

DRAFT/Jan 13/Haass

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Tactical/Pre-Hostilities Consultations

Assuming that "H" stands for the moment hostilities are begun, and all numbers given refer to hours, a list of notifications is as follows:

I. Middle East:

--Saudi Arabia: ^{H-1 Bandar/Freeman} H-24; call in Bandar here, who would phone Fahd and use a code; double track via privacy channel message to Freeman?

--Kuwait: H-12; privacy channel via Freeman/Gnehm to Amir

--Egypt: ^H H-2; privacy or cabinet channel message to Mubarak

--Other GCC, including, Bahrein, Oman, Qatar, UAE: H-12; privacy channel messages to ambassadors who would inform heads of state

--Israel: ^{H-1} H-12; ~~Seoverft to Shoval~~ *check to Areno*

--Syria: H-hour or just prior; privacy channel to amb to Assad

II. Europe

--UK: ^{12 others H-1} H-4; President secure call to Major

--France: ^{H-1} H-6; President secure call to Mitterrand or Scowcroft secure call to Lanxade; also could use cabinet channel

--Turkey: H-6; privacy channel to Abramowitz to Ozal

--Germany: H-2; privacy channel via ambassador or cabinet channel to Kohl

--Italy: H-1; privacy channel via ambassador

--Canada: ¹ H-2; cabinet channel to Mulroney

--Spain: H-2; privacy channel message via ambassador to Gonzalez (deserves notice given B-52 use of Spanish bases)

--NATO SYG: H-1; privacy channel message to Woerner via Taft; ask Woerner to convene NAC at H-hour or H+1.

--USSR: H-1; privacy channel message to Matlock to Gorbachev

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III. Asia/Pacific

P --Australia: H-6; Scowcroft call to/call in Amb Cook here, who can reach Hawke via secure phone

? --Japan: H-1; via privacy channel or ambassador here

--Korea & NZ: H-hour; via privacy channel or ambassador here

--China: same as above

IV. Congress

--Leadership: H-1 Presidential phone calls to 4 leaders

--Others: H-hour calls by Cheney/Baker/Scowcroft/Gates/Sununu to chairman/ranking members normally invited to Cabinet Room consultations

NOTE: There are some issues worth highlighting:

--The above list does not include the lesser participants in either the defense of Saudi Arabia or the naval enforcement of sanctions effort. This list includes Bangladesh, Czechoslovakia, Morocco, Niger, Senegal, Pakistan, Argentina, Belgium, Denmark, Greece, Netherlands, and Norway. They could be informed at H-hour, with ambassadors informed just before via privacy channel.

--We will probably want a message to travel flash to all diplomatic posts that would go out shortly after H-hour stating what has happened and alerting foreign governments to a scheduled Presidential address.

--We might want to send tailored messages for Iran and possibly Jordan at this time.

--All the activity that would be required in the hours before H-hour is a potential problem. Key people here will be busy; more important, the Iraqis may notice or somehow learn of a number of US ambassadors going in to Gulf and other governments. We may want to instruct (say this Monday) all our ambassadors in countries that would receive prior notice to set up now a secret mechanism that would allow them to communicate on an open line a

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coded message of some sort to the head of state or his chief aide at the appropriate time. Alternatively, we could do the same thing here for those countries that would receive advance word and who have secure communications home. The connection could be Scowcroft/Gates and the resident ambassador.

--Under the above approach Syria would get no advance notice. They have little need for it militarily, and must be considered somewhat suspect. That said, we may want to give them a few minutes heads up (something like H-15 minutes) to give Assad the satisfaction of being told in advance.

--More generally, some of the numbers regarding the amount of advance notice are less than what we were considering before the Baker trip. This reflects the modesty of the requests made to Baker when the issue was discussed.

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COUNTRY	FORCES	MODE OF COMMUN.	BY/TO WHOM	WHEN
✓ UK	A, N, G, Bases	Secure Phone	Pres-PM Major	H-12
FRANCE	A, N, G	Phone	Pres-Pres Mitterrand	H-2
TURKEY	Bases	Phone	Pres-Pres Ozal	H-2
GERMANY	-----	Phone	Pres-Kohl	H-1
ITALY	A, N	Phone	Baker- De-Michelis	H-1
CANADA	A, N	Phone	Pres-Mulroney	H-1
SPAIN	N, Bases	Phone	Baker-Ordenez (Pres-Gonzales)	H-1
USSR	-----	Phone	Baker- Bessmertnyhk	H-1
NATO SYG	-----	Phone	Baker-SYG	H-1
CZECH	G	Call in	Amb	H Hr
BELGIUM	N	Call in	Amb	H Hr
DENMARK	N	Call in	Amb	H Hr
GREECE	N	Call in	Amb	H Hr
HAGUE	N	Phone	Baker-VandenBrok	H Hr
NORWAY	N	Call in	Amb	H Hr
AUSTRALIA	N	Phone	Pres-Hawke	H-1
JAPAN	-	Phone OR Call in	Pres-Murata Baker Murata	H Hr
KOREA	-	Call in	Amb	H Hr
LUXEMBOURG		Phone	Kimmit-Poos	H Hr
NEW ZEALAN	-	Call in	Amb	H Hr
CHINA	-	Call in	Amb	H Hr
✓ SAUDIS	A, N, G, Bases	Call in	Baker-Bandar	H- 2 10 1/2

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COUNTRY	FORCES	MODE OF COMMUN.	BY/TO WHOM	WHEN
KUWAIT	A, G	Call in	<i>Baker to</i> Amb	H ² Hr ?
EGYPT	G	Phone	Pres-Mubarak	H-1
BAHRAIN	G, A, Bases	Call in	Amb	H-1
OMAN	G, A, Bases	Call in	Amb	H-1
QATAR	G, A, Bases	Call in	Amb	H-1
UAE	G, A, Bases	Call in	Amb	H-1
BANGLADESH	G	Call in	Amb	H Hr
MOROCCO	G	Call in	Amb	H Hr
NIGER	G	Call in	Amb	H Hr
SENEGAL	G	Call in	Amb	H Hr
PAKISTAN	G	Call in	Amb	H Hr
ARGENTINA	N	Call in	Amb	H Hr
ISRAEL	-	Call in	<i>Baker - Shoval</i> Amb <i>Cheney Owens</i>	H ² Hr
SYRIA	G	Call in	Amb	H-1/2
LEADERSHIP		Meeting	Gates	H-2 Hands over HJ Res 77 Deter mina- tion
UNSYG				H ² Hr

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