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Collection Name TAHIR-KHELI, SHIRIN: FILES

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KDB 2/20/2009

File Folder IRAN-IRAQ (WAR)

FOIA

F04-081/1

Box Number 91881 *6*

BATTLE

11

ID Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
65159 CABLE	281251Z MAY 84 (W/NOTATIONS)	1	5/28/1984	B1
65161 CABLE	071345Z JUN 84 (W/NOTATIONS)	1	6/7/1984	B1
65162 CABLE	091508Z JUN 84 (W/NOTATIONS)	5	6/9/1984	B1
65164 CABLE	112355Z JUN 84 (W/NOTATIONS)	3	6/11/1984	B1
65165 CABLE	120858Z JUN 84	1	6/12/1984	B1
65166 CABLE	151917Z JUN 84	7	6/15/1984	B1
65168 CABLE	270056Z JUN 84 (W/NOTATIONS)	1	6/27/1984	B1
65169 CABLE	051010Z JUL 84 (W/NOTATIONS)	8	7/5/1984	B1
65172 CABLE	121807Z JUL 84 (W/NOTATIONS)	1	7/12/1984	B1

The above documents were not referred for declassification review at time of processing

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ID Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
65174 CABLE	071141Z AUG 84 (W/NOTATIONS)	3	8/7/1984	B1
65175 MEMO	TO S. TAHI-KHELI ET AL. RE 5/20/86 MEETING (W/NOTATIONS)	1	5/14/1986	B1 B3
65177 PAPER	INTERAGENCY DISCUSSION PAPER (W/NOTATIONS) (ATTACHMENT TO DOC #65175)	6	ND	B1
65178 SLIP	TRANSMITTAL SLIP (ATTACHMENT TO DOC #65175)	1	ND	B1 B3
65179 MEMO	RE AGENDA FOR MEETING (ATTACHMENT TO DOC #65175)	3	5/14/1986	B1 B3

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65164	CABLE 112355Z JUN 84 (W/NOTATIONS)	3	6/11/1984	B1

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UNCLAS STATE 171581

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREL, MOPS, IZ, IR
SUBJECT: GULF WAR: MURPHY TESTIMONY BEFORE HAMILTON
SUBCOMMITTEE

1. THE FOLLOWING IS THE TESTIMONY ON THE GULF WAR GIVEN
BY ASSISTANT SECRETARY MURPHY BEFORE THE HAMILTON
SUBCOMMITTEE JUNE 11.

MR. CHAIRMAN,

I AM PLEASED TO COME BEFORE YOU TODAY TO DISCUSS THE
ADMINISTRATION'S POLICY ON THE MIDDLE EAST -- IN
PARTICULAR HOW OUR RESPONSE TO THE WAR IN THE PERSIAN
GULF FITS INTO THAT BROADER FRAMEWORK.

OUR MIDDLE EAST POLICY HAS LONG BEEN BASED ON OUR
RECOGNITION THAT THE REGION IS A STRATEGIC CROSSROADS
BETWEEN EAST AND WEST AND A SOURCE OF ENERGY FOR MUCH OF
THE FREE WORLD, THAT SOVIET DOMINANCE THERE WOULD GRAVELY
DISTURB THE WORLDWIDE STRATEGIC BALANCE, AND THAT WE HAVE
CLOSE AND HISTORIC TIES WITH ISRAEL AND MODERATE ARAB
STATES IN THE AREA. BECAUSE OF THESE BASIC INTERESTS, WE
HAVE WORKED FOR OVER THREE DECADES TO RESOLVE REGIONAL
CONFLICTS AND TO SEEK A REAL PEACE BETWEEN ISRAEL AND ITS

ARAB NEIGHBORS.

THE WAR BETWEEN IRAN AND IRAQ, NOW IN ITS FOURTH YEAR,
DIRECTLY AFFECTS THOSE INTERESTS. THE CONTINUING
ESCALATION IN THE GULF THREATENS TO WIDEN THE CONFLICT,
TO CURTAIL THE GULF'S SUPPLY OF OIL TO THE WEST, AND TO
ENDANGER THE SECURITY OF OUR MODERATE ARAB FRIENDS AND
THE STABILITY OF THE ENTIRE MIDDLE EAST.

WITH THAT RECOGNITION, OUR POLICY CONSISTS OF FOUR
CRUCIAL ELEMENTS:

-- THE FIRST IS ENSURE THE FREE FLOW OF OIL TO THE WEST;

-- SECOND, TO CONTAIN THE EXPANSION OF SOVIET AND OTHER
RADICAL INFLUENCE;

-- THIRD, TO MAINTAIN THE SECURITY OF THE ARAB STATES OF
THE GULF. THESE STATES, ESPECIALLY SAUDI ARABIA, ARE THE
PHYSICAL AND POLITICAL BARRIER TO SOVIET AND IRANIAN
RADICAL EXPANSIONISM, AS WELL AS A FORCE FOR MODERATION
THROUGHOUT THE REGION.

-- FINALLY, AND EQUALLY IMPORTANT, WHATEVER STEPS WE
TAKE MUST COMPLEMENT OUR EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE PEACE BETWEEN
THE ARAB STATES AND ISRAEL. OUR MIDDLE EASTERN POLICY IS
BUILT ON THE PREMISE THAT WE CAN FOSTER AND ENCOURAGE A
SECURE, STRONG AND CONFIDENT ISRAEL WHILE, AT THE SAME
TIME, HELPING TO ENSURE THAT OUR MODERATE ARAB FRIENDS
HAVE THE SUPPORT THEY NEED TO MAINTAIN THEIR OWN
SECURITY. THESE TWO GOALS ARE NOT CONTRADICTORY; THEY
ARE COMPLEMENTARY.

OUR OBJECTIVE IS TO BRING THE GULF WAR TO A NEGOTIATED
END, IN WHICH NEITHER BELLIGERENT IS DOMINANT, AND IN
WHICH THE SOVEREIGNTY AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF BOTH
ARE PRESERVED. IT IS OUR BASIC POSITION THAT A VICTORY
BY EITHER SIDE IS NEITHER MILITARILY ACHIEVABLE NOR
STRATEGICALLY DESIRABLE BECAUSE OF ITS DESTABILIZING
EFFECT ON THE REGION. FURTHER, IT IS OUR OBJECTIVE TO
AVOID DIRECT U.S. MILITARY INVOLVEMENT IN THE WAR. WE
BELIEVE THAT A CRUCIAL FACTOR IN ACHIEVING THAT OBJECTIVE
IS TO ENABLE THE GULF STATES TO DEFEND THEMSELVES, RATHER
THAN HAVING TO CALL FOR U.S. INTERVENTION FOR THEIR
PROTECTION.

OUR FIRST PRIORITY IN THE CONFLICT, AND THAT OF OUR
ALLIES AND THE GULF STATES, HAS BEEN TO ACHIEVE A
CEASEFIRE AND THE NEGOTIATION OF A SETTLEMENT THROUGH

DIPLOMATIC MEANS. WE HAVE REPEATEDLY URGED RESTRAINT ON
BOTH PARTIES, DIRECTLY WITH IRAQ, AND WITH IRAN, THROUGH
OTHERS WHO HAVE ACCESS. WE HAVE SUPPORTED THE EFFORTS OF
THE UNITED NATIONS, INCLUDING RESOLUTION 540 AND THE MORE
RECENT APPROACH OF THE GULF STATES THAT RESULTED IN
RESOLUTION 552, WHICH REAFFIRMS THE RIGHT OF FREE
NAVIGATION AND CALLS ON ALL PARTIES TO RESPECT THAT RIGHT.

WE HAVE NO DESIRE TO INTERVENE MILITARILY IN THE GULF.
WE HAVE MADE THAT CLEAR TO OUR FRIENDS AND TO THE SOVIET
UNION. BUT WE HAVE ALSO CONSIDERED IT PRUDENT TO CONSULT
CLOSELY WITH OUR ALLIES ON HOW WE COULD COOPERATIVELY
RESPOND TO CONTINGENCIES, BOTH IN THE POLITICAL/MILITARY
AND ENERGY SPHERES. WE HAVE DISCUSSED WITH THE GULF
STATES, OVER MANY MONTHS, THE THREAT THEY FACE, OUR
COMMON INTEREST IN MEETING THAT THREAT, AND HOW THIS
COULD BE DONE. WE HAVE MADE IT KNOWN THAT WE WOULD NOT
INTERVENE UNLESS ASKED TO DO SO, AND THAT WE ARE NOT
SEEKING SUCH AN INVITATION.

THE CURRENT ATTACKS ON NON-BELLIGERENT SHIPPING TO
NEUTRAL PORTS DIRECTLY THREATEN THE GULF STATES AND ALSO
OUR OWN INTERESTS. SAUDI ARABIA HAS NOW BEEN INVOLVED IN
AERIAL COMBAT WITH IRAN. IF WAR WERE TO BE IGNITED AMONG
THE STATES OF THE GULF, THE VULNERABLE OIL AND PORT
FACILITIES OF THOSE STATES WOULD BE ENDANGERED, ALONG
WITH A MAJOR SHARE OF THE WORLD'S OIL SUPPLY.

SOME 20 TO 25 PERCENT OF THE OIL CONSUMED IN THE FREE
WORLD IS PRODUCED IN THE GULF, WHICH IS NOW EXPORTING
NEARLY 8 MILLION BARRELS OF OIL PER DAY, MUCH OF IT TO
OUR ALLIES IN EUROPE AND ASIA. ALTHOUGH ONLY THREE
PERCENT OF OUR OIL COMES DIRECTLY FROM THE GULF, WE STILL
IMPORT ABOUT ONE-THIRD OF OUR OIL SUPPLY. THEREFORE, WE
ARE NOT ISOLATED FROM THE WORLD OIL MARKET. DISRUPTIONS
IN THE OIL SUPPLY AND A WORLDWIDE INCREASE IN PRICES
COULD CUT SHORT THE RECOVERY NOW UNDERWAY IN OUR OWN
ECONOMY AND THAT OF THE REST OF THE WORLD.

IT WAS IN VIEW OF THIS THREAT THAT WE RESPONDED ON AN
URGENT BASIS TO SAUDI ARABIA'S REQUEST FOR STINGER AIR
DEFENSE MISSILES, ADDITIONAL AERIAL REFUELING CAPABILITY
AND ACCELERATED DELIVERY OF FUEL TANKS TO EXTEND THE

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FLYING TIME OF THE SAUDI F-15'S. ANY LESSER RESPONSE WOULD HAVE SEEMED TENTATIVE, WOULD POSSIBLY HAVE EMBOLDENED, RATHER THAN DETERRED, IRAN, AND WOULD HAVE RAISED DOUBTS ABOUT OUR DETERMINATION AND COMMITMENT TO GULF SECURITY. THE PRESIDENT CONCLUDED THAT IMPORTANT NATIONAL SECURITY INTERESTS JUSTIFIED HIS USE OF THE

SPECIAL WAIVER AUTHORITY. THIS DECISION WAS NOT TAKEN LIGHTLY. THE NEED WAS IMMEDIATE AND REAL, AND THE PRESIDENT ACTED ACCORDINGLY. HIS DECISION CLEARLY AIDS DETERRENCE, NOT ESCALATION.

THE DANGER OF THE CONFLICT SPREADING TO THE GULF STATES

WAS UNDERScoreD LAST WEEK BY THE SHOOTING DOWN BY SAUDI F-15'S OF AT LEAST ONE IRANIAN F-4. BECAUSE OF THE PRESENCE OF U.S. AWACS AND AERIAL TANKERS IN SAUDI ARABIA, THE INCIDENT RAISES IMPORTANT WAR POWERS QUESTIONS.

WE HAVE CONSIDERED THE INFORMATION AVAILABLE TO US, AND BASED ON THAT INFORMATION, WE HAVE DETERMINED THAT NO WAR POWERS REPORT IS CALLED FOR AT THIS TIME. U.S. MILITARY AIRCRAFT AND PERSONNEL IN SAUDI ARABIA ARE NOT EQUIPPED FOR COMBAT, HAVE NOT BEEN INTRODUCED INTO A SITUATION OF IMMEDIATE HOSTILITIES, AND HAVE NOT BEEN PUT IN ANY DANGER OF HOSTILE ACTION. WE WILL, OF COURSE, CONTINUE TO MONITOR THE SITUATION CLOSELY AND TO STAY IN CLOSE TOUCH WITH THE CONGRESS.

OUR POLICY IN THE GULF, DURING MORE THAN TEN YEARS AND FOUR ADMINISTRATIONS, HAS BEEN TO STRENGTHEN OUR FRIENDS' ABILITIES TO DEFEND THEMSELVES WHILE AVOIDING DIRECT U.S. MILITARY INVOLVEMENT. WE HAVE BEEN SUCCESSFUL. OUR SECURITY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM WITH SAUDI ARABIA, OUR COOPERATION WITH OTHER STATES IN THE REGION, OUR MILITARY PRESENCE IN THE ARABIAN SEA, HAVE ALL ENHANCED THE CONFIDENCE AND CAPABILITIES OF OUR FRIENDS. THE TRAGIC WAR IN THE GULF HAS RAGED FOR ALMOST FOUR YEARS. NOT ONLY HAS THE OIL CONTINUED TO FLOW FROM THE GULF, BUT ALSO OUR FRIENDS HAVE BEEN ABLE TO DEFEND THEMSELVES WITHOUT THE PRESENCE OF U.S. COMBAT FORCES. THESE FACTS PROVE THE VALIDITY OF THE OBJECTIVES WE ESTABLISHED TEN YEARS AGO AND ARE WITNESS TO OUR EFFECTIVENESS AT MEETING THEM. SHULTZ

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65174	CABLE 071141Z AUG 84 (W/NOTATIONS)	3	8/7/1984	B1

The above documents were not referred for declassification review at time of processing

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

B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]

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65175	MEMO TO S. TAHI-KHELI ET AL. RE 5/20/86 MEETING (W/NOTATIONS)	1	5/14/1986	B1 B3

The above documents were not referred for declassification review at time of processing
Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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65177	PAPER INTERAGENCY DISCUSSION PAPER (W/NOTATIONS) (ATTACHMENT TO DOC #65175)	6	ND	B1

The above documents were not referred for declassification review at time of processing

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65178 SLIP

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B1

TRANSMITTAL SLIP (ATTACHMENT TO DOC
#65175)

B3

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

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65179	MEMO RE AGENDA FOR MEETING (ATTACHMENT TO DOC #65175)	3	5/14/1986	B1 B3

The above documents were not referred for declassification review at time of processing

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