

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Presidential Call to Prime Minister Nawaz of
Pakistan on February 2, 1991 (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif
Notetaker: Sandra Charles, NSC

DATE, TIME February 2, 1991; 10:30 - 10:50 a.m.
AND PLACE: Camp David

The President: Mr. Prime Minister, hello. How are you? (U)

PM Nawaz: Good Morning. How are you? (U)

The President: Just fine. I am calling, actually this is a call I should have made sooner, to tell you how much we appreciate your courageous and firm support for the coalition's efforts to liberate Kuwait. I know this has not been easy for you. I have been following with some degree of thoroughness the situation in Pakistan. But with Pakistani forces shoulder-to-shoulder with those of 27 other countries, well, that's a wonderful thing, and I just wanted to tell you how grateful we are -- something I have neglected doing before and should have done sooner. (U)

PM Nawaz: I have made a commitment and am convinced we are doing the right thing. It is based on principle and we stand with you and the coalition. (U)

The President: I hope you know when we say we want our people out as soon as this is over, we mean it. And we don't want Iraq destroyed or harm to come to the people of Iraq. I keep saying this even though Saddam Hussein is saying something else. We are not trying to wipe out Iraq. We made this clear in our joint statement with the Soviets when their new Foreign Minister was here. We are trying to keep down civilian casualties and to safeguard religious and cultural shrines. Be we are concerned about his disinformation. I wouldn't be surprised if he damaged them himself and then blamed the coalition. He has tried to make this a war between Islam and the West. We are doing what we can to resist this. I just wanted to tell you this personally. (U)

PM Nawaz: I trust you and believe you. I believe we are taking the right approach. It is my understanding from the Soviet President that you want Iraq to withdraw and then you could agree to a ceasefire. (U)

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The President: If they clearly withdraw. What we don't want is a ceasefire and then he rebuilds his forces. We want full implementation of the resolutions. If he stops, with his armor, and gets out of Kuwait, then we don't intend to bomb him and continue the war. But that is what comes first -- he must get out of Kuwait. They won't be under attack when he does. But I am not saying that there will be a ceasefire if he says he will withdraw. Then we would start all over again with the same propaganda as before. The Soviets understand this, and have clarified it. (S)

PM Nawaz: Mr. President, then you would not accept a ceasefire if he says yes he will withdraw and lays down a timeframe for you to consider, and then this would be the basis of a ceasefire.

(S)

The President: We can't stop this until we know he is substantially on his way out of Kuwait. He has to cross many bridges getting out. His statements show he is not interested in getting out. So if he says we want one, just talking about withdrawal is not good enough. It would be unacceptable to the coalition. If a withdrawal is going forward, and it is thorough, and we are monitoring it to insure it is happening and we can go in to liberate Kuwait, and the Kuwaitis can go back, then that is a different game, a different formula. But just talking without leaving is not good enough. The coalition and others don't trust a word he says. (S)

PM Nawaz: We have been working on peace efforts. (S)

The President: Are you encouraged? (U)

PM Nawaz: There are people in his camp and the message from them is they would like to propose to be accepted a simultaneous withdrawal, which we know is not acceptable to us or the allies.

(S)

The President: No, not at all. There need to be security provisions, and reparations as called for by UN resolution 674. He is not in a position to try to go out to declare victory. If he were, we'd face this aggression some other place at some other time. If he said he was fully complying, and not just talk about it -- and that would be clear soon -- but he is not in a position to make conditions. As I said, our goal is not the destruction of Iraq, but full compliance with the UN resolutions without conditions. Anything else is not good enough. And we don't want U.S. forces there one more day than they have to be. I mean that. I don't like the prospect of leaving US troops there. That would be bad. I will be interested if there is more in your talks with them, but we don't intend to accept any conditions.

(S)

PM Nawaz: We will keep you posted on developments. (S)

The President: I know there is some opposition in your country. We have some in ours but support is strong. But watching TV on the demonstrations it is hard to believe. So Saddam feels the US won't support the president in what he is doing. He hoped it would have a backlash, but it has not materialized. He shouldn't get too much comfort from CNN watching these demonstrations. The polls show there is overwhelming support for us and the coalition. Saddam is misreading US public opinion. (S)

PM Nawaz: There is a problem with a section of people here. They have been demonstrating. I admit Saddam's public relations are very good and effective. I mentioned this to King Fahd and he said we must also organize an effective campaign to counter him. His envoy is coming here tomorrow. I also plan to take a trip abroad to press Saddam through the OIC. But I am not impressed by these demonstrations. Governments must take tough positions to defend just positions based on principle. I am not feeling pressure from many quarters. Most have taken a position that is supportive of our principles. (S)

The President: I saw something saying that Egyptian and Saudi Muslim leaders had declared a jihad against Saddam, but there have been no reports of that in any of the newspapers. (U)

PM Nawaz: I also consider it a jihad. He has no conception for what he is doing to Iraq. He has to be punished. He is responsible for the destruction of the Iraqi nation. I wanted to clarify one thing, if he accepts and agrees to withdraw and you accept a ceasefire with assurances -- if materially he has said yes, there could be a ceasefire. Otherwise, no one would stop fighting. (S)

The President: That is what everyone tried before January 15. There has been no indication since then that he is willing to leave Kuwait. If fact yesterday, I think it was yesterday, he made another statement to that effect. Therefore, it would be difficult to accept a withdrawal with conditions. He must be punished, not given face or a way out. He has done something bad and the only way to compensate is for him to fully comply -- not say I'll do this and this and you do that. We don't have to accept any conditions. We are opposed to accepting conditions. With these goals, he will be punished by the results. He needs to comply with the resolutions. We don't want to blow him back to the dark ages. That is not what the coalition military actions are trying to do. We are trying to get him to fully comply with the resolutions. It gets complicated but if we stay with no conditions then we'd look at it and if Kuwait's leaders go back, and if the 674 sanctions thing gets set up. If

he is serious, he might even leave his armor and go. Through full implementation of resolutions and sanctions, there can be a ceasefire. But it concerns me that if we talk about being willing to discuss one, it will be linked to other problems and that will be unacceptable. That is linkage. (S)

Prime Minister Nawaz: If we come across anything worthwhile, then we will let you know. (C)

The President: I just wanted to say how grateful and delighted we are with you and to thank you. (C)

Prime Minister Nawaz: We were elected with a popular mandate. We have more than a two-thirds majority in Parliament. We were going ahead with economic development with good speed. This has had a little bit of an adverse effect but it is only temporary. I have one question, how long do you think this will take to accomplish? (C)

The President: Not long, although I have deliberately not commented on that. Everyone is debating when the next phase on the ground will be. I don't see it taking too long even if the ground phase is necessary. I don't see a protracted war, even though he thinks it will be so. But we won't move before our officers are ready. We will do this on our timetable, not his. I wish to clarify that I have been careful not to say how long it will take. But General Schwarzkopf has a high degree of confidence that it won't be too long. (C)

Prime Minister Nawaz: It is a noble cause, and I appreciate it. We are with you. (C)

The President: Mr. Prime Minister, one more thing -- I understand from my staff that it might be better if we didn't say anything publicly about this call. I appreciate it if you want to keep this confidential. (C)

Prime Minister Nawaz: Thank you. We will keep you posted on any progress. (C)

The President: If in time for some reason, you decide you want to publish it, that's fine. But General Scowcroft mentioned that your staff said you wanted to keep it confidential for now. I just wanted you to know that's fine with me. (C)

Prime Minister Nawaz: Thank you. (U)

-- End of Conversation --