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Collection NameFORTIER, DONALD: FILESFile FolderYEMEN (SAUDI ARABIA)		Withdrawer RBW 4/17/2019 FOIA				
		Box Number	19			
ID Doc Type		Document Descript	ion	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
233600 MEMO		DRAFT DENNIS R WOLFOWITZ RE.		5	3/26/1981	B1
233601 REPORT		RE. SAUDIA RABI DECISIONS EXPEC	A: MAJOR POLICY CTED [PARTIAL]	10	10/27/1981	B1
	PAR			2-1 #233	8601	
233602 CABLE		SANAA 7932		3	12/7/1981	B1
	R	4/17/2019	NLR-195-19-39-4	4-9 #233	8602	
233603 CABLE		12/09/81		3	12/9/1981	B1
233604 CABLE		STATE 332154		1	12/16/1981	B1
233605 CABLE		STATE 340468		3	12/24/1981	l B1
233606 CABLE		STATE 340499		2	12/24/198	1 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]

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-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]

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• FORTIER, DONALD: FILES	Withdrawer
YEMEN (SAUDI ARABIA)	RBW 4/17/2019 FOIA F2004-026
19	COLLINS 410
Document Description	No of Doc Date Restrictions Pages
MUSCAT 0593	2 2/3/1982 B1
MUSCAT 1069	1 3/6/1982 B1
MUSCAT 1219	4 3/15/1982 B1
STATE 080425	2 3/25/1982 B1
MUSCAT 2299	2 5/20/1982 B1
	YEMEN (SAUDI ARABIA) 19 Document Description MUSCAT 0593 MUSCAT 1069 MUSCAT 1219 STATE 080425

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ID	Document Type Document Description	No of pages	Doc Date	Restric- tions
23360	⁰ MEMO DRAFT DENNIS ROSS TO PAUL WOLFOWITZ RE	5	3/26/1981	B1

DRAFT DENNIS ROSS TO PAUL WOLFOWITZ RE. COOPERATION

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ID	Document Type Document Description	No of pages	Doc Date	Restric- tions
233601	REPORT RE. SAUDIA RABIA: MAJOR POLICY DECISIONS	10	10/27/1981	B1

EXPECTED [PARTIAL]

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DEFENSE INTELLIGENCE AGENCY DIA REVIEWED 25-AUG-2011: SANITIZED FOR RELEASE IN PART REFER TO DOS

Intelligence Appraisal Saudi Arabia: Major Policy Decisions Expected(U)

DOS REVIEWED 29-Aug-2011: NO OBJECTION TO RELEASE AS SANITIZED

27 OCTOBER 1981

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WNINTEL	Warning Notice Intelligence Sources and Methods Involved.
ORCON	Dissemination and Extraction of Information Controlled
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Intelligence Appraisal

SAUDI ARABIA: MAJOR POLICY DECISIONS EXPECTED(U)

PREPARED BY

25x1 DB-3C

This is a Department of Defense Publication Produced by the Defense Intelligence Agency

Classified by Multiple Sources Review on 22 Oct 01

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SAUDI ARABIA: MAJOR POLICY DECISIONS EXPECTED (U)

Summary

 (\mathscr{C}) Saudi Arabia faces several key decisions during the coming year that will impact on regional political alignments, such as the influence of the US among moderate Arab states and intra-Arabian Gulf defensive measures. The future of Saudi Arabian relations with Egypt is entering a period when reconciliation is possible. Saudi relations with the US have reached a pivotal situation. The US decision on the AWACS sale could have a profound effect on US-Saudi cooperation for years. Finally, the Saudis have taken the lead in promoting defensive cooperation among the smaller Arabian Gulf states.

Discussion

Relations with Egypt:

(S/NOFORN) Saudi Arabia's relations with Egypt have been strained since the Camp David Accords were reached in the Fall of 1978. The Saudi view of the agreement was that Israel would relinquish control of the Sinai Peninsula in order to remove Egypt as a military threat while making no meaningful concessions concerning the status of Jerusalem and Palestinian autonomies. The latter two issues are considered by the Saudis as key elements to any initiative for peace. Additionally, the Saudis felt slighted because Sadat did not seek their counsel. The only major difference of opinion in Riyadh was whether President Sadat had honestly expected Israeli concessions on the Palestinian and Jerusalem issues or if he really only intended to reach a separate peace. Sadat's intentions were not considered relevant because the Saudis believed Israel's goal of a separate peace would not change. Nothing has occurred over the past 3 years to change Riyadh's analysis of ultimate Israeli goals.

(S/NOFORN) Prospects for a Saudi-Egyptian rapprochement deteriorated further due to exchanges of personal attacks on the Saud family in the Egyptian press and milder ones on Sadat in the Saudi press. Additionally, the reelection of Prime Minister Begin ended any Saudi hopes that a new Israeli Government might make the concessions on Palestine and Jerusalem which would be necessary if Saudi Arabia were to shift its support behind Sadat's policy. Nevertheless, there had been some indications a Saudi-Egyptian rapprochement could be achieved following the April 1982 Israeli withdrawal from Sinai. The Saudis' reasoning probably was that Egypt would not do anything to jeopardize the return of the Sinai, but Israeli intransigence, coupled with the lack of effective political pressure on Israel, would convince Sadat that further gains were unlikely. At that time, Sadat would realize that Egyptian interests would be best served by rejoining the Arab fold. Then, appropriate peace initiatives, such as the Fahd Plan, would emerge so all parties, except perhaps Israel, could save face and ensure Arab relations with the US would not be overly strained.

 $(\mathcal{C}/NOFORN)$ The death of Sadat was by no means a cause for celebration in Riyadh. Political realities dictated a subdued official Saudi response, but the assassination was a shock to the Royal family. However, the assassination will improve the political climate between Cairo and Riyadh now that the source of

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the personal animosities is gone: Also, the personal attacks may not have been as damaging as otherwise believed. As recently as last June, Prince Sultan stated that Saudi Arabia was quick to pass over past disputes and would even forgive those who had insulted the Saudi leadership on a personal basis. Only insults to Islam and attempts to disrupt internal security would cause Saudi Arabia to refuse to mend differences. The Sultan's remarks were in the context of Saudi-Libyan relations, but their implication for improved Saudi-Egyptian relations is obvious. Such an improvement is even more likely now, since Mubarak is known for his role in urging Sadat to seek better relations with the Monarchy.

(S/NOFORN) The Saudis apparently have adopted a wait-and-see policy towards President Mubarak. Mubarak's pledge to continue Sadat's foreign policy should have been expected by Riyadh because any other announcement would easily jeopardize the scheduled return of the Sinai. Likewise, sympathetic Saudi eulogies or representation at Sadat's funeral would be widely interpreted as a Saudi break from the Arab consensus and would have placed them in a somewhat precarious diplomatic situation. An overt attempt to reconcile relations is possible but unlikely in the near term. Such a shift would have to be carefully orchestrated, given the stated positions of the respective governments and the Saudis' penchant for private, methodical diplomacy. Progress could be realized after Mubarak regains the lost territory and may even be hastened if the recent Libya-South Yemen-Ethiopia pact quickly evolves into a serious common threat. In the long term, the mutual political, economic, and military benefits to be gained from a reconciliation should guarantee its eventual occurrence, even though the emergence of a politically strong Egypt may reduce Saudi gains as a leader in the Arab world.

Relations with the US:

 (\pounds) Saudi Arabia has been the Arab world's most consistent supporter of the US for nearly 50 years. US-Saudi ties reflect mutual stategic, economic, political, and moral perceptions, except for the Israeli issue. Saudi Arabia accepts the reality of Israel, and Saudi foreign policy announcements strongly imply Israel's right to exist. The Saudis also believe that resolving the issues of Palestinian autonomy and Jerusalem are central to any attempt to achieve peace. Israel is viewed as an expansionist state without any inclination to compromise on the vital issues. US military, economic, and political support is viewed as the primary cause of Israeli intransigence. Any erosion of that support would, in the Saudi view, result in increased Israeli flexibility. Therefore, Saudi policy reflects attempts to convince the US that its ties with moderate Arab states are as important as US-Israeli relations and that exerting pressure on Israel to come to terms with the Arabs benefits everyone but the Soviets and Arab radicals.

 $(\mathscr{C}/\text{NOFORN})$ The paradox caused by the strong US-Israeli association leads to many potential embarrassments for Saudi Arabia. Riyadh views the US as the final and most effective impediment to global Communist advances and, in a regional context, as the final guarantor of Saudi security. A close relationship with the US would be highly desirable, except it would leave the Saudis vulnerable to charges of ignoring the Palestinian issue for their own gain. Saudi commitment to support Palestinian rights, as defined by the Arab concensus, is irrevocable and reflects deep-seated moral convictions. If forced to choose between supporting

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Arab goals or furthering US-Saudi relations, the Saudis will opt for the former. It must be remembered that Riyadh views peace as the ultimate Arab goal and that peace will eventually allow close US-Arab cooperation.

(C) The Saudis do not consider thenselves a military threat to Israel. Saudi participation in past wars has been token and essentially designed to meet political obligations. Planned improvements in Saudi Arabia's armed forces should not alter its level of participation in any future Arab-Israeli wars. The Saudis feel that their greatest contribution to any future conflict will be, as it was in 1973, economic.

(3/NOFORN) Since Saudi Arabia will probably not emerge as a military confrontation state against Israel, it views Israeli opposition to proposed arms purchases as attempts to drive political wedges between the US and Saudi Arabia while advancing exaggerated arguments of defense and security concerns. The Saudi perception is that the ultimate Israeli goal is to create friction between the US and moderate Arabs whenever possible, thus reducing Arab influence in Washington and allowing Israel to further consolidate its territorial gains.

(2) The Saudis view the proposed AWACS sale as a watershed case to test US intentions and reliability. Approval of the sale would be interpreted in Riyadh as an expression of a US commitment to Saudi security and a willingness to provide tangible support to Arabs in the face of strong Israeli opposition. The sale would also allow the Saudi Government to counter internal arguments that Saudi support of the US in economic and energy matters is not appreciated or rewarded.

(C) The refusal to sell AWACS would lead to alterations in US-Saudi relations. Changes would not be sudden or dramatic for several reasons. The Saudis do not generally engage in diplomatic dramatics, preferring extensive preparations and the certainty of prior private consultation. Furthermore, long-term continuing programs insure an indefinite period of US-Saudi cooperation. However, the Saudis are expected to favor alternate suppliers for goods and services. It remains unlikely that the USSR would be included among the alternate sources. The basic Saudi opposition to establishing ties with the USSR is firmly based in Islamic precepts and is unlikely to change regardless of the state of relations with the US.

(C) In the military context, increased purchases from Western Europe should be expected. France already has made major inroads as an arms supplier for the Army and Navy. The French position would be further enhanced if the Saudis opt to purchase Mirage 4000 jet fighters. British assistance was expected to decline as the Lightning jet fighters were replaced by F-15s. The potential sale of Nimrods -- British AWACS equivalent -- and the Tornado jet fighter -- a combined UK-German-Italian venture -- would propel the UK forward as a major competitor in Saudi arms sales. Other potential alternate suppliers include Italy, Germany, Switzerland, Spain, Brazil, and South Korea.

(C) A deterioration of relations would also have economic ramifications. Riyadh will probably be less cooperative as a relative moderating influence in the Organization of Petroleum-Exporting Countries (OPEC). Many Saudi planners argue that Saudi interests would be better served by reducing oil production and charging

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what the market will bear. Although Saudi production/pricing policies are more sophisticated than merely being a reflection of relations with Washington, the US has had some influence. Any reduction in that influence will surely enhance the position of those technocrats favoring maximum profit and resource conservation. OPEC price unity could lead to lower Saudi production regardless of other concerns. As with other issues, it is unlikely any Saudi shift would be sudden and dramatic. Also, any new policy would be tempered by its potential impact on major Western economies. Economic instability clearly is not in Saudi interests. This concern was one of the major factors leading to the end of the oil embargo in 1974.

(C/NOFORN) While a congressional veto of the AWACS sale will increase pressures on Riyadh to place some distance between itself and the US, the potential damage should not be overstated. As stated, current programs will insure a continued US presence. Also, Saudi Arabia will have to retain a degree of cordiality in relations to insure that it retains some influence with the US. Despite differences, the Saudis view the US as instrumental to achieving a Middle East peace. The Saudis realize they provide a valuable bridge between the US and less moderate Arab states and will not wish to abandon that role. Also, their perception of the US as the only power capable of guaranteeing the survival of the regime should serve to keep many doors open.

Defense Agreements:

(S/NOFORN) Saudi Arabia traditionally has viewed Iraq, Israel, and South Yemen as its primary external threats. Iraq and Israel were deemed as the most potent of the three, but also the least likely to attack. In the past, Iraq's capabilities were tempered by internal problems with the Kurds and occassional periods of increased tension with Iran. It was believed that Saudi relations with the US, along with the minor contribution Saudi Arabia would most likely make to any Arab-Israeli conflict, would minimize any Israeli enthusiasm to attack Saudi Arabia. Aithough South Yemen seemed willing to attack Saudi Arabia almost from the day it achieved independence, its marginal military capabilities limited its hostile activities to extreme southern Saudi Arabia.

(S/NOFORN) Events over the past 3 years have significantly altered what had been a manageable situation. The most important event was the Iranian revolution. The Shah was perceived as being untrustworthy because of his occupation of the Tunbs and Abu Musa Islands, lingering suspicions of his claims to Bahrain, and ties to Israel. Generally, however, Saudi Arabian and Iranian goals were parallel and Iran's role as the area's policeman was never challenged. The revolution shattered the regional status quo by transforming this former quasibenign competitor into a potential threat. The threat became less potential and more active with the onset of the Iran-Iraq War. Saudi Arabia's thinly veiled support of Iraq has probably insured that satisfactory relations will exist with Iraq for some time to come, but has clearly alienated its relations with Iran. Increased Saudi military deployments in the east and heightened concern over the activities of Saudi Shia Muslims reflect the revised Saudi view of Iranian intentions.

(\mathcal{C}) Another landmark incident to change Saudi perceptions of the threat was the Israeli bombing of the Iraqi nuclear reactor last June. The technical feasibility of an Israeli attack against eastern Saudi Arabia had been conceded at the

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intellectual level, and the Iraqi raid proved the point. The vulnerable key oil facilities, which had not been attacked for over 40 years, suddenly had one active threat -- Iran -- and one less ominous, but highly lethal, threat -- Israel.

(Ć) Most recently, the Libyan-Ethiopia-South Yemen Alliance has emerged. South Yemen had been an irritant along the southern border since the British granted independence in 1967. Limited military capabilities, coupled with preoccupation with supporting subversive movements, kept the South Yemen threat at a low level well into the 1970s. The acquisition of two allies, coupled with continuing force improvements, could significantly change the status quo.

(\$/NOFORN) The primary Libyan contribution will have to include a large financial committment to make this pact potent. Arms transfers and token military support cannot be discounted. Ethiopia is in a more suitable geographic position to engage in military activities against Saudi Arabia. Ethiopian intentions may have been revealed during the 1979 conflict between the two Yemens when there were indications that Ethiopian military personnel were dispatched to assist South Yemeni efforts. Ethiopian air and naval assets could be effective in attacking southwestern Saudi Arabia and Saudi ships in the Red Sea.

(S/NOFORN) Saudi Arabia has few viable military allies. The smaller Arabian Gulf states would support the Saudis during a crisis, but all except Oman maintain relatively ineffective forces and all have limited force-projection capabilities. Jordan would be sympathetic to any Saudi plight. However, Jordanian concerns over Syria, Israel, and, perhaps again in the future, Iraq would preclude an effective contribution to Saudi defense. Nevertheless, some progress has been realized in air defense cooperation. Egypt would offer some hope, assuming a reconciliation can be achieved between Riyadh and Cairo. The US stands potentially as Saudi Arabia's most effective ally, but Saudi reservations of the US' dependability, the prospects of increased domestic and regional criticism of Saudi-US relations, and continuing disagreement over the proper means for achieving a Middle East peace are major blocks to enhancing US-Saudi cooperation. The refusal to sell the AWACS or the emergence of strategic cooperation agreements between the US and Israel would futher lessen Riyadh's enthusiasm for closer security ties with the US.

(S/NOFORN) Given the uncertainties of the situation, Saudi Arabia has embarked on two programs to enhance its defensive posture. One is to bring the Saudi Army closer to its authorized strength. This will be accomplished by transferring as many as 15,000 Pakistani soldiers to Saudi Arabia. The Pakistanis are expected to provide most of the personnel for one armored brigade while rounding out the personnel levels in the other armored and mechanized infantry brigades. The Pakistanis should be in place by mid-1982. A follow-on program may be initiated to provide naval personnel in conjunction with Riyadh's recent purchase of French naval equipment.

(S/NOFORN) Saudi Arabia also is attempting to achieve improved defense cooperation among the smaller Arabian Gulf states. The Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) was formed this year mainly in reaction to unsettled conditions relating to the the Iran-Iraq War. Early prospects for meaningful defense cooperation were muddled because of Kuwait's concerns of excessive US influence in the area as reflected in Omani facilities-access agreements with the US. The

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Iranian attack on Kuwaiti oil fields in September has altered Kuwaiti perspectives, and real progress toward security cooperation among GCC states now seems probably. Oman and Saudi Arabia have taken the lead in pressing for defense cooperation, with both proposing linkage of command-and-controi centers, combined exercises, and integrated defense planning. The major difference between the Saudi and Omani positions is that the Omanis favor a more ambitious implementation schedule. The Saudi view will probably prevail within the GCC and the Saudis will very likely emerge as the dominate factor in any future GCC alliance.

Outlook

(%/NOFORN) Saudi Arabia is not likely to pursue any policy that would jeopardize its role as the leader of the moderate Arab states. Nevertheless, Egypt, an outcast among Arabs for 3 years, and Saudi Arabia appear to be edging toward a reconciliation. The mutual political, economic, and military advantages of such a rapprochement are too great for either to ignore. Progress will be impeded pending the realization of expected developments, such as the return of Sinai, but it is quite likely that appropriate face-saving tactics will be initiated and a useful partnership developed.

(8/NOFORN) Saudi relations with the US will not improve significantly if the AWACS sale is approved. The Saudi commitment to the Arab concensus on the proper conditions for an Arab-Israeli peace precludes Riyadh from becoming much more cordial with the US. However, a cancelation of the sale will probably cause the Saudis to restrain future relations with the US. Although mutually beneficial relations will be continued, Saudi military ties to other western nations will increase, Saudi moderation in OPEC may decline, and growing elements in Saudi society will view the US as an unreliable partner.

(S/NOFORN) Prospects for increased regional defense cooperation are promising. However, the military effectiveness of most imaginable alliances would be inadequate to counter a major threat. The defensive aspects of the GCC may assist in countering regional threats, but planning has just begun and it will be several years before any tangible results are realized. Likewise, the augmentation of the Saudi armed forces with Pakistani personnel will improve Saudi defense capabilities, but not enough to counter the larger threats to the Kingdom. Only Egypt, of the remaining regional powers, appears to offer possibilities as a defensive partner. Defensive agreements between Riyadh and Cairo may be forthcoming if a political reconciliation can be achieved. (Classified by multiple sources; review on 22 Oct 01)

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CONFIDENTIAL SECTION Ø1 OF Ø3 MUSCAT 5039

USICA FOR NEA DIRECTOR CURRAN F. D. 12065; GDS 12/2/87 (CAVMESS, WILLIAM D., JR.) DR-D FAGS: MU, US, MASS, MARR, MILL SUBJECT: BRIGHT STAR - 82 -- ANALYSIS OF OMANI PUBLIC OPINION

1. CONCLOSENTIAL ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY. THE ABSENCE OF PUBLIC DISCUSSION IN OMAN ON OMANI PARTICIPATION IN BRIGHT STAR 82 HAS PRECLUDED THE USUAL EMBASSY REPORTING OF MEDIA REACTION/EDITORIAL COMMENTARY ON THE EXERCISE. A NUMBER OF OMANIS, HOWEVER, HAVE PRIVATELY EXPRESSED THEIR OPINIONS ON THEIR GOVERNMENT'S DECISION TO ALLOW U.S. FORCES TO EXERCISE HERE, AND ON THE OVERALL DIRECTION OF U.S. STRATEGY IN THE GULF REGION. THE FOLLOWING GENERAL THEMES EMERGED FROM THESE PRIVATE DISCUSSIONS: A) AMONG THE SMALL NUMBER OF INFORMED OMANIS WHO KNOW OF THE EXERCISE AND ARE WILLING TO EXPRESS OPINIONS ON IT, A SIGNIFICANT ELEMENT DOES NOT AGREE WITH THE DECISION OF THEIR GOVERNMENT TO ALLOW THE EXERCISE, OR WITH THE DIRECTION OF U.S. POLICY IN THE GULF; B) THE OMANI GOVERNMENT, SOME FEEL, HAS NOT MADE A SATISFACTORY PUBLIC CASE FOR ITS DECISION, AND THIS HAS CONTRIBUTED TO MISUNDERSTANDING OVER BOTH ITS POLICIES AND U.S. MOTIVES;

C) MANY OF THOSE OMANIS WHO EXPRESSED AN OPINION SEEM TO FEEL THAT THERE IS LITTLE POSSIBILITY OF DIRECT SOVIET HILITARY ACTION IN THE GULF, BUT THAT THERE IS A POSSIBILITY THAT THE RUSSIANS OR THEIR CLIENTS WILL EXPLOIT INTERNAL UNREST ARISING FROM THE CONTINUATION OF THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM; CONSEQUENTLY, THE U.S. IS PURSUING THE WRONG COURSE THROUGH ITS STRATEGIC MILITARY EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE REGIONAL STABILITY; AND D) OPPOSITION TO BRIGHT STAR &2 SEEMS MORE INTENSE AMONG PER-SONS FARTHEST REMOVED FROM THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS. AMONG OPPONENTS, OPPOSITION WILL NOT GO BEYOND PRIVATE EXPRES-SIONS OF DISCONTENT. END SUMMARY.

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3. THE OMANI PRESS, ACTING UNDER INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE MINISTRIES OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND INFORMATION, HAS SAID VIR-TUALLY NOTHING ABOUT THE OMAN SEGMENT OF BRIGHT STAR 82. LOCAL REPORTING HAS FEATURED STRAIGHT WIRE SERVICE ACCOUNTS OF BRIGHT STAR EXERCISES IN EGYPT, WITH ALMOST NO MENTION OF OMANI PARTI-CIPATION. (OMANGOV SENSITIVITIES ON BRIGHT STAR PUBLICITY HAVE BEEN REPORTED IN NUMEROUS EMBASSY MUSCAT CABLES.) THE MINISTRY OF DEFENCE DID NOT PUBLICLY ANNOUNCE OMANI PARTICIPATION UNTIL NOV 26. IN AN EFFORT TO GAUGE PUBLIC SENTIMENT ON OMAN'S ROLE IN BRIGHT STAR, THE PAO DISCUSSED THE EXERCISE INFORMALLY WITH TWENTY PRINCIPAL POST AND EMBASSY CONTACTS BEGINNING OCT 26, WHEN NEWSWEEK PUBLISHED DETAILS ON BRIGHT STAR IN OMAN. THESE CONTACTS INCLUDED GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS AT ALL LEVELS, JOURNALISTS AND BUSINESSMEN. A NUMBER OF WESTERN-EDUCATED, YOUNGER OMANIS WERE ALSO CONTACTED. ALTHOUGH THIS SMALL SAMPLE CANNOT BE CON-SIDERED COMPREHENSIVE, THE NEAR UNANIMITY OF THINKING ON CERTAIN ISSUES SUGGESTS THAT THESE OPINIONS MAY BE MORE WIDESPREAD AND SHOULD BE CONSIDERED IN PLANNING BOTH FUTURE MILITARY COOPERATION AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF OUR BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP WITH OMAN.

4. THE MAJORITY OF PARTICIPANTS IN THE DISCUSSIONS FREELY EXPRESSED THEIR OPPOSITION TO OMANI PARTICIPATION IN BRIGHT STAR AND TO MILITARY COOPERATION WITH THE U.S. REACTIONS RANGED FROM UNDISQUISED RESENTMENT AT THE U.S. DESIRE TO PLAY "INTERNATIONAL GAMES" WITH THE RUSSIANS TO SUSPICIONS THAT THE U.S. HAS "HIDDEN MOTIVES" FOR CREATING THE RDJTF, SUCH AS PROPPING UP UNPOPULAR REGIMES. THE YOUNGER SET WAS MOST VEHEMENT IN ITS OPPOSITION. SEVERAL STATED THAT BRIGHT STAR WOULD ONLY INCREASE TENSION IN THE AREA AND WOULD FORCE SOVIET CLIENT STATES, PARTICULARLY PDRY, INTO A CLOSER RELATIONSHIP WITH THE USSR, THUS REQUIRING A FURTHER U.S. - OMANI RESPONSE. THE ANSWER, THEY BELIEVE, IS TOTAL DEMILITARIZATION OF THE AREA. AS FOR RUSSIAN MOTIVES BEHIND THEIR MILITARY BUILDUP IN THE AREA, THESE YOUNG OMANIS SAID THAT THEIR PRESENCE IS THE RESULT OF BAD U.S. POLICIES IN THE REGION. ANOTHER REACTION WAS LESS EXTREME: A GRUDGING ACCEPTANCE OF MILITARY COOPERATION WITH THE U.S. AS A NECESSARY EVIL IN THE FACE OF SOVIET DESIGNS.

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IO-15 NSCE-ØØ NSAE-ØØ SSO-ØØ PM-Ø9 PA-Ø1 INRE-ØØ SMS-Ø1 SAL-Ø1 ACDA-12 <u>SP-Ø2</u> SPRS-Ø2 /Ø96 W ------277664 Ø21235Z /11 O Ø21Ø2ØZ DEC 81 FM AMEMBASSY MUSCAT TO USICA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 47

INFO COMRDJTF BRIGHT STAR '82 IMMEDIATE SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9599 USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE AMEMBASSY CAIRO AMEMBASSY JIDDA AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM AMEMBASSY LONDON AMEMBASSY PARIS AMEMBASSY KUWAIT AMEMBASSY DOHA /AMEMBASSY MANAMA 1384 AMEMBASSY SANAA AMEMBASSY ABU DHABI USLO RIYADH 1 USINT BAGHDAD CINCPAC HONOLULU HI COMRDJTF MACDILL AFB FL SECDEF WASHDC JCS WASHDC DIA WASHDC RDJTFLO WASHDC COMIDEASTFOR CTF SEVEN ZERO COMRDNAVFOR PEARL HARBOR HI

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5. MANY OF THE LESS-SENIOR PARTICIPANTS IN THE DISCUSSIONS EXPRESSED CONCERN OVER THE HOSTILE TREATMENT OMAN WAS RECEIVING FROM ITS GULF NEIGHBORS IN THE PRESS AND IN MEETINGS WITH THE OTHER GULF STATES BECAUSE OF ITS INCREASING TIES TO THE U.S. ONE PROMINENT FIGURE, WIDELY RESPECTED HERE FOR HIS DEVOTION TO ISLAM, REPEATEDLY ASSERTED THAT "ARAB PUBLIC OPINION" IS AGAINST A U.S. MILITARY PRESENCE IN THE GULF, AND ALTHOUGH HE WOULD NOT FLATLY STATE THAT THIS INCLUDED OMANI PUBLIC OPINION, HE CLEARLY MEANT THIS WAS THE CASE. (THIS DISCUSSION TOOK PLACE AT A DINNER PARTY WITH A NUMBER OF OTHER OMANIS PRESENT, NONE OF WHOM DISAGREED WITH HIM.) OBJECTIONS TO BRIGHT STAR ALSO AROSE FROM ITS TIMING, SINCE PUBLICITY ON THE EXERCISE AND NUMEROUS NEWS LEAKS FROM WASHINGTON ON OMAN'S ROLE BEGAN BUILDING AT THE SAME TIME THE U.S. AND ISRAEL WERE PUBLICLY DISCUSSING "STRATEGIC COOPERATION," AND JUST BEFORE THE GCC AND ARAB SUMMITS. ONE MINISTER SAID THAT THIS WAS "TERRIBLE" FOR OMAN, SINCE IT GAVE THE ENEMIES OF U.S. -OMANI COOPERATION A CLUB TO BEAT THE OMANIS WITH IN THE PRES-ENCE OF OTHER ARABS. PROBLEMS WITH BRIGHT STAR BECAUSE OF U.S. PUBLICITY AND HIGHLY VISIBLE U.S. COOPERATION WITH ISRAEL WERE MENTIONED MOST OFTEN BY THE MORE SENIOR OMANI PARTICIPANTS IN THE DISCUSSIONS.

6. A LEADING JOURNALIST (WHO IS ALSO AN OFFICIAL OF THE NEW ADVISORY COUNCIL FOR THE STATE) STATED THAT THE OMANI GOVERNMENT HAS MISHANDLED THE PR ASPECTS OF BRIGHT STAR AND THAT A A RESULT, THE PUBLIC DID NOT HAVE CORRECT INFORMATION ON THE SCOPE OF THE EXERCISE OR THE REASONS BEHIND THE GOVERNMENT DECISION TO ALLOW US FORCES TO EXERCISE. HE SAID THAT BECAUSE OF THE LACK OF LOCAL INFORMATION, THE PUBLIC GOT ITS NEWS FROM NEIGHBORING STATES, WHERE THE PRESS IS DOMINATED BY PALESTINIANS WHO ARE ANTI-AMERICAN. HE EMPHASIZED THAT THE GOVERNMENT HAS A DUTY TO BUILD PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR ITS POLICIES THROUGH THE USE OF THE MEDIA, BUT OWING TO THE FAILURE OF THE GOVERNMENT TO UNDERSTAND THE ROLE OF THE

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MEDIA, POLICIES WERE NOT PROPERLY EXPLAINED. IN THE CASE OF BRIGHT STAR, THIS MEANT THE PUBLIC THOUGHT THE GOVERNMENT WAS "HIDING SOMETHING" AND THIS CREATED SUSPICIONS ABOUT THE MOTIVES OF THE US.

7. ON THE GENERAL TOPIC OF MEDIA HANDLING OF BRIGHT STAR, A SENIOR MINISTRY OF INFORMATION OFFICIAL SAID THAT ALTHOUGH THE EXERCISE WAS "NO SECRET," GOVERNMENT POLICY WAS TO SAY AS LITTLE ASPOSSIBLE, ESPECIALLY SINCE HOSTILE PROPAGANDA WOULD HAVE NO EFFECT ON THS PEOPLE, "WHO LOVE HIS MAJESTY AND SUPPORT HIS POLICIES." INDEED, NO PARTICIPANTS IN THESE DISCUSSIONS SUGGESTED THAT THE REGIME WAS EXPERIENCING ANY DIFFICULTIES OVER BRIGHT STAR, AND SEVERAL TOOK PAINS TO EMPHASIZE THE STABILITY OF THE REGIME AND THEIR ADMIRATION FOR THE SULTAN. WHEN THERE WAS CRITICISM, IT WAS MAINLY DIRECTED EITHER AT THE US OR THE USSR.



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8. THE DOMINANT ISSUE ON WHICH CRITICS OF BRIGHT STAR AND MILITARY COOPERATION WITH THE US IN GENERAL BASED THEIR OPPO-SITION WAS THAT THE US HAD NOT CORRECTLY IDENTIFIED THE MAJOR PROBLEM IN THE REGION - NAMELY, THE INSTABILITY CAUSED BY THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM. WITHOUT A RESOLUTION OF THIS QUESTION, AS EVERY SINGLE PARTICIPANT IN THESE DISCUSSIONS EMPHASIZED, THE DOOR WOULD BE OPEN FOR ALL KINDS OF RUSSIAN ADVENTURISM OR RUSSIAN-INSPIRED TURMOIL. THOSE FEW PARTICIPANTS WHO SPOKE FAVORABLY OF MILITARY TIES WITH THE US POINTED TO THE DIFFICULTY CREATED FOR OMAN BY US SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL; THOSE PARTICIPANTS WHO SPOKE AGAINST MILITARY COOPERATION POINTED TO ISRAEL AS THE "REALY ENEMY" OF THE ARABS AND SAID AMERICANS SHOULD NOT BE SUR-PRISED THAT MANY ARABS CONSIDERED THE RUSSIANS AS THEIR FRIENDS, SINCE RUSSIA SUPPORTED THE PALESTINIAN CAUSE. IN THIS LATTER GROUP, SEVERAL CONDEMNED THE US FOR EMPHASIZING THE SOVIET THREAT AS JUSTIFICATION FOR A MILITARY BUILDUP AND MILITARY EXERCISES IN THE GULF WHILE THE ISRAELIS BOMBED IRAQ AND LEBANON WITH US-SUPPLIED WEAPONS AND MOVED TOWARD CLOSER STRATEGIC COOPERATION WITH THE US. THE CENTRALITY OF THE PALESTINIAN QUESTION IN ALL DISCUSSIONS AND VEHEMENCE WITH WHICH THEIR CAUSE WAS ARGUED WERE SURPRISING, SINCE THIS ISSUE HAS NOT BEEN PERCEIVED AS A MAJOR FACTOR IN OMTNI THINKING IT SHOULD BE ADDED HERE THAT FOR THE MOST SENIOR PARTICIPANTS, THE EMPHASIS ON THE PALESTINIAN QUESTION DID NOT SEEM TO ARISE FROM AN IDEGLOGICAL COMMITMENT TO PALESTINIAN RIGHTS, BUT INSTEAD SPRANG FROM A FEAR OF THE PRESSURES PALESTIN-IANS COULD EXERT IN OTHER GULF STATES.

9. A FURTHER CONCERN EXPRESSED BY SOME PARTICIPANTS WAS THE APPARENT PREDOMINANCE OF SECURITY MATTERS IN THE U.S. RELATIONSHIP. WITH OMAN. AS THE HEAD OF THE MAJOR CULTURAL ORGANIZATION IN MUSCAT SAID, "YOU (THE US) ARE NOT DOING THE RIGHT THINGS TO GAIN THE UNDERSTANDING OF THE OMANIS." HE ARGUED THAT THE US NEEDED TO DO MUCH MORE HERE IN THE WAY OF NON-HILITARY ACTIVITIES, AND REPEATED HIS LONG-STAND-

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ING REQUEST FOR US SUPPORT FOR HIS ORGANIZATION'S CULTURAL AND

ATHLETIC ACTIVITIES. ALONG THE SAME LINES, HE LAMENTED THE MANY CHANGES IN OMANI SOCIETY WHICH ACCOMPANIED THE GROWING WESTERN PRESENCE HERE, EVEN GOING SO FAR AS TO SPEAK FONDLY OF THE PREVIOUS REGIME, DURING WHICH OMANIS LEAD LIVES OF "SPIRITUALITY" AND "DISCIPLINE," AND OMAN WAS NOT A FOCUS OF INTERNATIONAL CONCERN.

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10. CONCLUSION: ALTHOUGH MOST OF THE PARTICIPANTS IN THE DISCUSSIONS STATED OBJECTIONS TO OMANI PARTICIPATION IN BRIGHT STAR, NONE EXPRESSED ANGER AGAINST THE OMANI GOVERNMENT FOR ITS DECISION TO ALLOW THE EXERCISE, NOR DID THOSE PARTICIPANTS MOST CRITICAL OF US POLICY ARGUE THAT OMAN SHOULD RENEGE ON ITS AGREEMENTS WITH THE US. OPPOSITION TO THE DECISION SHOULD THERE-FORE NOT BE TAKEN AS A SIGNAL OF WIDER DISSATISFACTION WITH THE REGIME. AS ONE PARTICIPANT STATED, "MOST EDUCATED OMANIS WOULD APPROVE OF THE GOVERNMENT'S POLICY IF THEY HAD THE FACTS." THE CLOSED PROCESS BY WHICH THE OMANI GOVERNMENT ARRIVED AT ITS DECISION MAY BE SEEN AS A FACTOR IN THE OBJECTIONS TO IT HEARD IN THE COURSE OF THIS STUDY. SIGNIFICANTLY, THOSE OMANIS FARTHEST FROM THE CENTER OF DECISION MAKING AND POLICY ANALYSIS VOICED THE STRONGEST OBJECTIONS, WHILE THOSE MOST FAMILIAR WITH GOVERN-MENT THINKING WERE MOST COMFORTABLE WITH IT. PROBLEMS OVER US SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL AND DOUBTS OVER THE US CONCEPT OF THE SOVIET DANGER TO THE REGION WERE ALSO IMPORTANT FACTORS. AS A FINAL NOTE, THERE ALSO SEEMED TO BE AN ELEMENT OF DOUBT OVER THE DETERMINATION OF THE US TO LIVE UP TO ITS COMMITMENT TO DEFEND THE GULF. ONE MINISTER, A STRONG SUPPORTER OF THE GOVERNMENT'S POLICIES, REMARKED THAT OMAN WAS PREPARED TO FIGHT "TO THE LAST MAN." HE WONDERED IF THE U.S. COMMITMENT, AS EMBODIED IN THE RDJTF, WAS AS STRONG.

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INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 SSO-00 /026 W ------061763 0719302 /42 O 0713002 DEC 81

FM AMEMBASSY SANAA TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9721 INFO AMEMBASSY JIDDA IMMEDIATE USLO RIYADH IMMEDIATE AMEMBASSY ABU DHABI AMEMBASSY AMMAN AMEMBASSX DAMASCUS AMEMBASSY ALGIERS AMEMBASSY DOHA AMEMBASSY DJIBOUT! AMEMBASSY KUWAIT AMEMBASSY MANAMA AMEMBASSY MUSCAT AMEMBASSY MOSCOW AMEMBASSY LONDON AMEMBASSY MOGADISHU

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EXDIS

E.O. 12065: RDS-1 12/7/01 (ZWEIFEL, DAVID E.) OR-M TAGS: PEPR, YE, YS, US SUBJECT: MEETINGS WITH FOREIGN MINISTER AND PRIME MINISTER: COMMENTS ON YARG/PDRY AND YARG/US RELATIONS

REF: (A) FBIG JORDAN 0316161 DEC 81, (B) SANAA 7872

1. S-ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: ON DECEMBER 6, I MET SEPARATELY WITH PRIME MINISTER IRYANI AND FOREIGN MINISTER LUFT AL-THAWR TO DISCUSS PRESIDENT SALIH'S RECENT TRIP TO PDRY. SALIH. CONTRARY TO EARLIER INFORMATION, IS STILL TRAVELING IN THE COUNTRYSIDE AND LITTLE INFORMATION IS AVAILABLE YET ON WHAT HAPPENED BEHING THE SCENES IN ADEN. BOTH MAY DISCUSSIONS THEREFOR E FUCUSSED ON THE JOINT STATEMENT (REF A), PARTICULARLY ON THE HIGHLY OBJECTIONABLE CALL FOR ACTIONS AGAINST THE US. FONMIN AL-THAWR WAS COOL AND UNCOMMUNICATIVE. PRIME MINISTER IRYANI DOLED OUT A COMPLICATED AND OMPORBABLE STORY ABOUT HOW PRESIDENT SALIH HAD SIGNED THE JOINT STATEMENT AT THE LAST MINUTE AND NOT PAID ATTENTION TO PDRY "SUBSTITUTION" OF ANTI-US PARAGRAPHS.

I STRESSED THAT THE STATEMENT IS NOT FASHIONED TO STRENGTHEN OR IMPROVE OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS. WITH THE PRIME MINSTER I TOOK CARE TO ADD THAT UNLESS OR UNTIL THE YARG EITHER EXPLICITLY RENOUNCES THE "SUBSTITUTE"STATEMENT OF TAKES ACTIONS WHICH CLEARLY VITIATE IT, TE CALL FOR ACTION AGAINST THE US WILL STAND AS A DECLARATION OF YARG POLICY.

3. ON ITS FACE, THE JOINT STATEMENT COULD SIGNAL A LEFTWARD SHIFT OF YEMEN'S FOREIGN POLICY. HOWEVER, PUBLIC STATEMENTS AFTER YAR-PDRY MEETINGS HISTORICALLY HAVE BORNE LITELE RELATION TO WHAT THE YARG ACTUALLY DOES. IT WILL TAKE TIME TO SIFT OUT WHAT HAPPENED IN ADEN AND WHAT IT MEANS. IN THE MEANTIME, I RECOMMEND A CERTAIN ALLOFNESS ON OUR PART HOWEVER, I BELIEVE WE SHOULD HOLD IN ABEYANCE FUNDAMENTAL JUDGMENTS UNTIL WE ARE ABLE TO PUT MORE OF TE PICTURE TOGETHER. END SUMMARY.

4. ON DECEMBER 6, I HAD MY FORST OPPORTUNITY FOR A SUBJSTANTIVE CONVERSATION WITH FOREIGN MINISTER LUTF

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AL-THAWR (WHO HAS BEEN ON THE ROAD ALMOST CONTINUOUSLY SINCE I PRESENTED CREDENTIALS ON OCTOBER 24). THAWR RETURNED TO SANAA ON DECEMBER 2, HAVING ACCOMPANIED PRESIDENT SALIH ON HIS VISIT TO PDRY. THAWR'S RECEPTION WAS DEDIDELY COOL AND THE CONVERSATION A RATHER DIFFICULT ONE. AT THE OUTSET, I ASKED SEVERAL GENERAL QUESTIONS ABOUT THE VISIT TO ADEN. THE FOREING MINISTER WAS LACONIC IN REPLY, ESSENTIALLY SAYING THAT THE VISIT HAD GONE WELL, THAT THE PROGRESS TOWARDS EVENTUAL UNITY IS ON TRACK, ETC. RATHER DEFENSIVELY, HE ARGUED THAT YAR'S AID AND POLITICAL RELATIONS WITH BOTH EAST AND WEST FACILITATE ITS INDEPENDENT POLICY ORIENTATION.

5. I NOTED THAT A NUMBER OF YEMENI OFFICIALS HAVE DESCRIBED PDRY PRESIDENT ALL NASSER MOHAMMED AS A "GOOD BUT WEAK LEADER." THAWR TOOD EXCEPTION, SAYING THAT AS SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE PARTY AND HEAD OF GOVENMENT, ALI NASSER'S COMMAND OF THE GOVENMENTAL APPARATUS IS UNQUESTIONED. THAWR STATED THAT "IF

> DECLASSIFIED Authority <u>NUL-195-19-39-4-9</u> BY <u>HW</u> NARA DATE <u>HUT</u> (10)*

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INFO OCT-Ø1 ADS-ØØ SSO-ØØ /Ø25 W

0 0713007 DEC 81 FM AMEMBASSY SANAA TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9722 INFO AMEMBASSY JIDDA IMMEDIATE USLO RIYADH IMMEDIATE AMEMBASSY ABU DHABI AMEMBASSY AMMAN AMEMBASSX DAMASCUS AMEMBASSY ALGIERS AMEMBASSY DOHA AMEMBASSY DJIBOUTI AMEMBASSY KUWAIT AMEMBASSY MANAMA AMEMBASSY MUSCAT AMEMBASSY MOSCOW AMEMBASSY LONDON

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ANYONE CROSSES HIM (IE, ALI NASSER), THAT PERSONHIS REMOVED FROM GOVERNMENT." THE FONMIN DECLINED TO COMMENT FURHTER ON THE INTERNAL CONDITIONS WITHIN PDRY. LIKEWISE HE WAS NOT INFORMATIVE ABOUT RESLUTS OF DISCUSSIONS AT ADEN CONCERNINNG THE NDF ACTIVITY IN THE SOUTHERN PART OF THE YAR.

6 TOWARDS THE END OF THIS CONVERSATION, THE FONMIN MISSLOWED JUST A BIT TO SAY THAT THE YARG APPRECIATES ASSISTANCE FROM THE USG AND, INDEED, WOULD WISH FOR MORE--*AT LEAST ON A PAR WITH THAT WHICH WE RECEIVE FROM THE WEST GERMANS." ADVERTING TO PRESIDENT SALIH'S EXPRESSED WISH FOR IMPROVED RELATIONS IN ALL FIELDS. I TOLD HIM THAT I HAD SOME DIFFICULTY IN RECONCILING THIS WITH THF

OINTED CALL FOR ACTIONS AGAINST THE US CONTAINED IN THE JOINT STATEMENT ISSUED AT THE CONCLUSION OF PRESIDENT SALIH'S VISIT TO ADEN. THAWR THEN CHOSE TO RUN THROUGH A LITANY OF COMPLAINTS AGAINST USG MIDDLE EAST POLICY. " WHAT WE WANT IS A POLICY OF JUSTICE FOR THE PALESTINIANS..." HE ASKED RHETORICALLY IF WE REALY EXPECT ARAB THANKS FOR HAVING CONCLUDED A "STRATEGIC ALLIANCE WITH ISRAEL, HAVING SUPPORTED. ISRAELI ACTIONS ON THE WEST BANK, ETC. THE CLIMATE OBVIOUSLY WAS NOT RIGHT FOR A SERIOUS DISCUSSION OF THE POINTS HE RAISED, SO I CLOSED THE CONVERSATION BY THANKING HIM FOR HIS FRANKNESS AND EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT WE WILL HAVE FUTURE OCCASIONS TO EXPLORE THESE CONCERNS IN GREATER DEPTH.

7 LATE IN THE AFTERNOON OF DECEMBER 6, I MET WITH PRIME MINISTER IRYANI. AS IS HIS STYLE, HE CAME DIRECTLY TO THE POINT OF THEJOINT STATEMENT AND MRE SPECIFICALLY TO THE MIGHLY OBJECTIONABLE ARTICLE CALLING FOR ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL ACTION AGAINST THE US. PREFACING HIS OTHER REMARS, IRYANI TERMED THEO SALIH VISIT TO ADEN AN "ABSOLUTE FLOP," A CHARACTIERI-ZATION THAT HE REPEATZD SEVERAL TIMES DURING TME CONVERSATION.

8. THE PRIME MINSTER THEN GAVE ME HIS VERSION OF WHAT HAD TRANSPIRED. IN ESSENCE IT WAS THAT THE YARG HAD WORKED CAREFULLY TO PREPARE A POSITION PAPER TO PRESENT TO PDRY COUNTERPARTS. THIS ESSENTIALLY FOCUSSED

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ON "SECURITY ISSUES." THE OBJECTIVE WAS TO GET PDRY COMMITHEN, IN A FORUM WHICH WOULD INVOLVE THE YSF CENTRAL COMMITTEE AS WELL AS ALI NASSER MOHAMMED, TO IMPLEMENT PREVIOUS AGREEMENTS (PARTICULARLY TAIZ) CALLING FOR FORBEARANCE IN SUPPORT OF ANY GOUPS SEEKING TO UNDERMINE THE RESPECTIVE REGIMES. ACCOGDING TO IRYANI, THE GOING AT ADEN WAS VERY TOUGH ON THIS ISSUE. THE PDRY SIDE PUT FORWARD A COUNTER PROPOSAL--ESSENTIALLY A POLOTICAL STATEMENT--WHICH INCLUDED MANY POINTS WHICH IRYANI HIMSELF AHD EXPLICITLY REJECTED AT THE TIME OF THE TAIZ METTINGS.

9 UP UNTIL THE VERY LAST MINUTES OF THE VISIT, IT APPEARED TAT THERE WOULD BE NO AGREEMENT, SINCE THE YARG HAD GONE WITH A DETERMINATION NOT TO SIGN ANYTHING THAT DID NOT HIGHLIGHT YARG SECURITY OBJECTIVES. FINALLY, REALIZING THAT THE ENTIRE VISIT WOULD BE PROTRAYED AS A POLITICAL FAILURE IN THE ABSENCE OF SOME JOINT STATEMENT. ALI NASSER MAHAMMED AGREED TO THE FORMATION OF THEJOINT MINISTERIAL COMMITTEES AND TO REITERATIOM OF COMMITMENT TO JUNE 1980 JOINT DECLARATION (WHICH EXPLICITLY CALLS FOR NON-INTERVENTION). EUPHORIC AT THIS "BREAKTHROUGH", PRESIDENT SALIH THE QUICKLY SIGHNED THE DOCUMENT PRESENTED TO HIM. NO ONE FROM YARG DELEGATION READ THIS UNTIL THEY ARRIVED IN TAIZ, INCREDIBLY, THE SIGNED STATMENT TURNED OUT TO BE THE PDRY VERSION, REPLETE WITH PLOITICALLY OB-JECTIONABLE VERBAGE. SUPPOSEDLY PRESIDENT. SALIH IS "FURIOUS" AT THIS PDRY PERFIDY.

PM WENT ON TO SAY HE WOULD RESIGN

RATHER THAT NEGOTIATE AGAIN WITH ALI NASSER MAHAMMED IF FUTURE DISCUSSIONS ARE TO BE BASED ON THIS LATEST JOINT STATEMENT. PAGE Ø1 SANAA Ø7932 Ø3 OF Ø3 Ø719282 ACTION <u>SS-25</u>

INFO OCT-Ø1 ADS-ØØ SSO-ØØ /Ø26 W -----Ø62Ø15 Ø71936Z /42 O Ø713ØØZ DEC 81

FM AMEMBASSY SANAA TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9723 INFO AMEMBASSY JIDDA IMMEDIATE USLO RIYADH IMMEDIATE AMEMBASSY ABU DHABI AMEMBASSY AMMAN AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS AMEMBASSY ALGIERS AMEMBASSY DOHA AMEMBASSY DJIBOUT AMEMBASSY KUWAIT AMEMBASSY MANAMA AMEMBASSY MUSCAT AMEMBASSY MOSCOW AMEMBASSY LONDON AMEMBASSY MOGADISHU

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10. IRYANI WENT ON TO SAY THAT HE HAS ABSOLUTELY NO EXPECTIATION THAT THE PADY SIDE WILL HONOR THE SECURITY IMPLICATIONS OF THIS AGREEMENT. NONETHELESS, HE HOPES THAT THERE MAY BE A PAUSE IN PDRY SUPPORT FOR THE NDF SUFFICIENT TO ALLOW THE YAR ARMY TO MOVE INTO POSITIONS NOT PREVIOUSLY UNDER YARG CONTROL. IRYANI CONTENDED THAT TO HAVE PRESSED THE MILITARY EFFORT IN THESE REGIONS BEFORE THE ADEN SESSIONS WOULD HAVE UNQUESTIONABLY EVOKED DIRECT PDRY MILITARY REPONSE.

11. I TOLD IRYANI THAT I WAS NOT SPEAKING ON INSTRUC-TIONS BUT THAT UNTIL THE JOINT DECLARATION EITHER IS REPUDIATED OF SHOWN TO BE HOLLOW, THE HIGHLY OFFENSIVE CALL FOR ACTION AGAINST THE US WILL BE INTERPRETED TO BE A DECLARA-TION OF YARG POLICY. HE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THIS WOULD BE UNDERSTANDABLE, THEN LAMELY APPEALED FOR A "WAIT AND SEE" ATTITUDE ON OUR PART. HE REASSURED ME REPEATEDLY THAT THE OBJECTIONABLE POLITICAL CONTENT IS NO MORE MEANINGFUL THAN THAT REFERRING TO EVENTUAL UNITY. AT THE SAME TIME, IT IS "TOO EMBARRASSING"TO POINT FINGERS AT WHO WAS TO BLAME FOR THIS INCREDIBLE GAFF. THE CLEAR IMPLICATION IS THAT PRESIDENT SALIH IS THE CULPRIT, UNWITTING OR OTHERWISE.

12. COMMENT: THAWR'S DEFENSIVE REACTION CONTRASTED SHARPLY WITH THE PRIME MINISTER'S VOLUBLE AND CRITICAL DISCUSSION OF THE TRIP TO ADEN. IMPORTANTLY, THAWR DID NOT RPT NOT EVEN SUGGEST THAT THE YARG DELEGATION HAD NAY PROBLEM WITH THE JOINT STATMENT AS PUBLISHED. HE WAS A PARTICIPANT, IRYANI WAS NOT. IT SEEMS LIKELY THAT THE PRIME MINISTER--MORE AWARE OF, OR AT LEAST MORE CONCERNED ABOUT THE IMPACT OF THE STATEMENT--IS TAKING THELEAD IN TRYING TO FLUFF THE ISSUE. IRYANI'S VERSION OF EVENTS, EVEN IF FANGIFUL, WILL PROBABLY GAIN CURRENCY AS IT CIRCULATES. WITH THIS IN MIND, I TOOK CARE TO STRESS THAT

THE HIGHLY OFFENSIVE CALL FOR ACTION AGAINST THE USG

FASHIONED TO IMPROVE OR STRENGTHEN OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS. I INTEND TO MAKE THE SAME POINT WHEN I MEET WITH THE PRESIDENT. I HAVE NO IDEA IF AND WHEN THAT APPOINTMENT MAY BE MADE, BUT SHOULD THE DEPARTMENT HAVE ANY SPECIFIC POINTS WHICH I

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SHOULD RAISE, PLEASE CABLE THESE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

13. BASED ON PAST PRACTICE, IT WILL TAKE TIME TO FIND OUT WHAT WAS ACTUALLY DONE AT ADEN. ONE THE PICTURE CLARIFIES, AND WE SEE WHAT PRESIDENT SALIH SAYS, WE WILL BE BETTER ABLE TO EVALUATE YARG POLICY AND WHAT OUR REACTION SHOULD BE. UNTIL THEN, WE SHOULD AVOID FINAL JUDGMENTS. ZWEIFEL

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

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23360	04 CABLE STATE 332154	1 12/16/1981 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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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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	STATE 340499			

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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23360	07 CABLE	2 2/3/1982 B1		
	MUSCAT 0593			

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

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23360	08 CABLE	1 3/6/1982 B1	
	MUSCAT 1069		

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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233609	09 CABLE	4 3/15/1982 B1	
	MUSCAT 1219		

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

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ID Document Type Document Description	No of Doc Date Restric- pages tions	
233610 CABLE STATE 080425	2 3/25/1982 B1	

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

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ID	Document Type Document Description	No of Doc Date Restric- pages tions
23361	11 CABLE MUSCAT 2299	2 5/20/1982 B1

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

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