



SECRET AND PERSONAL

PRIME MINISTER

c Sir Percy Cradock

Ad Hoc Group on The Gulf: 11.00 am on Tuesday  
21 August 1990 at No 10

The agenda has been circulated. You will have received today's intelligence update, and also the JIC assessment entitled "The Iraq crisis: Saddam plays with time". You should have seen Mr Reeves's letter of 20 August recording the action agreed at yesterday's meeting of the Group. The latest Sit Rep from the Embargo Surveillance Centre (ESC) is attached to this brief. Some of the points will already have been covered in your Ministerial meeting earlier today.

Item 1: Current Situation - FCO

2. The main themes today are:

(a) United Nations

124 Kuwait  
66 Kuwait City  
Fruit in person  
Baghdad 223  
- No record check  
75% Embassy demand  
10 in Kuwait  
Leaving 5  
E.C. collection  
convey  
Baghdad - 2/1

- Security Council met last night to discuss a new Resolution authorising the use of force. The discussion was adjourned early this morning without agreement. The Russians and Chinese were without instructions. The Yemenis confirmed that if the Iraqi tanker (below) docked in Aden, they would apply UNSCR 661. The US now reflecting further on UN action.

(b) Iraqi Tankers

I.C.R.C.

- The Omanis have given the US permission to intercept an outward bound tanker (KAHANAKIN) in their waters. The tanker is probably heading for the Aden refinery. The Yemenis (above) have

8th August  
U.S. USSR  
EC-12. Prohibited  
10th August - freight  
departure of foreign networks  
No information



SECRET AND PERSONAL

confirmed they will apply UNSCR 661. The second tanker BABA GUGUR is inbound and reportedly unladen.

(c) Britons in Iraq and Kuwait

- What do we know about numbers removed and where they have been taken?
- Is our advice to them (to stay at home and lie low) still the best that can be given?
- UN emissaries to Baghdad (Mr Dayal and Mr Annan) - anything to report?
- What has been done about Mr Richard Branson's offer of an aircraft to retrieve detainees who might be released through the intercession of the Rev. Jesse Jackson? (FCO and DTP were tasked at yesterday's meeting with following this up.)
- Assistance to Jordan  
The Foreign Secretary minuted you yesterday proposing an international effort which the US would have to lead. He expects the matter to be discussed at today's EPC Ministerial meeting.
- What has been done to follow up your instruction yesterday about UK assistance with air or other transport for foreign refugees from Iraq? Have we contacted UNHCR or ICRC?

SECRET AND PERSONAL

(e) Counter-propaganda to the Arab world

- The Foreign Secretary undertook to send you yesterday a paper on psychological warfare. This issue is very important and urgent. When will the paper be ready?

Item 2: Current Situation - MOD

3. The main topics of interest are:

(a) The military situation

- Any significant change since yesterday?

(b) Further British deployments to the Gulf (NOT FOR DISCUSSION)

You will not wish to discuss these at 11 a.m., and will no doubt have been briefed at 10 a.m. The Chiefs of Staff meet this afternoon to consider the options, on the basis of Mr Powell's letter of 20 August recording your decisions on additional aircraft.

(c) Rules of engagement (ROE) (NOT FOR DISCUSSION)

Again you will not wish to discuss at the 11 o'clock Group.

Item 3: Observance of the UN embargo

4. Arising out of the attached Embargo Surveillance Centre's (ESC) Sit Rep, you may wish to ask:

- whether the ferry carrying military equipment from Poland and East Germany is the ship referred to in today's papers as carrying 17 armoured bridgelayers. It is important to prevent this cargo from reaching its destination.

D

SECRET AND PERSONAL

- how far can the embargo at sea be circumvented by air freighting (Berlin airlift style)? Presumably this depends on Iraq having access to heavy freight aircraft. Is there any sign of this?

5. You may wish to ask whether the ESC (who were established only at the end of last week, and are still settling down) have yet produced material that can be forwarded, if necessary in sanitised form, to the UN Sanctions Committee to assist enforcement of the embargo.

Item 4: Safeguards against terrorism

6. The JIC assessed the Iraqi terrorist threat last week (JIC(90)(IA)54). TO(P) met under my chairmanship yesterday to review the threat and the measures Departments are taking to guard against it. You may wish to invite me to report.

Item 5: Points outstanding from the Group's previous meetings

7. The Home Secretary is expected to minute you today proposing a package of measures to tighten immigration controls on Iraqis which was endorsed by the Group last week. (The package might have been more severe but for the risk to British nationals.) You might remind the Home Office that its report to you is still owing.

8. The Group agreed yesterday that it was important that the humanitarian exception for foodstuffs in Security Council Resolution 661 should be rigorously interpreted, and that this should be made clear to the UN Sanctions Committee and the ICRC. You may wish to check that the FCO are putting this message across.



SECRET AND PERSONAL

Item 6: Any other business

9. You may wish to go round the table. Department of Energy should be asked to report on OPEC's refusal to convene an emergency session.

- Will the Saudis now boost their oil production?
- Is appropriate pressure being put on them to do so?
- Are the oil markets behaving reasonably?
- Are the oil companies profiteering? (Early in the crisis President Bush appealed to American oil companies to play their part by showing restraint over prices.)

Item 7: Publicity

10. You will of course be giving a press conference, for which briefing is being prepared separately. Mr Aylett (No 10) will be present to identify issues of interest to the press today.

Next meeting

11. Same time and place tomorrow, under the Foreign Secretary's chairmanship.

*L V Appleyard*  
L V APPLEYARD

Cabinet Office  
21 August 1990

EMBARGO SURVEILLANCE CENTRE : SITUATION REPORT  
AT AT 0600 HRS 21 AUGUST 1990

SUSPECT VESSELS REPORT : 21 AUGUST 1990

BALQEES

Roll on freight ferry, Iraqi flag, carrying military equipment from Poland and E Germany. (Unclassified).

Probably unloading equipment in Tripoli. (SECRET).

TARIQ IBN ZIYAD

Tanker, Iraqi flag. En route Portugal to Tripoli. In Tunisian waters. (SECRET).

We now have evidence of Iraqi bound ships unloading cargoes in North African ports. But there is no evidence so far of these cargoes being reloaded on other ships or on aeroplanes bound for Amman and Baghdad. The ESC is working closely with those concerned to monitor the situation. (SECRET).

A. M

POINTS FOR PRESS CONFERENCE

Substantive and 1 from the rule flow.

A

1. Our starting point is that Iraq's invasion of Kuwait is absolutely illegal and unacceptable. If it were to succeed, no small state could ever feel safe again. *President Bush set out the issues admirably in his excellent speech yesterday*

2. There has been an unprecedented degree of unity by the United Nations in condemning Iraq's action and imposing a comprehensive embargo.

3. That is a reflection on Saddam Hussain's appalling reputation as some-one who attacks other countries, other Muslim countries, at will: and subjects his people to nearly ten years of pointless war with hundreds of thousands of casualties. *Now trying to hide behind western women & children.*

Wandy  
at night

B

4. The first priority is to enforce the UN embargo and make it one hundred per cent effective. We have already had considerable success. But <sup>naval</sup> action will be needed if there are attempts to breach it. We believe we have the authority for that under Article 51 of the UN Charter and the request from the Amir of Kuwait. Discussions are also going on in the UN Security Council about a further resolution. We hope these will have a successful outcome.

C

5. The second priority is to respond to the request from Saudi Arabia and other Gulf States to defend them against Iraqi attack. The United States has given a magnificent lead. We have remained in the closest touch with them, and sent substantial forces - both naval and air forces - to the area. We are considering whether that contribution should be increased.

C  
D

6. Let me emphasise: both the US and Britain see the presence of our forces as defensive. That is their purpose. But you don't send military forces unless they are also ready to fight if necessary.

*Enforce sanctions by effective collective action. Embargo must have teeth*

Podium

—  
/

L

Petermann's

Spuch

Level 1 c

Sedd - thum

—

Whitney

/

Whitney

Inverness  
John 2  
Jou

Run



gravely concerned

Vernie  
Counsellor

repugnance to  
all involved  
countries

Kuwait  
66 50 Jan

Within  
a week body

7. We are obviously very worried about the way in which Iraq is treating British and other foreign citizens - and the anguish which this is causing their families. It is, as the Foreign Secretary said yesterday, <sup>repugnant</sup> ~~repulsive~~: and the repugnance of the international community for Iraq's action is clear. We are doing everything we can for them, working collectively with other European countries, the United States, the Soviet Union and others, as well as through the International Committee of the Red Cross. We shall try to keep members of our Embassy in Kuwait so that they can provide help. It is Iraq's responsibility to ensure the safety of our people and we shall hold them to that.

1) 8<sup>th</sup> Aug 10<sup>th</sup> Aug

LF

~~Responsibility~~

(F)

8. As you know, the Foreign Secretary and the Defence Secretary are in Paris today for meetings of the WEU and the EC Twelve. I hope these meetings will strengthen the resolve of some of our European friends who have not yet done so, to make a military contribution in the Gulf. I hope it will also confirm solidarity in dealing with the question of our citizens.

and

many

9. I myself had a further talk with President Bush yesterday - and of course my office and the White House have been in constant touch since the President and I met in Washington on 6 August. I shall be seeing the Omani Foreign Minister and Prince Bandar of Saudi Arabia later today.

10. Let me just say again: our purpose is to see that the United Nations embargo is strictly enforced and other states defended against attack, so that the lesson is learned that Iraq's aggression will not succeed. We shall not be intimidated.

21 August 1990

Disappointed

lack of action