

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telephone Conversation with President Turgut Ozal
of Turkey

PARTICIPANTS: The President
President Turgut Ozal
Nicholas Burns, NSC Staff (Notetaker)

DATE, TIME February 5, 1991, 10:02-10:17 a.m.
AND PLACE The Oval Office

The President: How are you, Turgut? (U)

President Ozal: Fine, thank you. I talked to Rafsanjani this morning. I asked him what is going on with his peace initiative. I asked if he has any plans. He said there is no plan. Hammadi's visit to Tehran showed the Iraqis to be stubborn, and that they had not changed their mind. It reminded them of a similar conversation they had with Hammadi before the war. Hammadi said Iraq would fight a guerrilla war. I think they are dreaming, George. This was what I got from Rafsanjani. (S)

I joked with Rafsanjani and asked if Saddam Hussein gave him a positive sign, would he meet him at the border or in Baghdad. Rafsanjani repeated there is no such plan. He is not sure anything will materialize. I asked him if he had changed his opinion on an Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait or the UN resolutions. He said Iran supports all the UN resolutions and that it wants a complete Iraqi withdrawal. (S)

Then I asked him how many Iraqi planes are in Iran. He said the western figures are too big. He said there are civilian planes, 747s, 727s and transports and that there was an agreement beforehand that Iraq would send them to Iran. But he said there was no agreement on sending the warplanes. He said there were only about twenty such warplanes in Iran. (S)

The President: I don't think that is right. I think the number is higher, but we will check it. This is what he told you? (S)

President Ozal: Yes, he told me this. Transport and civilian planes are there and there are only twenty warplanes. (S)

The President: I will pass this on but we think there are many more. (S)

President Ozal: I said to Rafsanjani that if you have anything on a peace plan we can only help you if Iraq implements completely all of the UN resolutions. (S)

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The President: Interesting. Did he sound relaxed? (S)

President Ozal: They are making propaganda for after the crisis. Yes, the Iranians want to be a kind of protector of the Islamic nation, and of the Shia in Iraq. (S)

The President: Did he mention the U.S.? (S)

President Ozal: No, he didn't mention you. (S)

The President: He keeps thinking we want to stay in the Gulf and that is not true. (S)

President Ozal: He told me two months ago the same thing. He said today he does not want Saddam Hussein in power after the war. (S)

The President: I wish the Iraqis would take care of Saddam Hussein. (S)

President Ozal: I think it is going well, George. (U)

The President: It is. Incidentally, we think there are more planes in Iran. Excluding the civilian ones, we think there are closer to seventy. (S)

President Ozal: Seventy. But the only thing is Iran may take them as war reparations. I asked Rafsanjani if he had discussed this with Hammadi. He said they did not discuss it. (S)

The President: The Iraqis will have a big reparations bill for the environmental damage. They will have big claims for damage from many people. (S)

President Ozal: There will also be a lot of immigrants. (S)

The President: We are doing better on the SCUDs. We have damaged their ability to launch. (S)

President Ozal: I think they still have some from what I have been told. If a ground attack starts, he might use chemical weapons. He may put some on planes. I have some doubts but he could use them for a chemical attack. (S)

The President: Do you think so? We worry about this. We are training our people. I think world opinion would go against him if he did it. (S)

President Ozal: I said the same to Rafsanjani. Rafsanjani said yes, it is a possibility. In that case I said there would be a big retaliation. (S)

The President: Iran doesn't like Saddam Hussein. There is some feeling Iran is willing to make up but I don't think so. (S)

President Ozal: No, Rafsanjani is looking for a post-war without Saddam Hussein. What kind of regime will there be after? Iran is Shia and Iraq is 60 percent Shia. (S)

The President: That's right. I would welcome your thoughts about the post-war period. We are not trying to wipe out Iraq so that Iraq is seen as a victim. I hope the Iranians understand that. (S)

President Ozal: Your Ambassador said you would send a military team to discuss the war. (S)

The President: This is very important to let you look at the issue of collateral damage. You will find the intelligence interesting. I thought this was all set up. (S)

President Ozal: I will be very happy to see them. I also want to discuss with you what will come after the war. (S)

The President: I would find your views very interesting. I welcome them either through our Ambassadors or any other way. (S)

President Ozal: My Foreign Minister will be in Washington in a few weeks. (S)

The President: Will he be prepared to discuss this issue of the post-war? Is he going to Tehran too? (S)

President Ozal: He is going to Tehran and the Arab world and then to Washington. He will see Cheney and Baker. I would like him to see you briefly if you have time. (S)

The President: If it is important to you, I will definitely see him. (S)

President Ozal: Yes, it is definitely important. (S)

The President: We have told the Iranians via the Swiss that we are interested in direct communications. (S)

I am glad you and I are together on how to end this thing--no conditions. I am glad to hear that. (S)

President Ozal: There is no change in Iran either, George. (S)

The President: I look forward to seeing your Foreign Minister. Things are on schedule and Saddam Hussein won't set the time for the next step. (S)

President Ozal: George, continue the bombardment. (S)

The President: We will do so. Good bye. (U)

-- End of Conversation --