

JULY 8—15, 1961

**A. KUWAIT. — General Kassem claims Iraqi Sovereignty over Kuwait. - Ruler of Kuwait's Appeal for British and Saudi Arabian Assistance. - British and Saudi Military Forces sent to Kuwait. - International Reactions to Kuwait Crisis. - Soviet Veto of British Resolution in Security Council.**

A claim to Iraqi sovereignty over Kuwait was made by General Kassem (Prime Minister of Iraq) on June 25, only six days after the signing of the new agreement between Britain and the Sheikdom of Kuwait [see 18159 B]. In a statement broadcast by Baghdad Radio, General Kassem described Kuwait as an "integral part of Iraq," basing his claim on the arguments (1) that Kuwait was part of the province of Basra in the former Ottoman Empire, and (2) that it had been recognized by Britain as such both before and after the treaty of 1899 whereby Kuwait came under British protection. General Kassem said that Iraq did not recognize what he described as the "forged treaty" of 1899, which had been "imposed on Kuwait by the imperialists" in consideration of a payment of 15,000 rupees; he also described the Kuwaiti signatories of the new agreement as "irresponsible people who are under the sway of imperialism."

In the course of his statement General Kassem announced that a decree had been issued appointing the Sheikh of Kuwait as *kaimakam* (prefect) of Kuwait—thereby implying that the Sheikdom was regarded as an integral part of Iraqi territory. It was commented abroad that General Kassem apparently regarded as a precedent an Ottoman decree of 1871 under which the Sheikh of Kuwait was appointed *vahi* (governor) of Basra province.

A memorandum was presented to all diplomatic missions in Baghdad on June 26 in which the Iraqi Government upheld its claim to Kuwait as a "fact attested to by history." After saying that "foreign Governments, including the British Government itself, recognized the sovereignty of the Ottoman Empire over Kuwait" up to the First World War, the memorandum said that after the Iraqi revolution of 1958 "British imperialism resorted to new methods" to separate Kuwait from Iraq "under the screen of alleged independence." For this purpose the British Government had concluded on June 19, 1961, a new "imperialist agreement" with the Sheikh of Kuwait involving the termination of the "invalid 1899 agreement." The memorandum said that "this new agreement in fact provides for the continuation of the British protectorate over Kuwait by the British Government's undertaking to give any assistance requested by the Sheikh."

The Ruler of Kuwait (Sheikh Abdullah es-Salem es-Sabah) formally requested British assistance on June 30 under the provisions of the new Anglo-Kuwaiti agreement, following reports of Iraqi troop movements in the Basra area; a similar request was made to Saudi Arabia, whose King had previously sent a telegram to Sheikh Abdullah expressing Saudi Arabia's full support for "fraternal Kuwait." The Kuwaiti Government had issued a statement on June 26 declaring its determination to defend the territory of Kuwait; emphasizing that Kuwait was "an independent Arab State with full sovereignty, recognized internationally"; and expressing confidence that Kuwait would have the support of "all friendly and peace-loving countries, especially the sisterly Arab States."

In London, the Foreign Secretary (Lord Home) stated in the House of Lords on June 28 that the British and Kuwaiti Governments had been in consultation and that the Ruler of Kuwait had been assured of British support if it were requested. He added: "The [Anglo-Kuwaiti] exchanges of Notes of June 19 was an agreement between two independent States. It was not an instrument by which Kuwait achieved an independence which she previously lacked; Kuwait had been internationally recognized as an independent and sovereign State for some time past." A similar statement was made in the House of Commons by the Lord Privy Seal (Mr. Edward Heath), who pointed out that most Arab countries had sent messages of support to the Ruler of Kuwait.

The following statement was issued on June 30 by the British Foreign Office:

"The Government have certain obligations to the Government of Kuwait. In the face of a declared threat to this small independent State of annexation by a more powerful neighbour, the Government have had to take some normal precautionary measures.

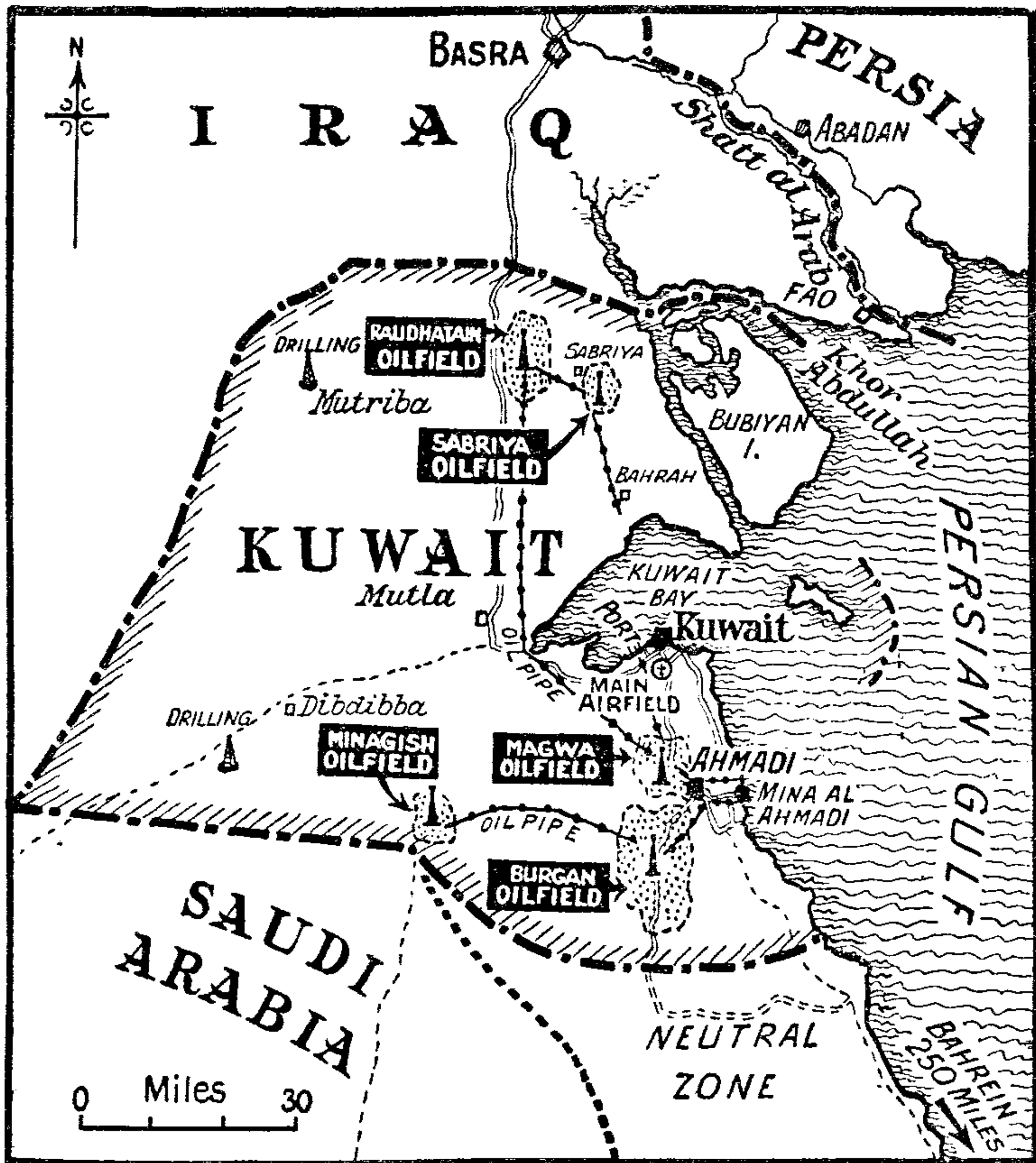
"At the same time the Government have informed a number of friendly Governments in the Middle East and elsewhere of their deep

concern at this situation, and have expressed to them the hope that they will use their moderating influence with the Iraq Government so that Kuwait may continue her development as an independent Arab State amongst the nations of the world."

The British Ambassador in Baghdad (Sir Humphrey Trevelyan) had meanwhile had a meeting with the Iraqi Foreign Minister, Mr. Hashim Jawad, while the British Political Agent in Kuwait (Mr. John Richmond) had maintained close contact with the Ruler and the Kuwaiti Government.

**British Military Build-up in Kuwait.**

As stated above, formal requests for British and Saudi Arabian military assistance were made on June 30 by the Ruler and Government of Kuwait, following reports of a southward movement of Iraqi troops towards the Kuwait



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border. A rapid build-up of British troops began on July 1, when 600 men of No. 42 Royal Marine Commando went ashore from the aircraft carrier H.M.S. *Bulwark* and airborne forces landed at Kuwait Airport, supported by a squadron of the 3rd Dragoon Guards with *Centurion* tanks and by *Hunter* jet fighters from Bahrain. Within a week some 6,000 troops had been moved to Kuwait by air and sea from Kenya, Aden, Cyprus, the United Kingdom, and Germany, with supporting air and naval units from the Mediterranean and the Far East. The first Saudi Arabian units also arrived in Kuwait on July 1, followed on July 7 by 100 Saudi paratroops equipped with U.S. weapons. The Kuwaiti forces themselves had meanwhile been mobilized. All the British and Kuwaiti forces were placed under a joint British-Kuwaiti Command.

The following British Army and Royal Marine units had been concentrated in Kuwait by July 7: H.Q. 24th Infantry Brigade, flown from Kenya; 1st Battalion Coldstream Guards from Bahrain; 1st Battalion Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers from Kenya; 1st Battalion The King's Regiment (Liverpool and Manchester) from Kenya; 2nd Battalion Parachute Regiment from Cyprus (which flew to Kuwait over Turkey and Persia, both members of CENTO, so as to avoid flying over Iraqi territory); a squadron of the 11th Hussars from Aden, with armoured cars; a squadron of the 3rd Dragoon Guards with tanks; a battery of the 7th Parachute Regiment, Royal Horse Artillery, from Aldershot; the 34th Field Squadron, Royal Engineers; a reconnaissance flight from the Army Air Corps; No. 42 Royal Marine Commando; and No. 43 Royal Marine Commando.

Naval units concentrated off Kuwait were the 20,000-ton carrier *Bulwark*, which was despatched from Karachi and which, as stated above, landed No. 42 Royal Marine Commando; the frigate H.M.S. *Loch Alvie*; the amphibious H.Q. ship H.M.S. *Meon*; and the tank landing ship H.M.S. *Striker*. The 30,000-ton aircraft carrier *Victorious*,

recalled from Far Eastern waters, arrived at Kuwait on July 11. In addition, six other warships at Malta were ordered to Aden as a precautionary measure, passing through the Suez Canal without incident on July 5-6; they were the 22,000-ton aircraft carrier H.M.S. *Centaur*, three destroyers (the *Camperdown*, *Finisterre*, and *Saintes*, all of 2,300 tons), the 2,200-ton tank landing ship *Messina*, and a Fleet tanker.

Air units concentrated at Kuwait included two squadrons of *Hunters* (ground attack and fighter reconnaissance aircraft); *Camberras* of the 2nd Allied Tactical Air Force capable of carrying bombs, rockets, and cannon; a small number of *Shackleton* naval reconnaissance aircraft; *Beverley* transports, each capable of carrying 100 fully-equipped men; and *Pioneer* aircraft for communications and liaison duties.

The movement of the above force was carried out by the carrier H.M.S. *Bulwark*, the Amphibious Warfare Squadron, and *Britannia*, *Comet*, *Hastings*, and *Valetta* aircraft of R.A.F. Transport Command and overseas commands. Air Marshal Sir Charles Elworthy, C.-in-C., British Forces, Arabian Peninsula, was in overall command of the British forces in Kuwait; Major-General J. A. R. Robertson (G.O.C. Land Forces, Middle East) in command of land forces; Rear-Admiral A. A. F. Talbot (Flag Officer, Arabian Seas and Persian Gulf) in command of naval forces; and Air Vice-Marshal D. J. P. Lee in command of air forces. Despite temperatures of up to 120 degrees in the shade, and violent sandstorms with winds up to 25 m.p.h., the British troops had by July 7 established a defence line extending for 60 miles, and about five miles from the Iraqi border.

At a press conference on July 5, Brigadier Derek Horsford (commanding British ground forces) described the conditions of his troops as "cruel." He said: "They are living, working and digging in the red-hot wind—burning, hot, stinging sand. In a temperature of 115 degrees it drains all one's energies. The morale is terrific, but there's a limit. Chaps are passing out quite a lot from heat exhaustion. We get them back to an air-conditioned place and usually they are able to return the same day. . . ." The Brigadier pointed out that unlimited ice and water were available and were being brought up to the troops in the desert each day, and that he was also providing iced fruit drinks and iced melon for them.

Sir Charles Elworthy, who had established his H.Q. at Bahrain, said on July 3 that according to the "best intelligence" there was a "general movement" of Iraqi troops southwards toward Basra, including armour; he emphasized that "our position is 100 per cent defensive" and that "we have not the slightest wish to get involved in a shooting match, but that depends on Kassem."

In a further statement on July 7, Sir Charles Elworthy said that there was no fresh news about Iraq's intentions and "nothing to suggest that an Iraqi attack is imminent." He added that the British build-up in Kuwait was "virtually complete"; that the Coldstream Guards would be brought back to Bahrain from Kuwait; and that other units would be withdrawn in rotation in accordance with a policy of "minimum defensive force."

"My responsibility," said Sir Charles, "is now to maintain in Kuwait a force of all three Services which, together with the Kuwait Army, is the minimum necessary to enable us to defend Kuwait's independence. Naturally during the early part of the Kuwait build-up I put in forces which I had immediately available to strengthen our position until reinforcements from further afield could arrive. Now that our defensive position is firmly established some of these are superfluous to our needs, and accordingly I have withdrawn the Coldstream Guards from Kuwait. I shall withdraw further units when practicable, in line with a policy of a minimum defensive force. I shall also move units back in rotation so that none remains too long in these oppressive climatic conditions."

Mr. James Ramsden, U.K. Under-Secretary of State for War, visited Kuwait on July 12-13 for discussions with the Ruler and Sir William Luce, British Resident in the Persian Gulf. It was announced on the latter date that the Ruler, Mr. Ramsden, and Sir William Luce had reached an agreement whereby about one-third of the British troops would be withdrawn from Kuwait, together with supporting units and H.M.S. *Bulwark*, leaving about 4,000 British forces in the Sheikhdom. The units scheduled for withdrawal were stated to be the two Royal Marine Commandos, the 2nd Parachute Regiment, the Dragoon Guards squadron, and the Royal Horse Artillery battery.

In London, a Ministry of Defence spokesman said that no movement of forces from Kuwait was likely during the next few days; while it was the intention to reduce forces, "the final decision must wait until the C. in-C. Middle East has made his recommendations and they have been accepted by the Government."

The Iraqi Military Attaché in Britain (Brigadier Muhammad Faik), who had just returned from a visit to Baghdad, categorically denied on July 13 that there had at any time been any concentration of Iraqi troops against Kuwait.

While repeating the claim that Kuwait was an "integral part of Iraq," Brigadier Faik emphasized that his country sought a solution of the Kuwait dispute by peaceful means only and had "not moved a single soldier, tank, or vehicle" towards the south. On the contrary, orders had been given to the frontier guards to withdraw northwards, hence there were no Iraqi forces at all opposite the British dug in near the frontier.

### Security Council Debate on Kuwait. - Soviet Veto of British Resolution. - Kuwaiti Application for Membership of United Nations.

The Security Council met in New York on July 2, at Britain's request, to consider a complaint by Kuwait that Iraq was threatening her independence and territorial integrity and that the situation was calculated to endanger international peace. The Council adjourned its debate on July 7 without adopting any resolution, and after a British resolution had been defeated by a Soviet veto.

Sir Patrick Dean (U.K.) gave a categorical assurance that the British troops in Iraq had no aggressive intentions whatever, constituted no threat to Iraq, would only be employed in a combat role if Kuwait were attacked from across the border, and would be withdrawn as soon as the Ruler of Kuwait considered that the threat to his country was over.

The Anglo-Kuwaiti Note exchanges of June 19 (Sir Patrick continued) formally established the independence of Kuwait, as a fully sovereign State—a status which, in fact, Kuwait had possessed for some time previously. This step was in accord with the wishes of Kuwait, the long-established policy of the British Government, and the U.N. Charter. "We had thought that . . . this represented an advance which all countries would have welcomed. . . . It was therefore with surprise and shock that the news was received that Iraq had reacted not with approval but with a threat."

Reports had begun to circulate that Iraq was preparing to launch an attack on Kuwait in support of General Kassem's claim to sovereignty over the Sheikhdom. There were considerable Iraqi forces in the Basra area which could have invaded Kuwait at a few hours' notice, and there had also been indications that reinforcements, including tanks, had been moved southwards from Baghdad; all this seemed to indicate the possible imminence of an Iraqi attack. The Ruler of Kuwait had formally asked for British and Saudi Arabian help, and under the terms of the Anglo-Kuwaiti agreement British had no option but to comply. The British Government had informed a number of friendly Governments in the Middle East of its deep concern at the situation and had urged them to use their moderating influence with the Iraqi Government.

Dr. Pachachi (Iraq)—who was invited to participate in the Council's debate without voting rights—maintained his country's claim to sovereignty over Kuwait and described the despatch of British troops as a "sordid operation," a "military adventure reminiscent of Suez," and an "aggressive act accompanied by a singularly unconvincing attempt to hide behind the mantle of the Sheikh of Kuwait." He claimed that the original Anglo-Kuwaiti agreement of 1899 was without validity; declared that Iraq had "not moved a single soldier" towards Kuwait; and said that his Government had repeatedly emphasized that it would use only peaceful means "to defend our legitimate rights."

After asserting that Kuwait had never been a sovereign State, Dr. Pachachi claimed that as a result of the despatch of British troops to "an integral part of Iraq" a dispute existed on the international level between Iraq and the United Kingdom, and not between Iraq and Kuwait. His Government therefore asked the Security Council to consider the counter-complaint of an "armed threat by the United Kingdom to the independence and security of Iraq."

Mr. Zorin (U.S.S.R.) asserted that the threat to peace came not from Iraq but from the presence of British troops in Kuwait, and asked the Security Council to condemn Britain's "armed intervention" and to call on her to withdraw her forces immediately from the area. He stressed that the Iraqi Government "has never contemplated and is not planning any military actions with regard to the Principality of Kuwait or enforcing Iraq's right to the area by means of arms," and described the despatch of British troops to Kuwait as an example of the "old colonialism."

Mr. Abdel Aziz Hussein (Kuwait) was invited to take part in the debate, with the "non-support" of Mr. Zorin and against the objections of Dr. Pachachi. He emphasized that his country was peace-loving and presented no threat to anyone; said that Kuwait had historically maintained its independence from Ottoman domination; and described Kuwait today as an efficient Welfare State, "the pride of the Middle East," with all the attributes of independence and sovereignty.

Quite recently (Mr. Hussein continued) a letter had been received from the Iraqi Government favouring the establishment of Kuwait as an independent State, and expressing its intention to open a consulate in Kuwait; he also quoted from a joint statement by Iraq and Kuwait referring to the understanding "between two sister States." It was not until June 25 that General Kassem had for the first time asserted Iraq's claim to annex Kuwait—a declaration which had come as "a great shock not only to the people of Kuwait but also, I am sure, to the people of Iraq," and which he (Mr. Hussein) thought might be due to General Kassem's need to bolster his own internal position. The British forces had arrived at Kuwait's invitation and would be withdrawn as soon as the threat of invasion was over. It was not the intention of the Kuwait Government to allow a single foreign soldier to remain on its soil indefinitely.

Mr. Francis Plimpton (U.S.A.) said that his country "regards Kuwait as a sovereign independent State and supports the desire of the Kuwaiti Government and people to remain fully independent and free." After recalling that Kuwait was a member of UNESCO, ICAO, and other U.N. agencies, and stating that the U.S.A. would support her application for full U.N. membership, Mr. Plimpton continued:

"There have been a number of recent public statements by Iraqi leaders regarding their intentions with respect to Kuwait. The nature of some of these statements is at variance with past expressions of Iraqi friendship for Kuwait and with Iraq's often-avowed desire to maintain tranquillity in the Middle East. . . . In the second place, there have been reports . . . that Iraqi troop dispositions have been made near the border of Kuwait. In the circumstances, the Ruler of Kuwait has felt it necessary to take precautionary defensive measures by inviting military forces of friendly States to assist him in strengthening Kuwait's defensive capabilities. The Ruler asked for such help from Saudi Arabia and also from the United Kingdom, pursuant to the agreement concluded by Kuwait and Great Britain on June 19. . . . The United States believes that Saudi Arabia and the United Kingdom have acted appropriately, and that these actions will tend to ensure the preservation of peace in the area. We welcome the U.K. statement that 'H.M. Government earnestly hopes that the necessity to make use of this force will not arise and that it is intended that it should be withdrawn as soon as the Ruler considers that the threat to the independence of Kuwait is over.' My Government has been informed by the Government of Iraq that Iraq does not intend to resort to force in Kuwait, and welcomes the similar assurances provided to the Security Council by the Iraqi representative. . . ."

Dr. Omar Loutfi (U.A.R.) expressed his concern at the dispute between "two sister Arab States," his confidence that Iraq would not resort to military action against Kuwait, and his conviction that the dispute would be settled peacefully. At the same time he expressed "grave concern" at the British landings in Kuwait, which could "not but have serious repercussions" and which, far from contributing to a settlement, could only aggravate the situation. Dr. Loutfi summarized the U.A.R.'s position as follows: (1) support for the independence of Kuwait based on the self-determination of the Kuwaiti people; (2) the immediate withdrawal of the British forces; (3) the peaceful solution of the dispute within the framework of the Arab League.

Sir Patrick Dean, speaking again at the end of the debate, emphasized that Britain would recall her troops from Kuwait "as swiftly as they arrived" once Iraq had demonstrated her peaceful intentions towards the Sheikdom "both in deed and word."

Two resolutions were presented to the Security Council, one by Great Britain and the other by the United Arab Republic.

The **British Resolution** called on all States to respect the independence and integrity of Kuwait; urged all concerned to keep the peace in the area; and asked the U.N. to keep the situation under review. In addition, it noted that British and Saudi Arabian forces had been placed at the disposal of the Ruler of Kuwait in response to the latter's appeal; that the Iraqi Government had undertaken to use only peaceful means; and that Britain had undertaken to withdraw her forces as soon as the threat to Kuwait was removed. The resolution emphasized the importance of re-establishing peaceful conditions in the area and welcomed any constructive steps by the Arab League to this end.

The **U.A.R. Resolution** declared that the question should be solved by peaceful means and called upon Britain to withdraw her forces from Kuwait immediately. In presenting this resolution, Dr. Loutfi asked the Security Council to view the Kuwait situation as "a dispute among the Arab nations" and urged that it should be settled "in accordance with the principles and traditions of the Arab States."

The voting on the British resolution was seven in favour (the U.K., the U.S.A., France, Turkey, Chile, Liberia, and Nationalist China), one against (the U.S.S.R.), and three abstentions (Ceylon, Ecuador, and the U.A.R.); it was therefore defeated by the Soviet veto—the 95th cast by the Soviet Union in the Security Council. The U.A.R. resolution received only three affirmative votes (the U.A.R., the U.S.S.R., and Ceylon), the other eight Council members abstaining. The British resolution was supported by Kuwait and the U.A.R. resolution by Iraq.

The Kuwaiti representative (Mr. Hussein) told a press conference on July 6 that two conditions had to be met before the British forces could be asked to leave Kuwait: (1) the admission of Kuwait to the United Nations, and (2) the withdrawal by Iraq of her claim to annex Kuwait. The Government of Kuwait had formally applied for membership of the United Nations on June 30.

### Debate in British Parliament.

Mr. Macmillan made a statement on the Kuwait situation in the House of Commons on July 3, followed by a debate in which Mr. Gaitskell expressed the Opposition's support for the Government's action in sending forces to Kuwait at the Ruler's request.

Mr. Macmillan said: "Last Wednesday (June 28) the Lord Privy Seal (Mr. Heath) made it clear that in the situation created by Iraq's claim to sovereignty over Kuwait, H.M. Government had assured the Ruler of Kuwait of British support. At the same time they took precautionary military measures to enable swift action to be taken if the situation deteriorated.

"The Iraqi Government's claim to the territory and sovereignty of Kuwait followed swiftly on the [Anglo-Kuwait] exchange of Notes on June 19. The claim was accompanied by a violent press and radio campaign from Baghdad. Iraqi forces at Basra, only 30 miles from the Kuwait border, were clearly quite sufficient to occupy Kuwait by rapid movement against the modest Kuwait Army.

"On June 29 and 30 evidence accumulated from a number of sources that reinforcements, especially of armour, were moving towards Basra. In this situation the Ruler felt it his duty to make a formal request for British assistance under the treaty. This he did on June 30. H.M. Government had a clear obligation to meet such a request under the exchange of Notes and responded at once. British forces landed in Kuwait on July 1.

"At the same time the Ruler sent to the Security Council a complaint in respect of the circumstances caused by the threat of Iraq to the territorial independence of Kuwait, which was likely to endanger peace and security, and asked for an emergency meeting of the Council to consider it.

"The British representative in New York reported on Britain's action to the Security Council in accordance with the Charter and supported the Ruler's request for a meeting. The Security Council took note of the situation and adjourned.

"The Government earnestly hope that counsels of moderation will prevail in Baghdad. Our forces are in Kuwait purely for defensive purposes and in accordance with our treaty obligations. They will be withdrawn as soon as the Ruler considers that the independence of Kuwait is no longer threatened. They present no threat to Iraq, with whom we wish to maintain the friendliest possible relations.

"I am convinced that it was the duty of the Government to act as they did. I believe that they will receive the general support of the House and the country. I will keep the House informed of further developments."

Mr. Gaitskell (Leader of the Opposition): "Much as we regret the fact that British troops have had to be landed in Kuwait, most of us will feel that in view of the treaty obligations and the formal request of the Ruler, following the threatening posture adopted by Iraq, the Government had no option but to take the action they did.

"In view of the unfortunate possibility that the situation may continue for some time without being properly cleared up, would it not be a good idea to propose to the United Nations that we would be willing to support the idea of a U.N. Force to take responsibility for the protection of Kuwait, since this would do much to get rid of the misrepresentation to which we are undoubtedly being subjected at this moment by propaganda in the Middle East and many other parts of the world.

"The situation in the Middle East, particularly in Kuwait, is liable to be somewhat unstable and uncertain in view of the great disparity of wealth between the different countries. Would it be a good plan to propose through diplomatic channels to the Arab States concerned the creation of a fund to which both the oil-producing countries and the oil companies might contribute for the benefit of the Middle East generally? Has not the Ruler of Kuwait himself indicated his willingness to subscribe to such a fund, and would the Government consider putting their authority and influence behind this idea?"

Mr. Macmillan: "I am grateful for what the right hon. gentleman has said. I feel sure that it records the general view that we had no option but to act in the circumstances as they were. Of course, we do not rule out any solution through a U.N. force or other force, but first things first. The force that has been landed in response to the Ruler's request is at present the only effective method of maintaining the independence of Kuwait. I cannot tell what will happen in the next two or three days, or two or three weeks, but there are no signs of the threat diminishing. Rather the contrary, as the attitude of the Iraqi representative in the Security Council seems to show.

"There may, of course, come a later stage when it would be possible to support the independence of Kuwait by an arrangement made on a wider basis. Meanwhile, I assure the House that we have no desire to carry on with this considerable military and financial burden for any longer a period than our obligations require.

"The second question is a much wider one. The Ruler of Kuwait has shown himself conscious of his responsibilities in the Arab world. The Government of Kuwait has recently agreed to employ part of its revenue for projects of a constructive kind in the Arab world."

Mr. Nabarro (C.) asked the Prime Minister for some information about the U.S. attitude, adding: "Is it not a fact that 50 per cent of the output of oil from Kuwait is British-controlled and 50 per cent is American-controlled? Are they [the U.S.A.] proposing to participate in the military arrangements in defence of Kuwait, or is it to be solely a British responsibility?"

Mr. Macmillan: "The great thing is to deal with each crisis as it occurs. My colleagues and I found this quite a difficult decision to take, and I am much supported by the general sense of the House that we could not afford to leave Kuwait hopelessly undefended against forces poised to attack them. We have been in the closest touch throughout with the Commonwealth countries . . . and in the

closest consultation with the United States. I do not think that we ought now to embark on the larger issues. Let us see just where we can get through this immediate crisis."

**Mr. Gaitskell** : "While I entirely support what the Prime Minister has said about the immediate situation, there is no inconsistency between holding firm on the policy on which the Government have been obliged to embark and, at the same time, looking a little further ahead for the reasons which he himself has given, and seeking as soon as possible a wider basis for the protection of Kuwait which is so obviously desirable."

**Mr. Macmillan** : "Yes, of course. One of the things we fail to understand is that only a short time ago the Government of Iraq appeared to recognize the independence of Kuwait and was discussing with them a question which clearly regarded them as an independent country. This was suddenly reversed, and it is that which has caused so much anxiety. . . ."

"It is always a great difficulty to try not to move into a territory until the last possible moment, but not to leave it so long that the intervention would be ineffective. It is a delicate position to hold. . . . We will look at the longer issues. Naturally these are heavy burdens on our economy. We want to create a general state of harmony in the Arab world, and we are encouraged by the degree of understanding from Arab countries as a whole."

**Mr. Grimond (Lib.)** : "As it appears that Arab neighbours are willing and eager to defend the independence of Kuwait, have they taken any steps in this direction or are any consultations taking place?"

**Mr. Macmillan** : "The Arab neighbours are a long way off, in some of the most difficult country in the world. I am happy to see that the Saudi Arabian Government has sent some token of its support. There is a very heavy sandstorm at the moment and visibility is very bad. It is hard to get accurate reconnaissance. But there are a good number of methods by which we obtain information, and it is undoubtedly true that the [Iraqi] forces now at Basra, recently reinforced, would constitute a serious menace, even with the forces we have under our command."

**Mr. Arthur Henderson (Lab.)** asked whether, in view of the risk of border incidents, the Prime Minister would consider proposing to the Security Council that a contingent of U.N. observers should be stationed on the Iraq-Kuwait border.

**Mr. Macmillan** replied : "There is a distance of about 60 miles of desert. . . . Whether it would be a good thing to station observers on this frontier in the desert I would like to consider a little more. But all this will develop. What we had to do was to decide to take certain action, which I hope will lead to the Government of Iraq having second thoughts. Then we shall see how to develop the best way of getting out of this tangled situation in such a way as to maintain the independent life of a State which we recognize as independent."

A similar statement was made in the House of Lords by Lord Home. Viscount Alexander of Hillsborough (leader of the Labour peers) and Lord Rea (the leader of the Liberal peers) expressed their support for the Government's action.

#### Arab and International Reactions to Kuwait Dispute.

Iraq's claim to sovereignty over Kuwait was not supported by any of the other Arab States, nor by the Arab League. King Saud of Saudi Arabia, as stated above, assured the Ruler of Kuwait of his full support and sent Saudi troops to the Sheikdom; King Hussein of Jordan sent a message to the Ruler congratulating him on the achievement of independence by Kuwait following the Anglo-Kuwaiti agreement of June 19; and President Nasser informed the Ruler that the independence of Kuwait was "of great concern" to the United Arab Republic. The Ruler of Kuwait also received messages of support and recognition from Libya and the Sudan.

In Cairo, a statement was issued on July 5 by Colonel Hatem (Minister of State) to the effect that the U.A.R. was closely watching developments in view of reports that "certain circles in Baghdad" were "seriously considering the possibility of military intervention" in Kuwait; the statement appealed to Iraq not to take any action which might adversely affect the cause of Arab unity, and at the same time demanded the immediate evacuation of British forces from Kuwait.

Implicit criticism of Iraq's annexation claim was expressed by all leading Egyptian newspapers. *Al Ahram* criticized General Kassem for the "mischief" he had done to the cause of Arab unity, while *Al Akhbar* said that union between Iraq and Kuwait should come about through "a mutually and freely expressed will. . . . This trend alone, and not that of force and annexation, should be the rule observed in Arab relations." The official *Al Goumhouria* said that both the Iraqi and Kuwaiti peoples were "fully inspired with faith in Arab nationalism," which was "in itself a potential means of political unity provided a unanimous popular will in both countries supports that trend and calls for its implementation."

The Secretary-General of the Arab League (Mr. Abdul Khalek Hassouna) visited Baghdad, Kuwait, and Riyadh during the first ten days of July to discuss the Kuwait situation with the Governments of Iraq, Kuwait, and Saudi Arabia. The Arab League Council meanwhile met in Cairo on July 4 to discuss Kuwait's application for membership [see 18159 B] and decided to adjourn until Mr. Hassouna had returned from

his mission; the meeting was held *in camera* and no statement was issued, but it was understood that Iraq had accepted Kuwait's membership of the Arab League. Following Hassouna's return to Cairo, the League Council met on July 13 and decided by a majority vote (the U.A.R. and Saudi Arabia opposing) to adjourn for another week to allow delegates to consult their Governments.

A Kuwaiti goodwill mission left the Sheikdom on July 10 for Cairo and other Arab capitals. It was headed by Jabr al-Ahmed as-Sabah, the Kuwaiti Minister of Finance and Economy, its other members being Sayyid Abd al-Sagah, president of the Kuwait Chamber of Commerce, Sayyid Nusuf Yusuf el-Nusuf, a prominent businessman and dominant interest in Kuwait Airways; and Sayyid Aziz Sirawi, deputy director-general of the Social Welfare Department. The delegation met Mr. Hassouna in Cairo on July 11 and also visited Alexandria for conversation with President Nasser, to whom they handed a personal message from the Ruler of Kuwait.

In Washington, the State Department spokesman (Lincoln White) expressed on June 30 the hope that the U.S. would not resort to force in her dispute with Kuwait. He stated that the U.S. Embassy in Baghdad had been assured that Iraq would use only "peaceful means." On the following day the Department issued a statement expressing the U.S. Government's opinion that Britain had "acted appropriately in the light of the request of the Ruler of Kuwait of its obligations to Kuwait," and its belief that "the British action will tend to ensure the preservation of peace in the Gulf."

In New Delhi, Mr. Nehru said on June 30 that he was "glad that Kuwait has become independent," adding that India had "treated Kuwait as a separate entity for a considerable time in the past and we propose to continue to treat it as an independent entity." It was subsequently disclosed that the Government of India had sent a communication to Iraq urging a peaceful approach in her dispute with Kuwait.

The Shah of Persia sent a congratulatory message to the Ruler of Kuwait on the Sheikdom's achievement of independence, following the new agreement with Iraq. A Persian Foreign Ministry spokesman described Iraq's claim to sovereignty over Kuwait as "ludicrous," and just as "absurd" as if Turkey were to claim Iraq because that country had once part of the Ottoman Empire.—(Times - Daily Telegraph - Guardian - Le Monde - U.N. Information Centre, London - U.S. Information Service - Soviet Embassy Press Department - London - Indian High Commissioner's Office, London) (Prev. rep. Kuwait, 18159)

#### A. UNITED STATES. — Permission for Sale of U.S. Surplus Products to Soviet-bloc Countries.

The U.S. Commerce Department announced on June 28 that the Government would permit sales of subsidized surplus products to the Soviet Union and other European members of the Soviet bloc, on condition (i) that they would be paid for in dollars; (ii) that the exporter received an undertaking from the Soviet or other East European importer that the goods would not be re-sold to countries *vis-à-vis* which the U.S.A. maintained a trade embargo, such as Communist China and Cuba. Products which might be shipped from U.S. stocks would include feed grains, wheat, wheat flour, cotton textiles, rice, and dried skimmed milk, and sales would be made at "competitive prices." The new arrangement would not apply to Poland, which had already been excluded from U.S. surplus farm products against payment in zlotys.

Hitherto sales of agricultural products to the Soviet Union and other Soviet-bloc countries (apart from Poland) had been permitted if they covered unsubsidized commodities and products not owned by the U.S. Government. (New York Times) (Prev. rep. Polish Purchases, 17580)

#### B. ISRAEL - VOLTAIC REPUBLIC. — Aid and Technical Co-operation Agreement.

Following a visit to Israel by M. Antoine Yameogo, Voltaic Minister of Economy, an agreement for mutual aid and technical co-operation between Israel and the Voltaic Republic was signed in Jerusalem on June 11.—(Israel Government Press Office, Jerusalem) (Prev. rep. 17827 B; 17696)

#### C. UNITED KINGDOM. — Economic Planning Board.

The Treasury announced on July 6 that Professor A. Cairncross, Economic Adviser to the Government, had been appointed a member of the Economic Planning Board, replacing Sir Robert Hall.—(Treasury Press Office) (Prev. rep. Prof. Cairncross, 17880 C; Economic Planning Board, 17742)