DIRECT RESPONSE TO IRAN'S RECENT MINING OF INTERNATIONAL WATERWAYS, ONE OF WHICH STRUCK AND SEVERELY DAMAGED THE THE USS SAMUEL B. ROBERTS. TEN AMERICAN SAILORS WERE INJURED DURING THAT MINING ATTACK. SERIOUS DAMAGE WAS DONE TO THE SHIP.

-- WE HAD HOPED THAT ACTIONS THE UNITED STATES TOOK LAST FALL IN RESPONSE TO VARIOUS PROVOCATIONS BY IRAN WOULD HAVE SERVED TO CONVINCe IRAN OF THE UNITED STATES'

CONFIDENTIAL

DECLASSIFIED

NLS 797-107/2 #101

BY CW NARA, DATE 11/26/82



SERIOUSNESS OF PURPOSE AND OUR RESOLVE TO DEFEND OUR INTERESTS IN THE GULF.

-- FOUR TIMES LAST FALL, WE INFORMED THE GOVERNMENT OF IRAN THAT WE COULD NOT ACCEPT IRAN'S MINELAYING IN INTERNATIONAL WATERS, OR IN THE WATERS OF NEUTRAL STATES. WE MADE CLEAR WE DID NOT SEEK FURTHER CONFRONTATION WITH IRAN.

-- WE HAVE CONCLUSIVE EVIDENCE THAT THE MINE WHICH STRUCK THE SAMUEL B. ROBERTS APRIL 14 WAS ONE OF SEVERAL MINES LAID BY IRAN RECENTLY IN THE INTERNATIONAL SEA LANES OFF BAHRAIN. IRAN, OF COURSE, IS WELL AWARE THAT U.S. VESSELS UTILIZE THOSE LANES AND CLEARLY ANTICIPATED AND INTENDED THE CONSEQUENCES THAT OCCURRED. WE ALSO KNOW THAT THE MINES WERE MANUFACTURED IN IRAN RECENTLY.

-- THE ACTION WE ARE TAKING IS A NECESSARY AND PROPORTIONATE EFFORT TO DETER THE FURTHER UNLAWFUL USE OF FORCE AGAINST THE UNITED STATES. IT IS A LAWFUL EXERCISE OF THE RIGHT OF SELF-DEFENSE ENSHRINED IN ARTICLE 51 OF THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER.

-- THESE BELLIGERENT ACTIONS BY IRAN, IN RECKLESS DISREGARD OF NEUTRAL NATIONS' RIGHT TO FREE PASSAGE, UNDERSCORE THE URGENCY OF STRONG INTERNATIONAL MEASURES IN THE UNITED NATIONS TO PASS A FOLLOW-ON RESOLUTION TO RESOLUTION 598. AS THE MINING INCIDENT LAST WEEK MAKES CLEAR, IRAN'S BASIC BEHAVIOR REMAINS UNCHANGED.

-- AS SECRETARY SHULTZ AND FOREIGN MINISTER SHEVARDNADZE AGREED IN GENEVA THURSDAY, OUR JOINT DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS TO HELP DRAW THE IRAN-IRAQ WAR TO AN END WILL BE HIGH ON THE MOSCOW MINISTERIAL AGENDA THIS WEEK.

-- IRAQ HAS AGAIN ACCEPTED RESOLUTION 598 WITHOUT RESERVATION. THE SECRETARY GENERAL IN HIS REPORT TO THE COUNCIL LAST WEEK MADE CLEAR IRAN HAS NOT ACCEPTED 598. IT IS TIME NOW FOR THE US AND SOVIET UNION TO MOVE FORWARD TOGETHER QUICKLY TO REACH AGREEMENT ON A DRAFT ENFORCEMENT RESOLUTION WHICH WE SHOULD AGREE TO ADOPT THIS MONTH IN NEW YORK.

\\



~~SECRET~~

B 1415 4/17

NEA: JWOLF  
04/17/88, EXT. 74589  
P:MARMACOST

NOT FOR ADS

FLASH LONDON, PARIS FLASH, ROME FLASH, BONN FLASH, BRUSSELS FLASH,  
THE HAGUE FLASH

NODIS  
FOR AMBASSADOR/CHARGE ONLY

MA  
JW

DECL: OADR

PREL, MOPS, IR

ALERT MESSAGE

1. ~~SECRET~~ ENTIRE TEXT

2. THIS IS TO ALERT YOU THAT, WITHIN HOURS, YOU WILL RECEIVE AN IMPORTANT URGENT MESSAGE THAT YOU PERSONALLY ARE TO CONVEY TO THE HEAD OF STATE OR GOVERNMENT AS APPROPRIATE. IN EXTREMIS, IF NECESSARY TO ASSURE IMMEDIATE DELIVERY, YOU MAY ALSO CONVEY IT THROUGH THE FOREIGN MINISTER.

\\

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED  
NLS F97-107/2 #182  
BY CVS NARA, DATE 11/26/02



~~SECRET~~

B/ 1445 4/17

NEA: JWOLF  
04/17/88, EXT. 74589  
P:MARMACOST

NOT FOR ADS

NIACT/IMMEDIATE BERN

NODIS  
FOR AMBASSADOR ONLY

MA  
JW

DECL: OADR

PREL, MOPS, IR

ALERT MESSAGE

1. ~~SECRET~~ - ENTIRE TEXT

2. THIS IS TO ALERT YOU THAT, WITHIN THE HOUR, YOU WILL RECEIVE AN IMPORTANT URGENT MESSAGE THAT YOU PERSONALLY ARE TO CONVEY TO THE FOREIGN MINISTER FOR IMMEDIATE TRANSMISSION TO THE GOVERNMENT OF IRAN.

\\

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED  
NLS F97-107/2 #183  
BY CRS, NARA, DATE 11/24/02

~~SECRET~~

B 1445 4/17

NEA: JWOLF  
04/17/88, EXT. 74589  
P:MARMACOST

S/S:

S/S-O:

NOT FOR ADS

FLASH ABU DHABI, DOHA FLASH, KUWAIT FLASH, MANAMA FLASH, MUSCAT  
FLASH, RIYADH FLASH

NODIS  
FOR AMBASSADOR/CHARGE ONLY

MA  
JW

DECL: OADR

PREL, MOPS, IR

ALERT MESSAGE

1. ~~SECRET~~ - ENTIRE TEXT

2. THIS IS TO ALERT YOU THAT, WITHIN THE HOUR, YOU WILL  
RECEIVE AN IMPORTANT URGENT MESSAGE THAT YOU PERSONALLY  
ARE TO CONVEY TO THE HEAD OF STATE OR GOVERNMENT AS  
APPROPRIATE. IN EXTREMIS, IF NECESSARY TO ASSURE  
IMMEDIATE DELIVERY, YOU MAY ALSO CONVEY IT THROUGH THE  
FOREIGN MINISTER.

\\

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED  
NLS F97-107/2 #1114  
BY CA NARA, DATE 11/26/02

NEA: JWOLF  
04/17/88, EXT. 74589  
P:MARMACOST

L: ADSOFAER  
S/S:

IO: NSSMITH  
S/S-O:

IMMEDIATE ALDIP, SPECIAL EMBASSY PROGRAM IMMEDIATE, BEIRUT  
IMMEDIATE, KABUL IMMEDIATE, MOSCOW IMMEDIATE, BAGHDAD IMMEDIATE

MA  
JW

DECL: OADR

PREL, MOPS, IR

IRAN: TALKING POINTS ON GULF MILITARY ACTION

1. C - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. U.S. FORCES ARE IN THE PROCESS OF ATTACKING CERTAIN  
IRANIAN MILITARY TARGETS AS A SELF-DEFENSE MEASURE . THIS  
ACTION IS IN DIRECT RESPONSE TO IRAN'S NEW MINING OF  
INTERNATIONAL WATERWAYS, ONE OF WHICH STRUCK THE USS  
ROBERT B. SAMUELS, DAMAGING THE SHIP AND INJURING SEVERAL  
OF THE CREW. YOU SHOULD DRAW UPON THIS AND OTHER  
INFORMATION YOU WILL RECEIVE SEPTELS IN  
BRIEFING/RESPONDING TO QUERIES ABOUT THE U.S. ACTION.

*Talking points  
are unclassified  
after review  
is complete*

2. BEGIN POINTS:

-- THE PRESIDENT HAS ORDERED U.S. FORCES TO TAKE  
DEFENSIVE MILITARY ACTION AGAINST CERTAIN IRANIAN MILITARY  
TARGETS IN THE PERSIAN GULF USED FOR ATTACKS AGAINST  
NON-BELLIGERENT SHIPPING IN ORDER TO DETER ANY SUCH FUTURE  
ACTIVITY.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED  
NLS 197-107/2 #185  
BY CWS NARA, DATE 11/26/02



-- HE HAS DONE SO BECAUSE OF THE CONCLUSIVE EVIDENCE WE HAVE THAT IRAN HAS AGAIN LAID NEW MINES IN THE PERSIAN GULF, AFTER A HIATUS OF SEVEN MONTHS.

-- U.S. NAVY HAS IDENTIFIED, PHOTOGRAPHED AND EXPLODED ADDITIONAL MINES IN THE SAME AREA AS THE ONE WHICH DAMAGED THE USS SAMUEL B. ROBERTS ON APRIL 14.

-- THESE MINES ARE NEWLY PRODUCED, IN IRAN, AND RECENTLY WERE LAID.

-- THEY WERE EMPLACED IN AN AREA OF HEAVY INTERNATIONAL SHIPPING TRAFFIC, INCLUDING, AS IRAN WELL KNOWS, THE FREQUENT CONVOYS WHICH THE U.S. NAVY ESCORTS.

-- WE HAVE REPEATEDLY MADE CLEAR TO THE IRANIAN AUTHORITIES, BOTH PUBLICLY AND THROUGH DIPLOMATIC COMMUNICATIONS, THAT WE WOULD NOT TOLERATE MINELAYING ACTIVITIES IN INTERNATIONAL WATERS. WE THOUGHT THE IRANIANS HAD GOTTEN THE MESSAGE AFTER WE SEIZED AND SANK THE IRAN AJR IN SEPTEMBER 1987 -- WHICH WAS CAUGHT MINELAYING RED-HANDED. WE REPEATED OUR MESSAGE TWICE MORE IN OCTOBER.

-- THE U.S. DEFENSIVE MILITARY ACTIONS WE ARE TAKING ARE NECESSARY AND PROPORTIONATE MEASURES DESIGNED TO DETER FURTHER IRANIAN ATTACKS BY MAKING IT MORE DIFFICULT FOR IRAN TO MINE AND MOUNT ATTACKS IN INTERNATIONAL WATERS AGAINST NEUTRAL SHIPPING.

-- WE LOOK FOR NO ESCALATION WITH IRAN, BUT WE ARE PREPARED TO CONTINUE TO DEFEND OURSELVES AND TO ASSERT OUR RIGHT TO FREE PASSAGE IN THE INTERNATIONAL WATERWAYS OF THE PERSIAN GULF.

-- STANDING BACK FROM THE IMMEDIATE INCIDENT, WE RENEW OUR CALL TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY GENERALLY AND THE MEMBERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL SPECIFICALLY TO SHOULDER THEIR SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITIES FOR WORLD PEACE BY TAKING DECISIVE DIPLOMATIC ACTION TO HELP DRAW THIS BLOODY AND DESTRUCTIVE WAR BETWEEN IRAN AND IRAQ TO AN END.

-- IN THE LAST ANALYSIS, IT IS THE WAR WHICH CREATES CONDITIONS IN WHICH ACTIVITIES, SUCH AS THE MINING BY IRAN, ARE COMMITTED. THUS WHILE WE NEED EFFECTIVELY TO DETER SUCH PROVOCATIONS, WE ALSO NEED TO REDOUBLE EFFORTS TO ADDRESS THE CORE PROBLEM: THE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

IRAN-IRAQ WAR.

-- THE U.S. HAS LONG HELD THAT THE NEXT APPROPRIATE STEP IS FOR THE UNSC TO ADOPT AN ARMS EMBARGO ENFORCEMENT RESOLUTION AGAINST IRAN -- WHICH IS THE RECALCITRANT PARTY, REFUSING TO NEGOTIATE AN END TO THE WAR UNDER RESOLUTION 598 ADOPTED LAST JULY.

-- THIS SUBJECT WILL BE DISCUSSED AGAIN THIS WEEK IN MOSCOW BY SECRETARY SHULTZ AND FOREIGN MINISTER SHEVARDNADZE. THE TIME FOR RESPONSIBLE INTERNATIONAL ACTION IS NOW.

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B 1500 4/17

Version #2 1940 4/16

Dear Mr. President/Mr. Speaker

As I have previously reported to the Congress, the United States has, for nearly forty years, maintained a limited naval presence in the Persian Gulf to provide for the safety of U.S.-flag merchant vessels engaging in peaceful activities in international waters and for other reasons essential to national security. This has been done pursuant to my authority as Commander-in-Chief and with the full knowledge and effective support of the Congress of the United States.

At approximately 1010 EDT on April 14, 1988, the U.S.S. Samuel B. Roberts (FFG-58) was hit by a mine while operating in the Persian Gulf about 60 miles east of Bahrain. The exploded mine was one of a number found at that location. Ten casualties resulted, including serious injury to one sailor involving serious burns over much of his body. The U.S.S. Samuel B. Roberts was also seriously damaged with flooding in the main engine room and structural damage to the ship. Based on inspection of other mines located in the same area, we are certain that the mines were manufactured recently in Iran, and that they were newly laid by Iran. We will be making all this information public at a Defense Department press briefing today.

This is only the latest in a series of such Iranian mining incidents. We had hoped that the strong international response last summer and fall to the Iranian mine threat would end such incidents. We had hoped that our many warnings to Iran against engaging in new mining activities following the Iran Ajr incident in September and the U.S. attack on the Rashadat oil platform in response to the Iranian Silkworm attack against the Sea Isle City last October would reinforce that message and deter further aggression. That has not proved to be the case. In light of the mine field location on the main north-south shipping channel east of Bahrain, an area which a U.S. convoy had transited only the day before. Iran is well aware that U.S. vessels routinely use the sea lanes in which the mines were placed, and Iran undoubtedly intends to damage or sink U.S. vessels by these illegal actions.



As a result, it once again became necessary for me to order a military response designed and intended to secure effective deterrence.

(DESCRIBE ACTUAL TARGETS AND RESULTS)

U.S. forces will remain in the Gulf, and are prepared to take any additional action necessary to protect U.S. forces, U.S. flag vessels, and U.S. lives.

These necessary and proportionate actions by U.S. forces were and will be taken in accordance with our right of self-defense under Article 51 of the United Nations Charter and pursuant to my Constitutional authority with respect to the conduct of foreign relations and as Commander-in-Chief.

Since March 1987, I and members of my Administration have provided to Congress letters, reports, briefings, and testimony in connection with developments in the Persian Gulf and the activities of U.S. armed forces in the region. In particular, Congressional leaders were consulted several hours prior to the execution of the present actions taken by U.S. forces. In accordance with my desire that Congress be kept fully informed on this matter, I am providing this report consistent with the War Powers Resolution. In this connection, I regard the continued presence of U.S. armed forces to be essential to the achievement of that aim.

Sincerely,

Version #2 2030 4/16

PRESS GUIDANCE/THEMES

-- The President has ordered U.S. forces to take military action against certain Iranian military targets in the Persian Gulf which have been used for attacks against non-belligerent shipping in the international waterways of the Gulf. This action is in the exercise of our right of self-defense.

-- He has done so because of the conclusive evidence we have that Iran has again laid new mines in the Persian Gulf, after a hiatus of seven months.

-- U.S. Navy has identified, photographed and exploded additional mines in the same area as the one which damaged the USS Samuel B. Roberts on April 14.

-- These mines are newly produced, in Iran, and recently were laid by Iran in an area of heavy international shipping traffic, including the frequent convoys which the U.S. Navy escorts.

-- We have repeatedly made clear to the Iranian authorities, both publicly and through diplomatic communications, that we would not tolerate minelaying activities in international waters. We thought the Iranians had gotten the message after we seized and sank the Iran Ajr in September 1987 -- which was caught minelaying red-handed. We repeated our message twice more in October.

-- The U.S. military actions we are taking are necessary and proportionate measures intended to deter future mining attacks by making it more difficult for Iran to mine and mount attacks in international waters against neutral shipping.

-- We seek no escalation with Iran, but we are prepared to continue to defend ourselves and to protect our right to free passage in the international waterways of the Persian Gulf.

-- Standing back from the immediate incident, we renew our call to the international community generally and the members of the United Nations Security Council specifically to shoulder their special responsibilities for world peace by taking decisive diplomatic action to help draw this bloody and destructive war between Iran and Iraq to an end.

-- In the last analysis, it is the war which creates conditions in which activities, such as the mining by Iran, are committed. Thus while we need to effectively respond to such provocations, we also need to redouble efforts to address the core problem: the Iran-Iraq war.

-- The U.S. has long held that the next appropriate step is for the UNSC to adopt an arms embargo enforcement resolution against Iran -- which is the recalcitrant party, refusing to negotiate an end to the war under Resolution 598 adopted last July.

-- At the President's direction, this subject will be discussed again this week in Moscow by Secretary Shultz and Foreign Minister Shevardnadze.

-- Congressional leaders were notified of these actions several hours before they were taken. An appropriate report is being/has been sent to Congress consistent with the War Powers Resolution. Further Congressional briefings will be given as soon as possible.