Chronology of August events in the Gulf.

Aug. 2. Iraq pushes its forces into Kuwait and swiftly gains control of the country, claiming to have been invited in by Kuwaiti revolutionaries. The invasion meets with widespread international condemnation and many countries immediately freeze Kuwait assets. UN security Council Resolution 660 calls for an immediate and unconditional Iraqi withdrawal.
Aug. 3. In Cairo 14 Arab League countries condemn the invasion and call for an immediate withdrawal. Iraqi troops reportedly begin taking up positions on the Saudi border. The USA and the UK announce that naval vessels are being sent to the Gulf. The Soviet Foreign Minister and US Secretary of State, meeting in Moscow, jointly condemn the invasion and call for a world ban on arms sales to Iraq.
Aug. 4. The membership of the pro-Iraqi "Provisional Free Government of Kuwait" is disclosed. An emergency EC meeting Rome agrees sanctions against Iraq.
Aug. 5. Iraq announces that it has started to pull its forces out of Kuwait, a claim ridiculed by the West. In Kuwait a curfew is partially lifted. Japan joins oil embargo.
Aug. 6. The UN security Council passes Resolution 661 invoking wide-ranging sanctions against Iraq and Kuwait.
Aug. 7. US Defence Secretary Dick Cheney announces US decision to send ground units and combat aircraft to Saudi Arabia, as part of a multinational force. US troops begin landing at Darhan. Saudi Arabia and Turkey close Iraqi oil pipelines at Mu'ajjiz and Dortyol.
Aug. 8. Iraq formally annexes Kuwait. President Bush tells the American people that "a line has been drawn in the sand" and that as many as 50,000 US troops may be dispatched to Saudi Arabia. The UK announces that it will send air and naval forces to join what becomes known as the multinational force. France also sends naval vessels to the Gulf.
Aug. 9. In a televised address to the country King Fahd strongly denounces the Iraqi invasion. Iraq closes borders to foreigners trying to leave Iraq or Kuwait. UN security Council Resolution 662 rejects Iraq's annexation of Kuwait. Soviet Foreign Ministry formally condemns Iraq's annexation but warns against any military action without UN approval.
Aug. 10. A resolution to send a pan-Arab force to defend Saudi Arabia is approved by 12 countries at an emergency Arab League summit in Cairo. Egypt, Morocco and Syria subsequently agree to supply troops. The Iraqi authorities order all diplomatic missions in Kuwait to close by Aug. 24. NATO's North Atlantic Council hold special meeting in Brussels, agreeing that members would contribute "each in their own way" outside integrated NATO structures.
Aug. 11. The pro-Iraq Arab countries denounce the outcome of the Cairo summit. The USA announces its intention to enforce a naval blockade against Iraq.
Aug. 12. President Saddam Hussein of Iraq launches an initiative linking the settlement of the "occupation" of Kuwait with all other Middle Eastern "occupations". Pro-Iraqi and anti-US demonstrations are held in many Middle East countries. The first Egyptian and Moroccan troops arrive in Saudi Arabia. US Secretary of State James Baker announces that the USA has received a formal request from deposed Kuwaiti government to enforce UN sanctions under the self-defence article (Article 51) of the UN Charter. Douglas Croskery, a British businessman, is shot dead by Iraqi forces on the Kuwait-Saudi border. The Turkish Grand National Assembly votes war powers, but Turkey will only use troops against Iraq in self-defence if attacked.
Aug. 13. Pakistan agrees to send troops to Saudi Arabia. US and UK instruct their ships to implement naval blockade of Iraq. France significantly increases its commitment of forces.
Aug. 14. King Hussein of Jordan meets with Saddam in Baghdad. The five permanent members of the UN security Council meet to consider, on the initiative of the Soviet Union, a joint military command in the Gulf under the UN.
Aug. 15. Saddam accepts Iranian terms for a peace settlement in the Iran-Iraq war. According to Egyptian sources an attempted coup takes place in Baghdad.
Aug. 16. King Hussein and US President Bush meet in Kennebunkport. US and British citizens in Kuwait are ordered to surrender themselves to the Iraqi authorities or face unspecified "difficulties".
Aug. 17. Iraqi troops start withdrawing from Iran. Iraq announces it will detain Westerners stranded in Kuwait at military installations Westerners stranded in Kuwait.

Aug. 18. UN security Council Resolution 664 directs Iraq to allow all foreigners to leave. A number of Westerners in Kuwait are rounded up and moved to Iraq.

Aug. 19. The UAE agrees to the deployment of foreign forces. Saddam offers to free Westerners held in Iraq and Kuwait in return for the withdrawal of US forces from the Gulf. All Western nationals in Kuwait are ordered to convene in three hotels, and foreign countries are ordered to close their embassies in Kuwait. An Iraqi vessel manages to dock in Aqaba. Saudi Arabia threatens unilateral increase in oil production unless OPEC convenes soon in emergency session.

Aug. 20. The first Syrian forces arrive in Saudi Arabia. Iraqi Deputy Premier Sa'adoun Hammadi arrives in Moscow for talks. Iraq confirms that it has moved Westerners to military bases and President Bush acknowledges that Americans in Kuwait are "hostages".

Aug. 21. An Iraqi tanker manages to unload some cargo at Aden, but Yemen then affirms its respect for sanctions. At a meeting of the Western European Union several countries confirm that they are sending military forces to the Gulf. President Mitterrand announces that French ground forces will be sent. Iraq offers talks with the USA (which the of France latter side rejects) and announces that it has completed its military withdrawal from Iranian territory.

Aug. 22. President Bush issues an executive order calling up US military reservists for the first time since 1968. Jordan temporarily closes its border with Iraq to ease the refugee backlog. GCC Defence Ministers meeting in Jeddah agree to reinforce the Council's rapid deployment force. Saudi Arabia agrees to supply Jordan with half of its oil needs. Oil prices reach US$30 per barrel.

Aug. 23. Saddam appears on Iraqi television with British "guests". Jordan temporarily closes its border to hold up the influx of refugees.

Aug. 24. Deadline for the voluntary closure of all foreign embassies in Kuwait. Many embassies refuse to comply with the order. President Rafsanjani of Iran announces that he would not object to foreign troops forcing Iraq out of Kuwait.

Aug. 25. UN security Council Resolution 665 provides for naval vessels to take "measures commensurate" to enforce sanctions.

Aug. 26. King Hussein arrives in Libya at start of fresh mediation effort. Diplomats at 26 Kuwaiti missions continue to defy Iran and refuse to move to Baghdad. Iran opens its borders to refugees from Iraq and Kuwait.

Aug. 27. Qatar becomes the fifth Gulf State to agree to open its territory to foreign troops. USA expels 36 Iraqi embassy staff; restrictions are imposed on the 19 who remain.

Aug. 28. Iraq proclaims Kuwait the 19th Iraqi governorate. Bush briefs congressional leaders on Gulf crisis. Presidents Hafez al Assad of Syria and Hosni Mubarak of Egypt hold talks in Alexandria. Saddam apparently approves a PLO plan including possibility of a referendum in Kuwait on union with Iraq. Saddam announces that all foreign women and children will be permitted to leave Iraq.

Aug. 29. A majority of OPEC members agree to support Saudi plan to increase production. Syrian troops allegedly crack down on pro-Iraqi demonstrators in eastern Syria.

Aug. 30. Bush unveils "action plan" through which affluent European, Asian and Gulf countries would share the costs both of the military intervention and of a prolonged blockade of Iraq. Japan announces it will provide US$1,000 million to assist the multinational force. Un secretary General Perez de Cuellar meets with Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz in Jordan. UK Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher rebukes some European countries for their lack of support in the Gulf.

Aug. 31. A poorly attended meeting of Arab League Foreign Ministers issues a resolution calling for an immediate Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait.

**Military position as of Aug. 25 (UK press estimates)**

**Iraq** 900,000 troops (200,000 on Saudi border, 100,000 Kuwait), 3,500 tanks (270 on Saudi border, 500–1,000 Kuwait), 500 aircraft (of which 300 operational).

**In Saudi Arabia** approx. 86,000 troops (40,000 US, 500 UK, Saudi 38,000, Egyptian 5,000, Syrian 1,200, Moroccan 1,000), 650 tanks (100 US thus far, 550 Saudi), approx. 400 aircraft (180–240 US, 24 UK, 180 Saudi). In UAE 40,000 troops, 200 tanks, 160 French paratroops. Aircraft carriers **USS Kennedy** (E. Mediterranean), **Eisenhower** (in Red Sea approaching Suez), **Saratoga** (in Red Sea), **Independence** (off Oman), French **Clemenceau** (Gulf of Aden).

**Formal annexation of Kuwait**
Iraq formally annexed Kuwait on Aug. 8, in defiance of the imposition of UN sanctions and despite the arrival of US forces in Saudi Arabia. The annexation was announced on the day after the PFKG proclaimed Kuwait a republic.

Following the annexation Iraq ordered all foreign embassies in Kuwait to move to Baghdad within two weeks and announced that, for security reasons, it had closed the borders to foreigners trying to leave Iraq and Kuwait. In a move foreshadowing the annexation, Kuwait's currency, the dinar, was decreed "equivalent" to the Iraqi dinar. According to the Independent of Aug. 8 the decree, which had the effect of reducing the Kuwaiti dinar to about one-12th of its previous value, turned one of the world's hardest currencies into "worthless paper". Kuwaiti banks abroad ignored the edict and continued to offer customers the pre-invasion exchange rate.

The first details of the annexation were broadcast by the PFKG on Aug. 8 when it announced that it had asked Iraq to approve a "complete full unity merger between Kuwait and Iraq, so that Saddam Hussein will be our leader". The RCC later announced that it had decided to "return the part and the branch, Kuwait, to the whole and origin, Iraq, in a comprehensive and eternal merger unity".

Saddam Hussein appointed Col. Hussein, the PFKG Premier, as a Deputy Prime Minister in the Iraqi Cabinet. The other eight PFKG Cabinet members were appointed as advisers at the Presidential Office with full ministerial rank. The official Saudi news agency SPA reported on Aug. 20 that Col. Hussain had been "liquidated" for fear that he might "expose the aims of the Iraqi regime and reveal the secrets of the invasion operation". The Independent reported on the same day that control of Kuwait's security and administration was in the hands of Ali Hasan al Majid, Iraq's Minister of Local Government and architect of the government's 1987–88 military campaign against Kurdish rebels.

Following the Aug. 8 annexation Iraq initiated a programme to rename Kuwaiti towns and institutions. The oil town of Ahmadi, for example, was renamed Al-Nida (Appeal). Meanwhile, in the face of mounting international military opposition in the Gulf area, Iraq stepped up its security in Kuwait. The Times of Aug. 20 reported that a battery of 10 Scud-B ballistic missiles, possibly targeted at Riyadh (the Saudi capital), had recently been moved into Kuwait. The next day reports indicated that all oil installation, ports and water desalination plants had been mined by the Iraqi forces.

Iraq eventually announced on Aug. 28 that Kuwait had become the 19th Iraqi governorate (liwa). The new liwa was divided into three districts, Kadhimia (Kuwait City), Jahra and Al-Nida. Another decree extended the border of Basra governorate south into Kuwait, creating the new province of Saddamiyat al-Mitlaa.

**Arab response to invasion**

The Iraqi invasion of Kuwait generated a series of major realignments in the Arab ranks. A month after the invasion the full implications of that realignment could only be guessed at. During August two distinct Arab blocs had emerged. One included Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Syria at the core of a group fully committed to securing Iraq's unconditional withdrawal from Kuwait. A pro-Iraqi bloc included Jordan, the PLO, Yemen, Sudan, Tunisia and Algeria. This group supported the formulation of a settlement within the Arab ranks and emphasized that the presence of foreign, and particularly US, troops in Saudi Arabia was a major obstacle to any solution of the crisis.

**Arab League meetings in Cairo Adoption of resolution to commit Arab forces to Saudi Arabia**

The first attempt by the Arab states to formulate a unified response to the invasion came late on Aug. 3, over 40 hours after Iraqi troops first crossed into Kuwait.

Some individual Arab states had already issued condemnations of the invasion. Arab League ministers were already in Cairo on Aug. 2 attending a meeting of the Islamic Conference Organization. They convened that day, but failed to issue any resolution until late on Aug. 3. A resolution condemning the Iraqi invasion, calling for an immediate and unconditional withdrawal, and rejecting any foreign intervention was endorsed by 14 of the 21 Arab League member countries and was opposed by six (Iraq, Jordan, Mauritania, Sudan, Yemen and the PLO). Libya had refused to attend the meeting.

**Arab League members**: Algeria, Bahrain, Djibouti, Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco, Oman, Palestine (PLO), Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, UAE and Yemen.

An emergency Arab League summit, finally held in Cairo on Aug. 10 to discuss the Iraqi invasion, passed a seven-point resolution denouncing the "Iraqi aggression against" and annexation of Kuwait, and calling for an immediate withdrawal and the deployment of "Arab forces" to help Saudi Arabia and other states defend against "foreign aggression". No final decision was taken on which countries would contribute to the Arab force, but Egypt, Syria and Morocco subsequently announced that they would provide troops.
At the summit, which was by all accounts an exceptionally heated affair, President Mubarak broke with Arab tradition and forced through a majority vote, rather than wait for the emergence of a unanimous compromise. The resolution was approved by 12 of the 21 Arab League countries. Iraq, Libya and the PLO voted against the resolution; Algeria and Yemen abstained; Jordan, Sudan and Mauritania "expressed reservations" and took no position; and Tunisia failed to attend. Under the Arab League Charter a resolution passed by a majority of votes was binding only on member states voting in favour.

Saddam's "Middle East occupations" initiative Proposed Kuwait referendum

Saddam Hussein proposed on Aug. 12 that all Middle Eastern occupation issues, or "issues that have been depicted as occupation", should be resolved according to one set of UN security Council principles. In accordance with these principles, arrangements should be made for "the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israel from the occupied territories in Palestine, Syria and Lebanon; Syria's withdrawal from Lebanon; a withdrawal between Iraq and Iran; and the formulation of arrangements for the situation in Kuwait". Implementation should begin with the "oldest occupation" (i.e. Palestine) and end with the "most recent" (Kuwait).

The initiative was immediately rejected by the USA and Israel, whilst King Fahd claimed that it "made matters more difficult" and Egypt asserted that it created "new ambiguities". However, the initiative was welcomed by Jordan, Yemen and the PLO and went on to serve as one of the main diplomatic planks of the pro-Iraqi Arab bloc. Saddam's linkage of the Kuwait issue with other regional problems was greeted with enthusiasm by many Arabs, who contrasted the West's belligerent attitude over the current crisis with its virtual acceptance of Israel's long-term occupation of Arab lands.

Another Arab League meeting was held in Cairo on Aug. 30–31 and was attended by Foreign Ministers from Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Lebanon, Qatar, Bahrain, Morocco, UAE, Kuwait and Somalia, and lower-level officials from Oman, Djibouti and Libya. At the end of this meeting a resolution was approved demanding that Iraq pull its troops out of Kuwait and pay war damages as conditions for a settlement of the crisis. The Cairo meeting was boycotted by the pro-Iraqi Arab bloc, whose leaders were pursuing peace efforts largely dismissed by the West and other Arab states. The culmination of these efforts was a fresh initiative broadcast over Jordanian radio on Aug. 29, which had apparently been agreed by Arafat and Saddam Hussein in Baghdad the previous day. Under the plan Iraqi and foreign forces would withdraw from Kuwait and Saudi Arabia simultaneously and would be replaced by "Arab and international forces from the region". Afterwards, a referendum would be held in Kuwait on unity with Iraq.

Responses by individual states

Saudi Arabia and Gulf states

The overthrow of the Al Sabah family in Kuwait was a great shock to the other five Gulf monarchies. However, the initial response was extremely low-key, with some states not even mentioning the invasion and not one of them directly criticizing Iraq.

The first public response came on Aug. 3 from ministers of the Gulf Co-operation Council (comprising Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and the UAE) who issued a condemnation of the "Iraqi aggression" and called for an immediate and unconditional withdrawal.

In the immediate aftermath of the Iraqi invasion attention had shifted to Saudi Arabia, which was widely viewed as Iraq's next potential target. The USA moved rapidly to acquire Saudi, and Egyptian, approval for the deployment of US forces in Saudi Arabia to deter any Iraqi attack. At the same time the USA pressed Saudi Arabia to cut off the vital Iraqi oil pipeline to the Red Sea outlet at Yanbu, which the Saudis did on Aug. 7. Details of the troop deployment were formulated by the Saudis and Dick Cheney, the US Defence Secretary, on Aug. 6, and the next day Bush formally announced that King Fahd had requested that US ground forces and war-planes be dispatched to Saudi Arabia to deter Iraqi aggression; US combat aircraft and troops started to land at Dhahran in eastern Saudi Arabia that day.

With the arrival of US forces in Saudi Arabia King Fahd started to adopt a more forceful anti-Iraqi line. In a televised speech on Aug. 9 he described the invasion of Kuwait as "the most vile aggression known to the Arab nation in its modern history". Iraq, meanwhile, attempted to take advantage of the presence of US troops in Saudi Arabia by calling for a holy war, or Jihad, against King Fahd in order to protect the two holy cities of Mecca and Medina from "infidel" (non-Moslem) forces. Subsequent Iraqi reports described anti-US demonstrations and riots in Saudi Arabia. Despite such reports there was some evidence that the crisis had generated greater support for the King, particularly among Saudi nationals; on the other hand some foreign Arab residents in Saudi Arabia, particularly Palestinians and Jordanians, were accused of being pro-Iraqi.
In early August there was considerable panic in the UAE, a country which Iraq had earlier singled out, along with Kuwait, as one of the main oil overproducers. Initially, large numbers of expatriates started to leave the country, but with the deployment of US forces the business community appeared to regain some of its confidence. The UAE announced on Aug. 19 that it had agreed to the deployment of Arab and other foreign forces. Oman agreed to the stationing of foreign forces soon after Saudi Arabia; Bahrain and Qatar agreed in mid-August and late August respectively.

After its first emergency meeting on Aug. 3 the GCC Ministerial Council met again in Jeddah on Aug. 7 and reiterated its call for an unconditional Iraqi withdrawal. GCC Defence Ministers met in Jeddah on Aug. 22 and agreed to reinforce the Peninsular Shield Force, the organization's Saudi-based rapid deployment force.

President Mubarak quickly adopted a firm and critical stance. Commentators claimed that Mubarak was enraged and embarrassed by Iraq's invasion, after he had announced in late July that Saddam had assured him that Iraqi forces would not move into Kuwait. Ostensibly, Egypt enjoyed close relations with Iraq, both sharing membership of the Arab Co-operation Council (ACC) along with Yemen and Jordan. However, beneath the surface relations were extremely tense; differences had been highlighted, for example, in late 1989 when Iraq deported large numbers of Egyptian workers.

In early August there was considerable concern in Egypt that the crisis would provoke serious domestic unrest, and some commentators intimated that junior officers might even turn against Mubarak. However, in the event Mubarak largely carried the Egyptian public with him to the extent that even staunch opponents such as the Moslem Brotherhood supported his policies. He was aided by a wave of anti-Iraqi feeling in the country generated by the mass of Egyptians fleeing from Kuwait and Iraq. By mid-August as many as 100,000 Egyptians had fled, two-thirds of whom were stranded in Jordan or on the heavily congested Iraqi-Jordanian border.

Although Mubarak clearly set out his anti-Iraqi position early on in the crisis, he also openly expressed his wish to "contain" the conflict within the Arab nation. He maintained this public position until after the Arab summit in Cairo on Aug. 10, despite having earlier approved the dispatch of US forces to Saudi Arabia. Some reports claimed that Egyptian forces had been sent to Saudi Arabia even before the summit, at which Egypt formally undertook to send troops as part of a pan-Arab force. The first Egyptian troops arrived on Aug. 12, with a second contingent departing from Cairo four days later. Once Egyptian forces were in Saudi Arabia, Iraq began broadcasting anti-Mubarak propaganda in earnest. A Voice of Arab Egypt radio station was monitored soon after the Cairo summit broadcasting attacks on Mubarak and calling on the Egyptian people to overthrow their government. In a broadcast on Aug. 23 Saddam Hussein called on Mubarak to "take the side of the... poor of the Arab nation" and "be among the ranks of the faithful who are striving against the corrupt, the dissolute, the tyrants and the army of invaders". The broadcast was in reply to an Aug. 21 message from Mubarak in which he publicly appealed to Saddam to withdraw from Kuwait and thereby "save mankind from a destructive war which will leave a scorched earth".

Syria

The Syrian government recognized an opportunity in the crisis to improve relations with many of its Arab neighbours and with the USA. President Assad evidently took great comfort from the international onslaught on Saddam Hussein, his hated Baathist rival, and from the way the crisis reflected on another old adversary, PLO Chair Yassir Arafat.

The Syrian stance during the weeks following the invasion effectively confirmed the country's return to mainstream regional politics and led to the formation of a new close alignment between Syria and Egypt [for recent improvement in Egyptian-Syrian relation see pp. 37471; 37626]. President Assad visited Mubarak in Alexandria on Aug. 28, after which both called for an unconditional Iraqi withdrawal and a "restoration of legitimacy" in Kuwait.

President Assad had been the first Arab leader to criticize the Iraqi invasion, but there was considerable apprehension in the West that Saddam Hussein's emergence as a focus of anti-Western Arab radicalism might open the way to a rapprochement between Iraq and Syria. However, Syria sided with the pro-Western camp at the Cairo summit and on Aug. 20 the first contingent of 1,200 Syrian troops was dispatched to Saudi Arabia. On Aug. 13–14 the Kuwaiti Crown Prince visited Damascus and was afforded an unusually warm reception. Visits to Damascus by US Assistant Secretary of State John Kelly on Aug. 9 and Aug. 13 and a telephone call to Assad from Bush on Aug. 12 confirmed the USA's altered perception
of Syria [see p. 36180 for return of US ambassador in September 1987 after strained relations over Syria's alleged involvement in international terrorism]. Nevertheless, it was evidently with some unease that President Assad placed his troops in the Saudi desert alongside US forces. Given the response of large sections of the Arab community to the US presence in the Gulf, commentators emphasized that Assad's strategy was a dangerous one and at the end of August Western press reports stated that large numbers of soldiers had been dispatched to Syria's eastern frontier with Iraq to put down pro-Iraqi demonstrations and riots.

**Jordan**

Of all the Arab states touched by Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, few were affected quite as deeply as Jordan. Over a period of a few days during early August the world's perception of the Kingdom shifted dramatically, so that King Hussein was no longer portrayed as one of the chief US allies in the region, but instead as one of Saddam Hussein's prime collaborators. However, the West's cool attitude towards the King over his pro-Iraqi stance was partly offset by Jordan's willingness to take in vast numbers of refugees from Iraq and Kuwait during August. By late August about 225,000 refugees had crossed into Jordan, forcing the government to turn to international aid agencies for help. The flow was so great that the authorities closed the border on Aug. 22–23 in order to cope with the backlog.

King Hussein's decision not to follow Egypt's pro-Western path was heavily influenced by internal considerations. Saddam Hussein had overwhelming support from the vast majority of Jordanians, and the US intervention in the Gulf had the effect of uniting previously disparate political and social strands behind the King's stance on the crisis. Economically, Jordan was in severe trouble before the crisis, and total adherence to a UN trade embargo on Iraq could mean the loss of a quarter of the country's exports; Jordan was also dependent upon Iraq for almost all of its oil supplies. Throughout August King Hussein was under pressure on the one hand to abide by the UN resolution to impose sanctions on Iraq and denounce the invasion of Kuwait, but on the other hand Iraq and the mass of Jordanians wanted Jordan to support Saddam Hussein's anti-US crusade and keep open Baghdad's lifeline through the Red Sea port of Aqaba. Jordan responded to the predicament by prevaricating. The government stated its willingness to abide by the UN sanctions policy, but sought to postpone their application for as long as possible. Meanwhile, goods continued to be transported by road from Aqaba to Iraq. However, by the end of the month activity at Aqaba had declined dramatically, so that relatively few trucks were crossing the border into Iraq at Ruweishad. The fall in activity was partly the result of a US naval blockade in the Strait of Tiran, although many ships had abandoned Aqaba earlier in the month for purely commercial reasons (i.e. an increase in shipping insurance rates).

Meanwhile, Jordan received offers of compensation, on condition that the sanctions were strictly imposed, from the USA, the European Communities (EC), Japan and Saudi Arabia. On Aug. 22 Jordan's permanent representative at the UN invoked Article 50 of the UN Charter, which stipulated that any country affected by sanctions could be eligible for compensation. The Middle East Economic Digest of Sept. 7 reported that in its memorandum submitted to the UN security Council, Jordan had claimed that the Iraqi embargo would cost Jordan some US$4,000 million during the first 12 months and that the country's foreign debt would become virtually unmanageable.

By the time of King Hussein's Aug. 13 visit to Iraq for talks with Saddam Hussein, his efforts to contain the dispute within the Arab world had failed and he was directing his efforts at constructing an effective bloc along with the PLO, Yemen, Sudan, Algeria and Tunisia. On the day of his visit to Baghdad mass pro-Iraqi rallies were held in Jordan, many organized by the newly-formed Arab Nationalist Democratic Coalition. As many as 80,000 Jordanians had volunteered to fight alongside Iraq in the event of a war with the USA. King Hussein visited the USA on Aug. 15–16 for talks with Bush at the latter's holiday home at Kennebunkport. According to press reports the King was expected to convey a message to Bush from Saddam, which was said to include fresh proposals to solve the crisis. However, both denied that a message from Saddam had been delivered. By all accounts Hussein was given a cool reception by Bush, who pressed him to impose UN sanctions quickly, offering some financial compensation in return.

**PLO**

The PLO Chairman Yassir Arafat had firmly rallied behind Iraq during the confrontation with the West preceding the invasion of Kuwait. Iraq's military might and Saddam's willingness openly to challenge Israel appealed strongly to a PLO leadership deeply disillusioned with the faltering Middle East peace process. As August progressed, Arafat began to take on the role of Saddam's chief ally. The emotional fervour in support of Saddam Hussein amongst Palestinians living in the occupied territories was so great that Arafat was largely compelled to reject the pro-Western line. Other Palestinian groups,
including the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas) and even Syrian-based "rejectionist" groups, also supported him in this. By joining the pro-Iraqi camp the PLO effectively cut itself off from the moderating influences (and financial backing) of the Gulf states and Egypt, and rendered highly unlikely any prospects for a resumption of US-Palestinian talks (broken off in June: 37626–27). Various reports during August indicated that Palestinians in the Gulf states were either being detained or expelled.

**Yemen**

Yemen was thrust into the heart of the Gulf crisis on account of its close links with Iraq and its current position as the only Arab member of the UN security Council.

North Yemen had been the only country to contribute troops to support Iraq during the Gulf war. Iraq, in turn, supported Yemen in its complex, and at times difficult, relationship with Saudi Arabia. Both Iraq and (North) Yemen were founder members of the Arab Co-operation Council. Like other supporters of Iraq, Yemen formally condemned the invasion and annexation of Kuwait during the early part of August, but then went on to direct its criticism at the US forces in Saudi Arabia and to press for an Arab solution to the problem. At the Aug. 6 UN security Council vote on the imposition of wide-ranging sanctions on Iraq, the Yemeni permanent representative abstained, and Yemen again abstained on the vote at the Arab League Cairo summit.

As a member of the UN security Council, Yemen officially announced its intention to apply UN sanctions against Iraq. An Iraqi tanker was turned away from Aden after managing to unload a quantity of oil on Aug. 21. However, a spate of pro-Iraqi demonstrations, and the pro-Iraqi sentiment evident in the statements of the country's leadership, especially President Ali Abdullah Saleh, indicated that Yemen's commitment to UN sanctions was at best half-hearted.

**Maghreb states**

The crisis created a wide degree of Arab nationalist support for Iraq within the Maghreb states. The pressure on the governments of Algeria and Tunisia to support Iraq was particularly strong because both faced strong fundamentalist opposition movements which would inevitably capitalize on anti-US sentiment.

Of the Maghreb countries **Morocco** adopted the clearest anti-Iraqi line. However, given the level of popular support for Iraq in the other countries, King Hassan's decision to support the Egyptian line wholeheartedly was generally considered risky. King Hassan, the Maghreb's sole reigning monarch, had issued a swift and strong condemnation of Iraq's invasion of Kuwait and he went on to vote in favour of the resolution adopted at the Cairo summit. Morocco subsequently became one of only three Arab countries (i.e. together with Egypt and Syria) to send troops to the pan-Arab force to defend Saudi Arabia; some 1,200 Moroccan troops reportedly arrived in Riyadh on Aug. 12.

Throughout August Col. Moamer al Kadhafi, the leader of **Libya**, consistently criticized the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, but he nevertheless voted against the Cairo summit resolution. With the build-up of foreign forces in Saudi Arabia anti-Americanism became the main thrust of Libyan policy. As in other Arab countries, pro-Iraqi demonstrations took place throughout the month.

**Algeria** issued a criticism of Iraq's "storming" of Kuwait, but the government's position altered with the entry of US troops into Saudi Arabia. On Aug. 7 the official radio station criticized Western moves to freeze Iraqi and Kuwaiti assets and the following day Foreign Minister Sid-Ahmed Ghozali called for a solution to the crisis "within an Arab framework", describing foreign intervention as "the most catastrophic possibility". The entry of foreign forces into the Gulf swung public opinion strongly behind Iraq, and a number of pro-Iraqi demonstrations were held in the country during August, including a march organized by the ruling National Liberation Front (FLN) in Algiers on Aug. 15.

Of the Maghreb countries **Tunisia** initially adopted the most neutral attitude to the invasion. President Zine al Abidine Ben Ali did not even attend the Arab League summit in Cairo, claiming that not enough preparation had gone into the meeting. However, on Aug. 11, the day after the summit, he appeared on Tunisian television to condemn the deployment of foreign troops to Saudi Arabia and to call for the conflict to be confined to a "purely Arab framework". As in neighbouring Algeria and Libya, the popular response to the crisis was overwhelmingly pro-Iraqi, with a number of demonstrations taking place. A government-organized pro-Iraqi demonstration in Tunis on Aug. 14 was the first legal demonstration since Ben Ali assumed power in late 1987.

**Israeli response**

The Israeli right sought to gain maximum advantage from the impact of the Gulf crisis on the image of Palestinian leadership in the West. Little was done to halt mass pro-Iraqi demonstrations on the West Bank and Gaza Strip; instead they were used as evidence of Arafat's close links with Saddam Hussein's "terrorist"
Like their Western counterparts, the Israeli government was evidently taken by surprise by the invasion of Kuwait and questions were raised later in the month as to why Mossad (the country's intelligence service) had not known of Saddam's intentions. Soon after the invasion Israeli officials made it clear that they were fully prepared to carry out "pre-emptive action" to halt a potential Iraqi attack. Defence Minister Moshe Arens told the Knesset on Aug. 7 that Israel would take action as soon as any fresh "geo-strategic change" occurred, such as an Iraqi push into Jordan.

However, during the early phase of the crisis the Israeli public feared more than anything else an Iraqi chemical attack on Israel, as threatened by Saddam in April. Demands were made for the immediate distribution of gas masks, most notably by Foreign Minister David Levi on Aug. 20. Possibly in response to the threat of a chemical attack Israel carried out a well-publicized test of its Arrow anti-ballistic missile system on Aug. 9.

After the entry of US forces into Saudi Arabia in the second week of August Israeli public pronouncements on the crisis became noticeably less strident. Officials emphasized that Israel had no aggressive designs on any of its Arab neighbours. According to some reports the change in emphasis was the result of pressure from the United States. The USA was eager to play down its close links with Israel in order not to alienate potential Arab supporters. The USA also made it clear to Israeli officials that any Israeli military involvement in the crisis would cause a radical shift in the already unstable Arab ranks, possibly leading a number of those currently allied to the USA to side instead with Iraq.

In its implications for the long-term US-Israeli military relationship, it was deeply disturbing for Israelis to contemplate the prospect of US forces fighting alongside Arab troops. The crisis also caused renewed Israeli anxiety over US arms sales to Arab countries. When details of a massive US arms package to Saudi Arabia were released in late August, Prime Minister Itzhak Shamir openly criticized the move and called on the USA to supply Israel with an equivalent package.