

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref: FO 371 / 170178			88025			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

CONFIDENTIAL

20710

Record of a Discussion on the Middle East
Held in the NATO Political Committee on
March 26, 1963

M. Orlandi Contucci (Italy) said that his authorities in Rome had noticed in most Western capitals a fair degree of scepticism about the likely results of the negotiations now in train for union between Egypt, Iraq and Syria. The initiative had aroused little enthusiasm. The Algerians had not shown a great deal of interest and it was not certain whether they would be taking part. The Yemenis had simply delegated Nasser to speak for them. Naturally Nasser was keenly interested in union, but in view of his past experience he was displaying caution. He could not, however, refuse offers from those in favour of union. It was interesting that the initiative for the present discussions came from Iraq and Syria. In view of the powerful reasons against union with Egypt, it seemed likely that the new régimes had decided on the initiative because of their lack of internal stability, as a kind of insurance for continued survival. Both Governments, however, wanted a form of union which would be gradual and flexible, which would put them on an equal footing with the Egyptians and which would limit the influence of Egypt. Nasser was in a strong position. The other Governments had something to be afraid of and something to ask for. The details of the negotiations were not yet known but the Italian experts summed up the situation as follows.

2. The Ba'athists wanted federation but this was different from Nasser's idea of union. They envisaged some kind of three-sided egalitarian union in which their own personalities would survive and with a Chairman at the top of the structure. Nasser said that he was ready to make concessions in the direction of local autonomy, but might well return to the theory of the United Arab Republic in a union which would include Iraq. It was doubtful if such a union could ever come into being, because of the deep and serious differences of opinion. The West should not be too anxious about the present situation provided that no obstacles were placed in the way of these Arab moves and that understanding was shown. If the West gave the impression that they were opposed to this development, it might only have the effect of making the Arabs turn towards the Soviet Union. The best course for the West was non-intervention in Arab affairs, while at the same time helping both sides (i.e. monarchists and republicans) to help themselves. Where help was requested this should continue. While the Western countries should, where possible, discourage the ambitions of Nasser, it would be wise to acknowledge the limits beyond which Western influence could not go. This was in essence what the NATO Expert Group on the Middle East had said in their report last winter.

3. Libya was a special case. Egyptian propaganda there was less aggressive and more cautious, in comparison with that aimed at Saudi Arabia and Jordan. The causes of this difference in treatment were possibly:

- (a) that the Egyptians reckoned that Libya was not likely to be penetrated by means of press and radio propaganda and that underground penetration would make more progress;

/many

CONFIDENTIAL

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	Ins	1	1	2
Ref: <u>FD 371 / 170178</u>			<u>88025</u>				
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

CONFIDENTIAL

- 2 -

many Libyans had been won over in the direction of Nasser because of Egyptian caution and discretion: and

- (b) that the Egyptians were well aware of Western interests in Libya, particularly in oil, which did not need to go through the Suez Canal.

4. Mr. Wright then spoke along the lines of Foreign Office telegram No. 153 Guidance of March 20.

5. Mr. Rogers (Canada) said that the views of his authorities were in harmony with those expressed by the United Kingdom and Italian representatives. While it was difficult to give any firm prediction, they expected some form of union to emerge from the current talks in Cairo. He then put forward four points which had struck the Canadian experts about the present situation. (Most of these thoughts were likely to remain valid whether there was a federation or not.) First, an Arab federation might follow a non-aligned policy and might incur the suspicions of the Russians, particularly if the United Arab Republic dominated the group. There was a possibility that it might move rather more towards the West. For example the United Arab Republic over the past year had moved closer to the Western economies and Nasser seemed to be pursuing a sensible non-aligned course. In respect of the Sino/Soviet dispute, disarmament and other international problems, he had followed reasonable and balanced policies which had led to a slight loosening of his ties with the Soviet Union. It was significant that the regimes in Iraq and Syria had come to power against the Communists. Secondly, in the light of the scale of Soviet investments in Syria, Iraq and Egypt, it was unlikely that there would be an open break with Moscow. The Russians were faced with a difficult choice but the odds were that the outcome would be favourable to the West. It was important in this context, however, that the Arabs should be left to handle their own affairs, and there should be no attempt by the West to exploit the situation. Thirdly, good Western relations with the "liberated" régimes called for understanding of the desire for Arab unity and for social progress. The new régimes seemed firmly anti-Communist and were joining in the search for modernism. Egypt was the main force in the area and Nasser was the only outstanding Arab figure, basing his policies on Arab nationalism and socialism. Fourthly, current Western aid policies should be continued, although it should be remembered that the Arabs were sensitive to pressure and might react adversely if this were too strong.

6. On the question of relations with the Arab monarchs, the Canadians did not see the problem as a choice between backing the monarchs or the revolutionary régimes. It was important to attempt to moderate the pace and inhibit any sharp changes. Any dramatic action by Western countries would be unlikely to promote these objectives.

7. Mr. Groot (Denmark) said that it was remarkable that there were now governments in Baghdad, Cairo and Damascus with common goals (although of course the language used to describe national aims was capable of bearing different interpretations). Moscow had suffered a serious defeat in the Middle East following the revolutions in Iraq and Syria. The fact also that Nasser's policy was orientated rather more towards the West was a clear sign of a reverse for the Russians. It was obviously good for the West to support progressive pan-Arab movements. The fact was that the leaders in the Middle East who wanted to survive had no choice but to pursue reasonably progressive policies. On the question of

/the

CONFIDENTIAL

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371/170178				88025			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

CONFIDENTIAL

- 3 -

the union it was difficult to make any predictions. The difficulties were great. For the moment, the federalists seemed to be coming out on top. As for Israel, though it was again too early to say, the prospect of greater unity among the Arabs might open up some hope for a solution, because in the past even the slightest concession towards the Israelis by one Arab country had been exploited by the others. With greater unity there would be less risk of this.

8. M. Bulak (Turkey) shared the views expressed by his Italian and British colleagues. (In particular, the evaluation given by his British colleague coincided exactly with those of his authorities.) The latest two coups had represented a victory for the Ba'athists. Most of the juridico-political questions connected with the union were still unanswered and the present leaders in Iraq and Syria could still come up against political tendencies which had for the present been repressed. Anti-Communist activities did not necessarily help the Ba'athists in all Middle East countries. An evaluation of the situation in the Middle East would depend upon the determination of the relations between Iraq, Syria and Egypt. There was some hope that Arab nationalism would provide an element of stability and that the safeguarding of the positions of Jordan and Saudi Arabia would also contribute towards stability.

9. Mademoiselle Campana (France) agreed with the British and Italian assessments. Her authorities had recently prepared an analysis of the Ba'ath party which would be circulated in the near future. It was unlikely that France would be able to exercise much influence on the Algerians, who would be more likely to be swayed by other factors, but for the present the Algerians were being cautious. The West should avoid interference in the internal affairs of the countries in the Middle East and must respect the independence of the new countries. Commenting on the assertion that Soviet policy had failed in Iraq, she pointed out that the Russians were unlikely to give up their efforts there. It was interesting that there had been no withdrawal of Soviet experts from Iraq (and there was a considerable number of them) nor had they stopped giving assistance to the Kurds. It was too early to make any forecast of future developments.

10. Mr. Schultze-Boysen (Germany) said that his authorities tended to judge the present situation in a way similar to the views already expressed. He agreed with his United Kingdom colleague that any coup d'etat in Jordan might lead to unfavourable Israeli action and might also offer the Russians a unique opportunity to identify themselves with Arab interests and regain some of their lost ground. At present Cairo was exercising some restraint. There might be ways in which the West could exert some influence, but care was needed to avoid appearing to interfere, especially in the case of the new revolutionary regimes. Perhaps the best course was tactful and discreet economic cooperation. This was a subject which was under discussion in the NATO Economic Committee. The German Government was giving sympathetic consideration to requests from the Iraq Government for economic development assistance. (He also mentioned a technical assistance agreement between the Federal Republic and Iraq under which a greater number of German experts would go to Iraq.) The West German Government would not take any part in any re-orientation in the supply of armaments to Iraq. For the present they were maintaining a general arms embargo in all the critical areas of the Middle East, but they would be prepared to enter into some co-operative scheme on arms sales with other Western countries if this were thought desirable.

/11.

CONFIDENTIAL

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	Ins	1	2
Ref: FO 371/170178			88025			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

CONFIDENTIAL

- 4 -

11. Mr. Phrydas (Greece) spoke of the importance of non-interference in Arab affairs. This had been the agreed line among the NATO countries for the past few years and the results had proved the wisdom of this attitude. Greece had not yet recognised the Yemen and it would be helpful if, in due course, the other members of NATO could give their assessments of the degree of stability of the regime and of the situation generally.

12. Mr. Farley (United States) spoke of the additional pressures which could now be expected to be brought to bear upon Jordan and Saudi Arabia as a result of recent developments in the Middle East. However, there were important factors on the other side which gave some protection to these monarchies. Among these he listed:-

- (a) Syria and Iraq were new régimes which had yet to consolidate their position and work out the best relationship with Egypt;
- (b) The new régimes were heavily pre-occupied with constitutional problems;
- (c) The strong manifestations of support by the United States Government for Saudi Arabia and Jordan. The latest of these was Mr. Dean Rusk's statement on March 8;
- (d) The dangers of some Israeli military reaction to any change of régime in Jordan;
- (e) The measures already taken by Jordan and more recently by Saudi Arabia towards modernisation and reform, thus controlling to a certain extent the pressures for action within those countries.

13. Egypt, Syria and Iraq were unlikely to be effective from the point of view of military co-ordination. They were geographically separated and there was little interest on the part of the Syrians and Iraqis in an integrated rôle in the Egyptian Army, even if there were a co-ordinated Command structure. Any move towards closer union was therefore unlikely to affect the military balance in the Near East.

14. The United States Government were thinking that some quiet action might be taken in certain fields. It might be useful to the other members of the Alliance to be aware of these and his authorities would naturally welcome further discussion in NATO of them if there was any desire for this. There had of course already been bilateral talks and a certain amount of consultation in such bodies as the DAC and the United Nations. The areas which the United States Government had identified as providing scope for some individual or collective action were the following:-

- (a) What were the best means for encouraging moderation and a friendly disposition towards the West in Syria and Iraq?
- (b) What was likely to happen in Jordan and Saudi Arabia and what were the best ways of discouraging subversion and encouraging modernisation and reform?

/(c)

CONFIDENTIAL

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref.: FD 371 / 170178				88025			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

CONFIDENTIAL

- 5 -

- (c) What could be done to persuade the Syrians and the Iraqis to adopt a non-activist role in Arab/Israel relations?
- (d) What might be gained by some form of co-ordinated Western economic assistance?
- (e) What about arms sales? The United States Government was giving some thought to the advantages of limited arms sales to Middle Eastern countries for purposes of defence and internal security. It had been found that a complete arms embargo had its disadvantages;
- (f) What was the scope for training Syrian and Iraqi officers in Western military schools?
- (g) Were there any possibilities for increased cultural exchanges?

15. Mr. Schultze-Boysen said that the Yemen régime had recently given permission to the DDR to open up a Consulate at Taiz. They had, however, assured the West German authorities that this had not involved any question of recognition of the East German régime. Unfortunately, the Yemenis had never heard of the concept of "exequatur" in international law and his authorities had therefore sent a legal expert to explain this to the Yemenis. He hoped that Germany's allies would do what they could to explain West Germany's position.

16. Mr. Groot mentioned that it was conceivable that the Arab League might again play a role in Middle Eastern affairs, but the present Secretary General was adopting a "wait and see" policy. It was possibly significant that Iraq and Egypt had now agreed to take part again in meetings of the Arab League.

17. Mademoiselle Campana pointed out that the return of the Yemen to the Arab League would mean that the revolutionary régimes would have a majority there.

CONFIDENTIAL

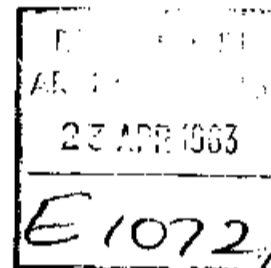
NATO Experts on the Middle East

On March 5 Mr. Cradock sent your Department a minute about contributions for the Middle East NATO Experts Meeting, which should reach him by March 25.

I attach for ease of reference copies of the U.K. contribution in November 1962. I should, however, add that the final form of the NATO documents, G-W(62)112, of which I have a copy which can be looked at, does not seem to bear a very close resemblance to our draft. This is perhaps not surprising as 9 other countries also submitted contributions. If anything the final paper is rather shorter than our draft contributions and the Department will no doubt wish to bear this in mind.

(R.M.B. Chevallier)
March 7, 1963.

N.E.A.D.
Arabian.
E.R.D.



1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref: FD 371 / 170178			88025			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

SECRET

PART I - Conclusions

- A. As a result of strong action taken against the Communists in Iraq and to a lesser extent in Syria the Communists have lost some ground in the period under review. There has been no sign of increased Chinese influence. The Russians may be expected to go cautiously until they see how inter-Arab relationships work out.
- B. The Yemen and to a greater extent the Iraqi and Syrian revolutions have thrown the spotlight on Saudi Arabia and Jordan whom the United Arab Republic and the new revolutionary Governments regard as reactionary and therefore to be "liberated". However, provided King Hussein and his new Government avoid mistakes in their relations with other Arab countries and a moderately progressive internal policy, hostile criticism of the régime might abate. Moreover, action to overthrow the Jordan régime seems unlikely in view of the Israelis' statement about taking military action if they feel their security threatened.
- D. CENTO continues to play its important role of covering N.A.T.O.'s eastern flank by checking Soviet influence and penetration in the Treaty area. At the same time it encourages political and military cooperation among the Member countries and makes an increasingly significant contribution to the economic development of the region.
- E. There has been little change in Israel - Arab relations. Although the Israelis have protested violently about the production of rockets in Egypt, they are probably less worried about the near future than their public attitude suggests.

Policy Implications

There seems still no reason to modify last Session's Policy Implications. Second paragraph about Iran should stand with the substitution of Alam for Amini.

PART II A

SECRET

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: <u>FD 371 / 170178</u>						<u>88025</u>	
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

SECRET

- 2 -

PART II A 1 -- Sino-Soviet Bloc Activities - Political

Although the ultimate Soviet aim in the Middle East remains unchanged, viz to draw countries of the Middle East away from the West, and when the situation is ripe, into the Soviet orbit, events of the past six months have not worked to their immediate advantage. The general Soviet position has indeed been shaken by events in Iraq and Syria, and perhaps also in Afghanistan, but it is still too soon to evaluate to what degree. There has been no sign of any increase in the past six months of Chinese influence. In the Sino - Indian dispute the U. A. R. supported India and took a leading part in the Colombo Conference.

2. There is likely to be a check to the expansion of bloc economic influence in both Iraq and Syria and a period of very cautious political activity while the Soviet Union awaits firmer evidence of the new régimes' stability and of their likely political bias. Meanwhile the activity of national Communist parties through which the bloc might work, is likely to be even more restricted than before.
3. The initial Soviet reaction to the persecution of Iraqi Communists by the new régime with the full support of the U. A. R., has been fairly sharp and the clandestine radio station in East Germany, Peik-e-Iran, is openly inciting the Communists and the Kurds to join in over-throwing the new régime. For the first time the station now broadcasts regularly in Arabic, as well as in Persian and Azerbaijani.
4. Elsewhere the Russians have done what they cautiously can to turn matters to their advantage, e.g. by recognizing the Yemeni republican régime, and, after Qasim's overthrow, the Kuwait Government as well. Finally the Soviet attitude towards Iran, which had changed so radically last autumn remained one of outward friendliness, with the Russians trying to set the pace and the Iranians remaining generally wary.

/ PART II A 2

SECRET

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	Ins	1	1	2
Ref: <u>FD 371 / 170178</u>				<u>88025</u>			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

SECRET

- 3 -

PART II A 2 - Economic and Military

No fresh Soviet economic aid was granted to Egypt. Work on the Aswan Dam is being pressed ahead and the number of Russians at the site has substantially increased. Deliveries of Soviet military equipment have on the other hand been on a considerable scale, much of it apparently destined for the U.A.R. forces operating in the Yemen.

2. In Iraq work proceeded on Bloc aided economic development projects and deliveries of Soviet military equipment continued, but there is a slight possibility that some aid projects may now suffer as a result of the recent cooling off of relations with the Soviet bloc. There is however unlikely to be any sudden exodus of Soviet technicians and experts.

3. Before the revolution in Syria the Soviet aid programme continued to make only very slow progress but there were increasing deliveries of Soviet military equipment. It is not yet clear what effect, if any, the military coup of 8th March, 1963, will have on Soviet military aid.

4. Poland and China have each extended credits to Syria worth about \$15 million for the purchase of machinery and equipment.

5. The Yemeni Republican régime has received offers of aid from several Bloc countries, and an arms agreement has been concluded between the U.S.S.R. and the Republican régime. As a result the first significant deliveries of Soviet arms to the Yemen since 1957 have been made. There are now at least 200 Soviet experts in the country, the majority of whom are military.

/ 6.

SECRET

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref.: FD 371 / 170178			88025				
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records leaflet							

SECRET

- 4 -

6. Algeria has received short-term economic aid from the bloc, chiefly in the form of shipments of foodstuffs and medical supplies. She is also in process of negotiating agreements on long-term economic aid with Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and Poland and has signed trade agreements with several bloc countries as well as agreements on scientific and technical aid with Poland and Bulgaria.

7. Since independence Algeria has received some Soviet military equipment (including six MIG-15 jet fighters) from the U.A.R., but so far nothing directly from the U.S.S.R. However, the U.S.S.R. has been taking steps to improve trade with Pakistan and has offered to construct a \$12 million power station. This initiative may be seen as a Soviet bid to strengthen ties with Pakistan when the latter is appraising its relationship with the West in the light of Western military aid to India.

8. Work has continued on bloc aided projects in Afghanistan, Pakistan and Cyprus, but no new developments of note have occurred during the last six months in any of these countries.

9. After several years of desultory negotiations, and as a direct consequence of the improvement in their political relations Iran and the Soviet Union have agreed to proceed with various joint projects in the border areas.

/ PART II B

SECRET

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref:		FD 371 / 170178				88025	
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

SECRET

- 5 -

PART II B - The Northern Tier

There have been no major developments in CENTO. Although doubts have been expressed in some quarters in Pakistan about the value of CENTO, the Pakistan Government continue to support CENTO.

2. Economic activity in CENTO has increased and good physical progress is being made with joint communications projects which will provide road, rail, air and tele-communications links between the Member countries.

3. Despite the milder tone of propaganda attacks recently adopted by the Soviet Union towards the Iranian Government after the unilateral Iranian Declaration of September 15, 1962, and a slight improvement in Moscow propaganda to Turkey, propaganda attacks on CENTO itself, which are well designed to appeal to certain sections of the regional countries, have not altered.

SECRET

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref: FD 371 / 170178			88025			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records leaflet						

SECRET

- 6 -

PART II C - Inter-Arab Relations

Since the Syrian revolution there have been numerous exchanges of Ministerial visits between Baghdad, Damascus and Cairo. Various forms of federation between the three countries are under discussion and the outcome is not yet clear. It is difficult to assess with any precision what considerations are uppermost in the minds of the participants and the following brief analysis is highly theoretical.

2. For Egypt, the main problem may be to persuade the Ba'athists in Syria and Iraq to accept the one party Arab Socialist Union or any united political front on similar lines. It would be a set-back if Nasser failed in this for the Arab Socialist Union was designed for adoption by other Arab countries as they threw off their reactionary régimes. Its rejection, particularly by Syria, might give rise to doubts in Egypt itself as to the necessity for such a monolithic political structure. On the other hand, failure to agree on a union or some kind of federation might drive Syria toward Iraq. Much the same dilemma faces Iraq. The Ba'athists in Iraq would suffer a sad loss of face if they could not accept a form of association with Egypt and Syria since they are on record as having proclaimed their belief in "Arab Unity". They are likely therefore to have to choose between the disadvantage of a close association with Egypt and Syria, with some loss of political life, or the disadvantage of an arrangement whereby the links with Egypt and Syria are so tenuous that they will virtually amount to nothing; this would rouse the pro-Nasserites in Iraq to strong opposition. These conflicting interests between Egypt and Iraq make the position of Syria somewhat delicate, for the Syrian Government and Revolutionary Command each comprise Ba'athists and Unionists (pro-U.A.R.).

SECRET

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref: FO 371/170178			88025			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

SECRET

- 7 -

The Maghreb

Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia pay lip service to the idea of a united Maghreb but nothing is likely to come of this in the foreseeable future. Algeria, the most important and dynamic of the three, considers that she has an African vocation and will probably turn her attention increasingly to Pan-African - as opposed to Pan-Arab - affairs.

2. Algeria will take a leading part in the deliberations of the Casablanca powers. Within the Casablanca group Algeria will work closely with the U.A.R., with whom she is on the best of terms at present, rather than with Ghana, though she will be quick to resent any attempt by the U.A.R. to dominate her. Indeed Algeria is unlikely to be willing to lose her power of decision in any larger grouping of States.

The Arab League

Shortly after the Syrian coup in March, the U.A.R. announced that it would resume full membership of the League and the new Syrian régime withdrew the accusations of plotting which had caused the U.A.R. to withdraw from the League last year. Iraq had already resumed activities in the League on a de facto basis.

2. The Arab League has been so discredited by events of the last few years that it is doubtful how useful and effective a body it can be again. The so-called liberated States (i.e. the U.A.R., Syria, Iraq, Algeria and the Yemen Republic, which has now been recognised by the League as the Imamate's successor) might find it convenient as a platform for expressing their socialist reformist ideas.

/ Effects of ...

SECRET

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref:		FO 371 / 170178			88025		
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

SECRET

- 8 -

Effects of the Yemeni Revolt and of the Revolutions
in Iraq and Syria

Jordan and Saudi Arabia are now isolated not only by reason of their support for the Imam of the Yemen but also because their conservative régimes are anathema to those in Syria, Iraq and the U.A.R. It seems unlikely that the Egyptians would contemplate decisive action to precipitate a downfall of the Jordanian régime because of Israel threats to invade the West Bank in such a contingency and the consequent possibility of a new Palestine War, for which the Egyptians do not consider themselves ready. It is possible that enthusiasts in Damascus or Baghdad may not hold the same view but it appears improbable that either would undertake overt military action against another Arab State.

The Arabs at the United Nations

The debate on U.N.R.W.A. at the last session of the General Assembly was treated as usual by the Arabs as an occasion for interminable vituperation and alienated some sympathy from countries uncommitted on this question. On Oman they achieved greater support but were unable to secure the passage of a resolution on the lines they favoured.

SECRET

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref: <u>FO 371/170178</u>			88025			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

SECRET

- 9 -

PART II D - Arab-Israel Relations

The military balance between the Arabs and Israel has not greatly changed since the last review although the despatch of some 20,000 Egyptian troops to the Yemen has seriously impaired the ability of the U.A.R. to mount operations elsewhere. It does not appear that Israel will obtain United States surface-to-air missiles for some time. Interest has been aroused in the activities of German scientists working for the U.A.R. Government by an elaborate Israel propaganda campaign. The missiles in question are not much superior to the German V2s used in 1945. We have no evidence to support Press reports that chemical, bacteriological or radiological warheads are being prepared for these rockets.

Diversion of the Jordan

Work on the Israel project to pump water from Lake Tiberias to the South is proceeding urgently, and pumping on a regular basis will probably start in 1964. It seems unlikely that the Arabs will actually implement their threats of military action when this occurs but they will undoubtedly do all in their power to arouse international concern in the matter. Work on the first stage of the Jordanian scheme for the irrigation of the Eastern side of the Jordan valley is nearly completed. The drawing up of plans for the erection of a dam on the river Yarmuk to expand irrigation in the Arab territories in the area is proceeding very slowly.

The Refugee Problem

Dr. Joseph Johnson has resigned from his position as Special Representative of the Palestine Conciliation Commission and the General Assembly authorised the Commission to continue its efforts to reach an acceptable solution.

/ 2.

SECRET

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: FD 371 / 170178				88025			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

SECRET

- 10 -

2. U.N.R.W.A. is facing a budget deficit and the economies which may have to be introduced in consequence may lead to some refugee unrest. The Agency, which is a considerable factor for stability in the area, needs more money, even if economies are made. Such is the importance of the area for Western oil supplies, it is greatly in the West's interest that the Agency should be able to function properly.

Israel Attitude to Inter-Arab Disputes

Israel has been watching moves towards Arab unity with concern. The Israel Government regards any extension of Nasser's influence in the Arab world as a threat. They have made it clear that if they felt this security was threatened by an upheaval in Jordan they would consider occupying parts of the West Bank.

2. There has been some seasonal increase of tension on the Israel/Syrian border as ploughing and sowing in the demilitarised zone began. There have also been a number of incidents involving fishing on Lake Tiberias. The United Nations Truce Supervisory Organisation have achieved a notable success in obtaining Israel and Syrian consent to the construction of a "ditch of peace" to delimit the permissible area of Israel cultivation in the demilitarised zone.

SECRET

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: <u>FO 371 / 170178</u>			<u>88025</u>				
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

SECRET

- 11 -

PART II E - Oil

Oil production from the Middle East totalled about 300 million tons in 1962, compared with 273 million tons in 1961. The Japanese company operating the off-shore concession of the Saudi Kuwaiti neutral zone is now producing at a rate of $6\frac{1}{2}$ million tons per annum and the Abu Dhabi off-shore concession is now producing at a rate of $1\frac{1}{2}$ million tons per annum. Shell are planning to begin small scale exports from the Qatar off-shore concession.

2. The first indications are that the new Iraq Government is interested in trying to break the deadlock which had occurred in the long drawn out negotiations between the I.P.C. and Qasim.

3. Soviet bloc oil exports are estimated to have risen by only 9% in 1962 to a total of 33 million tons compared with an average increase of 37% per annum in the previous three years. The only significant importer of Soviet oil in the Middle East is the U.A.R., which appears to have halved its imports in 1962.

SECRET

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref: <u>FD 371 / 170178</u>				88025		
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

SECRET

- 12 -

PART III - Country Studies

United Arab Republic

Under a law of January, 1963, foreign-owned agricultural land has been nationalised. This is a sequel to a previous law of 1951 preventing non-Egyptians from acquiring such land. (Very few British subjects are affected as British-owned land was Egyptianised in 1956-59).

2. The development programme is going ahead but currency shortages are acute. In the last financial year only 70 per cent of planned investments was realised. The International Monetary Fund standby credit has now been fully drawn, but at the end of 1962 agreement was reached on an Italian loan of \$10 million. Operations in the Yemen have increased the strain on the economy, although the foreign exchange shortage would have arisen in any case. Despite it, the Egyptians paid the former Suez Canal Company the final instalment of \$4 million compensation on January 1, and a similar payment to the Sudan appears to have been made during February.

3. President Nasser remains firmly in control in Egypt and his prestige outside has increased somewhat as a result of the Yemen revolution and subsequently of those of Iraq and Syria. These can be represented as a partial triumph for "Arab Socialism", although there is no present prospect of any revival of the Union of 1958.

4. The U.A.R. is showing little active interest in Africa and there has been no significant change in its relations with the Soviet Bloc. Anglo-U.A.R. relations have been under some strain as a result of the Yemen revolution and suspicions that Her Majesty's Government favoured the royalists. The United States, however, has been able to combine firm support of the Saudi Arabia régime with continued good relations with the U.A.R. This is largely due to the level of United States aid to the latter.

/Syrian

SECRET

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref: FD 371 / 170178			88025			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

SECRET

- 13 -

Syrian Arab Republic

In the early part of this year, Khalid Al Azm had been trying unsuccessfully to hold together the opposing factions within his government. In February there was a series of ministerial resignations and it looked as if Al Azm would have difficulty in continuing. There was increasing unrest in the army over a series of transfers and retirements designed to remove elements hostile to Al Azm. This led to an attempt by a group of army officers led by Colonel Nahlawi to put pressure on the government to obtain a better deal for the army and better relations with the U.A.R. They failed completely in this initiative. However, the government was eventually overthrown by a military coup on March 8. The coup appears to have been led by the present Chief-of-Staff General Ziad Hariri, who is sympathetic to Nasser. Ultimate power resides with the National Council of the Revolutionary Command, which has appointed a cabinet headed by Salah ad Din Bitar, a leader of the Aflaq Ba'athists. The cabinet is largely Ba'athist, though it includes some ministers with Nasserite sympathies. The régime appears to be, therefore, dependent on a Ba'athist/Nasserite alliance, the Ba'athists having popular appeal and support from Iraq, while the pro-Nasserites are stronger in the armed forces.

2. The new régime has affinities with that in Iraq and may be expected to follow a similar policy of cooperation with other popular Arab régimes. Talks are being held between the U.A.R., Iraq and Syria to work out some form of association between themselves and possibly Algeria and the Yemen. The new régime's external policy will be one of Pan-Arabian, socialism and non-alignment, although it has declared itself to be anti-Communist.

/ 3.

SECRET

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref: FO 371/170178				88025		
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

SECRET

- 14 -

3. The régime's prospects of survival are uncertain. The Syrian political situation is highly fragmented and the new government is likely to be unwelcome to certain sections, including the business community and possibly some elements in the armed forces. Its survival will also depend on continued Ba'athist/Nasserite cooperation.

4. If political stability is maintained, economic prospects are good. An agreement has been reached with the Federal Republic of Germany over a loan for financing the Euphrates dam project.

Lebanon

The internal political situation has stabilised to a remarkable degree after the abortive coup at the end of 1961, thanks largely to President Chehab who has succeeded in winning confidence of the Moslems such as no other Christian leader enjoys. His six-year term of office comes to an end in October 1964, and already the succession, which will have a critical effect on the political future of the country, is occupying the public mind. He is likely to be subject to pressure to stand for another term, and indeed it is difficult to see who could replace him successfully.

2. The retrial of those found guilty at the main trial of participating in the abortive coup of 1961 continues and thus emphasizes further the desire of the authorities to postpone a decision on their fate in order to reduce the tensions engendered by the affairs.

3. The Lebanon's failure to check U.A.R. subversive activity against Syria, in order not to displease Nasser, bedevilled relations with Syria prior to the coup in March. The new Syrian Prime Minister has said, however, that he hoped for better relations with the Lebanon.

/ 4.

SECRET

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref: FO 371/170178				88025		
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

SECRET

- 15 -

4. There are signs of a falling off of investment in property by Saudi Arabians and others, owing to a saturated market, a reduction in transit trade and a levelling off of prosperity.

Jordan

Samir Rafai succeeded Wasfi Tel as Prime Minister at the end of March. The latter's Government had suffered a number of setbacks in its last six months and had lost the popular support it had gained last summer. This was due, first, to the Government's support for the Royalists in the Yemen and, secondly, to a series of unnecessary clashes with the opposition following remarkably free (by Arab standards) elections in November. Wasfi Tel also incurred considerable criticism for his dismissal of the Governor of Jerusalem.

2. The Syrian and Iraqi revolutions have left Jordan isolated. This may explain King Hussein's reason for changing Prime Ministers when he did. Although Samir Rifai can hardly be called a progressive Prime Minister his approach to inter-Arab affairs is likely to be more intelligent and flexible than his predecessor's. Provided he can also pursue an internal policy on the lines which his predecessor had initiated (economic and administrative reform) and allow reasonable freedom of expression to the opposition there is a chance of his Government gaining some popular support. To the extent that his foreign and his internal policies succeed Jordan might become less isolated, and violent criticisms of the Jordanian régime by hostile Arab Governments might be expected to abate.

/3.

SECRET

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref.: FD 371/170178				88025			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

SECRET

- 16 -

3. Despite recent dismissals, the army, on which in the last resort stability depends, seems to be retaining its cohesion to a fair extent and is probably willing and able to deal with any threat to internal security not supported by intervention from radical Arab neighbours. The King's assassination, perhaps by a fanatic, is perhaps the greatest danger the country faces.

Iraq

The revolution of February 8 has brought into power a Government in which the majority are members or adherents of the Arab Socialist Ba'ath Party, and of a section in that Party who look to Michel Aflaq as their mentor and guide. There is a minority of other nationalists, some of whom closely support Nasser and union with the U.A.R. There are obvious possibilities for friction between these two groups, but the pressing problems facing Iraq as a result of Qasim's mismanagement seem to have induced them to preserve a facade of unity so far. All are determinedly anti-Communist and have set out to smash the Communist party in Iraq. In doing so they have attracted widespread criticism from the Communist bloc, and Iraqi/Soviet relations have cooled considerably.

The Kurds

2. The Kurdish rebels stopped fighting immediately after the revolution and negotiations have been going on to find a settlement. The new Government is prepared to concede the principle of decentralisation, but the negotiations on details are likely to be very tough and the chances of a settlement should not be rated too highly. In particular the Government are unwilling to release certain Kurdish prisoners who they claim are Communists. They are currently reinforcing their troops in Kurdistan in case the talks break down and fighting is resumed.

/ Kuwait

SECRET

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref: FD 371/170178			58025			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

SECRET

- 47 -

Kuwait

3. The new Government have not abandoned Iraq's claim to Kuwait, but short of this, have done a great deal to reduce tension and get communications and commerce between the two countries going again. They have also repudiated a military solution of the problem and have hinted that it should be looked at in the context of greater Arab unity.

Oil

4. The new Government have already shown themselves more amenable than their predecessors in dealing with the oil companies and anxious to increase production and revenues. Negotiations are currently proceeding over the issue of the Basra port dues and the tax on tanker freights. But negotiations have not been resumed on the main issue of the areas expropriated by Qasim under Public Law 80.

Foreign Relations

5. The new Government lays particular emphasis on closer Arab unity and is striving to promote a close association between "liberated Arab States", meaning the U.A.R., the Yemen, Algeria and now, Syria. A full and formal union with the U.A.R. is at present very unlikely; indeed the present régime in Iraq is likely to oppose any scheme for unity in which one State clearly predominates. It can be expected to try to cause trouble for Arab régimes it regards as reactionary. It also hopes to achieve a more genuinely balanced neutrality between East and West, is anxious to repair its relations with the West which suffered under Qasim and has stressed that its drive against local Communists should not be taken to imply any hostility of the "socialist bloc". On the contrary it hopes to maintain friendly relations and go on receiving aid from them.

/Yemen

SECRET

1	2	CMS	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref: <u>FD 371/170178</u>			<u>88025</u>			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

SECRET

- 13 -

Yemen

Joint U.A.R./Republican control in the Yemen has been extended since the last report to include areas of the North and East formerly held by the Royalists. Outside the main towns this control is entirely military and wholly dependent on the U.A.R. ground and air forces which appear to number at least 25,000. In the highlands Royalist resistance is still considerable, and the republicans have not established a sufficient measure of control to fulfil Her Majesty's Government's normal criteria for recognition. So far there is no sign of aid to the Republicans from Syria, Iraq and Algeria who, with the U.A.R., maintain a public position of close support for the Y.A.R.

2. The Y.A.R. has repeated the Yemeni claim to the whole territory of the Federation of South Arabia, and the republican radio incites the inhabitants of Aden to revolt.

3. Communist bloc activities have not been significant.

Sultanate of Muscat and Oman

For the second year in succession the General Assembly rejected an Arab-sponsored resolution in support of the Omani rebel movement. A representative of the United Nations Secretary-General will visit the Sultanate later this spring, on the Sultan's invitation, to obtain first hand information on the situation there. This should effectively dispose of Omani claims of continuing "hostilities" between them and British units. The area is quieter than at any time since 1959; there are of course no British units in Oman.

/Saudi Arabia

SECRET

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371/170178				88025			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

SECRET

- 19 -

Saudi Arabia

During the period under review approaches by Saudi intermediaries for the restoration of diplomatic relations between the United Kingdom and Saudi Arabia came to fruition. On January 16 resumption of relations was announced. No conditions were made by either side. It was agreed that discussion of the Buraimi issue and other matters connected with it should proceed without delay under the personal supervision of the Secretary-General of the United Nations and with the assistance of his personal representative as before. Her Majesty's Embassy, Jedda, opened on January 31.

The Trucial States

The most significant development remains the emergence of Abu Dhabi (the largest in area of the Trucial States) as an oil producer. Abu Dhabi Marine Areas Limited (two thirds owned by British Petroleum and one third Compagnie Francaise de Petrole) is already producing from offshore wells near Das Island (now operating as a tanker loading terminal) at the yearly rate of 1.5 million tons which the Company hopes will rise to 6 million tons by 1964.

Petroleum Development (Trucial Coast), a member of the I.P.C. Group, is planning an equal yearly rate of production from the inland field at Murban by 1964 and a \$15 million capital development programme is in progress including the building of a tanker loading terminal on the coast at Jabal Dhanna, 70 miles from the oil wells.

Kuwait

Internal

Kuwait has continued to make constitutional progress. In January the first elections under the new Constitution were held with a restricted franchise. The majority of the 50 members elected are traditionally minded. Known

/Nationalists

SECRET

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371/170178				88025			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

SECRET

- 20 -

Nationalists gained 11 seats and there are six or seven others who will probably support them. Just after the elections a new Cabinet was appointed by the Amir. Although most of the offices went to members of the Ruling Family, five commoners also received Ministries. The position of the Ruling Family has not been weakened.

External

2. The Iraqi revolution was welcomed enthusiastically in Kuwait, whose Government sent a telegram to the Iraqi Acting President conveying recognition. The Iraqi response was friendly but avoided conveying recognition of Kuwait. Iraq has hitherto been careful to abstain from doing anything which might prejudice Iraqi claims to Kuwait. The Kuwait Government have sent a mission to Iraq but it seems unlikely that the Iraqis will acknowledge Kuwait's independence or agree to her membership of the United Nations.

3. Kuwait has put an end to the Arab League Security Force on the ground that events in Iraq have rendered this unnecessary.

4. The Soviet Union and Kuwait have agreed on the establishment of diplomatic relations. It now seems unlikely that the Soviet Union will continue to oppose Kuwait's admission to the United Nations.

Kuwaiti investment

5. The Kuwait Fund for Arab Economic Development was set up early in 1962 with a capital of Kd.50 million which was later increased to Kd. 100 million. In 1962, Jordan received a loan of Kd. 7½ million and the Sudan one of 7 million. In 1963 Algeria received Kd. 10 million from the Fund and this was supplemented by a further loan of Kd. 10 million from the Kuwait Government. Negotiations are under way for a loan to Tunisia. Besides these loans the Kuwait Government have given a free gift of Kd. 1½ million for economic assistance to the Trucial States.

/ Sudan

SECRET

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371/170178				88025			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

SECRET

- 21 -

Sudan

The present régime remain firmly in control of the country. There have been some reports of unrest in the South Sudan but most of these have been exaggerated and the situation remains basically stable. The Sudanese Administration will probably continue to pay lip service to neutrality and Arab unity in the United Nations and elsewhere, but they are likely to remain pro-Western in their basic attitudes. The Sudan plays a relatively minor rôle in the various Pan-African organisations and in the Arab League - she is primarily concerned with her own development problems.

Libya

The Libyan political scene continues to be dominated by King Idris, who is now seventy-four. His prestige has declined somewhat during the past year, but there is unlikely to be any coup d'état so long as he retains control. Relations with the United Arab Republic are correct; Libyan oil production however (approximately one million tons per month) makes the country a tempting target for Egyptian subversion. Penetration is extensive in the armed forces and among students, and the Government have shown themselves most suspicious of all Egyptian diplomatic initiatives. The presence of British and American service personnel in Libya has perhaps prevented the country from playing a prominent rôle in the Arab League and in the various African groups. Nevertheless Libya was represented at the Monrovia Conference in 1964, and the Crown Prince and Foreign Minister will attend the Conference of Casablanca Group Heads of States to be held in May

/Israel

SECRET

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref: FD 371/170178			88025			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

SECRET

- 22 -

Israel

The governing coalition has remained in being though subject to stresses over recent votes in the Knesset (Parliament) on the continuance of martial law in Arab areas and on the introduction of educational television. On the first subject the Government won by one vote only. There has been criticism of the position of the orthodox parties as a result of widespread controversy on recent legal decisions on matters concerning personal status. The extreme right-wing Herut party appears to be gaining in influence, having achieved a representative on the Zionist General Council; it has also decided to set up a faction in the Histadruth (the General Federation of Labour) to promote its interests there.

Iran

Referendum

The so-called White Revolution, which cuts right across the traditional political and social structure in Iran, is proceeding rapidly. A referendum held by the Shah on January 26 to seek popular endorsement of six major decrees, including the land reform and profit sharing decrees, was an overwhelming success. Under 5,000 adverse votes were cast in comparison with 5½ million favourable votes.

The Shah

2. The referendum strengthened the Shah's personal position and can also be expected to have strengthened his belief that his policy of personal identification with the reforms is the right one.

/Internal

SECRET

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref: FO 371/170178			88025			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

SECRET

- 23 -

Internal Political Situation

3. The referendum brought home to the peasants, who form 75% of population, that their days of feudal serfdom are now numbered and that they are potentially an important political force in their own right. The intelligentsia for their part show signs of apprehension about the power being put in the hands of the countrymen and industrial workers; but so far there is no indication that the interest of minority groups will be considered. Furthermore, the determined repressive action taken against National Front leaders, some of whom are to be tried for subversion, indicates that the Front will probably not play a significant part in the national elections expected to be held in mid-summer.

Land Reform

4. Although the distribution of estates to the peasants is now almost complete, the second stage of a land reform programme involving the setting up of cooperatives and the provision of large agricultural credits will raise major administrative and financial problems. The resignation of Arsanjani, the dynamic Minister of Agriculture, would seem to indicate that there are unresolved differences in the government on how these problems should be handled.

Irano-Soviet Relations

5. The détente in Irano-Soviet relations continues.

Economy

6. Although there has been an improvement in the overall balance of payments, there is much uncertainty in business circles and the economy remains generally stagnant.

/Afghanistan

SECRET

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref: FO 371/170178			88025			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

SECRET

- 24 -

Afghanistan

The Prime Minister of Afghanistan, Prince Daud, resigned on March 9 after nearly ten years in office. He has been replaced by the Western-educated former Minister of Mines and Industries, Dr. Mohamed Yusuf, who heads a cabinet in which for the first time the Royal Family play no direct part. The change seems likely to herald a gradual break-away from autocratic traditions towards more democratic processes.

2. The new Government has announced a policy of social and financial reforms. Reports suggest that they also intend changes in the Afghan armed forces, possibly including a reduction in their strength and a revision of the regulations on compulsory service so as to release manpower for civilian work.

3. In external affairs the Government have stated they will follow the traditional policy of neutrality and non-alignment. There is as yet no evidence to indicate whether relations with Russia will be more or less friendly than hitherto.

As regards Pakistan, there is some hope that the change of Government may result in improved relations, though Dr. Yusuf's references to the Pakhtunistan dispute in a policy statement on March 14 were not particularly conciliatory.

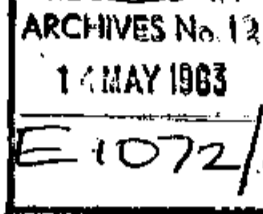
SECRET

SECRET



United Kingdom Delegation
to NATO,
Paris.

20710



May 8, 1963

N. Langford 13/5
Smur *NS*
19/5

VG 1192/246

Dear Scrivener,

We were grateful for the guidance in your letter of April 25 to Paul Wright for the exchange of views yesterday in the Political Committee upon the Middle East and Africa. *E 1074/11*

2. You will already have seen our telegram No. 176 reporting the discussion on Jordan. The other topics which came up were Egyptian rockets, the African Summit Conference and the Arab Federation.

3. The German representative made a statement on the presence of the German scientists in Egypt. He said that his authorities had no evidence that German scientists or engineers in the United Arab Republic were actively working on atomic, biological or chemical weapons of any kind. In so far as they were co-operating in the production of other weapons, the German Government strongly disapproved of their activity. They had always tried to see that German scientists abroad whose activities might increase tension should return to Germany, and they would continue their efforts in this direction. The question of whether any further administrative or legal steps might be taken was under consideration, but of course the practical possibilities were limited. His Government had to bear in mind the "psychological situation" vis-a-vis Israel, Arab politics and the constitutional rights of German citizens. The sensational reporting in the Press was to be regretted and could only lead to difficulties. Discreet handling of the situation offered the best prospects and German difficulties appeared to be understood by the Israelis and others.

4. Tomlinson commented that in respect of the Egyptian missiles, the position had not really changed since the Political Committee last discussed the matter in July 1962. The Turkish representative added that the Israeli missiles were far superior to those held by the Egyptians, which ran on liquid fuel and for which no proper guidance system was yet established. The Egyptians were obviously trying to get the maximum propaganda out of their rockets since they knew that the Israeli ones were better.

/5.

R.S. Scrivener, Esq.,
Head of North and East African
Department,
Foreign Office,
London, S.W.1.

SECRET

SECRET



-2-

5. The United States representative intervened with a short statement about the two nuclear reactors in Israel. One of these was a small open reactor which had been supplied by the United States and was subject to inspection. The other, which was situated in the Negev, was a power reactor with a 25 megawatt capacity. This produced plutonium and if it were operated at maximum capacity could well provide sufficient for one or two nuclear weapons per year. So far there was no evidence that the Israelis were using this reactor for anything other than peaceful purposes as the Israelis claimed. The Egyptians on the other hand had one small reactor which had been supplied by the Russians. Tomlinson added that our assessment was that on the assumption that Israel would not receive substantial help from outside they would be unable to develop a rocket with an atomic warhead in four years. The Egyptians had no means at present of producing an atomic weapon and it was unlikely that they would acquire the capability in the foreseeable future. The United States representative remarked that there was nothing inconsistent between his own statement and Tomlinson's, with which he agreed, but he repeated that there was no current evidence that the Israelis were engaged on anything but the peaceful development of atomic energy.

6. On the Arab Federation there was some discussion on whether the Algerians or the Yemenis might wish to join. The French representative pointed out that from the published statements during Nasser's visit to Algeria, both sides had been noticeably cautious. The Turkish representative said that Ben Bella might envisage the possibility of Algeria being a "fifth pillar" in the Federation at some stage but he would almost certainly wait for the Yemenis to make the first move. There seemed no evidence that Kuwait would apply to join. He then went on to say that Turkey had re-established diplomatic relations with the United Arab Republic on April 27, following the rupture at the end of 1961, and that missions would be exchanged at the level of Charge d'Affaires. A Turkish spokesman had on April 30 wished the Arab Federation success and had expressed the hope that it would make progress in respecting democratic institutions in the three countries as well as the United Nations Charter. The Danish representative commented that according to the reports which he had seen from Cairo, Nasser was still sceptical about the Federation, but hoped that it would attract Western support in order to reduce Communist influence in the Middle East.

/7.

SECRET

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref: FD 371/170178			88025			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

SECRET



-3-

7. On the African Summit Conference, Tomlinson spoke on the lines of your letter under reference. The United States representative said that the position of his Government was the same as that of the United Kingdom in all respects. The French representative said that according to her information the Ethiopians, in their attempt to reconcile the points of view of the Casablanca and Monrovia group, would put forward a draft outline for a Federation with loose links between the African States. The Guineans wanted much closer African links and might produce their own draft. Some scepticism was expressed in the Committee about the likelihood of anything concrete emerging from the Conference.

8. I am copying this letter to the Chanceries at Cairo, Paris, Washington and Bonn, and to Anthony Elliott in Western Organisations and Planning Department, and Peter Foster in West and Central African Department.

Yours ever,

Alan Donald.

(A.E. Donald)

SECRET

SECRET

BRIEF NO. #

RECEIVED IN ARCHIVE No. 15 21 MAY 1963 E1072 / 16
--

MINISTERIAL MEETING OF NATO: OTTAWA

MAY 22 - 24, 1963

THE SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST

CM(63)31

Speaking Notes

Arab Unity

1. (a) There is a strong desire for unity running through the Arab world at present; but there are also strong forces working against attempts at the exercise of hegemony by any one Arab country, and in Iraq and Syria there will clearly be pressure for a form of association in which they retain considerable freedom to run their own affairs. Nasser has probably already driven the Iraqis and Syrians farther than they wanted to go towards union on his terms, by using the general demand for unity as a lever. In Iraq and Syria strains between Ba'athists and Nasserists have recently been intensified and the situation is unstable in both countries.
(b) If the union agreement is implemented, the regions are nevertheless likely to retain a great measure of effective freedom under the new constitution. It is intended to set up a unified military command but the regions may retain their own armed forces for a considerable period. A loose form of federation, provided it is accepted as adequate by the partners, is likely to be more stable than a close one. It is also possible that it will be less disruptive of stability in other Arab countries and less likely to be provocative to Israel.

Soviet Influence

2. The Russians have suffered a set-back as a result of the recent revolutions in the Middle East. If the Arabs succeed in consolidating some form of federation this may make them better able to resist communism, and the Russians are certainly privately hostile to Arab unity. Their best hopes for stimulating instability

/ and

SECRET

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	Ins	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371/170178				88025			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

2.

and increasing their influence may be in exploiting Kurdish nationalism and in any intensification of the Arab-Israel conflict.

Iraq

3. (a) we are trying to rebuild our relations with the Iraqis which had deteriorated badly during the latter part of the Qasim Government. We are responding favourably to Iraqi requests for arms and military training facilities in order to encourage the Iraqis in their desire to lessen their dependence on the Russians. Discussions about oil are proceeding slowly as the Government has many other pre-occupations.

(b) the formation of the second U.A.R. has led to a stiffening of Kurdish demands and the prospects for the present negotiations are discouraging. We are anxious to see an Iraqi/Kurdish settlement since a break would only increase Russian opportunities for trouble-making. Fighting would also carry a serious risk of damage to the oil installations in the Kirkuk area.

Jordan

4. The announcement of the new U.A.R. has encouraged those elements in Jordan opposed to the King and increased external pressures on him. If the King were to fall there is a danger that Israel would invade the West Bank to secure positions of strategic importance, which might also be used as bargaining counters in negotiating the terms of subsequent withdrawal. It is in the interests of the West to avoid the possibility of an Arab-Israel war which would ensue. We are doing what we can to support the King's morale and to counsel restraint in Tel Aviv and Cairo. If a crisis should occur, it would be important that NATO allies should co-operate in any action that might be desirable in the United Nations.

/ Kuwait

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref: FO 371/170178			88025			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

SECRET

3.

Kuwait

5. (a) The new Iraqi Government have not abandoned their claim but they will probably pursue it, in view of British military protection for Kuwait, by non-military means.
- (b) Having secured Soviet recognition, Kuwait should shortly obtain membership of the United Nations. Iraq's attempts to dissuade the other Arab governments from supporting Kuwait have proved unsuccessful.

Saudi Arabia

6. Diplomatic relations between Saudi Arabia and the United Kingdom were resumed on January 16. No conditions were attached. Discussion of the Buraimi issue and problems connected with it are to proceed under the personal supervision of the United Nations Secretary-General and with the assistance of his personal representative as before.

Yemen

7. The Yemeni Republicans do not yet fulfil our normal criteria for recognition, but H.M.G. are keeping the situation under review. H.M.G. support the plans for ending foreign intervention in the Yemen; it remains to be seen whether Saudi Arabia and the U.A.R. will carry out their promises scrupulously; the withdrawal of the U.A.R. forces is obviously the key to this.

Iran

8. The Shah's bold reform programme has been a wise move. Its implementation will raise formidable problems but the Shah seems in a confident mood and the Iranian Government deserve any help we can all give them.

SECRET



CONFIDENTIAL

United Kingdom Delegation
OTAN/NATO
PARIS

June 27, 1963.

RECEIVED IN
ARCHIVES No. 15
-4 JUL 1963
E 1072/18

20710

Dear Laurence,

J.1072/162

As I told you in my letter of June 18, the Political Committee's exchange of views on the Middle East was postponed for a week. It duly took place on June 25, and covered a wide range. The following, however, is an account of the main points only.

2. During the discussion, the Danish representative passed on some of the points made by Bourguiba during his recent visit to Copenhagen, emphasising that he was doing so in the strictest confidence. Bourguiba had taken the line that the Addis Ababa Conference had been positive. While it was true that many of the African states had inferiority complexes because of their colonial past, their association with the West had nevertheless taught them something of the elements of co-operation and some sense of responsibility in international politics. The Addis Ababa Meeting therefore had been less extreme than might have been expected. Bourguiba did not think that the current relations between Israel and Jordan were likely to prove dangerous: the situation in Iraq and Syria and the relations between those two countries was potentially full of more risks. As for the Soviet Note of May 20 with its proposal for a de-nuclearised Mediterranean, the Tunisian Government attached little importance to this latest Soviet move. The Danish representative also gave an account of views expressed by General Von Horn in a recent conversation with Danish officials, again stressing their confidential nature. Von Horn had been extremely pessimistic about his new tasks in the Yemen. It seemed to him that the rôle of his mission there was more dangerous than it had been in the Congo. He had complained that his mission was badly equipped and that he was only likely to get the ridiculously low figure of 200 men. As it was he was beginning his mission with only ten.

3. I then gave our views on the situation in the Yemen, drawing upon the second half of paragraph 15 and paragraph 16 of your letter to me of June 14. I also took the opportunity to give the Committee some factual information about the recent incident on the Yemeni-Aden border in which four British servicemen were killed, on the general lines of Foreign Office telegram No. 349 Guidance of June 26.

P.H. Laurence, Esq.,
North and East African Department,
Foreign Office,
London S.W.1.

CONFIDENTIAL

Handwritten notes:
E Sept -
see exp. 28
28/6

14. E111023/11



CONFIDENTIAL

-2-

4. The Belgian, Italian and Turkish representatives spoke about Arab federation, all reaching the same conclusion that it seemed doomed, because of the basic hostility between the Nasserists and the Ba'athists. The Italian representative commented that the Syrians had not supported the Iraqis over the Kurdish crisis because they felt that the Kurdish problem could be exploited by Nasser and the Russians to undermine the regime. The eclipse of the Ba'athists might be pleasing to the Russians, but it could not be said that they were in favour of tripartite union.

5. The Belgian and Turkish representatives also spoke of the recent riots in Teheran, on the general lines that the reforms advocated by the Iranian Government did not serve the interests of the landowners and the mullahs, and the leftists and the National Front had taken advantage of this.

6. Both the French and the United States representatives were particularly interested in the propaganda support given to the Kurds by the Soviet Union. The United States representative suggested that the Russians might be attempting to goad the Iraqi Government into more intensive action against the Kurds because of their sensitivity to Chinese propaganda in the broader context of the Sino-Soviet dispute. On balance, however, the United States Government was doubtful that the Soviet Union would abandon its toe-hold in Iraq.

7. I intervened during the discussion to pick up a remark made by my Turkish colleague to the effect that the Syrian Government was losing its effectiveness all the time and that the army might take over at any moment. Drawing upon paragraph 10 of your letter of June 14, I mentioned the steps which the Ba'athists had taken in Syria to remove opposition elements in the armed forces and to replace them with their own supporters. I also passed on your view that the young Nasserist officers remaining were probably leaderless and therefore likely to be less effective. I also took the opportunity to speak about the Kurds along the lines of paragraphs 13 and 14 of your letter under reference, and to give the Committee a brief account of the Cairo view of the state of play on Arab federation, drawing in particular on the comments in paragraph 3 of Cairo telegram No. 46 Saving to the Foreign Office of June 8 *E 10/1/56*

8. The Turkish representative, who had stressed in the Committee, that the situation in Iran deserved further study, asked me privately after the meeting whether we could give any information on the situation there, particularly about the possible influence of the Egyptians through propaganda and other means. If there is any material that you can let me have on this to pass on in confidence to the Turkish Delegation, I should be grateful.

Your ever,
Alan Smald.
(A.E. Donald)

CONFIDENTIAL