

October 7, 1990

**Cable No. 450 from Counselor Wanibuchi Kazuo
(Saudi Arabia) to the Minister of Foreign Affairs,
'The Prime Minister's Visit to the Middle East
(Meeting With King Fahd)'**

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Summary:

Summary of Japanese Prime Minister Kaifu's meeting with Saudi King Fahd following Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. During the conversation, King Fahd expresses his shock at Saddam Hussein's decision to invade and the two agree on the need to end the war and restore Kuwait's royal family to power.

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Original Language:

Japanese

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Original Scan
Translation - English

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(1) 貴総理の言われる通りである。貴国の立場は良く承知しており、日本もサウデイ・アラビアも国際社会に対し、平和と安定について、常によびかけている国である。

(2) 今回の事件は不可思議である。サダム・フセインがクウェイトに侵攻するとは全く予期していなかった。サダムは事件の4日前に、自分とムバラク大統領に対し、イラクはクウェイト侵攻は行わないと明確に約束していた。自分は、サダムを17年も前から良く知っており、クウェイト問題についても緊密な対話を行なってきた。今回の事件の3か月前から、イラク・クウェイト間の対話がギクシャクしてきたので、自分は、両国の間に入り、問題が大きくならないよう最大限の努力を行つた。サダムも、せ非ちゆうかいしてほしいと言っていた。イラン及びイラクのような大国の間では対立が起こり得るが、クウェイトは小国であり、そのような小国に侵攻することは許されない。

(3) イラクがクウェイトに侵攻した前日には、両国の代表団が当国で解決のための会談を行つていた。イラクの代表団長は、自分に対して、クウェイトの問題は解決しうるものであり、両国関係は修復可能であると言っており、自分もそれを信じていた。その日は水よう日であつたが、ばんさん会で両国代表団は友好的に話をしていたし、土よう日にはバクグッドで、月よう日にはクウェイトで、話し合いを継続すると言つていたので、自分は安心していた。そしてばんさん会終了後、11時に両国代表団が当国を離れたが、そのよ
く日午前1時には、イラクがクウェイトに侵攻した。東部の軍関係者から情報が入つた時、自分はそれを直ぐには信じられなかつた。クウェイトが攻撃を受けたと聞いて、どこから攻撃を受けたのか、イランではないのか、本当にイラクなのか、と聞き直した程であつた。全くゆめを見ている様であつた。直ちにサダムに電話連絡を試みたが、連絡が取れないまま、4時にはイラクがクウェイト全土を占領してしまつた。その後、サダムと連絡が取れ、サダムはイブラヒム・イラク革命評議会議長を、当国に対する説明をさせるために派遣するといつてきた。

(4) イブラヒムは、よく日に当国にやつてきたが、クウェイトはイラクの一部であり、領土の一部が本国にもどつてきただけであり、問題はないと言つた。これに対し自分より、「クウェイトは200年前から存在しており、これが歴史である。その当時、イラクという国はなく、バクグッドやバスラというまちがあつただけである。クウェイトは1963年にはイラクによつて独立を承認され、国連及びアラブ連盟の加盟国として国際社会の正式なメンバーとなつた。」旨述べた。イブラヒムは、これに対し反論できず、「そのよ

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うなことは、自分は承知していない。」と言つたので、自分（フアハド国王）は、「知らなければバグダッドに帰つて書類を調べろ。」と言つた。

(5) 1963年の両国の合意は、バクル・イラク大統領と現在のクウェイト首長のちち親であるサバーハ首長との間で合意したものであり、当時サダムはバクル大統領のかたうでであり、合意の内容を承知しているはずである。因みに、バクルとサダムはいんせき関係にあり、即ち、バクルのあね（いもうと）がサダムののはは親という関係にある。従つて、サダムのクウェイト侵攻の理由は正しくはなく、弱にく強食以外の何物でもない。これは危険な原則であり、イラクがクウェイトから撤退せず、クウェイト正統政府が復帰できなければ、この危険な原則がまかり通ることになる。

(6) サダムに撤退を要求する様々な国際努力が行われており、最も最近では、ソ連の代表団が2日前イラクに出国して話をしているはずである。最も重要なのはサダムがイランとの関係において成したような実質的な一歩を、クウェイト問題においても、ふみ出してほしい。これまでの国連の諸決議が、サダムに、事態は深刻であると思ひ知らせる上で不十分とは思わないが、サダムは依然クウェイト撤退を真げんに考えてはいない。サダムは、国際的な動き、軍事的な緊張はあるものの、軍事力が自分に対しては使われるとは思っていないようだ。

(7) 国際社会全体にイラクのクウェイトからの撤退は不可欠であるとのコンセンサスがあるにもかかわらず、サダムはその真実を知らない。フセイン国王、サーレハ大統領、アラファト議長は、サダムに真実を告げておらず、彼等は何としてもサダムに真実を告げなければならない。彼等は、当国（サウデイ）にクウェイトからの撤退は不可欠と告げているとしているが、実際は違ふと思う。サダムは彼等に対し、彼等は当事者でもないし、むしろイラクのクウェイトへい合により何百万ドルもの利益を得るではないかと言つているのだろう。自分はフセイン国王に反対ではなく、ジョルダンの安全を望んでおり、何の見返りも要求せず、相当の援助をしてきている。現在の事態が続けば、いずれフセイン国王はサダムに対し、撤兵しないと大変な事になると真げんに要請するであろう。しかし、残念ながら、これまでフセイン国王は、イラクに対し撤兵しろとは言つていない。結局は、フセイン国王、サーレハ大統領、アラファト議長とも、自分が過ちを犯したことを知るだろう。

(8) イラクがクウェイトから撤退して、イラク・クウェイト間の問題が話し合いによつて解決されること

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を希望しており、現在は情勢がどのように展開するか見守っている状況である。日本国民のすべてが問題の平和的解決を望んでいると信じている。戦争は一たん始まれば、いつ終るかかわからず、だれも戦争を望んでいない。サダムは全世界を敵に回し、戦闘を行う積もりであろうか。ある一国に対し、陸・海・空の完全な制裁が行われたのは史上初めてである。この制裁は、サダムに対し、戦争が起つたら大変だと分からせるためのものである。軍事力は、イラクそのものに対しては行使されないだろうが、イラクのクウェイトからの撤退のためには行使されるかも知れない。国連加盟国たる独立主権国家を侵攻・占領して、それが続くことは有り得ない。

(9) 貴総理にわが国の立場を説明し、これに理解を得られることは、非常に有り難い。二国間関係は非常に友好的であるが、今後更に全ての分野において強化させていきたい。また、貴総理及び日本国民に対し、その多国籍軍及びしゅうへん国への援助について感謝の意を表したい。この貴国の行動は人道的見地に立つものであると同時に、貴国の望んでいる国際的こうけんの強化につながるものである。現在、サウデイ・アラビアにはエジプト、シリア、モロッコ、更にはパキスタン、バングラデシュも軍を派遣しており、これら諸国への援助も検討してほしい。

4. 以上に対し、海部総理より以下の通り述べた。

現下の情勢の中で、貴国王が心をいためながら問題の平和的解決を求めていることに、改めてけい意を表す。日本の立場は明確であり、第二次世界大戦の経験からも、武力による侵攻は許されずとも原則に立つて、問題の平和的解決を求めるとの立場であり、この方針は今後ともけん持する。武力による侵攻を認めれば、弱く強食の世界を再現することになる。問題の平和的解決に向けた貴国王及びサウデイ・アラビア国民の努力を全面的に支持する。

5. ファハド国王より次の通り述べた。

サダムがまず最初に理解すべきことは、国連及びソ連を含む国際社会全体を敵に回し軍事的圧力を受けているという事実である。これは、史上初めての素晴らしい国際協力であり、米ソがこれ程重要なことで意見の一致を見たことは信じがたいところであり、イラクはこのことを理解すべきである。現在は米ソを含む国際社会全体が問題の平和的解決に努力しているが、これがうまくいかない場合には軍事的手段をとらざるを得ないかも知れず、その場合イラクは大きな損害をうけるだろう。サダムはこのことを良く分かつてほしい。ソ

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連の代表団がイラクを訪問しているが、今やでも明日でもサダムが撤退をすると決断してほしいが、その希望はうすいであろう。ひ感的に考えてはいけませんが、もうしばらく待つていたい。2、3日後にでも、貴総理に、イラクは撤退をし、クウェイト正統政府の復帰が実現したと報告したいものであり、その際には、両国でおいおいをしたい。

6. これに対し、総理より以下のとおり述べた。

その見通しが実現することを期待したい。アンマンでラマダン第一副首相に会ったが、「ラ」はクウェイトは自分の国の一部であると言ったので、自分より、クウェイトは国連及びアラブ連盟加盟国たる独立国家であり、クウェイトからの撤退、クウェイト正統政府の復帰、全外国人の出国の自由を実施すべきであると述べるとともに、イラクは国際的にこ立しているということを指摘した。今後とも、わが国独自の立場から、問題の平和的解決に努力していくが、経験の深い貴国王も、強力なリーダー・シップをもつて努力していただきたい。

7. これに対し、ファハド国王より次の通り述べた。

出来るかぎりの努力をするが、相手がみみを傾けてくれなければどうしようもない。サダムが国外に送る代表団はテープ・レコーダーのようにサダムに言えといわれたことを言っているだけである。どうして、そのようになつたか不思議であるが、イラクの体制が変わり、イラクの代表団が自分の言ばでしゃべる日が来てほしい。改めて、貴総理の今回の当国訪問は、短いご滞在ではあつたものの、非常に有意義であることを申し上げたい。今日の危機が解決し、平和がもどつたら、自分はぜひ訪日したい。

8. 総理より、以下の通り述べた。

ぜひ、訪日していただきたく、わが国の皇室及び国民をあげてお待ちしている。即位のれいにはサウード外相を派遣することとしていただき、感謝申し上げます。今後とも両国関係が発展していくよう、自分も努力していきたい。

9. これに対し、ファハド国王より次の通り述べた。

いかなる努力も良い結果に結びつき、両国の利益にもなるものである。最後に一言申し上げたいが、当国に駐在するオング大使は、両国関係発展のために大変努力をされており、これはお世辞ではなく、本来はご本人のいない席で述べるべきことであろうが、本当のことである。

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10. 最後に、ファハド国王^ハ、立ち上がりながら、英国女王たいかん式に来ておられた皇族の方はどなたであつたかと確認を求め越したので、総理より、現在のてん皇へい下が皇太子のころ出席されたと答えたところ、ファハド国王は、貴総理より、てん皇へい下及び他の皇族方によろしくお伝え願いたい旨述べ、会談を了した。

イラク、イラン、ジョルダン、シリア、エジプト、GCC、イエメン、チュニジア、米、英、仏、ソ連、中国、国連、OECD代に転電した。お見込みにより、その他関係公館に転電願いたい。

(了)

Secret

Telegraphic Copy

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Number R201562

Primary: First Middle East Division

October 7, 1990 [time blacked out]

Sent [from] Jeddah

October 7, 1990 [time blacked out]

Arrived [at] Ministry

[to] Minister of Foreign Affairs

[from] Counselor Wanibuchi [Kazuo]

The Prime Minister's Visit to the Middle East (Meeting With King Fahd)

No. 450

Secret Top Urgent [blacked out]

On October 6, Prime Minister Kaifu had a meeting with King Fahd at the Alsalam Palace from 9 o'clock in the evening for about an hour. Following is a summary of the meeting's main points. (Attending the meeting from the other side were Ibrahim Al-Anqari, special advisor to the King; Mohammed Abalkhail, Minister of Finance and National Economy; Hisham Nazer, Minister of Oil and Acting Minister of Planning; Abdulaziz Al Zamil, Minister of Electricity and Industry; Fawzi Shobokshi, Ambassador to Japan. Attending the meeting from our side were Owada Hisashi, Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs; Ambassador to Saudi Arabia Onda Takashi; Watanabe Makoto, Director, Middle Eastern and African Affairs Bureau; Orita Masaki, Secretary to Prime Minister Kaifu; Takenaka Shigeo, Director-General for Press and Public Diplomacy; and Ebihara Shin, Director, First Middle East Division. Interpreter: Miyamaoto Masayuki).

1. At the outset, King Fahd spoke as follows:

I sincerely welcome you, Prime Minister, on your visit to this country. Our two countries have a special relationship of friendship, and I was looking forward to your arrival, Prime Minister, from the friendly nation of Japan. I would like to use this visit as an opportunity to further advance our relations of friendship. As for the present situation in the Gulf, we must work towards a peaceful settlement.

2. In reply, the Prime Minister spoke as follows:

(1) We must seek a peaceful and just settlement of this situation and realize the withdrawal of Iraq from Kuwait, the restoration of Kuwait's legitimate government, and the release of all foreigners from Kuwait. I highly appreciate your country's rejection of compromise and firm stand. My visit to your country was delayed by two months, but I have come now to convey directly to you, King Fahd, that Japan takes the same political stand as your country. This visit is my second here as the Prime Minister of Japan, but relations between our two countries have long been friendly.

(2) I appreciate that Saudi Arabia to date has adopted the constructive position of not bringing disorder to the international oil market and of carrying out a stable supply of oil. Japan has long been receiving a stable supply of oil from your country. I would like from this point forward to further strengthen relations of mutual dependence between our two countries.

3. King Fahd spoke as follows:

(1) It is as you say, Prime Minister. I am well aware of your country's position. Both Japan and Saudi Arabia are countries that constantly call out to the international community for peace and stability.

(2) The present matter is incomprehensible. I completely did not expect that Saddam Hussein would invade Kuwait. Four days before the incident, Saddam expressly promised to President Mubarak and me that Iraq would not invade Kuwait. I have known Saddam well for the past 17 years and have had close talks with him on the issue of Kuwait. Three months before this incident, the talks between Iraq and Kuwait grew strained. I mediated between the two countries and did my utmost so that the problem did not grow larger. Saddam, too, said that he wished by all means that I mediate. Conflict can occur between large countries, such as Iran and Iraq, but Kuwait is a small country. Invading such a small country is unacceptable.

(3) On the day before Iraq invaded Kuwait, delegations from the two countries held talks here for a settlement. The chief of Iraq's delegation told me that a settlement of the Kuwait issue was possible and that relations between the two countries could be repaired. I, too, believed it. That day was Wednesday. At that night's dinner banquet, the delegations of the two countries engaged in friendly conversation. They said that they would continue the talks on Thursday in Baghdad and on Monday in Kuwait, so I was relieved. After the dinner banquet had ended, the delegations of the two countries left this country at 11 o'clock. The next morning, at one o'clock, Iraq invaded Kuwait. When I heard information from the military in the east, I was unable to believe it right away. Hearing that Kuwait had come under attack, I repeatedly asked them: From where had they come under attack? Was it not Iran? Was it really Iraq? I immediately tried to contact Saddam by telephone but was unable to reach him when, by four o'clock, Iraq had occupied all of Kuwait. I was able to contact Saddam after that. Saddam said to me that he would send [Vice] President Ibrahim al-Douri of Iraq's Revolutionary Council here to give an explanation.

(4) Ibrahim came here the next day and said that Kuwait was a part of Iraq, that part of Iraq's territory had simply returned to the motherland, and that no problem existed. In reply, I told him: "Kuwait has existed for the past 200 years. This is history. At that time, there was no country called Iraq. There were only the cities of Baghdad and Basra. Kuwait's independence was recognized by Iraq in 1963, and it became an official member of the international community as a member of the United Nations and the Arab League." Ibrahim countered in saying that, "I do not accept such things," so I (King Fahd) said, "If you do not know, then go back to Baghdad and study the documents."

(5) The 1963 accord between the two countries was an agreement between Iraq's President Bakr and Sheikh Sabah, the father of Kuwait's present sheikh. At that time, Saddam was President Bakr's right-hand man. He should be well aware of the contents of the agreement. By the way, Bakr and Saddam were related by marriage. That is to say, Bakr's older sister (younger sister) was related to Saddam's mother. Consequently, Saddam's invasion of Kuwait is wrong. It is nothing other than the law of the jungle, where the weak are the victims of the strong. This is a dangerous principle. If Iraq does not withdraw from Kuwait and Kuwait's legitimate government is not restored, this dangerous principle will become accepted.

(6) Various international efforts demanding Saddam's withdrawal are taking place. In the latest one, a Soviet delegation entered Iraq two days ago and should now be engaged in talks. The most important thing is whether Saddam thinks or not that withdrawal is essential I would like Saddam to undertake in regard to the Kuwait issue the same substantive steps that he did regarding relations with Iran. I do not think that the United Nations resolutions to date have been sufficient to make Saddam understand the seriousness of the situation. Saddam is still not seriously thinking about withdrawing from Kuwait.

Saddam seems to think that, despite the international movements and the military tensions, military force will not be used against him.

(7) Despite the existence of a consensus of the entire international community that Iraq's withdrawal from Kuwait is essential, Saddam does not comprehend that reality. King Hussein, President Saleh, and Chairman Arafat are not telling Saddam the truth.

No matter what, they must tell Saddam the truth. They are saying that they told this country (Saudi Arabia) that withdrawal from Kuwait is essential, but I think the reality is something different. Saddam is probably telling them that they are not even parties to the issue and, rather, that they stand to gain millions of dollars from Iraq's annexation of Kuwait. I am not opposed to King Hussein, and I hope for the security of Jordan. Without asking for anything in return, I have provided considerable aid. If the present situation should continue, then sooner or later King Hussein will likely seriously call on Saddam to withdraw and tell him that he will be in serious trouble if he does not do so. Unfortunately, however, King Hussein to date has not told Iraq to withdraw. In the end, King Hussein, President Saleh, and Chairman Arafat will realize that they made a mistake.

(8) I am hoping for Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait and for the problems between Iraq and Kuwait to be settled by talks and am now watching to see how the situation develops. I believe that all Japan's people are hoping for a peaceful settlement of the issue. Once war starts, one cannot know when it will end. Nobody wants war. Saddam has made an enemy of the entire world. Does he intend to fight? For the first time in history, complete sanctions have been carried out on land, at sea, and in the air against a single country. These sanctions are for making Saddam understand that it will be terrible for him should war break out. I believe that military force will not be used against Iraq itself, but it may be used to force Iraq's withdrawal from Kuwait. Iraq has invaded and occupied an independent and sovereign state, a member of the United Nations. This cannot continue.

(9) I am very grateful, Prime Minister, for being able to explain to you Saudi Arabia's position and gain your understanding. Relations between our two countries are very friendly, and I would like from this point forward to strengthen them in every field. Also, Prime Minister, I would like to express my thanks to the Japanese people for their aid to the multinational force and to countries in the area. The actions of your country rest on a humanitarian basis and, at the same time, will lead to the strengthening of the international contribution that your country desires. At present, Egypt, Syria, and Morocco, as well as Pakistan and Bangladesh, are all sending troops to Saudi Arabia. I would like you to consider aid for these countries.

4. In reply to the above remarks, Prime Minister Kaifu spoke as follows:

I once again express my respect, King Fahd, to you for troubling yourself in the present situation in calling for a peaceful settlement of this problem. Japan's position is clear and is based on the principle, gained from experience in the Second World War, that invasion by military force is unacceptable. Our position is to call for the peaceful settlement of problems, and we will continue to hold to this policy. If we were to recognize this invasion by armed force, it would mean the return of a world where the weak are the victims of the strong. We completely support your efforts, King Fahd, and those of the people of Saudi Arabia for the peaceful settlement of problems.

5. King Fahd spoke as follows:

What Saddam must understand first of all is that he has made an enemy of the entire international community, including the United Nations and the Soviet Union, and that he is under military pressure. This is wonderful international cooperation for the first time in history. It is hard to believe that the United States and the Soviet Union have agreed on something so important. Iraq must understand this. The entire international community, including the United States and the Soviet Union, is now working for a peaceful settlement of this issue. If this does not go well, then we may have to adopt military means. In that event, Iraq would suffer terrible losses. I would like Saddam to understand this. A Soviet delegation is visiting Iraq. I wish that Saddam would withdraw, now or the next day, but the prospects for that are dim. One must not be pessimistic. I would like to wait a little longer. I would like to report to you, Prime Minister, even in the next two or three days that Iraq has withdrawn and that the restoration of Kuwait's legitimate government has been realized. On that occasion, I would like to have celebrations in both countries.

6. In reply, the Prime Minister said the following:

I hope that prospect is realized. I met First Deputy Prime Minister Ramadan in Amman, but Ramadan said that Kuwait was a part of his own country and that it was

a domestic issue. Therefore, I said that Kuwait was an independent country, a member of the United Nations and the Arab League, and that Iraq must withdraw from Iraq, restore Kuwait's legitimate government, and allow all foreigners to leave the country. I also pointed out that Iraq was internationally isolated. From Japan's own position, we will continue to work for the peaceful settlement of the issue and would like, King Fahd, with your depth of experience, to make efforts with strong leadership.

7. In reply, King Fahd said the following:

I will try as much as I can, but if the other person does not listen, then there is nothing that can be done. The delegations that Saddam is sending abroad are like tape recorders, only saying what Saddam has told them to say. It is a mystery to me why they have become this way, but I hope that the day comes when Iraq's attitude has changed and the delegations speak in their own words. I would like to tell you, once again, that although your visit this time to this country, Prime Minister, has been a short one, it has been very meaningful. Once today's crisis has been settled and peace has returned, I would by all means like to visit Japan.

8. The Prime Minister said the following:

We would really like to have you visit Japan. Japan's Imperial Family and the Japanese people are all waiting. I offer my thanks for your sending Foreign Minister Saud to Japan to attend the ceremony for the Emperor's accession to the throne. I would like to continue working for the development of relations between our two countries.

9. In reply, King Fahd said the following:

Every effort will lead to good results and will come to benefit both our countries. The last thing that I would like say is that Ambassador Onda, posted to this country, has made great efforts for the development of relations between our two countries. This is not flattery. Normally, this would not be something I should say in the present of the man in question, but it is the truth.

10. Finally, King Fahd, rising to his feet, sought confirmation on which member of Japan's Imperial Family had attended the coronation of Britain's queen. The Prime Minister answered that the present Emperor had attended the ceremony when he had been the crown prince. King Fahd requested that the Prime Minister convey his regards to the Emperor and other members of the Imperial Family. With that, he ended the meeting.

Passed to diplomatic missions in Iraq, Iran, Jordan, Syria, Egypt, the Gulf Cooperation Council, Yemen, Tunisia, the United States, Britain, France, the Soviet Union, China, the United Nations, and the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development. I request that you pass this telegram to other diplomatic missions that you consider relevant.

(End)