

## IRAQ/KUWAIT: POSITIVE INFORMATION CAMPAIGN

## 1. Key objectives remain:

- to highlight the brutality and illegality of the Iraqi occupation;
- to demonstrate that Saddam Hussein faces a powerful, united and effective military force against which he cannot win;
- to emphasise international agreement on Security Council Resolutions;
- to counter views that a compromise solution is attainable or desirable;
- to counter attempts to portray the alliance against Iraq as weakening.

2. The Defence Secretary's visit to the Gulf will provide an opportunity to press the Saudis to improve their information performance and give better access to the media, including access to the Iraqi deserters they hold; these could be of considerable propaganda value.

3. Briefing Material

In the week beginning 5 November we circulated a new edition of the FCO briefing notes.

Next week we shall issue new Background Notes on the effectiveness of sanctions and on the ill-treatment of Western hostages.

#### 4. Written Press

We have proposed to the Ministry of Defence that on his return from the Gulf the Defence Secretary should give an interview to a selected group of Arab and Islamic journalists. Among the material distributed in our Verbatim series was the Foreign Secretary's interview on BBC "Breakfast News" of 6 November.

#### 5. Television

We are preparing a fifth video about atrocities in Kuwait, with fresh eyewitness accounts. The previous four videos and the accompanying Background Notes have been widely seen in our target countries

#### 6. Radio

Extra Arabic<sup>-speaking</sup> staff have been recruited to increase the supply of translated Ministerial speeches and interviews to Radio Monte Carlo, which has a large audience in the Gulf including Iraq and Kuwait. We continue to give weekly briefings to the BBC Arabic Service and to monitor the output of the Service from within the FCO. There have been no further complaints about its output over the last week.

#### 7. Liaison with the USA

We are meeting members of the State Department and USIA in London on 12 November to compare notes on our information campaigns and look at the prospects for better UK/US co-ordination of the message to Iraq, other Middle Eastern audiences and wider Muslim opinion.

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

12 November 1990

## THE GULF CRISIS: BRIEFING NOTES

## CURRENT ISSUES: BULL POINTS

1. Key points
2. List of points for use with Arabs and other Muslims
3. Effects of Iraqi invasion of Kuwait
4. What happens if sanctions do not work
5. Reference papers

(Revision)

9 November 1990

## THE GULF CRISIS: BRIEFING NOTES

## 1. KEY POINTS

- "Our aim remains the complete and unconditional withdrawal of Iraq from Kuwait; the restoration of the legitimate government; and the release of hostages in Kuwait and Iraq. The peaceful means to these ends are also well known: isolation, economic sanctions, and the certainty that the option of armed intervention exists and can be used." (Foreign Secretary, Chatham House, 31 October.)
- Iraqi occupation of Kuwait illegal.
- Saddam Hussein must withdraw completely from Kuwait: the legitimate government must be restored. There can be no negotiations with Iraq until these conditions have been fulfilled. No compromise solution acceptable - there can be no reward for aggression.
- If peaceful pressures do not work, the international community will have to take further measures to remove Iraq from Kuwait.
- Iraq condemned by international community: some countries originally sympathetic to Iraq now committed to sanctions.
- Iraqi efforts to split coalition against it unsuccessful.
- Armoury of international pressures in place: they are formidable, and will grow to become even more comprehensive.
- Western forces in the Gulf at the request of Gulf states as part of international force made up of contingents from some 30 countries. They will leave when asked to do so.
- Iraq flouts international law by not allowing all foreign nationals to leave Iraq and occupied Kuwait. Where hostages have been released, this has clearly been a great relief for their families. But there should be no hostages. SCR 674 condemned Iraqi actions and demanded that third country nationals (including diplomatic and consular personnel) be allowed to leave Iraq and Kuwait if they wished.
- Shootings in Jerusalem on 8 October refocussed world attention on Arab/Israel. But, contrary to Iraqi claims, no linkage between solutions on Iraq/Kuwait and Arab/Israel.
- International consensus on Iraq/Kuwait unshaken by events in Jerusalem.
- 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.
- Egypt, Saudi Arabia, UAE and Kuwait have all made clear that they see no scope for Primakov proposals for an Arab solution.
- British government deeply shocked by violence when 21 Palestinians shot in Jerusalem on 8 October. We and EC partners have strongly deplored use of excessive force by Israelis. Need now for restraint on both sides.
- A solution must be found to Arab/Israel. SCR 672 demonstrates international resolve to tackle Arab/Israel problem; reinforced by SCR 673 (adopted unanimously 24 October).
- "The policy of the British government is clear ... that is, self-determination for the Palestinian people and the right of Israel to live in peace behind secure borders" (Foreign Secretary, speaking in the House of Commons, 24 October).
- "My government will work with the utmost determination, together with our allies and the whole international community, for the unconditional implementation of the Resolutions of the United Nations Security Council which require the withdrawal of Iraq from Kuwait, and the restoration of the independence and legitimate government of Kuwait."

(HM The Queen's speech on the Opening of Parliament,  
7 November)

## 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 its annexation of Kuwait is null and void.
- Ridiculous for Iraq to claim Kuwait always part of Iraq: up to invasion Iraq government dealt with Kuwait as a separate sovereign state
- "I remind the Iraqis once again that at all levels of authority, military or civilian, they are personally responsible under the Geneva Convention for illegal acts committed as occupiers of Kuwait" (Foreign Secretary speaking in House of Commons, 24 October).
- SCR 674 (adopted 13-0, Cuba and Yemen abstaining, 29 October) reaffirms international condemnation of Iraqi actions and reminds Iraq that it is liable under international law for loss, damage and injury arising from illegal occupation of Kuwait.

## 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.

## IRAQ ISOLATED IN FACE OF INTERNATIONAL CONSENSUS ON FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF SCRs (660, 661, 662, 664, 665, 666, 667, 670, 674)

- 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.
- Commitment of these states reaffirmed - eg recent statement by King Fahd; reinforcement of Syrian military component; clear response from Egypt, Saudi Arabia, UAE and Kuwait to Primakov proposals for an Arab solution.

- Meeting GCC Foreign Ministers in Riyadh, 28/29 October, reiterated condemnation of Iraq's occupation of Kuwait as breach of international and Islamic law, and expressed full support for UNSCRs.
- Only possible solution for Arabs and everyone else is that endorsed by Security Council. Anything short of SCR requirements will reinforce Saddam Hussein's disregard for the sovereignty and independence of his neighbours.
- Arab League and Islamic Conference Organisation have also condemned invasion.
- Amir of Kuwait, in televised address to his people to mark the third month of the occupation of his country, said that he was certain there was no way to bring the occupation to an end other than by the complete and definitive application of SCRs and the Resolutions of the Arab Summit and Islamic Conference.
- 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.
- Countries supporting sanctions and worst hit by Gulf crisis will receive \$13 bn in emergency aid, pledged by Gulf Crisis Financial Co-ordination Group (representing 24 of the world's richest nations) at meeting in Rome on 5 November. Jordan, Egypt and Turkey will be principle recipients.
- Statement by Heads of State and government of six Asian Muslim States (Bangladesh, Brunei Darussalam, Indonesia, Malaysia, Maldives and Pakistan) issued on 16 October in Dhaka, called upon President Saddam Hussein to withdraw Iraqi troops from Kuwait in compliance with relevant SCRs.
- EC meeting in Rome, 27/28 October, denounced Iraq's unscrupulous use of hostages, agreed to discourage any further national or private missions to Baghdad, and said efforts to divide Community would be in vain. Twelve agreed (5 November) that UN Secretary General should be asked to continue efforts to send special representative to Iraq.
- 84th Conference of Interparliamentary Union (in Uruguay) endorsed universal condemnation of Iraqi action and supported UNSC Resolutions.
- ICAO (International Civil Aviation Organisation) has condemned Iraq's looting of Kuwait International Airport since the invasion, and has demanded return of foreign aircraft seized in Kuwait. Resolution endorsed by IATA (International Air Transport Association) at Annual General meeting in Geneva on 29 October. IATA also called for release of passengers and crew of foreign aircraft.

#### 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 100 billion).
- 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". Iraqi statements speak of women and children suffering for want of supplies. But contradicted by
- Reports from Iraq indicate some individual scarcities (eg increased prices for cooking oil, queues at bakeries). But Iraq at present has plenty of food in stock, with markets provisioned from pillaged Kuwait. Profiteering on looted goods rampant.
- 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. Many have left, but 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. SCR 674 underlines Iraqi obligations to third country nationals as well as to Kuwaitis.
- Iraq has rejected offers from both the UN and 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 residents in Iraq or Kuwait are suffering from food shortages.

#### 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. Saudi government strictly controls access to region around Holy Places, and only Muslims are admitted.

#### PALESTINIAN DIMENSION

- Iraq the main obstacle to progress.
- "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).
- UN SCR 672 demonstrated international condemnation of excessive force by Israeli police, and authorised Secretary General to send mission to Israel to investigate incident and developments in occupied territories.
- Reinforced by SCR 673 (adopted unanimously), deploring Israeli government's decision not to accept the Secretary General's mission and asking them to reconsider. Resolution repeats request for report.
- Should remember Iraq an unreliable supporter of Arab causes.
- 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.
- Only after Western criticism of Iraq's development of chemical weapons that Saddam assumed 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 conference based on SCR 242. PLO's acceptance of SCR 242 in 1988 a major step forward.
- 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)

#### MECCA CONFERENCE ON GULF CRISIS

- The World Islamic Conference on the Gulf crisis organised by the Muslim World League in Mecca (12 September) expressed strong condemnation of the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait and called for Iraq's immediate and unconditional withdrawal and restoration of legitimate government. Agreed Saudi Arabia's request for foreign military assistance was justified by necessity, and thus in accordance with Islamic law. Conference called on governments and Islamic organisations to do all they can to prevent the outbreak of war and achieve Islamic unity.
- 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, plucking out of beard of religious leader before his murder.
- Ayatollah Khoi, Shia leader in Iraq (and regarded as chief authority for all Shia on Arab side of Gulf, including Iraqi Shia), has issued fatwah (religious decree) condemning Iraqi plundering of Kuwait.
- Abdulaziz Ibu Adullah Al-Sheikh, member of Saudi Committee of Senior Islamic Scholars, has asked "Those who justify Iraqi annexation of Kuwait, will they accept annexation of their countries by other forces?"
- Tanzanian press reported (1 November) that Iraqi Embassy in Dar es Salaam had been registering young Tanzanian muslims for military service. A Foreign Ministry spokesman said the Iraqi Embassy had been told their actions were illegal.

#### THE FUTURE

- "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).
- Kuwaiti National Conference on "Liberation: our slogan, cause and aim" in Jedda from 13-16 October united Sabah family, Ministers, officials, journalists, academics and

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representatives of opposition groups in a commitment to solidarity in the interest of recovering Kuwait with the prospect of a more representative system of government.

- Amir in TV broadcast to Kuwaitis, after three months' exile, said building of new Kuwait would require all citizens to work together. Heroic role played by Kuwaiti women alongside the men holding out in Kuwait would never be forgotten.

## THE GULF CRISIS: BRIEFING NOTES

## 3. EFFECTS OF IRAQI INVASION OF KUWAIT

- Kuwait a ghost town under curfew, with regime of terror under Saddam Hussein's cousin, Ali Majid. Collapse of public order.
- Systematic looting of what remains of public and private property continues unchecked. Systematic nature indicates deliberate plan to dismantle infrastructure of state of Kuwait, and to impose rapid demographic change.
- Iraqi Information Minister, Latif Jassim, said (4 November): "The world should forget a place called the Emirate of Kuwait ever existed".
- Basic foodstuffs in short supply. Long queues for bread, no eggs, no fresh fruit, very little meat; all at exorbitant prices.
- No work, no schools, restrictions on cash withdrawals by Kuwaitis (of their debased currency), shortage of medicines, make leaving an attractive alternative to difficult survival in Kuwait.
- Iraq has encouraged the emigration of young, elderly and female Kuwaitis. Their homes and positions have reportedly been given to Iraqis and Palestinians. Following survey of all residential property, unoccupied houses/flats being reallocated and their contents "disposed of". Of 700,000 Kuwaitis in the Emirate at the time of the August invasion, only 300,000 are thought to be left.
- Kuwaiti banks were early target for invading Iraqi command. (£1.8 bn in gold and £5.5 mn in 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.
- Iraq busily appropriating Kuwaiti assets. According to Iraqi government Kuwait Airlines "no longer exists", and all its assets have gone to Iraqi Airways.
- A new pipeline has been installed between Kuwait and Basra, and it is reported that oil from Kuwait is being pumped along it. Otherwise Kuwait crude production down to 10% of normal; refineries have been shut and many installations mined.
- Iraq attempting to wipe the existence of Kuwait from the map. Kuwaiti passports, vehicle licence plates, identity cards and currency invalid from 1 October.
- 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. Most schools have closed and commercial activity has virtually ceased.

- 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.
- Reports of atrocities committed by Iraqi forces in Kuwait multiply.
- Amnesty testified to US Congressional Human Rights caucus (10 October). After summarising organisation's concerns about Iraq's human rights record prior to invasion, gave further account of repression in Kuwait. People being tortured by Iraqi military and intelligence personnel said to include Iraqi Shia muslims with suspected links with opposition group al-Dawa Al Islamiyya (membership of this group is capital offence in Iraq). Many individual cases of torture, abuse, summary execution cited. Victims include boys as young as 13. Reported group executions including shooting at peaceful protest group of about 35 women and young people in early August.
- Testimony by Kuwaiti refugees to House of Commons Select Committee on Foreign Affairs (24 October) reinforces this evidence (eg doctors forced to take blood from small children for transfusions for Iraqi soldiers).
- All Kuwaitis hiding foreign nationals from the occupying forces or displaying the Kuwaiti flag or a portrait of the Amir incur a death penalty, which can also follow failure to declare possession of a fax or photocopier.
- All Arabs and foreigners in Kuwait who fail to report to the Residence Department by 5 November will be liable to legal proceedings and residence permission will be terminated.
- 15,000 Kuwaitis rounded up by Iraqis and imprisoned in Iraq.
- Iraq has rejected offers both by the UN and 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 both in Kuwait and to investigate whether any residents in Iraq or Kuwait are suffering from food shortages. Private Iraqis, especially Kurds, continue to be helpful.
- SCR 674 (29 October) condemns actions of Iraqi authorities to mistreat and oppress Kuwaiti and third State nationals, in violation of the Geneva Convention and International Law. It invites states to collect substantiated information on grave breaches of 4th Geneva Convention and make them available to Council.

- Resolution also invites states to collect information regarding claims for restitution or financial compensation by Iraq.
- Kuwaiti National Conference on "Liberation: our slogan, cause and aim" in Jedda from 13-16 October united the Sabhh family, Ministers, officials, journalists, academics and the opposition in a commitment to solidarity in the interest of recovering Kuwait.
- "We will rebuild Kuwait on the firm foundation of our national unity and the legitimate system of government which we have chosen and are content to be ruled by, strengthening consultation and democracy and popular participation in the light of our 1962 Constitution" (Conference Final Statement).

## THE GULF CRISIS: BRIEFING NOTES

## 4. WHAT HAPPENS IF SANCTIONS DO NOT WORK

- "The only way the crisis can be settled peacefully would be for Iraq to withdraw unconditionally from Kuwait" (Turkish Prime Minister, Mr Ozal, 1 November).
- "We are tightening the screw of peaceful pressures but we cannot shirk our part in the alternative course if that course finally becomes necessary" (Foreign Secretary's statement in House of Commons, 24 October).
- Poll shows Britons favour use of force. Latest Gallup poll published on 18 October repeats that public support for UK (and US) policy in the Gulf unwavering after 2½ months. 86% of Britons said they would back force to free Kuwait and liberate the hostages if sanctions failed.
- Bush-Gorbachev Helsinki Summit statement "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".
- "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).
- "The greatest prospect for peace lies in this paradox ... the certainty which we have to create in his [Saddam Hussein's] mind that, if he does not go in peace he will be removed by force" (Foreign Secretary speaking at Canning House, October 30).
- "It is not acceptable or safe for the West, the Arab world, or the United Nations to walk away from the problem, leaving the aggressor in possession of any part of Kuwait or any compensation or his aggression. It is not acceptable or safe, and it will not happen." (Foreign Secretary, speaking in House of Commons, 8 November.)

## THE GULF CRISIS: BRIEFING NOTES

## 5. REFERENCE PAPERS

Verbatims

- VS 50/90 "Palestine: the other Middle East problem": speech by Foreign Secretary to Diplomatic and Commonwealth Writers' Association, London, 4 October
- VS 54/90 Statement by Foreign Secretary in House of Commons, 24 October
- VS 56/90 Foreign Secretary's speech at Canning House, 30 October (extract)
- VS 57/90 Foreign Secretary's speech at Chatham House, 31 October (extract)

Guidance

- No 47/90  
50/90  
52/90  
61/90

Retracts

Extensive daily coverage of Ministerial statements, spokesman etc. Following are some recent key pieces:

- Transcript of interviews given by Foreign Secretary in New York to BBC Radio and IRN, 2 October
- Extracts from debate on Middle East in House of Commons, 24 October
- Declaration on the Gulf crisis and Middle East, by Twelve (27/28 October)

Survey of Current Affairs

August 1990, p.277: Iraq's Invasion of Kuwait

The Gulf Crisis: Briefing Notes

- Saddam Hussein's record
- International reactions to Iraqi invasion of Kuwait
- Kuwait: consequences of the Iraqi invasion
- Iraqi claims to Kuwait
- The Rape of Kuwait
- The Multinational Force

Video Material

- Kuwait refugees
- Inside Kuwait
- Kuwait: the atrocities
- Kuwait: destruction of a society