



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

15 October 1990

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*CD 15/x.*

**IRAQ/KUWAIT: POSITIVE INFORMATION CAMPAIGN**

This is the seventh of our weekly sitreps.

We have continued to address target audiences in the Middle East and other Muslim countries. Key themes remain the illegality of the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait, the international isolation of Saddam Hussein, the certainty that he will lose and the requirement for full withdrawal and restoration of the Al Sabah. Material pointing up the distinction between Iraq/Kuwait and Arab/Israel has been reinforced.

The Government of Kuwait in Taif have told us that they will pursue contacts with British suppliers of mobile broadcasting equipment.

At the meeting of the UK/Saudi Joint Cultural Committee on 5 October we pressed the Saudis to improve the presentation of their case to the international media.

FCO officials will attend a meeting to be arranged soon by the Home Office with leaders of the British Muslim community, to explain the Government's approach to the Gulf crisis, stress Saddam Hussein's poor record on Islam and convey to the community that their concerns are taken seriously.

Briefing Material

- a) The sixth edition of the FCO briefing notes was issued on 11 October. A copy is enclosed.
- b) Background Briefing Notes will appear next week on Iraq's isolation in the United Nations, and Saddam Hussein's claims to Kuwaiti territory.
- c) A Guidance about the resumption of relations with Iran was issued on 9 October.
- d) Briefing material issued for distribution by our posts has included the Foreign Secretary's interview on BBC



SECRET AND PERSONAL

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Radio 'World at One' about the killings in Jerusalem.

Written Press

- a) The Foreign Secretary gave an interview to the leading Egyptian newspaper, Al Ahram, linked to his visit to Egypt, and on his return will speak to a selected group of Arab and Islamic journalists.
- b) Regular briefings have continued for the Arab Correspondents group in London, countering Iraqi propaganda themes.

Television

- a) An interview with the Kuwaiti Planning Minister, commenting on conditions in Kuwait, was filmed on 8 October. We are considering using this as part of a compilation to include the Emir's speech in New York and further video material from Kuwait, including amateur footage obtained from refugees. Our previous compilations have been broadcast in the Gulf and widely distributed elsewhere to the media and other opinion formers in cassette form.
- b) Local and international television channels will give the Foreign Secretary's visit to Egypt and Israel wide coverage among our target audiences.

Radio

Radio is at present the only effective way to reach ordinary citizens in Iraq and Kuwait. We continue to place material about the Government's policy with radio stations in the Gulf area (including Radio Qatar, which is audible in Iraq and Kuwait) and more widely in other target areas.

- a) An edited version of our recording of an interview in London with the Kuwaiti Planning Minister was accepted by Radio Qatar and by Radio Monte Carlo's Arabic Service, which has a large audience in North Africa and the Gulf.
- b) A recent survey shows that regular audiences for the BBC World Service in both English and Arabic have more than doubled in size in the UAE, Cairo and Alexandria since the beginning of the crisis, reaching about 50% of the adult Arab population. The Head of the BBC Arabic

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SECRET AND PERSONAL

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Service will visit Saudi Arabia in the week of 13 October and Cairo the following week to follow up Saudi criticism of the service and to improve coverage. A senior correspondent will visit Bahrain, Qatar and the UAE for the same purpose.

I am copying this letter to Simon Webb (MOD), Martin Stanley (DTI), John Neilson (Department of Energy) and Sonia Phippard (Cabinet Office).

*Jan,*  
*Stephen Wall*

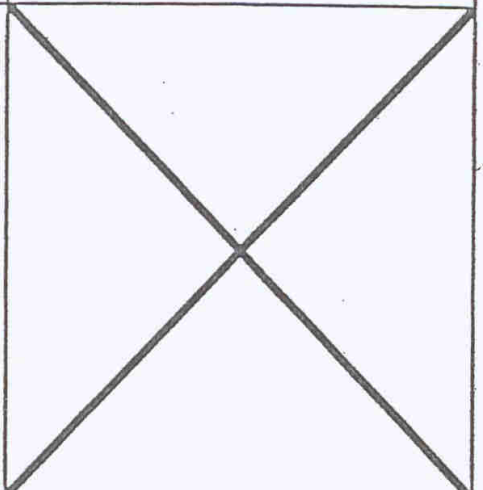
(J S Wall)  
Private Secretary

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THE GULF CRISIS: BRIEFING NOTES

CURRENT ISSUES: BULL POINTS

1. Key points
2. List of points for use with Arabs and other Muslims
3. Saddam Hussein - an isolated loser
4. Forces in the Gulf
5. Iraq/Kuwait and the Palestinians
6. Effects of Iraqi invasion of Kuwait - on Kuwaiti and wider Arab and Muslim interests
7. International assistance to Jordan and other countries affected by sanctions
8. Iraq's treatment of foreign hostages and Embassies
9. What happens if sanctions do not work

BACKGROUND

- Annex 1: Kuwait: history and status: illegality of Iraqi action
- Annex 2: UN Security Council Resolutions
- Annex 3: Sanctions

(Revision)

11 October 1990

## THE GULF CRISIS: BRIEFING NOTES

## 1. KEY POINTS

- Iraqi occupation of Kuwait illegal.
  - Saddam Hussein must withdraw completely from Kuwait: the legitimate government must be restored. No compromise solution acceptable - there can be no reward for aggression.
  - Iraq condemned by international community: some countries originally sympathetic to Iraq now committed to sanctions.
  - Saddam Hussein cannot win: a record of failure. Kuwait a miscalculation like Iran where 8 years war, 100,000 Iraqis killed and a \$80 bn deficit have left Iraq with no gains.
  - The international pressures are just now in place: they will take time to build: they must be as formidable and complete as possible.
  - If peaceful pressures do not work, the international community will have to take further measures to remove Iraq from Kuwait.
  - Western forces in the Gulf at the request of Gulf states as part of international force; they will leave when asked to do so.
  - Iraq's action against Kuwait has damaged Palestinian interests by diverting international and particularly US attention from Arab/Israel.
  - PLO's initial support of Iraqi aggression undermined their international standing by putting them at odds with their own resistance to Israeli occupation, acceptance of SCR 242 and principle of non-acquisition of territory by force.
  - Iraqi or other proposals designed to trade withdrawal (or a fortiori a mere commitment to withdraw) for progress on eg Arab/Israel, are unacceptable. Iraq cannot be allowed to claim credit for progress on other issues as result of its aggression.
  - "Far from helping the Palestinian cause, Iraq is now the main obstacle in the search for a settlement" (Secretary of State interview on "World at One", BBC radio, 10 October).
  - Once present crisis over, a solution must be found to Arab/Israel.
- 
- Gulf crisis caused by Iraqi invasion of Kuwait cannot be linked to the Arab-Israeli conflict.

- British government deeply shocked by violence when 21 Palestinians shot in Jerusalem on 9 October. We and EC partners have strongly deplored use of excessive force by Israelis. Need now for restraint on both sides.
- Incident underlines need for progress towards a settlement of underlying dispute.
- Urgent consultation continuing in Security Council. Working to produce early agreement on Resolution which can be accepted by all parties.

## THE GULF CRISIS: BRIEFING NOTES

## 2. POINTS FOR USE WITH ARABS AND OTHER MUSLIMS

## ILLEGALITY OF IRAQI INVASION OF KUWAIT

- Cause of crisis Iraqi invasion of Kuwait.
- Security Council Resolutions (SCRs 660 and 662) condemned Iraqi invasion and state that it is null and void. Arab League and Islamic Conference Organisation have also condemned invasion.
- Ridiculous for Iraq to claim Kuwait always part of Iraq: up to invasion Iraq government dealt with Kuwait as a separate sovereign state

## SADDAM HUSSEIN: A LOSER - AND ISOLATED

- Iraq has been at peace in only two of Saddam Hussein's eleven years as President. He has gained nothing and weakened Iraq.
- Saddam Hussein invaded Iran in 1980. A major miscalculation. Eight years of war resulted in the deaths of 100,000 Iraqi and 250,000 Iranian soldiers, and foreign debts for Iraq of \$80,000 mn.
- In August 1990 Saddam Hussein threw away all Iraq's gains from the war with Iran, dropping his claims against Iran and reverting to the 1975 agreement on the Shatt al Arab.
- Saddam Hussein's hostages have not fought against him. He has deliberately exposed them to danger (transport to sites). Shamed into freeing women and children but still deprives sick and elderly of freedom. Denied food to Asian workers in Kuwait.

## IRAQ ISOLATED IN FACE OF INTERNATIONAL CONSENSUS ON FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF SCRS

- Saudi Arabia, the other members of the Gulf Cooperation Council (Kuwait, Qatar, UAE, Oman, Bahrain), Egypt, Syria and other members of the Arab League (Morocco, Somalia, Djibouti, Lebanon) have called for Iraqi withdrawal and UN sanctions.
- Only possible solution for Arabs and everyone else is that endorsed by Security Council. Arab solution tried before, during and after invasion: not successful. Anything short of SCR requirements will reinforce Saddam Hussein's disregard for sovereignty and independence of his neighbours.
- Many Arab and Muslim countries showing great steadfastness in implementing sanctions. Over 100 members of UN have informed UN they are taking steps to implement sanctions.



## EFFECT OF SANCTIONS ON IRAQ

- Iraqi economy vulnerable - based almost totally on export of oil. Iraq heavily dependent on imports: Iraq potentially rich in resources but financial reserves badly depleted by war on Iran (in debt by Dollars 80 billion before invasion of Kuwait).
- Sanctions will work if full support of international community is maintained and objectives of SCR resolutions steadfastly held.

## FOOD AND MEDICAL SUPPLIES

- SCR 661 makes an exception to the embargo for "supplies intended strictly for medical purposes and, in humanitarian circumstances, foodstuffs."
- But reports from Iraq indicate that while some individual scarcities (eg increased prices for cooking oil, queues at Bakeries) Iraq at present has plenty of food in stock.
- Iraqi occupation stripped hospitals in Kuwait of medical supplies: where have these gone ?
- Iraqi Government saying priority will go to armed forces and that foreigners may have to find their own food. This falls particularly hard on Arab and Asian workers in Iraq. Attempted blackmail of their governments (no evacuation ships accepted without food) cynical. But some 5,000 Asian workers have been prevented from leaving Kuwait, so that essential services in the city are maintained in operation.
- Obligations of SCR 664 and international humanitarian law give Iraq full responsibility for welfare and safety of third country nationals in Iraq and Kuwait: Iraq should observe this responsibility.
- Iraq has rejected an offer by the International Committee of the Red Cross (neutral independent body in a position to ensure relief supplies go where they are needed) to provide humanitarian assistance in Kuwait and to investigate whether any residents in Iraq or Kuwait are suffering from food shortages.
- Iraq has similarly refused permission for the visit of the UN Secretary General's representatives to find out whether there is a humanitarian need for emergency food shipments and to check on the condition of Kuwaitis, diplomats and foreign nationals.

## IRAQI TREATMENT OF BRITISH MUSLIMS

- The Iraqi authorities have refused to provide assistance to British Muslim pilgrims (to Shi'a shrines in Najjaf and Kerbala) whom the Iraqis have prevented from returning to Britain and who now have no means of support.

- Claims of being champions of Islam from Iraqi Baathist leadership, notably Saddam Hussein himself, deplored by Kuwaiti Muslims in exile: reports of desecration of Korans by Iraqi soldiers.

#### WESTERN FORCES IN THE GULF

- International force in response to request from Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and other Gulf States.
- Purpose of deployments assisting Gulf States entirely defensive.
- Only reason force is there is Iraqi aggression against Kuwait.
- SCR 665 enables forces with Security Council authority to use measures "commensurate to specific circumstances to enforce trade embargo."
- Over 25 nations involved including Arab contingents from all GCC states, Egypt, Morocco, Syria. Also Senegal, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Argentina, Poland and Czechoslovakia.
- No wish to keep international force in area longer than necessary to do its job of getting Iraq out of Kuwait. Expensive: Western public opinion will want it to return as soon as job done.
- Holy places are Mecca and Medina. International force far from them - over 1,000 kms.

#### PALESTINIAN DIMENSION

- Iraq the main obstacle to progress.
- "Palestine is the issue on which successive Arab demagogues have pumped themselves up. Saddam Hussein is no exception ... I do not think that new initiatives over Palestine can take place until Saddam Hussein has been driven out of Kuwait ... This is unfinished business to which we must return as soon as the aggressor has withdrawn or been expelled. Saddam Hussein has set back by his act the cause of peace between Israelis and Arabs, but we cannot afford to abandon it" (Foreign Secretary to Diplomatic and Commonwealth Writers' Association, London, 4 October).
- British government shocked by violence in Jerusalem on 9 October.
- With EC partners have issued statement deploring "use of excessive force by Israeli occupying forces ...".
- UN Security Council debating urgently text of a Resolution agreeable to all parties. Five Permanent Members ready to endorse text condemning Israeli violence.

- Should remember Iraq an unreliable supporter of Arab causes.
- Saddam Hussein has killed his own colleagues in government; he has used guns and gas on the Kurds.
- Iraq did not contribute to the Arab forces which faced Israel in 1973 (heaviest fighting was done by the Egyptians, Syrians and Moroccans).
- Iraq has done little since 1948 to help the Palestinians. Iraq has not honoured its obligations to contribute to PLO under Baghdad Arab Summit of November 1978.
- Since outbreak of Iran/Iraq war virtually no Iraqi contribution to the Palestinian cause.
- Only after Western criticism of Iraq's development of chemical weapons that Saddam resumed the mantle of defender of the Arab world against the Israelis.
- Loss of Kuwaiti funds following invasion deeply felt in occupied territories.
- Only solution in sight to Palestinian problem remains international based on SCR 242. PLO's acceptance of SCR 242 in 1988 a major step forward.
- HMG have since then repeatedly stressed that it is for Israel to match moves for settlement made on Arab side. We welcome Palestinian willingness to go forward on basis of Baker plan. But so far Israeli government has not matched that willingness.
- For Palestinians to throw in their lot with Saddam Hussein plays into hands of Israeli opponents of withdrawal and international settlement, alienates moderates in Israel with whom Arabs/Palestinians will have to talk.
- Palestinians aspire to an independent state. The whole purpose of international action against Iraq is to assure the independence of small states close to powerful expansionist neighbours. "The PLO cannot possibly be in favour of the usurpation by force of one country by another" (Bassam Abu Sharif of the PLO in Tunis on 19 September)
- Prince Saud, Saudi Foreign Minister, told the United Nations General Assembly in New York on 2 October that "for the sake of Palestine, Iraq should withdraw from Kuwait and adhere to international legitimacy".

#### MECCA CONFERENCE ON GULF CRISIS

- The World Islamic Conference on the Gulf crisis organised by the Muslim World League ended in Mecca on 12 September, and expressed:

- o strong condemnation of the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait. It was inadmissible that Muslims should commit acts of aggression against each other;
- o a call for Iraq's immediate and unconditional withdrawal and restoration of legitimate government;
- o a call to the Iraqi government to abide by international law in respect of persons, property and foreign Embassies in Kuwait;
- o Saudi Arabia's request for foreign military assistance was justified by necessity, and thus in accordance with Islamic law. When Iraq withdrew and the threat to the Kingdom receded, the foreign forces must be withdrawn;
- o a call for the establishment of a permanent Islamic force within the framework of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference to deal with future crises between Islamic countries. Young people in Islamic countries should receive military training to enable them to participate in the defence of Islam;
- o a call to governments and Islamic organisations to do all they can to prevent the outbreak of war and achieve Islamic unity.

#### THE FUTURE

- If and when the Saudis, the Bahrainis, any others, ask us to leave, we will leave. "It is impossible to say now how long it will be for but our forces will stay there obviously while the host states want them to stay and while we judge the danger remains" (Foreign Secretary, 14 September).
- When Iraq has withdrawn from Kuwait as it must and the legitimate government is restored a need for arrangements involving UN to ensure Kuwait's security and that of other countries of the region.
- King Fahd of Saudi Arabia on 22 September stressed to a group of French Senators the necessity of immediate withdrawal of Iraqi troop concentrations on the Saudi border, and for guarantees that the Iraqi regime would not repeat its aggression against any Gulf state (Saudi Press Agency).

## THE GULF CRISIS: BRIEFING NOTES

## 3. SADDAM HUSSEIN - AN ISOLATED LOSER

- Iraq has been at peace in only two of Saddam Hussein's eleven years as President. He has gained nothing and weakened Iraq, now virtually isolated in the Arab community of nations.
- Saddam Hussein has a brutal record: at 22 he took part in an unsuccessful attempt to assassinate General Qasim.
- He has gassed his own people. He runs a police state where dissent means death. Iraqi opposition sources report the arrest in mid-September of scores of middle-ranking officers plotting against the regime.
- Afraid of his own people: never appears in public. Mr Tariq Aziz said on Cable News Network that Saddam Hussein "is spending all his time with his people and is one of the most popular leaders in the world". But coverage of his visit to Kuwait on 3 October was first media indication of his whereabouts since 8 August. Iraqi TV film of visit showed a deserted city.
- Iraqi Communist Party newspaper, Tariq al-Shaab, has called for immediate, unconditional withdrawal from Kuwait and release of all foreign nationals from Kuwait and Iraq.
- International subversion. Sponsored terrorism in the 1970s. Baghdad still home to several terrorist organisations. Murders Iraqi dissidents overseas.
- Saddam Hussein's hostages have not fought against him. He has deliberately exposed them to danger (transport to sites). Shamed into freeing women and children but still deprives sick and elderly of freedom. Denied food to Asian workers in Kuwait.
- "Saddam Hussein is beginning to understand that it is him against the world" (President Bush to the United Nations General Assembly in New York on 1 October).
- Saddam's isolation ever more evident. Voting in the Security Council has reflected an unprecedented level of international consensus against his actions. Iraq's aggression and hostage-taking has alienated almost every nation in the world.
- Saddam Hussein's words cannot be trusted:
  - (a) "An Arab country does not have the right to occupy another Arab country ... God forbid, if Iraq should deviate from the right path, we would want Arabs to send their arms to put things right" (speech to Arab lawyers, 28 November 1988);
  - (b) Escalation of war aims from:

- i cancellation of Iraqi debt to Kuwait and surrender of islands
  - via ii response to invitation from a rebel government in Kuwait
  - and iii acting in pursuit of the Arabs dispute with Israel
  - to iv acting for the poor and unendowed against the rich, selfish feudal states of the Arabian peninsula
- Resumption of diplomatic relations between Saudi Arabia and the Soviet Union after half a century will further isolate Iraq, which until the invasion of Kuwait, was one of Moscow's main Arab allies.
  - Bush/Gorbachev Helsinki Summit confirmed Iraq's isolation "We are united in the belief that Iraq's aggression must not be tolerated. No peaceful international order is possible if larger States can devour their smaller neighbours".
  - Arab League called for Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait and approved decision that Arab countries could send troops to defend Saudi Arabia against any Iraqi attack. Egypt, Syria and Morocco responded speedily.
  - Support of all oil producing states (with exception of Iraq) for UN measures gives lie to allegations that USA and others motivated only by desire for cheap oil.
  - World Islamic Conference on the Gulf crisis organised by the Muslim World League ended in Mecca on 12 September with strong condemnation of the Iraqi invasion and endorsement of the deployment of foreign troops in Saudi Arabia.
  - Foreign Ministers of Organisation of the Islamic Conference, at meeting in New York on 1 October, strongly condemned invasion of Kuwait, declared its annexation null and void, and demanded that Iraq abide by the SC Resolutions. During session, the Secretary General of the Conference, Hamid Algabed, called Iraq's act "a challenge and affront to Islam, and a waste of Islamic resources".
  - Farouk al-Shara, Syrian Foreign Minister, told the UNGA in New York on 2 October that "Syria was bound by the Charter of the Arab League and the Joint Arab Defence Pact to help any Arab country which fell victim to aggression".
  - Egyptian and Syrian Foreign Ministers have met to co-ordinate the position of their two countries, and have again stressed need for unconditional Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait.
  - Olympic Council of Asia barred Iraq from taking part in the Asian Games in Peking. Asian Federations of wrestling, fencing, athletics, table tennis, volley ball and hand ball suspended Iraqi membership.

- Iran has condemned the invasion of Kuwait and confirmed that it will abide by the UN sanctions. President Rafsanjani has said Iran would strongly oppose any territorial concession to the Iraqis in occupied Kuwait, however minimal, as an inducement to its withdrawal. Iran has confirmed it will abide by the UN sanctions: "if, like us, every country applied without fail the embargo ... Iraq would be obliged to give way and withdraw from Kuwait" (President Rafsanjani in interview with Le Monde, 9 October).
- NATO and EC countries have condemned the Iraqi invasion and are providing military and/or financial support to States affected by Iraqi aggression. Iraqi diplomats have been expelled by EC countries and the freedom of movement of remaining diplomats has been restricted.
- Growing food shortage has forced Iraq to appropriate agricultural land not being cultivated and to issue ration books limiting each person to a monthly ration of 6 kg flour, 1.5 kg rice, 100 gms tea, 500 gms cooking oil, 250 gms beans and pulses, 3 tins baby milk, 1 small packet of detergent and 1 cake of soap.
- "The Charter of the UN, our document, was held in complete contempt. And it is for those reasons that an extraordinary, unique coalition of the international community has formed against the aggressor" (Mr Hurd at the United Nations General Assembly in New York on 26 September).

## THE GULF CRISIS: BRIEFING NOTES

## 4. FORCES IN THE GULF

- International force present in the Gulf in response to request from Saudi Arabia and other Gulf States. Forces of over 25 nations, including several Arab ones, are deployed or are to be deployed on land, sea and air.
- Purpose of deployment is entirely defensive.
- Following SCR 665, the naval forces present are now enabled under Security Council authority to use measures "commensurate to specific circumstances" to enforce trade embargo.
- The international force will remain in the area so long as the host countries believe it has a job to do. President Bush (press conference at Helsinki Summit) said "The sooner our forces were out of the region, the better. I have no intention of keeping them there a day longer than necessary". Exactly the British government's view.
- British forces initially committed to Gulf undertaking are 5,000, on sea and in the air. Our response speedy, when need for defence at its greatest. In addition an armoured brigade totalling some 10,000 troops and including some 120 tanks and a further squadron of Tornado aircraft is now on the way to Saudi Arabia.
- Operating costs to HMG are about £2 mn a day; deployment and additional costs are some £700 mn. Some support (free fuel) already being provided by host nations.
- France is despatching a brigade (4,000 troops) equipped with helicopters, tanks and anti-aircraft missiles plus 30 aircraft to Saudi Arabia. Canada is sending 18 more fighter aircraft. Italy, Belgium and the Netherlands have also sent warships and aircraft.
- Largest military costs being incurred by US. Administration is examining ways in which other nations might help to share the burden. Japan has pledged \$2 bn towards financing international force.
- Genuine international operation: military contributions arriving from every continent. Arab states making a major contribution include Egypt, Syria and Morocco as well as troops from all the countries of the Gulf Co-Operation Council. Pakistan is sending 5,000 troops and Senegal, Niger and Bangladesh are following suit. Argentina has now decided to despatch a combined force and Czechoslovakia and Poland will participate.



- Latest Gallup Poll (Daily Telegraph, 10 October) shows public support for UK (and US) policy in Gulf unwavering after 2½ months.
- Most people questioned in survey prepared to support use of force if blockade proves unsuccessful, but 60% preferred blockade to use of force.
- Holy Places of Saudi Arabia: international forces are deployed along Persian Gulf. Holy Places of Mecca and Medina are in Hejaz, region lying along coast of Red Sea. International forces closest to them are over 900 km away. Areas around Medina and Mecca are no-go areas for non-Muslims, and Saudis enforce this position strictly.
- Muslim and Arab forces (part of international force) are helping to defend Saudi Arabia against threat posed by only occupying force in Arabian Peninsula - Iraqi troops that have invaded Kuwait.
- Mecca Conference of Muslim World League on 12 September concluded Saudi Arabia's request for foreign military assistance in accordance with Islamic law.

## THE GULF CRISIS: BRIEFING NOTES

## 5. IRAQ/KUWAIT AND THE PALESTINIANS

- No direct linkage between Arab/Israel and Iraq/Kuwait. But "we must not lose sight of other fundamental issues in the region, above all the need for a just solution to the Palestinian problem. Unfortunately the Palestinians' support for Iraq's action in seizing the territory of another State has grievously damaged their cause, but nevertheless these events must not stop us from trying to find a solution to this long-standing issue. Peace and security will not come to the region until it is solved" (Prime Minister in Parliament on 6 September).
- Recent bloody incidents in Jerusalem deeply shocking. Underline need for progress towards settlement of underlying dispute.
- Britain determined, once the present crisis is over, to bring Israel's occupation of Arab territory to an end in order to allow the Palestinians to exercise their right of self-determination.
- Saddam's invasion of Kuwait has deprived the Palestinians of one of their most generous financial supporters (a Palestinian economist has pointed out that the loss of Kuwaiti aid alone could cost the Occupied Territories 10% of their GNP this year). This situation lays bare the lie of Saddam Hussein that the government and people of Kuwait have hoarded their oil wealth and been uncaring of poorer Arab countries. Kuwaiti assistance has been given extensively to many countries and on generous terms.
- Invasion has deprived most of the 350,000 Palestinians working in Kuwait of their livelihood, and the possibility of supporting their relatives in Jordan, the Lebanon and the West Bank. (Another Palestinian economist has estimated that the returning Palestinians could push the unemployment rate in the Occupied Territories up to 35%.)
- Invasion has done grave damage to the Palestinian cause and strengthened the case of those Israelis who claim that the Arabs cannot be trusted to live in peace with Israel. PLO has got itself into the position of supporting one occupation in order to end another.
- Saddam's continued occupation of Kuwait, and deprivation of the Kuwaiti right to self-determination, can only help those Israelis who call for the continuation of the occupation of the West Bank, Gaza, Golan and the southern part of Lebanon, and deny the Palestinians their right to self-determination.
- Reject linkage of solutions to Gulf crisis and Arab/Israel. This would allow Saddam Hussein to claim that his aggression against Kuwait had achieved something for Palestinians. And it

would greatly complicate search for solution to both problems. Will redouble our efforts to resolve Palestinian problem when Iraqis have left Kuwait.

- "There must eventually be direct dialogue between Israel and representative Palestinians - the prospects for an international conference are bound to be limited unless and until the two principal parties are talking to each other about the real issues. Once Iraq is out of Kuwait, I hope there will be opportunities for fresh thinking" (Mr Hurd to Diplomatic and Commonwealth Writers Association in London, 4 October).
- "Saddam Hussein claims to be promoting the Palestinian cause. In fact his cause is power, not people power but personal power. He has set back by his act the cause of peace between Israelis and Arabs but we cannot afford to abandon it" (Mr Hurd to Diplomatic and Commonwealth Writers Association in London on 4 October).

## THE GULF CRISIS: BRIEFING NOTES

## 6. EFFECTS OF IRAQI INVASION OF KUWAIT

- Kuwait a ghost town under curfew. Invasion has resulted in collapse of public order.
- Iraq attempting to wipe the existence of Kuwait from the map. Kuwaiti passports, vehicle licence papers, identity cards and currency invalid from 1 October.
- Amnesty International reported on 3 October that Iraqi forces have executed and tortured scores of people in Kuwait, and hundreds more were being detained. Repressive measures include killing in streets and in presence of victims' families, summary executions, random mass arrests, destruction of homes.
- Iraqis have changed the face of Kuwait, renaming districts and buildings and neglecting maintenance. The city is littered with burnt-out cars and debris from fallen buildings. Rubbish is piled high in the streets but giant portraits of Saddam Hussein erected around the city.
- Iraqis have stripped Kuwait of everything they can remove, including equipment and spare parts for industries hit by sanctions. Medical equipment and supplies (and even street lights and traffic signals) have been removed, and the contents of the Kuwait National Museum, Kuwait University and the Kuwait Institute for Scientific Research pillaged.
- Iraqis have now organised formal requisitioning system, so that goods from Kuwait continue to flow to markets in Iraq.
- But Iraqi News Agency reported that Saddam Hussein, on 3 October, walked about in the streets of Kuwait city "familiarising himself with its landmarks which were resplendent, reflecting pride in the city's return to the homeland".
- All Kuwaitis hiding foreign nationals from the occupying forces or displaying the Kuwaiti flag or a portrait of the Amir incur a death penalty.
- Kuwaiti banks were early target for invading Iraqi command. (\$1.6 bn in gold and foreign exchange reported plundered from Central Bank.) Iraq has forced through a one-for-one exchange of Iraqi and Kuwaiti dinars, effectively a ten-fold devaluation and ordered that the Kuwaiti dinar is no longer legal tender.
- Deterioration on oil installations will mean a significant potential loss in revenues in the longer term.
- Saddam Hussein's treatment of foreign workers inhumane and barbarous. He has treated Asian workers without any human dignity, and is now using their circumstances to attempt to blackmail governments into breaching the embargo.

- Iraq is responsible for the flood of refugees, mainly Asian who have fled from Iraqi-occupied Kuwait and Iraq. Iraq has created climate of fear and uncertainty, from which migrant workers wish to escape. They are prompted by:
  - o Shortage of food, water and other necessities.
  - o Shortage of funds in most cases, their jobs have disappeared; their savings been lost or devalued as result of the phasing out of Kuwaiti dinar. They have been robbed of many of their possessions by Iraqi officials and troops.
  - o Fear of looting, rape of women, both of which have been reported as widespread.
  - o Fear of being used as shields at sites of military importance.
  - o Fear of use of chemical weapons.
- Amir of Kuwait told the United Nations General Assembly on 27 September that Iraq's aggression against Kuwait was unique in post-World War II history. Not only had Iraq overrun a sovereign independent member state of the UN and attempted to annex it by force, it had also tried to erase the name and existence of Kuwait from the world political map and destroy its political, economic and social structures. "Rape, destruction, terror and torture were the Iraqi rule of the day in Kuwait".
- Iraq is doing little to help thousands of people blocked at its borders. But it has rejected offer from International Committee of the Red Cross (neutral independent body in a position to ensure relief supplies go where they are needed), to provide humanitarian assistance both in Kuwait and to investigate whether any residents in Iraq or Kuwait are suffering from food shortages. Private Iraqis, especially Kurds, have however, been helpful.
- Similarly Iraq has refused permission for visit of UN to find out whether there is an humanitarian need for emergency food shipments, and to check on condition of Kuwaitis and foreign nationals in Kuwait (including diplomats).

## THE GULF CRISIS: BRIEFING NOTES

## 7. INTERNATIONAL ASSISTANCE TO JORDAN AND OTHER COUNTRIES AFFECTED BY SANCTIONS

- World community intensifying efforts to ease twin problems of
    - (a) countries adversely affected by sanctions;
    - (b) humanitarian assistance to refugees.
  - Britain is playing its part.
  - Britain is co-operating in international efforts to co-ordinate international assistance to countries hard hit by sanctions and the crisis on their doorstep. "While we must all contribute, it is only fitting that a special effort be made by those who, for one reason or another, are not contributing to the multi-national force in the Gulf" (Prime Minister in Parliament on 6 September).
  - Britain has contributed £10 mn in humanitarian relief for refugees in Jordan, and sent tents, blankets and medical supplies. Britain is also joining EC partners in providing a further £21 mn in addition to the original EC aid of £14.3 mn to the Governments of Jordan, Egypt and Turkey to help them cope with the flood of refugees.
  - The international airlift has significantly reduced the number of refugees in Jordan and is coping with the current outflow from Iraq. A British Airways Tristar is flying refugees from Amman to South Asia. But an outbreak of hostilities could displace a further million refugees.
  - Iraq has refused to accept the UN Secretary-General's appointment of Sadruddin Aga Khan as his personal representative for humanitarian assistance relating to the crisis between Iraq and Kuwait, in particular the problems of third country nationals.
- 
- Only fitting that richer countries not contributing to the multinational force should make a special financial effort. Japan and Germany have pledged substantial amounts (US \$4bn and US \$2.2 bn) and Koreans contributing US \$220 mn. Contributions could go to countries directly affected by sanctions (Egypt, Turkey and Jordan) if political problems about contributions to military costs. For example, half of Japanese pledge designated for economic aid to "front-line" states, while half for support of multinational force, channelled through GCC.

## THE GULF CRISIS: BRIEFING NOTES

### 8. IRAQI TREATMENT OF FOREIGN HOSTAGES AND EMBASSIES

Iraq has violated international law by:

- (a) using foreign nationals as hostages, deporting them from Iraqi-occupied Kuwait to Iraq and placing some at strategic sites as a human shield against possible attack; and
- (b) attempting to close foreign Embassies accredited to Kuwait, following its illegal annexation of Kuwait.

#### A. LEGAL POSITION ON FOREIGN HOSTAGES

- Fourth Geneva Convention, 1949 (The Civilian Convention) applies to situation in Kuwait. Both Iraq and Kuwait are parties to the Convention.
- This Convention applies to those who find themselves, in the case of a conflict or an occupation, in hands of a party to the conflict or an occupying power of which they are not nationals. These are "protected persons".
- Most important provisions are:
  - o right to humane treatment and protection from violence
  - o protected persons may not be used to render areas immune from military operations
  - o protection from reprisals
  - o taking of hostages prohibited
  - o right to leave the territory (restrictions on security grounds must not be exercised in arbitrary manner)
  - o individual or mass forcible transfers, as well as deportations of protected persons from occupied territory to the territory of the occupying power are prohibited, regardless of motive
- The killing of hostages, whatever the motive, and the use of civilians to provide a shield against military operations are contrary to customary international law, and under the terms of the Geneva Convention individuals are held personally responsible for such crimes.

#### B. LEGAL POSITION ON FOREIGN EMBASSIES

- The privileges and immunities of diplomatic mission staff and their premises are regulated by the terms of the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations, 1961.

- 153 States are parties to the Vienna Convention. Iraq is one of them.
- Preamble to the Convention declares that  
"... the purpose of such privileges and immunities [accorded to all categories of diplomatic mission staff] is not to benefit individuals but to ensure the efficient performance of the functions of diplomatic missions ..."
- Immunities provided for in the Convention include:
  - personal inviolability and freedom from arrest and detention (Articles 29 and 37);
  - immunity from criminal (and most civil) jurisdiction (Articles 31 and 37);
  - the inviolability of the premises of the mission including the head of mission's residence and of the residences of members of the staff (Articles 22, 30 and 37);
  - the inviolability of the archives and documents of the mission, wherever they may be (Article 24);
  - the right of free communication on the part of the mission for all official purposes (Article 27(1));
  - the exemption from all personal services, from all public service of any kind and from military obligations such as those connected with requisitioning, military contributions and billeting (Articles 35 and 37).

The Convention also confirms that persons enjoying privileges and immunities under the Convention must, even in the case of armed conflict, be granted facilities in order to enable them to leave the State in which they are based at the earliest possible moment (Article 44).

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- SCR 662, adopted 9 August, declares Iraq's annexation of Kuwait null and void, and calls upon all States not to recognise annexation and to refrain from any action that might be interpreted as an indirect recognition of annexation. Nearly 30 countries defied Iraq's orders to close their Embassies in Kuwait.
  - SCR 667 adopted 16 September, condemned Iraqi aggression against diplomatic premises and personnel in Kuwait and demanded that Iraq take no action to hinder diplomatic and consular missions in Kuwait and Baghdad, including access to their nationals and the protection of their personal interests.



- Iraqi troops have broken into and ransacked several Embassies in Kuwait, and taken away those non-diplomats who were there. They have surrounded the Embassies with tanks, and cut off their water, electricity and telephones. Diplomats are imprisoned inside these Embassies totally, unable to carry out consular or any other responsibilities and denied free movement in the city.
- Nearly 300 Britons are now being held by the Iraqis at a number of key installations. About 700 British people are left in Kuwait out of the 4,000 who were there when the Iraqis invaded on 2 August.

## THE GULF CRISIS: BRIEFING NOTES

## 9. WHAT HAPPENS IF SANCTIONS DO NOT WORK

- Sanctions can work if full support of international community is maintained and objectives of SCR resolutions steadfastly held.
- Hope to achieve objective peacefully, but use of force cannot be ruled out. "We are not precluded by reason of the SCR from exercising the inherent right of collective self-defence in accordance with the rules of international law - I am not prepared to limit our legitimate freedom of action" (Prime Minister in Parliament on 6 September).
- Bush/Gorbachev Helsinki Summit statement "our preference is to resolve the crisis peacefully and we will be united against Iraq's aggression as long as the crisis exists. However we are determined to see this aggression end, and if the current steps fail to end it, we are prepared to consider additional ones consistent with the UN Charter. We must demonstrate beyond any doubt that aggression cannot and will not pay".
- "If Iraq does not meet these non-negotiable conditions (immediate withdrawal of forces from Kuwait, restoration of the Kuwaiti government and release of foreign hostages), then its isolation will not end. We are prepared to take additional steps if sanctions and the quest for a political solution do not work" (President Bush in San Francisco on 19 September).
- "In the context of recent events I should remind those who regard aggression an acceptable form of behaviour that the United Nations has the power "to suppress acts of aggression. There is already ample evidence that this right can be exercised" (Mr Shevardnadze to the UNGA on 25 September).
- "This broad alliance, this concert of nations, has to reverse the aggression, restore legitimacy to Kuwait and secure the release of the foreign nationals being held hostage" (Mr Hurd to the UNSC on 25 September).
- "The military option exists and can be used ... we are being made to face the possibility of war by Saddam Hussein's refusal to roll back this annexation of an independent country" (Mr Hurd to Diplomatic and Commonwealth Writers Association in London on 4 October).
- "I know we have to be ready for any contingency, and we shall be ... that man must leave Kuwait, the legitimate government must be restored, and he must pay for the damage and harm he has done in Kuwait and elsewhere ... there is no more room for negotiation now" (Mrs Thatcher in New York on 1 October).

## THE GULF CRISIS: BRIEFING NOTES

## ANNEX 1. KUWAIT: HISTORY AND STATUS

- Kuwait independent longer than Iraq. Al Sabah in continuous control since early 18th century.
- Came under Ottoman suzerainty, but not sovereignty.
- Ottoman Empire dissolved after First World War. The disposition of its dependent territories was decided by international treaties under which Turkey abandoned any rights to areas outside its frontiers.
- Kuwait's sovereignty, independence and international frontiers recognised both by international community and by successive Iraqi Governments formally and through the conduct of bilateral relations.

## CHRONOLOGY

- Early eighteenth century, Kuwait established on land adjacent to, but not part of, Ottoman Empire.
- 1871: more than one hundred years later, Sheikh Abdullah Al Sabah (1866-1892) accepted title of qaimmaqam (district officer) of the qaza (district) of Kuwait in return for an Ottoman pledge that Kuwait would retain administrative autonomy.
- 1899: fear that the pledge would not be honoured resulted in an Exclusive Agreement with Britain binding the Ruler of Kuwait not to cede any of his territory without Britain's prior sanction.
- July 1913: Britain and Ottoman Empire signed Convention recognising Kuwait as autonomous and accepting that the ruler should have full administrative authority and control over tribes in surrounding areas (defined by a green line on an attached map). Convention not ratified because of First World War.
- 1914: Britain recognised Kuwait as an independent state under British protection. After First World War, Turkey renounced all rights and titles to subordinate territories of the former Ottoman Empire.
- 1921: Kingdom of Iraq created from former vilayets of Baghdad, Basra and Mosul. Anglo-Iraqi relationship established under League of Nations supervision, and given effect by Treaty signed in 1922.
- 1932: British responsibility under the Treaty terminated.

IRAQ/KUWAIT

- 1923: Britain recognised green line of 1913 Convention as boundary between Kuwait and Iraq.
- 1932: Exchange of letters between Sheikh Ahmad Al Sabah (1921-50) for Kuwait and Prime Minister Nuri al Said for Iraq accepted definition of Kuwait-Iraq boundary similar to 1913 green line.
- 1958: Iraqi monarchy overthrown.
- 19 June 1961: Exchange of notes between Britain and Kuwait terminating 1899 Exclusive Agreement but confirming Britain's readiness to assist Kuwait if requested. British troops sent to Kuwait after renewed Iraqi claims, but subsequently replaced by an Arab League Security Force. (British troops withdrew on 19 October 1961, Arab League forces remained until 1963).
- October 1963: Signature by Iraq of an agreed minute recognising Kuwait's sovereignty and independence within the frontiers defined in 1932 exchange of letters.
- The Amir of Kuwait told the United Nations General Assembly in New York on 27 September that the Iraqi aggression was a premeditated scheme to occupy and seize Kuwait, "based on false pretexts and untenable claims, despite the existence of several internationally recognised Treaties and agreements between the two countries".

## THE GULF CRISIS: BRIEFING NOTES

## ANNEX 2. UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS

- The UN Security Council has adopted eight mandatory resolutions concerning the invasion of Kuwait on 2 August. Of the 15 Security Council members only Yemen and Cuba abstained on SCR 661 and 665. Resolution 660 was adopted by 14 votes with none against or abstaining (Yemen was absent). SCR 662, 664 and 667 were adopted unanimously. Cuba was the only SC member to vote against SCR 670 and Cuba and Yemen both voted against SCR 666.

Resolution 660 (1990) - adopted 2 August

- condemned Iraqi invasion of Kuwait.
- demanded that Iraq withdraw "immediately and unconditionally" all its forces to their positions on 1 August 1990.

Resolution 661 (1990) - adopted 6 August

- called for (1) the import of "all commodities and products originating in Iraq or Kuwait" and (2) the sale or supply to Iraq or Kuwait of any commodities or products except "supplies intended strictly for medical purposes and, in humanitarian circumstances, foodstuffs" to be strictly prevented by all States, including non-members of the United Nations.
- established a committee of the Security Council to examine reports by the Secretary General on the implementation of the Resolution and to seek information on action taken by States to implement it.
- nothing in the Resolution should prohibit assistance to the legitimate Government of Kuwait whose assets should be protected.

Resolution 662 (1990) - adopted 9 August

- decided that the annexation of Kuwait by Iraq was null and void.
- called upon all States to refrain from any action that might be interpreted as an indirect recognition of the annexation.

Resolution 664 (1990) - adopted 19 August

- recalled the obligations of Iraq under international law in regard to third State nationals in Iraq and Kuwait.
- demanded that Iraq permitted the immediate departure of such nationals from Kuwait and Iraq, granted immediate and continuing consular access and took no action to jeopardise their safety, security or health.

- demanded that Iraq rescind its orders for the closure of diplomatic and consular missions in Kuwait.

Resolution 665 (1990) - adopted 25 August

- called upon those states cooperating with the Government of Kuwait and deploying maritime forces to the area "to use such measures commensurate to the specific circumstances as may be necessary under the authority of the Security Council" to halt inward and outward shipping to verify cargoes and ensure strict implementation of the provisions in Resolution 661.

Resolution 666 (1990) - adopted 13 September

- expected Iraq to comply with its obligations under SCR 664 (1990) in respect of third state nationals.
- requested the Secretary General to seek urgently information on the availability of food in Iraq and Kuwait, with particular attention to eg children under 15 years of age, expectant mothers, maternity cases, the sick and the elderly.
- requested the Secretary General, in the event of a decision to supply foodstuffs to Iraq and Kuwait in humanitarian circumstances, the use his good offices to facilitate their delivery and distribution.

Resolution 667 (1990) - adopted 16 September

- condemned Iraqi aggression against diplomatic premises and personnel in Kuwait.
- demanded that Iraq take no action to hinder the diplomatic and consular missions in Kuwait and Baghdad, including access to their nationals and the protection of their personal interests.
- decided to consult urgently in order to take further concrete measures under Chapter 7 of the Charter.

Resolution 670 (1990) - adopted 25 September

- orders nations to close airspace and landing strips to planes flying to and from Iraq and Kuwait unless they submit to cargo inspection - exceptions will only be made for food supplies in humanitarian circumstances and medical flights subject to UN authorisation.
- calls on all states to detain any Iraqi-registered ships which enter their ports in violation of sanctions.
- reminds governments of their obligations to freeze Iraqi assets and protect those of the legitimate Kuwaiti government.

## THE GULF CRISIS: BRIEFING NOTES

## ANNEX 3. UN SANCTIONS

- On 6 August 1990 Security Council of the United Nations adopted Resolution (SCR) 661 imposing sanctions on Iraq. 13 votes for the Resolution; Yemen and Cuba abstained.
- SCR 661 prohibits the import of Iraqi or Kuwaiti products and the sale or supply or transshipment of goods to Iraq or Kuwait (other than medical supplies and, in humanitarian circumstances, food stuffs. Nature of these items and circumstances in which their supply would be admissible still to be defined.) SCR 661 also forbids the transfer of funds to Iraq or Kuwait.
- SCR 661 is binding upon all members of the United Nations.
- Vital that international community presents a united front on implementation of sanctions and takes action to ensure they are rigorously applied. Without this they cannot and will not work.
- 25 August, Security Council adopted SCR 665 (13 votes, 2 abstentions - Yemen and Cuba) authorising naval support of sanctions using "measures commensurate to the specific circumstances" to inspect cargoes and ensure strict implementation of SCR 661.
- Security Council has established UN Sanctions Committee to monitor compliance with SCR 661. Nearly 100 countries have recorded positive responses to the UN. One or two still considering what domestic measures to take. Many can comply easily since they have no history of trade with Iraq.
- The 25 September vote on SCR 670 (air embargo) particularly significant as most countries represented at Foreign Minister level: "another brick in the international wall being built around this aggressor" (Mr Hurd to the UNSC on 25 September).
- Evidence that some countries are breaking sanctions.
- Sanctions Committee currently considering applications from Jordan, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, India, Tunisia and Lebanon, under Article 50 of the UN Charter, connected with the special domestic economic problems which the full implementation of the sanctions will bring.
- To date sanctions have been largely effective in depriving Iraq of oil revenues and of access to Iraqi and Kuwaiti financial assets.

- "The energy-consuming world has a great interest in the uninterrupted flow of oil as we, the producers, have. Our interests are identical, a fact that Iraq should have recognised" (Yousuf Shirawi, Bahraini Acting Minister of State for Cabinet Affairs in The Times, 20 September).

#### UK IMPLEMENTATION OF SANCTIONS

- Necessary orders to bring sanctions into effect quickly put into place (8 August):
  - o Export of Goods (Control) Order - prohibits exports without a licence
  - o Amendment to the Open General Import Licence - prohibition on imports
  - o Iraq and Kuwait United Nations Sanctions Order - prohibits (except when licensed) activities in connection with the export of goods from Iraq and Kuwait. The Order applies to activities of UK nationals and companies abroad as well as within the UK.
- No valid comparison with UK policy on sanctions against South Africa. Whereas with South Africa our policy has been to encourage internal reform without causing economic ruin and political chaos, our aim with Iraq is so to weaken the economy that a military retreat from Kuwait is unavoidable.