

Appendix: List of Important Personalities

1. The British Men on the Spot in the Persian Gulf

Balfour-Paul, Glencairn (1917–2008)

Political agent in Dubai, 1964–1966; deputy political resident in Bahrain, 1966–1968

Boustead, Hugh (1895–1980)

Development secretary in Oman, 1959–1962; political agent in Abu Dhabi, 1962–1965

Boyle, Ranald (1921–1999)

Political agent in Qatar, 1965–1969

Craig, James (born 1924)

Political agent in Dubai, 1961–1964

Crawford, Stewart (1913–2002)

KCMG 1966; assistant under-secretary in the Foreign Office, 1961–1965; political resident in the Persian Gulf, 1966–1970

Duncan, John (1921–2006)

Consul-general in Muscat, 1963–1965

Lamb, Albert (Archie) (born 1921)

Political agent in Abu Dhabi, 1965–1968

Luce, William (1907–1977)

KCMG 1957; political resident in the Persian Gulf, 1961–1966

McKearney, Philip (born 1926)

Political agent in Qatar, 1962–1965

Parsons, Anthony (1922–1996)

Political agent in Bahrain, 1965–1969

Richmond, John (1909–1990)

KCMG 1963; political agent in Kuwait, 1959–1961; ambassador to Kuwait, 1961–1963

Roberts, David (1924–1987)

Political agent in Dubai, 1966–1968

Tripp, Peter (born 1921)

Political agent in Bahrain, 1963–1965

2. The Rulers of the Persian Gulf States

Al-Khalifah, Shaikh Salman bin Hamad (1894–1961)

Ruler of Bahrain, 1942–1961

Al-Khalifah, Shaikh Isa bin Salman (1933–1999)

Ruler of Bahrain, 1961–1999

Al-Maktoum, Shaikh Rashid bin Said (1912–1990)

Ruler of Dubai, 1958–1990

Al-Mualla, Shaikh Ahmad bin Rashid (1904–1981)

Ruler of Umm al-Qaiwain, 1929–1981

Al-Nahyan, Shaikh Shakhbut bin Sultan (1905–1989)

Ruler of Abu Dhabi, 1928–1966

Al-Nahyan, Shaikh Zayed bin Sultan (1918–2004)

Ruler of Abu Dhabi, 1966–2004

Al-Nuaimi, Shaikh Rashid bin Humaid (1904–1981)

Ruler of Ajman, 1928–1981

Al-Qasimi, Shaikh Saqr bin Sultan (1925–1993)

Ruler of Sharjah, 1951–1965

Al-Qasimi, Shaikh Khalid bin Muhammad (1931–1972)

Ruler of Sharjah, 1965–1972

Al-Qasimi, Shaikh Saqr bin Muhammad (1918–2010)

Ruler of Ras al-Khaimah, 1948–2010

Al-Sabah, Shaikh Abdullah al-Salim (1895–1965)

Amir of Kuwait, 1950–1965

Al-Sabah, Shaikh Sabah al-Salim (1913–1977)

Amir of Kuwait, 1965–1977

Al-Said, Said bin Taimur (1910–1972)

Sultan of Muscat and Oman, 1932–1970

Al-Sharqi, Shaikh Muhammad bin Hamad (1909–1975)

Ruler of Fujairah, 1952–1975

Al-Thani, Shaikh Ahmad bin Ali (1917–1977)

Ruler of Qatar, 1960–1972

3. British Politicians, Diplomats and Officials

Brenchley, Frank (1918–2011)

Head of the Arabian Department, FO, 1963–1967; assistant under-secretary of state, FO, 1967–1968

Brown, George (1914–1985)

Secretary of state for foreign affairs, 1966–1968

Butler, Richard Austen (1902–1982)

Secretary of state for foreign affairs, 1963–1964

Dean, Patrick (1909–1994)

GCMG; permanent representative to the UN, 1960–1964; ambassador to the USA, 1965–1969

Douglas-Home, Alexander Frederick (1903–1995)

14th Earl of Home, 1951–1963; secretary of state for foreign affairs, 1960–1963; prime minister, 1963–1964

Healey, Denis (born 1917)

Secretary of state for defence, 1964–1970

Jenkins, Roy (1920–2003)

Chancellor of the exchequer, 1967–1970

Macmillan, Harold (1894–1986)

Prime minister, 1957–1963

Stevens, Roger (1906–1980)

KCMG; deputy under-secretary in the Foreign Office, 1958–1963

Stewart, Robert Michael (1906–1990)

Secretary of state for foreign affairs, 1965–1966

Thomson, George (1921–2008)

Minister of state in the Foreign Office, 1964–1966; secretary of state for commonwealth affairs, 1966–1968

Trevelyan, Humphrey (1905–1985)

Ambassador to Iraq, 1958–1961

Roberts, Goronwy (1913–1981)

Minister of state in the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, 1967–1969

Walker, Patrick Gordon (1907–1980)

Secretary of state for foreign affairs, 1964–1965

Watkinson, Harold (1910–1995)

Minister of defence, 1962

Weir, Michael (1925–2006)

Head of Arabian department at the Foreign Office, 1967–1968

Wilson, Harold (1916–1995)

Prime minister, 1964–1970

4. *US Politicians and Officials*

Johnson, Lyndon B. (1908–1973)

President, 1963–1969

Kennedy, John F. (1917–1963)

President, 1961–1963

McNamara, Robert (1916–2009)

Secretary of defence, 1961–1968

Nixon, Richard (1913–1994)

President, 1969–1974

Rusk, Dean (1909–1994)

Secretary of state, 1961–1969

Talbot, Philips (1915–2010)

Assistant secretary for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs at the State Department (1961–1965)

5. Middle Eastern Politicians and Heads of State

Al Saud, Faisal ibn Abdul Aziz (1904–1975)

King of Saudi Arabia, 1964–1975

Al Saud, Saud ibn Abdul Aziz (1902–1969)

King of Saudi Arabia, 1953–1964

Hassouna, Abdul Khalek (1898–1992)

Secretary-general of the Arab League, 1952–1972

Nasser, Gamal Abdel (1918–1970)

President of Egypt, 1954–1970

Pahlavi, Mohammad Reza (1919–1980)

Shah of Iran, 1941–1979

Qasim, Abd al-Karim (1914–1963)

Prime minister of Iraq, 1958–1963

Notes

Introduction

1. A note on terminology: since the 1950s the name of the Gulf has been the subject of a politicized dispute. While 'Persian Gulf' is the more commonly used term in most international treaties, document, and maps, the name 'Arabian Gulf' is widespread in many Arab countries. This study adopts the usage of the British Government records upon which it is based, and employs the name 'Persian Gulf' to describe the area comprised of Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Bahrain, and the seven Trucial States (today's United Arab Emirates), which include Abu Dhabi, Dubai, Sharjah, Ras al-Khaimah, Umm-al-Quwain, Ajman, and Fujairah.
2. See John Darwin, *The End of the British Empire: The Historical Debate*, Oxford/Cambridge, MA 1991, p. 3.
3. John Darwin, *The Empire Project. The Rise and Fall of the British World-System, 1830–1970*, Cambridge University Press/Cambridge 2009.
4. Peter Cain and Antony Hopkins, *British Imperialism: Innovation and Expansion, 1688–1914*, Longman/London 1993, p. 43.
5. Kuwait was a protected state until June 1961, when it became independent.
6. See James Onley, 'Britain's Informal Empire in the Gulf, 1820–1971', *Journal of Social Affairs*, Vol. 22, No. 87, Fall 2005, pp. 29–45, especially pp. 30–31. The constitutional relationship between Britain and the protected states is explained in detail in Chapter 1 of this study.
7. On Kuwait's path to independence, see Simon C. Smith, *Kuwait, 1950–1965. Britain, the Al Sabah, and Oil*, Oxford/New York 1999, pp. 100–114. For Britain's role in Oman, see Uzi Rabi, *The Emergence of State in a Tribal Society. Oman under Said bin Taymur, 1932–1970*, Sussex Academic Press/Brighton 2006, p. 42 et seq.; also Francis Owtram, *A Modern History of Oman: Formation of the State since 1920*, I. B. Tauris/London 2004, pp. 98–112.
8. For more details on Britain's military presence in the Persian Gulf, see chapters 2 and 7 of this study.
9. See Darwin, *The End of the British Empire*, p. 4.
10. See Stephen R. Ashton and William Roger Louis (eds.), *British Documents on the End of Empire*, Series 5, *East of Suez and the Commonwealth 1964–1971*, Vol. 1: *East of Suez*, The Stationary Office/London 2004, p. xxxi.
11. Unless otherwise indicated, all archival references in the footnotes of this study are to documents from the National Archives in London.
12. Documents from the US National Archives are indicated in the footnotes of this study by 'NARA'.
13. Galpern examines the roles that oil and sterling played for the British Government in the formulation of its policies in the Middle East: see Steven G. Galpern, *Money, Oil and Empire in the Middle East: Sterling and Postwar Imperialism, 1944–1971*, Cambridge University Press/Cambridge 2009. Ashton

- and Petersen both analyse Britain's policy in the region in the context of the Anglo-American relationship: see Nigel J. Ashton, *Kennedy, Macmillan and the Cold War. The Irony of Interdependence*, Palgrave Macmillan/Basingstoke 2002; and Tore T. Petersen, *The Decline of the Anglo-American Middle East, 1961–1969: A Willing Retreat*, Sussex Academic Press/Brighton 2006. Mawby and Jones describe in their books Britain's involvement in Aden and the Yemen: see Spencer Mawby, *British Policy in Aden and the Protectorates 1955–67*, Routledge/London 2005, pp. 75–81; also Clive Jones, '“Among Ministers, Mavericks and Mandarins”: Britain, Covert Action and the Yemen Civil War, 1962–64', *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 40, No.1, 2004, pp.99–126.
14. Glencairn Balfour-Paul, *The End of Empire in the Middle East: Britain's Relinquishment of Power in her Last Three Arab Dependencies*, Cambridge University Press/Cambridge 1991.
 15. Miriam Joyce, 'Preserving the Shaikhdom: London, Washington, Iraq and Kuwait, 1958–61', *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 31, No. 2, 1995, pp. 281–292; see also William Taylor Fain, 'John F. Kennedy and Harold Macmillan: Managing the “Special Relationship” in the Persian Gulf Region, 1961–63', *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 38, No. 4, 2002, pp. 95–122. See N. J. Ashton, 'A Microcosm of Decline: British Loss of Nerve and Military Intervention in Jordan and Kuwait, 1958 and 1961', *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 40, No. 4, 1997, pp. 1069–1083; and N. J. Ashton, 'Britain and the Kuwaiti crisis, 1961', *Diplomacy and Statecraft*, Vol. 9, No. 1, 1998, pp. 163–181; also Rosemarie Said Zahlan, 'Shades of the Past: The Iraq-Kuwait Dispute, 1961', *Journal of Social Affairs*, Vol. 22, No. 87, 2005, pp. 47–80.
 16. Miriam Joyce, *Ruling Shaikhs and Her Majesty's Government, 1960–1969*, Frank Cass/Portland 2003.
 17. Saki Dockrill, *Britain's Retreat from East of Suez: The Choice between Europe and the World?* Palgrave Macmillan/Basingstoke 2002; and Simon C. Smith, *Britain's Revival and Fall in the Gulf. Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, and the Trucial States, 1950–71*, Routledge-Curzon/London 2004.
 18. William Roger Louis, 'The British Withdrawal from the Gulf, 1967–71', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, Vol. 31, No. 1, 2003, pp. 83–108.
 19. Jeffrey Pickering, *Britain's Withdrawal from East of Suez. The Politics of Retrenchment*, St Martin's Press/Basingstoke 1998; also Shohei Sato, 'Britain's Decision to Withdraw from the Persian Gulf, 1964–68: A Pattern and A Puzzle', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, Vol. 37, No. 1, 2009, pp. 99–117.

1 Structural Foundations

1. James Onley, 'Britain's Informal Empire in the Gulf, 1820–1971', *Journal of Social Affairs*, Vol. 22, No. 87, 2005, pp. 29–45, esp. p. 34.
2. James Onley, 'The Raj Reconsidered: British India's Informal Empire and Spheres of Influence in Asia and Africa', *Asian Affairs*, Vol. 40, No. 1, 2009, pp.44–62, see p. 55.
3. E. F. Given to A. M. Mackintosh, 'Formal Relations between the United Kingdom and the Persian Gulf States (excluding Kuwait)', 12 January 1962, FO 371/162792.

4. Glencairn Balfour-Paul, *The End of Empire in the Middle East: Britain's Relinquishment of Power in Her Last Three Arab Dependencies*, Cambridge University Press/Cambridge 1991, p. 101; also Husain M. Al-Baharna, 'The Consequences of Britain's Exclusive Treaties: A Gulf View', in B. R. Pridham (ed.), *The Arab Gulf and the West*, Croom Helm/London 1985, pp. 15–37, esp. p. 29.
5. Charles II's Charter of 1661 empowered the East India Company to make peace and war with any non-Christian ruler or king, and to conclude treaties in the name of the British Crown. In 1858, the company's powers were formally brought to an end and transferred to the British Government of India. See Husain M. Al-Baharna, *The Legal Status of the Arabian Gulf States. A Study of Their Treaty Relations and Their International Problems*, Manchester University Press/Manchester 1968, p. 8; Onley, 'The Raj Reconsidered', p. 11.
6. Al-Baharna, *The Legal Status*, p. 8.
7. See John Darwin, *The End of the British Empire: The Historical Debate*, Basil Blackwell/Oxford 1991, p. 3.
8. Balfour-Paul, *The End of Empire*, p. 102.
9. 'Relations between Her Majesty's Government and the Rulers of the Persian Gulf States. List of Principal Agreements', August 1961, FO 371/156674.
10. See Onley, 'The Politics of Protection in the Gulf: The Arab Rulers and the British Resident in the Nineteenth Century', *New Arabian Studies* Vol. 6, 2004, pp. 30–92, esp. p. 31. The company's perception of these practices as acts of piracy and extortion is reflected by the name given by the British owners to the Eastern Arabian shore of the Gulf: the 'Pirate Coast'. The view that piracy was the reason for the East India Company's intervention in the area has been upheld by Western historians such as J. G. Lorimer and J. B. Kelly, but has recently been contested by Shaikh Muhammad Al Qasimi, who claims that the accusation of piracy was merely a British attempt to add legitimacy to an imperialistic intrusion in the Gulf. See J. G. Lorimer, *Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf, Oman and Central Arabia, Vol. I: Historical*, Calcutta 1915, new edition, Cambridge University Press/Cambridge 1986; J. B. Kelly, *Britain and the Persian Gulf, 1795–1880*, The Clarendon Press/Oxford 1968; Shaikh Muhammad Al Qasimi, *The Myth of Arab Piracy in the Gulf*, Croom Helm/London 1986.
11. Onley, 'A Gulf View', p. 31; Al-Baharna, 'The Consequences of Britain's Exclusive Treaties', p. 23.
12. William Taylor Fain, *American Ascendance and British Retreat in the Persian Gulf Region*, Palgrave Macmillan/Basingstoke 2008, p. 14.
13. 'Relations between Her Majesty's Government and the Rulers of the Persian Gulf States. List of Principal Agreements', August 1961, FO 371/156674.
14. See Onley, 'Britain's Informal Empire in the Gulf', pp. 31–32.
15. See Al-Baharna, 'A Gulf View', p. 24.
16. 'Relations between Her Majesty's Government and the Rulers of the Persian Gulf States. List of Principal Agreements', August 1961, FO 371/156674.
17. See David Roberts, 'The Consequences of the Exclusive Treaties: A British View', in: B. R. Pridham (ed.), *The Arab Gulf and the West*, Croom Helm, London 1985, pp. 1–14, p. 2; also see Onley, 'Britain's Informal Empire in the Gulf', p. 31.

18. 'Formal Relations between the United Kingdom and the Persian Gulf States (excluding Kuwait)', Appendix to a letter from E. F. Given to A.M. Mackintosh, 12 January 1962, FO 371/162792.
19. Roberts, 'A British View', p. 2.
20. See James Onley, *The Arabian Frontier of the British Raj: Merchants, Rulers, and the British in the Nineteenth-Century Gulf*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2007, p. 36.
21. The term 'Exclusive Agreement' was first used in the text of the treaties and then in the historical literature about them. However, it is important to note that this is 'by no means a term of art with definitive jural meaning and significance'. See Al-Baharna, 'A Gulf View', p. 16.
22. 'Exclusive Agreement of the Chief of Abu Dhabi with the British Government', 6 March 1892, in Al-Baharna, *The Legal Status*, Appendix III, p. 314.
23. See Uzi Rabi, 'Britain's "Special Position" in the Gulf: Its Origins, Dynamics and Legacy', in: *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 42, 2006, pp. 351–364, esp. p. 354.
24. A statement to this effect was made by Britain's foreign secretary, Selwyn Lloyd in the House of Commons on 29 July 1957. See 'Relations between Her Majesty's Government and the Rulers of the Persian Gulf States. List of Principal Agreements', August 1961, FO 371/156674.
25. See Roberts, 'A British View', p. 2.
26. 'Relations between Her Majesty's Government and the Rulers of the Persian Gulf States. List of Principal Agreements', FO 371/156674.
27. Al-Baharna, *The Legal Status*, pp. 31–32.
28. 'Exclusive Agreement of the Shaikh of Bahrain with the British Government', 13 March 1892, in Al-Baharna, *The Legal Status*, Appendix I, pp. 313–314.
29. See Joyce, *Ruling Shaikhs and Her Majesty's Government, 1960–1969*, Frank Cass/London 2003, p. 36; Al-Baharna, *The Legal Status*, p. 36; Kelly, 'The Legal and Historical Basis of the British Position in the Persian Gulf', *St Anthony's Papers No. 4* in *Middle Eastern Affairs I*, ed. Albert Hourani, Chatto and Windus/London 1958, p. 131
30. See Al-Baharna, 'A Gulf View', p. 18.
31. 'Relations between Her Majesty's Government and the Rulers of the Persian Gulf States. List of Principal Agreements', August 1961, FO 371/156674.
32. Al-Baharna, *The Legal Status*, p. 41; Kelly, 'The Legal and Historical Basis', p. 135.
33. See Simon C. Smith, *Kuwait, 1950–1965. Britain, the Al-Sabah, and Oil*, Oxford University Press/Oxford 1999, p. 4.
34. 'Relations between Her Majesty's Government and the Rulers of the Persian Gulf States. List of Principal Agreements', August 1961, FO 371/156674.
35. See Kelly, 'The Legal and Historical Basis', p. 136.
36. Britain maintained its commitment to defend Kuwait during the following decades, and after the Second World War restated it twice in the form of unilateral declarations, in 1958 and again in 1959. See 'Relations between Her Majesty's Government and the Rulers of the Persian Gulf States. List of Principal Agreements', August 1961, FO 371/156674.

37. 'Exchange of Notes between Her Majesty's Government and the Ruler of Kuwait', 19 June 1961, FO 93/137/15. See also Chapter 2 below.
38. Smith, *Kuwait, 1950–1965*, p. 100.
39. 'Exchange of Notes between Her Majesty's Government and the Ruler of Kuwait', 19 June 1961, FO 937/137/15.
40. Al-Baharna, *The Legal Status*, p. 47.
41. Kelly, 'The Legal and Historical Basis', pp. 128–129.
42. See Al-Baharna, 'A Gulf View', pp. 18–19; also Kelly, 'The Legal and Historical Basis', p. 135; and Uzi Rabi, *The Emergence of States in a Tribal Society. Oman under Sa'id Bin Taymur, 1932–1970*, Sussex Academic Press/Brighton 2006, p. 44.
43. See Al-Baharna, *The Legal Status*, pp. 57–59.
44. 'Relations between Her Majesty's Government and the Rulers of the Persian Gulf States. List of Principal Agreements', August 1961, FO 371/156674.
45. Al-Baharna, *The Legal Status*, p. 47.
46. 'Relations between Her Majesty's Government and the Rulers of the Persian Gulf States. List of Principal Agreements', August 1961, FO 371/156674.
47. See Al-Baharna, *The Legal Status*, p. 54.
48. Onley, *The Arabian Frontier of the British Raj*, p. 37.
49. See Balfour-Paul, *The End of Empire*, p. 106.
50. Husain M. Al-Baharna, *British Extra-Territorial Jurisdiction in the Gulf, 1913–1971: An Analysis of the System of British Courts in the Territories of the British Protected States of the Gulf during the Pre-Independence Era*, Archive Editions/Slough 1998, p. 27.
51. *Ibid.*, p. 24.
52. Al-Baharna, *The Legal Status*, pp. 52–53.
53. Al-Baharna, *British Extra-Territorial Jurisdiction*, p. 25.
54. Al-Baharna, 'A Gulf View', p. 20.
55. Sir Rupert Hay, *The Persian Gulf States*, Middle East Institute/Washington 1959, p. 19.
56. See Balfour-Paul, *The End of Empire*, p. 107.
57. Al-Baharna, 'A Gulf View', pp. 20–21.
58. Foreign Jurisdiction Act of 1890, quoted in Al-Baharna, *British Extra-Territorial Jurisdiction*, p. 27.
59. The first order was issued for Oman in 1869, for Bahrain in 1913, for Kuwait in 1925, for Qatar in 1939 and for the Trucial States in 1949. The original orders were replaced and amended several times. Relevant to the period from 1961 to 1968 were the Orders in Council in their 1959 version. See Al-Baharna, *British Extra-Territorial Jurisdiction*, pp. 35–36.
60. *Ibid.*, pp. 38–41.
61. *Ibid.*, pp. 41–43.
62. *Ibid.*, p. 43.
63. *Ibid.*, p. 61.
64. *Ibid.*, pp. 62–65.
65. Al-Baharna, 'A Gulf View', p. 27.
66. Balfour-Paul, *The End of Empire*, p. 107.
67. Al-Baharna, *The Legal Status*, p. 45.
68. *Ibid.*, p. 35.

69. Undertaking by the Shaikh of Dubai, regarding oil – 1922, in Al-Baharna, *The Legal Status*, Appendix VII, p. 317.
70. Al-Baharna, 'A Gulf View', p. 26.
71. Al-Baharna, *The Legal Status*, p. 49.
72. Balfour-Paul, *The End of Empire*, p. 107.
73. Ibid.
74. Al-Baharna, *The Legal Status*, p. 9.
75. The company had adopted the title of 'resident' in the early eighteenth century to describe one of their levels of office. A resident was responsible for one of the company's commercial districts. See Onley, 'The Raj Reconsidered', pp. 5–6.
76. Balfour-Paul, *The End of Empire*, p. 108.
77. Ibid., pp. 108–109.
78. Frank Brenchley, 'Call on the Secretary of State by Sir Stewart Crawford', 20 September 1966, FO 371/168675.
79. See Jonathan Walker, *Aden Insurgency. The Savage War in South Arabia, 1962–67*, Spellmount/Staplehurst 2005, p. 31.
80. For more details of Britain's military presence in the Persian Gulf between 1961 and 1968, see chapters 2 and 7 of this study.
81. 'Minutes of the 53rd Meeting of the Military Co-ordination Committee Persian Gulf', 6 March 1963, FO 371/168651.
82. Balfour-Paul, *Bagpipes in Babylon: A Lifetime in the Arab World and Beyond*, I B Tauris/London 2006, p. 203.
83. Balfour-Paul, *The End of Empire*, p. 110.
84. Tom Walcott, 'The Trucial Oman Scouts 1955 to 1971: An Overview', *Asian Affairs*, Vol. 37, No. 1, 2006, pp. 17–30, esp. p. 19.
85. Balfour-Paul, *The End of Empire*, p. 110.
86. 'Record of a Meeting Held in the Foreign Office at 4.30 p.m. on Friday, August 18, 1961', FO 371/156709.
87. Ibid.
88. Ibid.
89. Ibid.
90. See Al-Baharna, *The Legal Status*, p. 9.
91. Lord Home to Sir William Luce, Despatch No. 77, 25 May 1961, T 317/114.
92. The desk diaries of Sir William Luce, British political resident in the Gulf between 1961 and 1966, show the frequency of his visits to the different Persian Gulf States, including Kuwait and Oman. See Sir William Luce, 'Diaries 1961–1966', University of Exeter, Old Library, EULMS 146.
93. 'Middle East Oil'. Report prepared by a working party of officials from the Foreign Office, the Treasury and the Ministry of Power, October 1962, FO 371/164599.
94. See Christian Lekon, 'Die anglo-amerikanische Politik und die Ölfirmen im Mittleren Osten, 1901–2004', *Zeitschrift für Weltgeschichte*, Vol. 5, No. 2, Autumn 2004, pp. 79–99, esp. p. 81.
95. 'Oil in the Middle East and North Africa'. Pamphlet prepared by the Reference Division of the Central Office of Information, London, for the British Information Services, November 1961, FO 371/164599.

96. 'Middle East Oil Developments'. Current Intelligence Weekly Summary, Secret, 2 February 1961, NARA: CREST, CIA-RDP79-00927A003000120001-7, Part III.
97. 'Oil in the Middle East and North Africa'. Pamphlet prepared by the Reference Division of the Central Office of Information, London, for the British Information Services, November 1961, FO 371/164599.
98. Steven G. Galpern, *Money, Oil and Empire in the Middle East: Sterling and Postwar Imperialism, 1944–1971*, Cambridge University Press/Cambridge 2009, p. 81.
99. Lekon, 'Die anglo-amerikanische Politik und die Ölfirmern im Mittleren Osten', p. 89.
100. See Miriam Joyce, *Kuwait, 1945–1996. An Anglo-American Perspective*, London/Frank Cass, p. 2.
101. 'Middle East Oil Developments'. Current Intelligence Weekly Summary, Secret, 2 February 1961, NARA: CREST, CIA-RDP79-00927A003000120001-7, Part III.
102. 'Oil in the Middle East and North Africa'. Pamphlet prepared by the Reference Division of the Central Office of Information, London, for the British Information Services, November 1961, FO 371/164599.
103. Ibid.
104. Galpern, *Money, Oil and Empire*, pp. 199–201.
105. The Persian Gulf as defined here includes Kuwait, Qatar, Bahrain, Oman and the seven Trucial States, but excludes Iraq, Iran and Saudi Arabia.
106. 'Oil in the Middle East and North Africa'. Pamphlet prepared by the Reference Division of the Central Office of Information, London, for the British Information Services, November 1961, FO 371/164599.
107. Despatch from Sir William Luce to Lord Home, No. 4 Confidential, 15 January 1963, FO 371/168618.
108. 'Seven Sisters' was originally a dismissive term created by Enrico Mattei, the president of the Italian oil company Ente Nazionali Idrocarburi, to discredit the cooperation of the seven companies whom he accused of forming a cartel in the Middle East. See Daniel Yergin, *The Prize. The Epic Quest for Oil, Money and Power*, paperback edition, Simon and Schuster/New York 2009, pp. 483–485.
109. Lekon, 'Die anglo-amerikanische Politik und die Ölfirmern im Mittleren Osten', pp. 90–91.
110. 'Middle East Oil'. Report prepared by a working party of officials from the Foreign Office, the Treasury and the Ministry of Power, October 1962, FO 371/164599.
111. Ibid.
112. Yergin, *The Prize*, pp. 137–146.
113. Ibid., pp. 263.
114. Ibid., pp. 263–265.
115. 'Oil Companies of the Persian Gulf'. Note prepared in the FO and attached to a letter from C. H. Edwards to Derek Eagers in the Ministry of Power, Confidential, 15 June 1961, FO 371/156700.
116. Yergin, *The Prize*, pp. 275–280.
117. 'Oil Companies of the Persian Gulf'. Note prepared in the FO and attached to a letter from C.H. Edwards to Derek Eagers in the Ministry of Power, Confidential, 15 June 1961, FO 371/156700.

118. 'Oil in the Middle East and North Africa'. Pamphlet prepared by the Reference Division of the Central Office of Information, London, for the British Information Services, November 1961, FO 371/164599.
119. See Chapter 6 below.
120. 'Oil in the Middle East and North Africa'. Pamphlet prepared by the Reference Division of the Central Office of Information, London, for the British Information Services, November 1961, FO 371/164599.
121. 'Middle East Oil'. Report prepared by a working party of officials from the Foreign Office, the Treasury and the Ministry of Power, October 1962, FO 371/164599.
122. Lekon, 'Die anglo-amerikanische Politik und die Ölfirmen im Mittleren Osten', p. 90.
123. 'Oil in the Middle East and North Africa'. Pamphlet prepared by the Reference Division of the Central Office of Information, London, for the British Information Services, November 1961, FO 371/164599.
124. Quoted in Yergin, *The Prize*, p. 501.
125. 'Middle East Oil'. Report prepared by a working party of officials from the Foreign Office, the Treasury and the Ministry of Power, October 1962, FO 371/164599.
126. Ibid.
127. 'Oil in the Middle East and North Africa'. Pamphlet prepared by the Reference Division of the Central Office of Information, London, for the British Information Services, November 1961, FO 371/164599.
128. 'Middle East Oil'. Report prepared by a working party of officials from the Foreign Office, the Treasury and the Ministry of Power, October 1962, FO 371/164599.
129. Yergin, *The Prize*, pp. 504–507.
130. 'Middle East Oil'. Report prepared by a working party of officials from the Foreign Office, the Treasury and the Ministry of Power, October 1962, FO 371/164599.

2 The Kuwait Crisis and Its Consequences

1. Portions of this chapter were originally published as the article entitled 'The Kuwait Crisis of 1961 and Its Consequences for Great Britain's Persian Gulf Policy', in: *British Scholar Journal* II, No. 1 (2009).
2. Margaret Luce, *From Aden to the Gulf. Personal Diaries, 1956–1966*, Michael Russell/ Salisbury 1987, p. 1.
3. Home to Luce, Despatch No. 77, 25 May 1961, T 317/144.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid.
10. On the importance of Kuwait's sterling balances to the British Government see Steven G. Galpern, *Money, Oil and Empire in the Middle East. Sterling and Postwar Imperialism, 1944–1971*, Cambridge University Press/Cambridge 2009, pp. 218–228.
11. Home to Luce, Despatch No. 77, 25 May 1961, T 317/144.

12. Ibid.
13. Arab nationalism as a political ideology originated early in the twentieth century, when the Western idea of nationalism gained support among the Arab subjects of the faltering Ottoman Empire. The main aim of Arab nationalism was the unification of all Arabic-speaking states and the freedom of the Arab world from foreign domination. Arab nationalism turned into a political mass movement in the Arab world after the Second World War. From the British perspective, Arab nationalism's anti-colonial ethos was dangerous. See Bahgat Korany, 'Arab Nationalism', in John L. Esposito (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World*, Oxford University Press/Oxford 1995, Vol. I, pp. 132–134.
14. Home to Luce, Despatch No. 77, 25 May 1961, T 317/144.
15. Ibid.
16. See Smith, *Kuwait, 1950–1965. Britain, the Al-Sabah, and Oil*, Oxford University Press/Oxford 1999, pp. 100–114.
17. Rosemarie Said Zahlan, 'Shades of the Past: The Iraq-Kuwait Dispute, 1961', *Journal of Social Affairs*, Vol. 22, No. 87, Fall, p. 56.
18. Ibid., p. 56–57.
19. Smith, *Kuwait, 1950–1965*, 117.
20. The reasoning was that historically Kuwait was part of the Basra province of the Ottoman Empire and that the Ruler of Kuwait had carried the Ottoman title of *qaimmaqam*. When the British defeated the Ottomans in the First World War, Basra province was joined with the Mosul and Baghdad provinces to form the new state of Iraq. The Iraqi Government concluded from this that Kuwait was part of Iraq and refused to accept the validity of the Anglo-Kuwaiti agreement of 1899, or the delineation of the border between Iraq and Kuwait issued by the British in 1922. The Kuwaiti Government had always repudiated this claim because the Ottomans had never actually exercised control over Kuwait. See Zahlan, *Shades of the Past*, p. 51; also Smith, *Kuwait, 1950–1965*, p. 117.
21. Mills to Harold Macmillan, 'Iraq and Middle East Oil', 15 July 1958, PREM 11/3451.
22. See Nigel John Ashton, 'Britain and the Kuwait Crisis, 1961', *Diplomacy and Statecraft*, Vol. 9, No. 1, 1998, p. 166.
23. William Taylor Fain, 'John F. Kennedy and Harold Macmillan: Managing the "Special Relationship" in the Persian Gulf Region, 1961–63', *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 38, No. 4, October 2002, pp. 95–122, see pp. 102–103.
24. Ibid., p. 103.
25. Ashton, 'Britain and the Kuwait Crisis, 1961', p. 167.
26. In his article 'Kuwait Crisis' (in *Diplomacy and Statecraft*, Vol. 9, No. 1, 1998, pp. 163–181), Nigel Ashton described the decision-making process in detail. However, his analysis was based on an incomplete collection of sources, since he did not have access to the record of the first meeting of the Defence Committee on 29 June 1961 at 4 pm, which was still withheld in the National Archives. This record has recently been declassified and is available as: Defence Committee Meetings (61) 11, 29 June 1961, 4 pm, CAB 131/25. The other meetings of the Defence Committee were held on 29 June at 7 pm, on 30 June at 3 pm and on 30 June on 9.15 pm (see Defence Committee Papers (61) 41–43, CAB 131/26).

27. Defence Committee Meetings (61) 11, 29 June 1961, 4 pm, CAB 131/25.
28. 'Nothing in these conclusions shall affect the readiness of Her Majesty's Government to assist the Government of Kuwait if the latter requests such assistance.' Exchange of Letters between Her Majesty's Government and His Highness the Ruler of Kuwait, Art. 4, 19 June 1961, FO 93/137/15.
29. Defence Committee Meetings (61) 11, 29 June 1961, 4 p.m., CAB 131/25.
30. Ibid.
31. Defence Committee Papers (61) 44, 1 July 1961, CAB 131/26.
32. Cabinet Conclusions (61) 36, 29 June 1961, CAB 128/35.
33. Ashton, 'Britain and the Kuwait Crisis, 1961', p. 170; Fain, 'John F. Kennedy and Harold Macmillan', p. 104.
34. Smith, *Kuwait, 1950-1965*, p. 120.
35. Ibid.
36. Defence Committee Papers (61) 44, 1 July 1961, CAB 131/26.
37. Defence Committee Papers (61) 45, 3 July 1961, CAB 131/26.
38. See Zahlan, 'Shades of the Past', pp. 72-73; also Ashton, 'A Microcosm of Decline: British Loss of Nerve and Military Intervention in Jordan and Kuwait, 1958 and 1961', *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 40, No. 4, 1997, pp. 1073-1074.
39. Tore Petersen, *The Decline of the Anglo-American Middle East, 1961-1969: A Willing Retreat*, Sussex Academic Press/Brighton 2006, p. 29.
40. Ashton, 'Britain and the Kuwait Crisis, 1961', p. 173; Zahlan, 'Shades of the Past', pp. 66-67.
41. See Fain, 'John F. Kennedy and Harold Macmillan', p. 105; and Ashton, 'Britain and the Kuwait Crisis, 1961', p. 172.
42. Defence Committee Papers (61) 48, 18 July 1961, CAB 131/26.
43. Ibid.
44. Zahlan, 'Shades of the Past', pp. 73-74.
45. Ashton, 'Britain and the Kuwait Crisis, 1961', p. 174.
46. Defence Committee Papers (61) 48, 18 July 1961, CAB 131/26.
47. See Miriam Joyce, *Kuwait 1945-1996; an Anglo-American Perspective*, Taylor and Francis/London, p. 5.
48. Smith, *Kuwait, 1950-1965*, p. 122.
49. Zahlan, 'Shades of the Past', p. 75.
50. Joyce, *Kuwait 1945-1996*, p. 106.
51. 'Current Position in Kuwait'. Annex to Chiefs of Staff Committee Memoranda (61) 366, 4 October 1961, DEFE 5/118.
52. 'Operation Vantage. Report by the Working Party'. Chiefs of Staff Committee Memoranda (61) 271, 16 October 1961, DEFE 5/116.
53. 'Operation Vantage. Report by the Working Party'. Annex to Chiefs of Staff Committee Memoranda (61) 309, 8 September 1961, DEFE 5/116.
54. 'Redeployment of British Forces after Withdrawal from Kuwait'. Annex to Chiefs of Staff Committee Memoranda (61) 291, 28 September 1961, DEFE 5/116.
55. Ibid.
56. 'Kuwait. Memorandum by the Minister of Defence'. Cabinet Memoranda (61) 133, 1 September 1961, CAB 129/106.
57. Annex A and Annex B to *ibid.*

58. 'Kuwait. Memorandum by the Minister of Defence'. Cabinet Memoranda (61) 133, 1 September 1961, CAB 129/106.
59. *Ibid.* For the details of the planned RAF deployment, see Annex B.
60. Annex A to *ibid.*
61. 'Kuwait. Memorandum by the Minister of Defence'. Cabinet Memoranda (61) 133, 1 September 1961, CAB 129/106.
62. *Ibid.*
63. Cabinet Conclusions (61) 49, 5 September 1961, CAB 128/35.
64. Cabinet Memoranda (61) 140, 2 October 1961, CAB 129/106.
65. 'Kuwait'. Annex to Cabinet Memoranda (61) 140, 2 October 1961, CAB 129/160.
66. *Ibid.*
67. *Ibid.*
68. Cabinet Conclusions (61) 53, 5 October 1961, CAB 128/35.
69. Cabinet Memoranda (61) 145, 2 October 1961, CAB 129/160. The action that the Commander-in-Chief was authorized to take before he received official instructions from London was limited to offensive air engagement against Iraqi ground and air forces in and over Kuwait, activation of the British weapons stockpile in the emirate and all necessary preparatory measures for intervention, short of actually moving British land forces into Kuwait.
70. Cabinet Conclusions (61) 53, 5 October 1961, CAB 128/35.
71. Chiefs of Staff Committee Memoranda (61) 413, 31 October 1961, DEFE 5/119.
72. The defence plan relied on the use of almost all British land forces stationed in the Middle East Command area, except for one infantry battalion in Kenya and one battalion in Aden. See 'Intervention in Kuwait'. Annex to Chiefs of Staff Committee Memoranda (61) 413, 31 October 1961, DEFE 5/119.
73. *Ibid.*
74. David G. Crawford to H. B. Walker, 'Status of British Forces in Bahrain', 30 September 1961, FO 371/156726.
75. Walker, 'Status of British Forces in Bahrain', FO 371/156726.
76. *Ibid.*
77. Luce to Shaikh Salman, 25 October 1961, FO 371/156726.
78. *Ibid.*
79. *Ibid.*
80. Shaikh Salman to Luce, 1 November 1961, FO 371/156726.
81. Bahrain to FO, Tel. No. 780A, 10 November 1961, FO 371/156726.
82. Shaikh Salman to Luce, 1 November 1961, FO 371/156726.
83. Since 1949 the Saudi Arabian Government's claim to the Buraimi Oasis, which belonged partly to Abu Dhabi and partly to Oman, had already resulted in an armed conflict. Saudi Arabia's claim was based on the influence that had intermittently been exercised in Buraimi by Wahhabi tribes between 1800 and 1870. In 1952, an armed Saudi Arabian force arrived in the village of Hamasa in Buraimi with the aim of winning the allegiance of the local tribes. The British Government, representing the Ruler of Abu Dhabi and the Sultan of Oman, reacted with a formal protest. After three years of fruitless negotiations between the British and Saudi governments, the British-officered Trucial Oman Levies expelled the Saudis from Buraimi

- by force in October 1955. See Donald Hawley, *The Trucial States*, Allen and Unwin/London 1971, pp. 188–191.
84. Bahrain to FO, Tel. No. 780A, 10 November 1961, FO 371/156726.
 85. Robert Walmsley, 'British Troops in Bahrain', 14 November 1961, FO 371/156726.
 86. Commander-in-Chief Middle East to the Ministry of Defence, 8 November 1961, FO 371/156726.
 87. Walmsley, 'British Troops in Bahrain', 14 November 1961, FO 371/156726.
 88. Bahrain to FO, Tel. No. 780A, 10 November 1961, FO 371/156726.
 89. FO to Bahrain, Tel. No. 1961, 8 November 1961, FO 371/156726.
 90. Ibid.
 91. J.P. Waterfield to Mr Given, 'Operation SODABREAD: Negotiations with the Ruler of Bahrain about the building of the new barrack accommodation', 6 November 1961, FO 371/156726.
 92. Commander-in-Chief Middle East to the Ministry of Defence, 8 November 1961, FO 371/156726.
 93. Shaikh Salman to Luce, 1 November 1961, FO 371/156726.
 94. Walmsley, 'British Troops in Bahrain', 14 November 1961, FO 371/156726.
 95. Waterfield to Given, 'Operation SODABREAD: Negotiations with the Ruler of Bahrain about the building of the new barrack accommodation', 6 November 1961, FO 371/156726.
 96. Ibid.; FO to Bahrain, Tel. No. 1961, 8 November 1961, FO 371/156726.
 97. Bahrain to FO, Tel. No. 780A, 10 November 1961, FO 371/156726.
 98. Ibid.
 99. Ibid.
 100. Bahrain to FO, Tel. No. 766, 3 November 1961, FO 371/156726.
 101. Bahrain to FO, Tel. No. 780A, 10 November 1961, FO 371/156726.
 102. Luce to Shaikh Isa bin Salman Al Khalifah, 20 November 1961, FO 371/156726. Shaikh Salman had died on 2 November 1961, so the letter was addressed to his son Isa, Salman's successor as Ruler of Bahrain,.
 103. Luce to Home, Despatch No. 98, 22 November 1961, FO 371/156670.
 104. Ibid.
 105. Ibid.
 106. Ibid.
 107. Ibid.
 108. Ibid.
 109. Ibid.
 110. Ibid.
 111. Ibid.
 112. Walker, Minute, 9 January 1962, FO 371/156670; E.F.G. Maynard, Minute, 12 January 1962, FO 371/156670.
 113. Given, Minute, January 1962, FO 371/156670.
 114. Luce to Home, Despatch No. 98, 22 November 1961, FO 371/156670.

3 The Limits to Anglo-American Cooperation

1. Greenhill to Stevens, 2 January 1962, FO 371/162812.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.

4. Stevens to Sir David Ormsby-Gore, 12 January 1962, FO 371/162812. See Simon Smith, *Britain's Revival and Fall in the Gulf: Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, and the Trucial States, 1950-71*, Routledge-Curzon/London 2004, p. 123.
5. S. Crawford, 'Anglo-American Discussions on Kuwait', 8 January 1962, FO 371/162812.
6. P. A. Wilkinson, 'Anglo-American Discussions on Kuwait', 9 January 1962, FO 371/162812.
7. Stevens to Ormsby-Gore, 12 January 1962, FO 371/162812.
8. *Ibid.*
9. 'Discussions with the State Department on British Policy'. Draft Brief, January 1962, FO 371/162812.
10. Walmsley to Denis Speares, 15 January 1962, FO 371/162783.
11. 'Discussions with the State Department on British Policy'. Draft Brief, January 1962, FO 371/162812.
12. Walmsley to Speares, 15 January 1962, FO 371/162783.
13. Greenhill to Walmsley, 23 January 1962, FO 371/162783.
14. *Ibid.*
15. *Ibid.*
16. 'Discussions with the State Department on British Policy'. Draft Brief, January 1962, FO 371/162812.
17. Walmsley to Alistair Mackay, 5 February 1962, FO 371/162783.
18. Barry Powell to Walmsley, 9 February 1962, FO 371/162783.
19. Mackay to Stuart Milner-Barry, 'Proposed Discussion with the State Department on British Policy in the Gulf', 2 March 1962, T 317/42.
20. 'Discussions with the State Department on British Policy'. Draft Brief, January 1962, FO 371/162812.
21. Mackay to Milner-Barry, 'Proposed Discussion with the State Department on British Policy in the Gulf', 2 March 1962, T 317/42.
22. Mackay to Milner-Barry, 'Proposed Discussion with the U.S. State Department on British Policy in the Persian Gulf', 21 March 1962, T 317/114.
23. Mackay to Walmsley, 22 March 1962, FO 371/162783.
24. Speares to Walmsley, 2 May 1962, FO 371/162783.
25. Francis Brown to Given, 21 June 1962, FO 371/162783.
26. The diplomatic relations between Britain and Saudi Arabia were resumed on 16 January 1963. See Nigel John Ashton, *Kennedy, Macmillan and the Cold War; the Irony of Interdependence*, Palgrave Macmillan/Basingstoke 2002, p. 100.
27. Brown to Given, 21 June 1962, FO 371/162783.
28. Luce to Walmsley, 16 May 1962, FO 371/162783; Walmsley to Luce, 30 May 1962, FO 371/162783.
29. *Ibid.*
30. Luce to Walmsley, 16 May 1962, FO 371/162783.
31. Hugh Boustead to Brown, 5 June 1962, FO 371/16783.
32. J. F. S. Phillips to Brown, 2 July 1962, FO 371/162783.
33. James Craig to Brown, 25 June 1962, FO 371/162783.
34. D. C. F. Gracie to Brown, 27 June 1962, FO 371/162783.
35. Craig to Brown, 25 June 1962, FO 371/162783.

36. Brown to Given, 4 July 1962, FO 371/162783.
37. Given, Minute, 25 July 1962, FO 371/162783.
38. Speares to Walmsley, 18 June 1962, FO 371/162783.
39. Speares to Walmsley, 4 December 1962, FO 371/162783.
40. See William Taylor Fain, *American Ascendance and British Retreat in the Persian Gulf Region*, Palgrave Macmillan/Basingstoke 2008, p. 134.
41. 'BNSP Planning Task Number III-H: Oil and Interdependence in the Middle East', enclosed with a letter from Speares to Walmsley, 4 December 1962, FO 371/162783.
42. Home to Luce, Despatch No. 77, 25 May 1961, T 317/144; Luce to Home, Despatch No. 98, 22 November 1961, FO 371/156670.
43. 'BNSP Planning Task Number III-H: Oil and Interdependence in the Middle East', enclosed with a letter from Speares to Walmsley, 4 December 1962, FO 371/162783.
44. *Ibid.* These figures included the oil from Kuwait, Qatar, Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, and Iran.
45. *Ibid.*
46. *Ibid.*
47. *Ibid.*
48. *Ibid.*
49. Named after its founder, the reformer Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab (1703–1792), Wahhabism was a politico-religious movement that originated from the interior of the Arabian Peninsula and was aimed at the purification of Islam. Its most important principles were a strict interpretation of *shari'a* (the divine law handed down by God), denunciation of all forms of mediation between God and believers, insistence on the payment of *zakat* (Islamic tax), and the obligation to wage *jihād* (holy struggle) against those who do not follow these principles – Muslims and non-Muslims alike. See Madawi Al-Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia*, Cambridge University/Cambridge 2002, pp. 16–18; Art. 'Wahhabiten' in *Lexikon der islamischen Kultur*, ed. Yves Thoraval, Darmstadt 1999.
50. 'BNSP Planning Task Number III-H: Oil and Interdependence in the Middle East', enclosed with a letter from Speares to Walmsley, 4 December 1962, FO 371/162783.
51. *Ibid.*
52. *Ibid.*
53. *Ibid.*
54. *Ibid.*
55. *Ibid.*
56. *Ibid.*
57. *Ibid.*
58. *Ibid.*
59. In October a delegation from Kuwait had visited the UAR, Sudan, Libya, Tunisia, Lebanon, Jordan, and Morocco in order to identify suitable development projects in which Kuwaiti money might be invested. The KFAED was subsequently established with a capital sum amounting to US\$140 million. See Smith, *Kuwait, 1950–1965. Britain, the Al-Sabah, and Oil*, Oxford University Press/Oxford 1999, pp. 125–126.

60. 'BNSP Planning Task Number III-H: Oil and Interdependence in the Middle East', enclosed with a letter from Speares to Walmsley, 4 December 1962, FO 371/162783; see Fain, *American Ascendance*, p. 134.
61. D. G. Crawford, 'State Department Planning Paper "Oil and Interdependence in the Middle East" '. Handwritten Minute, 1 March 1963, FO 371/162783.
62. *Ibid.*; Walmsley to Sir John Richmond, 5 February 1963, FO 371/162783.
63. Walmsley, 'Comments on State Department Planning Paper "Oil and Interdependence in the Middle East" '. Draft Brief, 22 April 1963, FO 371/162783.
64. 'U.S. Paper on the Persian Gulf'. Handwritten Minute, signature illegible, 22 January 1963, FO 371/162783.
65. Luce to Stevens, 17 January 1963, FO 371/168632.
66. D. F. Hubback, 'Middle East Oil: Is it worth the money we spend on defence?', 6 March 1963, T 317/42.
67. Luce to Stevens, 17 January 1963, FO 371/168632.
68. *Ibid.*
69. *Ibid.*
70. Ashton, *Kennedy, Macmillan and the Cold War*, pp. 93–99.
71. On Britain's interests and policies in Yemen in the context of securing the Aden base, see Spencer Mawby, 'The Clandestine Defence of Empire: British Special Operations in Yemen, 1951–64', *Intelligence and National Security*, Vol. 17, No. 3, Autumn 2002, pp. 105–130; also Mawby, *British Policy in Aden and the Protectorates 1955–67*, Routledge/London 2005; and Clive Jones, "'Among Ministers, Mavericks and Mandarins": Britain, Covert Action and the Yemen Civil War, 1962–64', *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 40, No. 1, January, pp. 99–126.
72. Luce to Stevens, 17 January 1963, FO 371/168632.
73. See Tore T. Petersen, *The Decline of the Anglo-American Middle East, 1961–1969: a Willing Retreat*, Sussex Academic Press/Brighton 2006, pp. 32–33.
74. Fain has discussed the respective reactions to the Yemen revolution by the British and US governments in two different articles: see 'John F. Kennedy and Harold Macmillan: Managing the "Special Relationship" in the Persian Gulf Region, 1961–63', *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 38, No.4, October 2002, pp. 108–112; and ' "Unfortunate Arabia": The United States, Great Britain and Yemen, 1955–63', *Diplomacy and Statecraft*, Vol. 12, No. 2, June 2001, pp. 125–152, especially pp. 132–144.
75. Luce to Stevens, 17 January 1963, FO 371/168632.
76. *Ibid.*
77. *Ibid.*
78. *Ibid.*
79. The diplomatic relations between Britain and Saudi Arabia were formally renewed on 16 January 1963. See Ashton, *Kennedy, Macmillan and the Cold War*, p. 100.
80. Stevens to Luce, 8 February 1963, FO 371/168632.
81. Given, Minute, 30 January 1963, FO 371/168632.
82. Stevens to Luce, 8 February 1963, FO 371/168632.
83. John Killick to S. Crawford, Secret, 13 February 1963, FO 371/168632.

84. S. Crawford, 'Sir Willian Luce's letter on M.E. policy', 4 February 1963, FO 371/168632.
85. Stevens to Luce, 8 February 1963, FO 371/168632.
86. Killick to Crawford, 13 February 1963, FO 371/168632.
87. Ibid.
88. Walmsley, 'Anglo-U.S. talks on Persian Gulf policy', 5 March 1963, FO 371/168632.
89. Defence Committee Meetings (63) 3, 9 February 1963, CAB 131/28.
90. Phebe Marr, *The Modern History of Iraq*, 2nd ed., Westview Press/Boulder, CO 2004, pp. 116–17.
91. Walmsley, 'Anglo-U.S. talks on Persian Gulf policy', 5 March 1963, FO 371/168632.
92. Walmsley, 'Anglo-U.S. talks on Persian Gulf', 22 March 1963, FO 371/168632.
93. Walmsley, 'Anglo-U.S. talks. Lunch to be given by Sir R. Stevens', 18 April 1963, FO 371/168633.
94. Walmsley, 'Anglo-U.S. talks on Persian Gulf', 22 March 1963, FO 371/168632.
95. Walmsley, 'Anglo-U.S. talks on Persian Gulf policy', 5 March 1963, FO 371/168632.
96. Walmsley, 'Anglo-U.S. talks on Persian Gulf', 22 March 1963, FO 371/168632.
97. 'Anglo-U.S. Talks April 23/24 1963: Persian Gulf Policy'. Briefing Paper by the Arabian Department, 22 March 1963, FO 371/168633.
98. Ibid.; 'Anglo/United States Talks on Persian Gulf Policy. British Record of Meetings held on April 23 and 24, 1963 in Sir Roger Stevens' room at the Foreign Office', FO 371/168634.
99. 'Anglo/United States Talks on Persian Gulf Policy. British Record of Meetings held on April 23 and 24, 1963 in Sir Roger Stevens' room at the Foreign Office', FO 371/168634.
100. 'Anglo-U.S. Talks April 23/24 1963: Persian Gulf Policy'. Briefing Paper by the Arabian Department, 22 March 1963, FO 371/168633. See also Fain, *American Ascendance*, p. 136.
101. 'Anglo/United States Talks on Persian Gulf Policy. British Record of Meetings held on April 23 and 24, 1963 in Sir Roger Stevens' room at the Foreign Office', FO 371/168634.
102. S. Crawford, Minute, 29 March 1963, FO 371/168632.
103. 'Anglo/United States Talks on Persian Gulf Policy. British Record of Meetings held on April 23 and 24, 1963 in Sir Roger Stevens' room at the Foreign Office', FO 371/168634.
104. Ibid.
105. Ibid.
106. 'Anglo/United States Talks on Persian Gulf Policy. British Record of Meetings held on April 23 and 24, 1963 in Sir Roger Stevens' room at the Foreign Office', FO 371/168634.
107. Ibid.
108. Ibid.
109. Ibid.
110. Fain, *American Ascendance*, p. 136.

4 Improving Britain's Image: The Modernization Policy

1. E. F. G. Maynard, Minute, 12 January 1962, FO 371/156670.
2. P. A. R. Blaker, Minute, 17 January 1962, FO 371/156670.
3. Luce to Home, Despatch No. 98, 22 November 1961, FO 371/156670.
4. 'Anglo-U.S. Talks April 23/24 1963: Persian Gulf Policy'. Briefing Paper by the Arabian Department, 22 March 1963, FO 371/168633.
5. Laura James has described Nasser as 'the ultimate symbol of Arab revolution' during the period from the Suez Crisis of 1956 to the Six-Day War of 1967. See Laura James, *Nasser at War. Arab Images of the Enemy*, Palgrave Macmillan/Basingstoke, 2006, p. ix.
6. Blaker, Minute, 17 January 1961, FO 156670.
7. Ibid.
8. See James, *Nasser at War*, p. ix.
9. 'Anglo-U.S. Talks April 23/24 1963: Persian Gulf Policy'. Briefing Paper by the Arabian Department, 22 March 1963, FO 371/168633.
10. Following its foundation in 1961, the Committee of 24 soon became famous for its violent attacks against the Western colonial powers. Even though Britain was represented in the committee, the British Government greatly feared its intervention in areas where Britain still maintained a position of imperial power. See William Roger Louis, 'Public Enemy Number One: The British Empire in the dock at the United Nations, 1957-71', in: Martin Lynn (ed.), *The British Empire in the 1950s. Retreat or Revival*, Palgrave Macmillan/Basingstoke 2006, pp. 186-213.
11. Alan Campbell to Frank Brenchley, 23 December 1963, FO 371/174491.
12. See Francis Owtram, *A Modern History of Oman: Formation of State since 1920*, I. B. Tauris/ London: 2004, p. 116.
13. D. J. McCarthy, 'The United Nations, Muscat and Oman, and the Persian Gulf States', 6 January 1964, FO 371/174491.
14. Sir Patrick Dean to Sir Geoffrey Harrison, 27 December 1963, FO 371/174491.
15. Dean to Harrison, 17 January 1964, FO 371/174491.
16. Allen to Harrison, 1 February 1962, FO 371/174488.
17. Ibid.
18. Dean to Harrison, 27 December 1963, FO 371/174491.
19. McCarthy, 'The United Nations, Muscat and Oman, and the Gulf States', 6 January 1964, FO 371/174491.
20. Campbell to Brenchley, 23 December 1963, FO 371/174491.
21. Campbell to Brenchley, 23 December 1963, FO 371/174491.
22. Ibid.
23. Ibid.
24. Dean to Harrison, 27 December 1963, FO 371/174491.
25. 'Measures designed to palliate the side-effects of present Persian Gulf policy or to alleviate the burden on the United Kingdom'. Confidential Annex to a Minute by Walmsley, 26 February 1962, FO 371/162793.
26. Ibid.
27. Ibid.
28. Luce to Home, Despatch No. 98, 22 November 1961, FO 371/156670.
29. Home to Luce, Despatch No. 77, 25 May 1961, T 317/144.

30. 'Measures designed to palliate the side-effects of present Persian Gulf policy or to alleviate the burden on the United Kingdom'. Confidential Annex to a Minute by Walmsley, 26 February 1962, FO 371/162793.
31. Luce to Stevens, 17 January 1963, FO 371/168632.
32. 'Report by Sir John Whyatt, Judge of the Chief Court for the Persian Gulf', 17 July 1963, FO 371/168660. See Miriam Joyce, *Ruling Shaikhs and Her Majesty's Government, 1960-1969*, Frank Cass/London and Portland OR 2003, pp. 7, 36.
33. Luce to R.A. Butler, 'Persian Gulf: Annual Review for 1963', 29 January 1964, FO 371/174478.
34. McCarthy, 'The United Nations, Muscat and Oman, and the Persian Gulf', 6 January 1964, FO 371/174491.
35. 'Political Agents Conference 4-6 December 1963. Summary Record of Discussion', FO 371/174488.
36. *Ibid.*; Luce to Stevens, 17 January 1963, FO 371/168632.
37. 'Record of Discussion of Muscat and Oman, the Persian Gulf States and the U.N., on January 8, 1964', FO 371/174488. The discussion was held at the Foreign Office, chaired by Harrison and attended, among others, by Dean, Luce and S. Crawford.
38. 'Political Agents Conference 4-6 December 1963. Summary Record of Discussion', FO 371/174488.
39. 'Report by Sir John Whyatt, Judge of the Chief Court for the Persian Gulf', 17 July 1963, FO 371/168660.
40. Boustead to Luce, 'Annual Review of Affairs in Abu Dhabi in 1963', 20 January 1964, FO 371/174697.
41. 'Record of Discussion of Muscat and Oman, the Persian Gulf States and the U.N., on January 8, 1964', FO 371/174488.
42. *Ibid.*
43. Dean to S. Crawford, 29 January 1964, FO 371/174491.
44. 'Record of Discussion of Muscat and Oman, the Persian Gulf States and the U.N., on January 8, 1964', FO 371/174488.
45. Brenchley, 'The Nomenclature of British Representatives in the Persian Gulf', 25 May 1964, FO 371/174491.
46. 'Possible Palliatives to deflect Iraqi and other Arab criticism of our position in the Southern Gulf'. Annex to a letter from Allen to Harrison, Secret, 1 February 1964, FO 371/174488.
47. 'Record of a Meeting held in the Foreign Office at 4.30 p.m. on Friday, August 18, 1961', FO 371/156709.
48. Home to Luce, Despatch No. 77, 25 May 1961, T 317/144.
49. 'Record of Discussion of Muscat and Oman, the Persian Gulf States and the U.N., on January 8, 1964', FO 371/174488.
50. *Ibid.*
51. Dean to S. Crawford, 29 January 1964, FO 371/174491.
52. Brenchley to Luce, 9 June 1964, FO 371/174491.
53. *Ibid.*
54. *Ibid.*
55. Brenchley, 'The Nomenclature of British Representatives in the Persian Gulf', 25 May 1964, FO 371/174491.
56. Luce to Brenchley, 11 November 1964, FO 371/174491.

57. Ibid.
58. Brenchley, 'The Nomenclature of British Representatives in the Persian Gulf', 25 May 1964, FO 371/174491.
59. S. Crawford to Luce, 9 June 1964, FO 371/174491.
60. Ibid.
61. Ibid.; Luce to Brenchley, 11 November 1964, FO 371/174491.
62. Brenchley to Luce, 9 June 1964, FO 371/174491.
63. 'Record of a Meeting in the Secretary of State's Office on 3 December 1964 at 2.45 p.m.', FO 371/174489.
64. 'Political Agents' Conference 20–23 January 1965. Summary Record of Discussions. Part 2: Modernisation of H.M.G.'s Relations with the Gulf States', FO 371/179749.
65. Ibid.
66. Dean to S. Crawford, 30 November 1964, FO 371/174491.
67. Brenchley to Luce, 20 October 1964, FO 371/1774488.
68. Peter Tripp to Luce, 8 January 1964, FO 371/174488.
69. The interview was quoted in a letter from Horace Philipps to S. Crawford, 3 October 1964, FO 371/174488.
70. Luce to Gordon Walker, 'Relations between Her Majesty's Government and the Persian Gulf States', 12 November 1964, FO 371/174489.
71. Ibid.
72. Ibid.
73. Ibid.
74. Ibid.
75. Ibid.
76. Ibid.
77. Ibid.
78. Ibid.
79. Ibid.
80. Ibid.
81. Ibid.
82. Luce to Gordon Walker, 'Relations between Her Majesty's Government and the Persian Gulf States', 12 November 1964, FO 371/174489.
83. Ibid.
84. See Anthony Parsons, *They Say the Lion: Britain's Legacy to the Arabs: A Personal Memoir*, Cape/London 1986, pp. 110–111.
85. Luce to Gordon Walker, 'Relations between Her Majesty's Government and the Persian Gulf States', 12 November 1964, FO 371/174489.
86. 'Record of a Meeting in the Secretary of State's Office on 3 December 1964 at 2.45 p.m.', FO 371/174489; See Simon Smith, *Britain's Revival and Fall in the Gulf: Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, and the Trucial States, 1950–71*, Routledge-Curzon/London: 2004, p. 21.
87. 'Record of a Meeting in the Secretary of State's Office on 3 December 1964 at 2.45 p.m.', FO 371/174489
88. Ibid.
89. Ibid.
90. Ibid.
91. Ibid.
92. Stewart to Luce, 'Modernisation in the Persian Gulf', 1 April 1965, FO 371/179749.

93. Ibid.
94. Ibid.
95. Ibid.
96. Ibid.

5 Excluding the Arab League: The Development Policy

1. M.S. Berthoud, 'The Iranians, the Arabs and the Persian Gulf', 13 July 1964, FO 371/174492.
2. Cairo 'Voice of the Arab' broadcast, 'Arab Gulf' programme, 21 June 1964, 12.30 GMT, in: 'Summary of World Broadcasts. Part IV. The Middle East and Africa', 23 June 1964, FO 371/174492.
3. Berthoud, 'The Iranians, the Arabs and the Persian Gulf', 13 July 1964, FO 371/174492.
4. Bahrain to FO, Tel. No. 305, 21 June 1964, FO 371/174492.
5. Luce to Brenchley, 23 June 1964, FO 371/174492.
6. Tripp to Luce, 22 June 1964, FO 371/174492.
7. Bahrain to FO, Tel. No. 305, 21 June 1964, FO 371/174492.
8. Berthoud, 'The Iranians, the Arabs and the Persian Gulf', 13 June 1964, FO 371/174492.
9. Abu Dhabi to FO, Tel. No. 108, 24 October 1964, FO 371/174492.
10. Brenchley, 'Relations between the Southern Gulf States and the Arab League', 14 October 1964, FO 371/174492.
11. 'The Arab League Visit to the Persian Gulf (October 20-November 4)'. Annex to a letter from Berthoud to the Chancery of the British Embassy in Teheran, 27 October 1964, FO 371/174492.
12. Doha to FO, Tel. No. 77, 26 October 1964, FO 371/174492.
13. M.A. Marshall to Luce, 2 October 1964, FO 371/174492.
14. Political Agency, Doha (signature illegible) to Brown 31 October 1964, FO 371/174492; Boustead to Luce, 29 October 1964, FO 371/174492; Tripp to William Luce, 27 October 1964, FO 371/173392.
15. Marshall to Luce, 10 October 1964, FO 371/174492.
16. Abu Dhabi to FO, Tel. No. 108, 24 October 1964, FO 371/174492.
17. Marshall to Luce, 2 November 1964, FO 371/174492.
18. Ibid.
19. The British Embassy in Cairo obtained the Arabic version of this report from the US Embassy and translated it before sending it to the Foreign Office. Walker to R. M. Posnott, 2 December 1964, FO 371/174492.
20. 'Report of the Mission of the League of Arab States on its visit to the Shaikhdoms of the Arabian Gulf. November 10, 1964', FO 371/174492.
21. The Trucial States Council, which had been founded following a British initiative in 1952, was a regular meeting of all seven rulers of the Trucial States, chaired by the political agent in Dubai. Even though it was merely a consultative body with no executive powers, the rulers could issue joint decisions in the form of resolutions. See Fatma Al-Sayegh, 'International Relations and the Formation of the UAE', *Journal of Social Affairs*, Vol. 21, No. 84, Winter 2004, pp. 43-60, esp. p. 47.

22. Balfour-Paul to Luce, 19 December 1964, FO 371/179754.
23. Balfour-Paul to Luce, 29 December 1964, FO 371/179754.
24. Michael Weir to R. J. Owen, 15 February 1965, FO 371/179754.
25. Kuwait to FO, Tel. No. 56, 24 February 1965, FO 371/179754.
26. Kuwait to FO, Tel. No. 65, 3 March 1965, FO 371/179755; Walker to J.A. Snellgrove, 10 March 1965, FO 371/179755.
27. Kuwait to FO, Tel. No. 105, 25 March 1965, FO 371/179755.
28. Brenchley, 'Arab League Aid to the Trucial States', 12 January 1965, FO 371/1179754.
29. Luce to S. Crawford, 25 January 1965, FO 371/179754.
30. *Ibid.*
31. *Ibid.*
32. Cairo to FO, Tel. No. 104, 5 February 1965, FO 371/179754.
33. FO to Bahrain, Tel. No. 122, 3 February 1961, FO 371/179754.
34. Luce to Crawford, 25 January 1965, FO 371/179754.
35. Fatma Al-Sayegh has aptly described the creation of the Trucial States Development Office as 'a reactionary move by Britain' to counter the plans of the Arab League in the Persian Gulf. See Al-Sayegh, 'International Relations and the Formation of the UAE', p. 47.
36. Cairo to FO, Tel. No. 104, FO 371/179754.
37. Luce to S. Crawford, 25 January 1965, FO 371/179754.
38. *Ibid.*
39. From 1956 to 1963, Britain had contributed £100,000 annually to development programmes for the Trucial States. In 1964, annual aid was increased to £200,000. See R. C. Simpson to J. Lucas, 'Development Aid to the Trucial States', 5 April 1965, T 317/666.
40. Lucas, 'Development Aid to the Trucial States', 26 February 1965, T 31/666.
41. Brenchley to R. L. Sharp, 23 February 1965, T 317/666.
42. Luce to S. Crawford, 25 January 1965, FO 371/179754.
43. Kuwait to FO, Tel. No. 56, FO 371/179754.
44. Brenchley to Sharp, 23 February 1965, T 317/666.
45. *Ibid.*
46. Luce to Brenchley, 1 February 1965, FO 371/179754.
47. Bahrain to FO, Tel. No. 74, 4 February 1965, FO 371/179754.
48. Luce to Brenchley, 11 January 1965, FO 371/179754.
49. Balfour-Paul to Luce, Despatch No. 4, 3 March 1965, FO 371/179902.
50. FO to Bahrain, Tel. No. 122, 3 February 1965, FO 371/179754; Bahrain to FO, Tel. No. 77, 5 February 1965, FO 371/179754.
51. Balfour-Paul to Luce, 27 January 1965, FO 371/179902.
52. Bahrain to FO, Tel. No. 109, 15 February 1965, FO 371/179754.
53. Balfour-Paul to H. Philipps, 20 February 1965, FO 371/179916.
54. 'Minutes of the twenty-first meeting of the Trucial States Council held at the Political Agency, Dubai, on 1 March, 1965', FO 371/179902.
55. Balfour-Paul to Luce, Despatch No. 4, 3 March 1965, FO 371/179902.
56. *Ibid.*; 'Minutes of the twenty-first meeting of the Trucial States Council held at the Political Agency, Dubai, on 1 March, 1965', FO 371/179902.
57. Balfour-Paul to Luce, Despatch No. 4, 3 March 1965, FO 371/179902.
58. Bahrain to FO, Tel. No. 75, 4 February 1965, FO 371/179916.

59. Luce to S. Crawford, 8 February 1965, FO 371/179743.
60. Luce to Brenchley, 11 January 1965, FO 371/179754.
61. Luce to S. Crawford, 25 January 1965, FO 371/179754.
62. Bahrain to FO, Tel. No. 51, 26 January 1965, FO 371/179754.
63. Tripp to Luce, 30 January 1965, FO 371/179754.
64. P. McKearney to Philipps, 30 January 1965, FO 371/179754.
65. Abu Dhabi to FO, Tel. No. 14, 31 January 1965, FO 371/179754. A copy of Shaikh Shakhbut's letter to Hassouna was enclosed with a letter from Boustead to Luce, 6 February 1965, FO 371/179754.
66. Boustead to Luce, 22 December 1964, FO 371/179754.
67. Ibid.
68. Luce to Brenchley, 11 January 1965, FO 371/179754.
69. Brenchley, 'Arab League Aid to the Trucial States', 4 February 1965, FO 371/179754.
70. Luce to S. Crawford, 25 January 1965, FO 371/179754.
71. Ibid.
72. In a conversation with the British ambassador to Kuwait on 8 February, the amir stated that 'the Egyptians and Iraqis had no legitimate interest in the Gulf'. Kuwait to FO, Tel. No. 45, 8 February 1965, FO 371/179754.
73. Bahrain to FO, Tel. No. 74, 4 February 1965, FO 371/179754.
74. Kuwait to FO, Tel. No. 56, 24 February 1965, FO 371/179754.
75. Tripp to Luce, 7 July 1964, FO 371/174492.
76. McKearney to Brown, 26 July 1964, FO 371/174492.
77. Doha to FO, Tel. No. 7, 25 January 1965, FO 371/179754.
78. Jedda to FO, Tel. No. 73, 7 February 1965, FO 371/179754.
79. Donald Maitland to Snellgrove, 12 February 1965, FO 371/179755.
80. Jedda to FO, Tel. No. 73, 7 February 1965, FO 371/179754.
81. Balfour-Paul to Luce, 6 March 1965, FO 371/179755.
82. Bahrain to FO, Tel. 9 March 1965, FO 371/179755.
83. Luce to S. Crawford, 25 January 1965, FO 371/179754.
84. 'Minutes of a meeting of Treasury, Foreign Office and Ministry of Overseas Development officials held in Mr. Sharp's room in the Treasury on 30 April 1965 at 11.30 a.m.', T 31/666.
85. Ibid.
86. C. R. A. Rae to Sharp, 30 March 1965, T 31/666.
87. Sharp to Rae, 8 April 1965, T 31/666.
88. Lucas, 'Development Aid to the Trucial States', 29 April 1965, T 31/666.
89. Lucas to R. L. Sharp, 4 May 1965, T 31/666.
90. Sharp to Rae, 8 April 1965, T 31/666.
91. FO to Bahrain, Tel. No. 476, 30 April 1965, FO 371/179754. The Treasury offered to contribute an additional annual sum of £50,000 to the capital costs of new development projects on condition that Britain was not committed to paying any new recurrent costs.
92. Bahrain to FO, Tel. No. 318, 3 May 1965, FO 371/179754.
93. Balfour-Paul to Luce, Despatch No. 5, 15 May 1965, FO 371/179916.
94. Bahrain to FO, Tel. No. 354, 16 May 1965, PREM 13/3326.
95. 'Qawasim' is the Arabic plural of 'Qasimi'.
96. The text of the five letters is quoted in the appendix to the report submitted by Sayed Nofal on 20 May 1965 to the secretary-general of the Arab League

- on his visit to the Trucial States. A translation of this report was obtained by the Foreign Office. See FO 371/179917.
97. Bahrain to FO, Tel. No. 354, 16 May 1965, PREM 13/3326.
 98. Balfour-Paul to Luce, Tel. No. 5, 15 May 1965, FO 371/179916.
 99. Bahrain to FO, Tel. No. 355, 16 May 1965, FO 371/179916.
 100. Bahrain to FO, Tel. No. 354, 16 May 1965, PREM 13/3326.
 101. Bahrain to FO, Tel. No. 355, 16 May 1965, FO 371/179916.
 102. *Ibid.*
 103. Defence and Oversea Policy Committee Meetings (65) 27, 26 May 1965, CAB 148/18.
 104. Brenchley, 'Aid to the Trucial States', 20 May 1965, FO 371/179917.
 105. 'Trucial States. Memorandum by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs'. Defence and Oversea Policy Committee Papers (65) 85, 24 May 1965, CAB 148/21.
 106. *Ibid.*
 107. Stewart to Barbara Castle, 21 May 1965, FO 371/179917.
 108. Defence and Oversea Policy Committee Meetings (65) 27, 26 May 1965, CAB 148/18.
 109. *Ibid.*
 110. Luce to Brenchley, 17 May, 1965, FO 371/179917.
 111. Bahrain to FO, Tel. No. 401, 26 May 1965, FO 371/179917.
 112. Bahrain to FO, Tel. No. 354, 16 May 1965, PREM 13/3326.
 113. Bahrain to FO, Tel. No. 401, 26 May 1965, FO 371/179917.
 114. Bahrain to FO, Tel. No. 354, 16 May 1965, PREM 13/3326.
 115. Bahrain to FO, Tel. No. 376, 21 May 1965, FO 371/179917.
 116. Bahrain to FO, Tel. No. 382, 21 May 1965, FO 371/179917.
 117. Dubai to FO, Tel. No. 103, 26 May 1965, FO 371/179917; Bahrain to FO, Tel. No. 382, 21 May 1965, *ibid.*
 118. Bahrain to FO, Tel. No. 382, 21 May 1965, FO 371/179917.
 119. Dubai to FO, Tel. No. 103, 26 May 1965, FO 371/179917.
 120. Dubai to FO, Tel. No. 108, 30 May 1965, FO 371/179917.
 121. Bahrain to FO, Tel. No. 428, 31 May 1965, FO 371/179917.
 122. Dubai to FO, Tel. No. 131, 6 June 1965, FO 371/179917.
 123. *Ibid.*
 124. Bahrain to FO, Tel. No. 402, 26 May 1965, FO 371/179917.
 125. FO to Jedda, Tel. No. 554, 27 May 1965, FO 371/179917.
 126. FO to Jedda, Tel. No. 522, 24 May 1965, FO 371/179917.
 127. Jedda to FO, Tel. No. 258, 29 May 1965, FO 371/179917.
 128. Jedda to FO, Tel. No. 268, 8 June 1965, FO 371/179918.
 129. Balfour Paul to Luce, Despatch No. 6, 13 June 1965, FO 371/179903.
 130. Dubai to FO, Tel. No. 146, 14 June 1965, FO 371/179918.
 131. *Ibid.*
 132. FO to Bahrain, Tel. No. 590, 24 May 1965, FO 371/179917.
 133. Bahrain to FO, Tel. No. 411, 28 May 1965, FO 371/179917.
 134. Bahrain to FO, Tel. No. 494, 12 June 1965, FO 371/179918.
 135. Bahrain to FO and to Cairo, Damascus, Bahgdad, Amman, Jedda, Beirut, Jerusalem, Tehran, Kuwait, Basra and Doha, Tel. No. 396, 25 May 1965, FO 371/179917.
 136. FO to Bahrain, Tel. No. 639, 28 May 1965, FO 371/179917.

137. Bahrain to FO, Tel. No. 494, 12 June 1965, FO 371/179918.
138. Ibid.
139. Bahrain to FO, Tel. No. 501, 13 June 1965, FO 371/179918.
140. Tom Bridges to D. Nairne, 2 June 1965, FO 371/179917.
141. Ibid.
142. Ibid.
143. Bahrain to FO, Tel. No. 411, 28 May 1965, FO 371/179917. Britain's extra-territorial jurisdiction in the Trucial States had been defined by the 1959 Trucial States Order in Council.
144. Bridges to Nairne, 2 June 1965, FO 371/179917
145. Nairne to Bridges, 'Trucial States', 9 June 1965, FO 371/179917.
146. Cairo to FO, Tel. No. 391, 26 May 1965, FO 371/179917; Cairo to FO, Tel. No. 383, 25 May 1965, FO 371/179917; Lord Caradon (United Kingdom Mission to the United Nations in New York) to FO, Tel. No. 1291, 29 May 1965, FO 371/179917; Cairo to FO, Tel. No. 451, 12 June 1965, FO 371/179918.
147. Nairne to Bridges, Secret, 'Trucial States', 9 June 1965, FO 371/179917.
148. FO to Bahrain, Tel. No. 734, 12 June 1965, FO 371/179918.
149. Dubai to FO, Tel. No. 142, 13 June 1965, FO 371/179918.
150. Bahrain to FO, Tel. No. 501, 13 June 1965, FO 371/179918.
151. Bahrain to FO, Tel. No. 515, 16 June 1965, FO 371/179918.
152. Ibid.
153. Bahrain to FO, Tel. No. 519, 17 June 1965, FO 371/179918.
154. Dubai to FO, Tel. No. 524, 19 June 1965, FO 371/179918.
155. Bahrain to FO, Tel. No. 536, 22 June 1965, FO 371/179918. It is unclear from where Luce received this information. Only a copy of his telegram to London is available in the National Archives, while the original is still being withheld. In this copy, the first few lines have been deleted.
156. FO and CRO to certain missions, Guidance Tel. No. 266, 24 June 1965, PREM 13/3326.
157. In the guidance telegram it is reported that the letter was presented to the political agent, Balfour-Paul. However, an internal report written by him in July about these events, as well as his memoirs, show that he was ill and had had to be replaced by the deputy political resident from Bahrain. Balfour-Paul to Luce, Despatch No. 8, 14 July 1965, FO 371/179920. See also Glencairn Balfour-Paul, *Bagpipes in Babylon: A Lifetime in the Arab World and Beyond*, I B Tauris/London 2006, pp. 198–199.
158. FO and CRO to Certain Missions, Guidance Telegram No. 266, 24 June 1965, PREM 13/3326.
159. Balfour-Paul to Luce, Despatch No. 8, 14 July 1965, FO 371/179920.
160. Ibid.
161. Ibid.
162. Luce to S. Crawford, 8 February 1965, FO 371/179943.
163. Ibid.
164. 'Record of a Meeting held at the Political Residency in Bahrain, on Sunday, 9 May 1965', FO 371/179740.
165. Ibid.
166. Bahrain to FO, Tel. No. 501, 13 June 1965, FO 371/179918.
167. Dubai to FO, Tel. No. 142, 13 June 1965, FO 371/179918.

168. Bahrain to FO, Tel. No. 528, 21 June 1965, PREM 13/3326.
169. Ibid.
170. Thomson to Luce, Personal and Top Secret, 7 July 1965, FO 371/179739.
171. Dubai to Bahrain, Tel. No. 162, 24 June 1965, FO 371/179903.
172. FO to Bahrain, Tel. No. 809, 25 June 1965, FO 371/179903.
173. Dubai to FO, Tel. No. 166, 25 June 1965, FO 371/179919.
174. Dubai to FO, Tel. No. 156, 22 June 1965, FO 371/179918.
175. Telegram from Bahrain to FO, No. 555 Confidential, 28 June, FO 371/179919.
176. Bahrain to FO, Tel. No. 553, 28 June 1965, FO 371/179919.
177. This conclusion is also supported by Rosemarie Said Zahlan: 'the rulers succumbed to British pressure and rejected the Arab League offer, realizing that otherwise they would have shared the fate of their former colleague in Sharjah'. See *The Making of the Modern Gulf States: Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates and Oman*, rev. and updated ed., Ithaca Press/Reading 1998, p. 117.
178. Bahrain to FO, Tel. No. 554, 28 June 1965, FO 371/179919.
179. FO to Cairo, Tel. No. 1289, 29 June 1965, FO 371/179919.
180. Cairo to FO, Tel. No. 536, 6 July 1965, FO 371/179919.
181. Ibid.
182. Bahrain to FO, Tel. No. 555, 28 June 1965, FO 371/179919.
183. Balfour Paul to Luce, Tel. No. 8, 14 July 1965, FO 371/179920.
184. Bahrain to FO, Tel. No. 574, 2 July 1965, FO 371/179919.
185. Balfour Paul to Luce, Despatch No. 7, 1 July 1965, FO 371/179919.
186. Ibid.

6 An Obstacle to Modernization and Federation: Shaikh Shakhbut of Abu Dhabi

1. Thomson to Luce, Personal and Top Secret, 7 July 1965, FO 371/179739.
2. Luce to Home, Despatch No. 4, 15 January 1963, FO 371/168618.
3. Luce to Rab Butler, Despatch No. 6, 29 January 1964, FO 371/174478.
4. On the social and economic transformation in Kuwait after the discovery of oil, see Miriam Joyce, *Kuwait 1945–1996; an Anglo-American Perspective*, Taylor and Francis/London 1998, pp. 3–35; and Smith, *Kuwait, 1950–1965. Britain, the Al-Sabah, and Oil*, Oxford University Press/Oxford 1999, pp. 15–35.
5. See Uzi Rabi, 'Oil Politics and Tribal Rulers in Eastern Arabia: The Reign of Shakhbut (1928–1966)', *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 33, No. 1, May 2006c, pp. 37–50, see pp. 40–43.
6. See Rosemarie Said Zahlan, *The Making of the Modern Gulf States: Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates and Oman*, rev. and updated ed., Ithaca Press/Reading 1998, pp. 109–110.
7. See Rabi, 'Oil Politics and Tribal Rulers in Eastern Arabia', pp. 40–43.
8. See Christopher Davidson, *Abu Dhabi: Oil and Beyond*, Hurst and Columbia University/London 2009, pp. 30–41.
9. Ibid., pp. 33–34; Miriam Joyce, *Ruling Shaikhs and Her Majesty's Government, 1960–1969*, Frank Cass/London 2003, p. 11.

10. See Majid Khadduri, *Arab Personalities in Politics*, The Middle East Institute/Washington, 1981, pp. 297; also Rabi, 'Oil Politics and Tribal Rulers in Eastern Arabia', pp. 43–50.
11. See Davidson, *Abu Dhabi*, p. 34.
12. Boustead to Brenchley, 'Annual Review of Affairs in Abu Dhabi in 1963', 20 January 1964, FO 371/174697.
13. Ibid.
14. Luce to Boustead, 13 February 1964, FO 371/174701; Boustead to Luce, 15 March 1964, FO 371/174701.
15. Luce to Brenchley, 26 May 1964, FO 371/174701.
16. Brenchley, Handwritten Minute, 9 June 1964, FO 371/174701.
17. Boustead to Luce, 30 March 1964, FO 371/174701.
18. Boustead to Brenchley, 'Annual Review of Affairs in Abu Dhabi in 1963', 20 January 1964, FO 371/174697.
19. The agreement was eventually signed by Shaikh Shakhbut on 19 September 1965, and a copy was sent by S. Road of ADPC to T. Gent of the FO's Arabian Department on 12 October 1965. See FO 371/179935.
20. Luce to S. Crawford, 27 May 1964, FO 371/174701.
21. Ibid.
22. McCarthy, 'Factors in policy towards Shaikh Shakhbut', 22 July 1964, FO 371/174702.
23. Boustead to Luce, 30 March 1964, FO 371/174701.
24. 'Shaikh Shakhbut'. Annex to the record of a meeting held in the secretary of state's room on 3 December 1964, FO 371/174702.
25. Ibid.
26. See Khadduri, *Arab Personalities*, pp. 304–305.
27. See Davidson, *Abu Dhabi*, pp. 45–47.
28. Boustead to Luce, 10 June 1964, FO 371/174701; Luce to S. Crawford, 7 July 1964, *ibid.*
29. See Davidson, *Abu Dhabi*, p. 42.
30. Luce to S. Crawford, 7 July 1964, FO 371/174701.
31. Boustead to Luce, 15 March 1964, FO 371/174701.
32. Luce to S. Crawford, 7 July 1964, FO 371/174701.
33. Boustead to Luce, 10 June 1964, FO 371/174701.
34. Ibid.
35. See Davidson, *Abu Dhabi*, p. 41.
36. Luce, 27 May 1964, FO 371/174701.
37. Ibid.
38. Brenchley, 'The possible deposition of Shaikh Shakhbut of Abu Dhabi', 5 August 1964, FO 371/174702.
39. Luce to Brenchley, 25 March 1964, FO 371/174701.
40. Luce to S. Crawford, 27 May 1964, FO 371/174701.
41. Ibid.
42. Boustead to Luce, 15 March 1964, FO 371/174701.
43. Luce to S. Crawford, 27 May 1964, FO 371/174701.
44. Luce to S. Crawford, 27 May 1964, FO 371/174701.
45. Walmsley to Luce, 1 May 1963, FO 371/168634
46. 'Shaykh Shakhbut of Abu Dhabi'. Memorandum for the record by John E. Horner, Secret, 23 May 1963, NARA: RG 59, Lot Files: Bureau of Near

- Eastern and South Asian Affairs, Office of Near Eastern Affairs, Records of the Arabian Peninsula Affairs Desk, 1958–1963, Box 4.
47. D. G. Crawford, Minute commenting on Boustead's report on events in Abu Dhabi in 1963, 4 February 1964, FO 371/174679; Brenchley, 'The Ruler of Abu Dhabi', 10 June 1964, FO 371/174701; Brenchley, 'The possible deposition of Shaikh Shakhbut of Abu Dhabi', 5 August 1964, FO 371/174702.
 48. Brenchley, 'The Ruler of Abu Dhabi', 10 June 1964, FO 371/174701.
 49. *Ibid.*
 50. Brenchley, 'The possible deposition of Shaikh Shakhbut of Abu Dhabi', 5 August 1964, FO 371/174702.
 51. Brenchley, 'The Ruler of Abu Dhabi', 10 June 1964, FO 371/174701.
 52. See Davidson, *Abu Dhabi*, p. 47.
 53. Brenchley, 'The possible deposition of Shaikh Shakhbut of Abu Dhabi', 5 August 1964, FO 371/174702.
 54. 'Shaykh Shakhbut of Abu Dhabi'. Memorandum for the record by John E. Horner, Secret, 23 May 1963, NARA: RG 59, Lot Files: Bureau of Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, Office of Near Eastern Affairs, Records of the Arabian Peninsula Affairs Desk, 1958–1963, Box 4.
 55. Brenchley, 'The Ruler of Abu Dhabi', 10 June 1964, FO 371/174701.
 56. Luce to S. Crawford, 27 May 1964, FO 371/174701.
 57. *Ibid.*
 58. 'Shaykh Shakhbut of Abu Dhabi'. Memorandum for the record by John E. Horner, Secret, 23 May 1963, NARA: RG 59, Lot Files: Bureau of Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, Office of Near Eastern Affairs, Records of the Arabian Peninsula Affairs Desk, 1958–1963, Box 4.
 59. Luce to Gordon Walker, 'Persian Gulf: Annual Review for 1964', 21 January 1965, FO 371/179783.
 60. Luce to S. Crawford, 27 May 1964, FO 371/174701.
 61. *Ibid.*
 62. *Ibid.*
 63. *Ibid.*
 64. *Ibid.*
 65. S. Crawford to Luce, 23 June 1964, FO 371/174701.
 66. McCarthy, 'Factors in policy towards Shaikh Shakhbut', 22 July 1964, FO 371/174702.
 67. *Ibid.*
 68. Brenchley, 'The Ruler of Abu Dhabi', 10 June 1964, FO 371/174701.
 69. *Ibid.*
 70. 'Shaikh Shakhbut of Abu Dhabi'. Draft record of a meeting held in the FO on 14 July 1964, FO 371/174702.
 71. McCarthy, 'Factors in policy towards Shaikh Shakhbut', 22 July 1964, FO 371/174702.
 72. *Ibid.*
 73. Brenchley, Handwritten Minute commenting on Boustead's annual review of events in Abu Dhabi in 1963, 26 February 1964, FO 371/174697.
 74. Brenchley, 'The Ruler of Abu Dhabi', 10 June 1964, FO 371/174701.
 75. 'Shaikh Shakhbut of Abu Dhabi'. Draft record of a meeting held in the FO on 14 July 1964, FO 371/174702.

76. Luce to S. Crawford, 28 October 1964, FO 371/174702.
77. 'Main Points of Discussion with Shaikh Zaid at Buraimi, October 22–23'. The report was enclosed with the letter from Luce to S. Crawford, 28 October 1964, FO 371/174702.
78. Ibid.
79. Ibid.
80. Luce to S. Crawford, 28 October 1964, FO 371/174702.
81. 'Shaikh Shakhbut'. Annex to the record of a meeting held in the secretary of state's room on 3 December 1964, FO 371/174702.
82. 'Main Points of Discussion with Shaikh Zaid at Buraimi, October 22–23'. The report was enclosed with a letter from Luce to S. Crawford, 28 October 1964, FO 371/174702.
83. 'Shaikh Shakhbut'. Annex to the record of a meeting held in the secretary of state's room on 3 December 1964, Secret, FO 371/174702.
84. Ibid.
85. Gordon Walker to Harold Wilson, 'The Rulership of Abu Dhabi', 18 December 1964, FO 371/174702. A copy of Gordon Walker's minute to the prime minister was sent to the defence secretary, Denis Healey. See letter from Arthur Hockaday to J. Henderson, Top Secret, 23 December 1964, FO 371/174702.
86. Gordon Walker to Harold Wilson, 'The Rulership of Abu Dhabi', 18 December 1964, FO 371/174702.
87. On 21 December, the FO was informed that Wilson had consented. See letter from Downing Street (signature illegible) to Henderson, Top Secret, 21 December 1964, FO 371/174702.
88. S. Crawford to Luce, 23 December 1964, FO 371/174702.
89. 'Shaikh Shakhbut'. Speaking note by Michael Weir for the foreign secretary to use in the Cabinet, 9 August 1966, FO 371/185527.
90. The following files remain closed in the National Archives as exemptions under the Freedom of Information Act of 2000: FO 371/185526/1, FO 371/185527/1 and FO 371/185528/1. According to the National Archives Catalogue, these files contain information on 'discussions with and overthrow of [the] Ruler of Abu Dhabi'. Also closed is file FO 1016/738 on the 'deposition of Sheikh Shakhbut bin Sultan of Abu Dhabi by family conclave'. In 2008, my request to review the status of the documents and to release the information contained in them was denied by the Foreign and Commonwealth Office.
91. FO and CRO to certain missions, Guidance Tel. No. 241, 6 August 1966, FO 371/185578.
92. Balfour-Paul, who was posted to Bahrain as deputy political resident in June 1966, was acting political resident during the two-month gap between Luce's retirement in July 1966 and the arrival of his successor, Sir Stewart Crawford, in September 1966. See Glencairn Balfour-Paul, *Bagpipes in Babylon: A Lifetime in the Arab World and Beyond*, I B Tauris/London 2006, p. 203.
93. FO and CRO to certain missions, Guidance Tel. No. 241, 6 August 1966, FO 371/185578.
94. Ibid.

95. Weir to Thomson, 'Shaikh Zaid bin Sultan al Nahayyan. Head of the Abu Dhabi Department of Finance. Talking Points', 29 June 1966, FO 371/185578.
96. FO and FCO to certain missions, Guidance Tel. No. 242, 6 August 1966, FO 371/185527.
97. Balfour-Paul, *Bagpipes in Babylon*, p. 203.
98. Abu Dhabi to FO, Tel. No. 103, Top Secret, 5 August 1966, FO 371/185527.
99. *Ibid.*
100. Archie Lamb to Luce, 21 May 1966, FO 371/185578; Parsons to Luce, 1 June 1966, FO 1016/737.
101. Roderick Parkes to Stewart, Despatch No. 8, 4 May 1966, FO 1016/737. See Davidson, *Abu Dhabi*, p. 36.
102. Lamb to Luce, 13 February 1966, FO 1016/737.
103. Abu Dhabi to FO, Tel. No. 103, Top Secret, 5 August 1966, FO 371/185527.
104. Balfour-Paul, *Bagpipes in Babylon*, p. 203.
105. *Ibid.*

7 The Prospect of Britain's Withdrawal

1. Defence and Overseas Policy Committee Meetings (65) 52, 24 November 1965, CAB 148/18.
2. See Saki Dockrill, *Britain's Retreat from East of Suez: the Choice between Europe and the World?* Palgrave Macmillan/Basingstoke 2002, p. 44.
3. See William Taylor Fain, *American Ascendance and British Retreat in the Persian Gulf Region*, Palgrave Macmillan/Basingstoke, p. 143.
4. See Dockrill, *Britain's Retreat from East of Suez*, pp. 55–57.
5. On the constitutional development of the Federation of South Arabia and the defence treaty with Britain, see Spencer Mawby, *British Policy in Aden and the Protectorates 1955–67*, Routledge/London 2005, pp. 95–98.
6. On the origins and development of Arab nationalism in Aden, see Walker, *Aden Insurgency: the Savage War in South Arabia, 1962–1967*, Spellmount Publishing/Staplehurst Kent 2005, pp. 11–16 and p. 25. On the escalation of violence in the mid-1960s, see Mawby, *British Policy in Aden*, pp. 90–119.
7. S. Crawford to Luce, 6 May 1965, FO 371/179750.
8. E. M. Rose to G. N. Jackson, 5 February 1966, FO 371/185197.
9. 'Middle East Command Forces. Memorandum by the Ministry of Defence'. Defence and Overseas Policy Committee Papers (63) 3, 31 October 1963, CAB 148/3.
10. Defence and Overseas Policy Committee Meetings (65) 52, 24 November 1965, CAB 148/18.
11. *Ibid.*
12. 'Some General Considerations of Foreign Policy with Particular Reflections on the Middle East. Memorandum by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs'. Defence and Overseas Policy Committee Papers (65) 174, 22 November 1965, CAB 148/23.

13. Wright to Allen, 25 September 1965, FO 371/179744.
14. Defence and Oversea Policy Committee Meetings (65) 52, 24 November 1965, CAB 148/18.
15. 'Some General Considerations of Foreign Policy with Particular Reflections on the Middle East. Memorandum by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs'. Defence and Oversea Committee Papers (65) 174, 22 November 1965, CAB 148/23.
16. 'Forces and Facilities in the Persian Gulf. Memorandum by the Secretary of State for Defence'. Defence and Oversea Policy Committee Papers (66) 22, 19 January 1966, CAB 148/27.
17. 'Some General Considerations of Foreign Policy with Particular Reflections on the Middle East. Memorandum by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs'. Defence and Oversea Committee Papers (65) 174, 22 November 1965, CAB 148/23.
18. Defence and Oversea Policy Committee Meetings (65) 52, 24 November 1965, CAB 148/18.
19. Burke Trend to Wilson, 'Forces and Facilities in the Persian Gulf', 21 January 1966, PREM 13/2209.
20. Luce to S. Crawford, 17 June 1964, FO 371/174488.
21. Defence and Oversea Policy Committee Meetings (66) 8, 23 January 1966, CAB 148/25.
22. 'Forces and Facilities in the Persian Gulf. Memorandum by the Secretary of State for Defence'. Defence and Oversea Policy Committee Papers (66) 22, 19 January 1966, CAB 148/27.
23. Ibid.
24. FO to Bahrain, Tel. No. 106, 28 January 1966, FO 371/185196.
25. 'Forces and Facilities in the Persian Gulf. Memorandum by the Secretary of State for Defence'. Defence and Oversea Policy Committee Papers (66) 22, 19 January 1966, CAB 148/27.
26. Ibid.
27. Defence and Oversea Policy Committee Meetings (66) 8, 23 January 1966, CAB 148/25.
28. See Dockrill, *Britain's Retreat from East of Suez*, p. 138.
29. FO to Bahrain, Tel. No. 106, 28 January 1966, FO 371/185196.
30. Ibid.
31. Bahrain to FO, Tel. No. 64, 2 February 1966, FO 371/185196.
32. Bahrain to FO, Tel. No. 69, 3 February 1966, FO 371/185196.
33. Brenchley to Luce, 16 February 1966, FO 371/185196.
34. Rose to Jackson, 5 February 1966, FO 371/185197.
35. Kuwait to FO, Tel. No. 82, 16 February 1966, FO 371/185197.
36. 'Forces and Facilities in the Persian Gulf. Memorandum by the Secretary of State for Defence'. Defence and Oversea Policy Committee Papers (66) 22, 19 January 1966, CAB 148/27.
37. Stewart to Wilson, 'The Persian Gulf', 25 January 1966, FO 371/185196.
38. 'Defence Review: Communications to King Faisal'. FO Minute by Michael Weir, Secret, 8 February 1966, FO 371/185196.
39. Jedda to FO, Tel. No. 102, 18 February 1966, FO 371/185197.

40. Telegram from the US Embassy in Iran to the US Department of State, 25 October 1967, *FRUS, 1964–68, Vol. XXI: Near East Region, Arabian Peninsula*, Washington 2000, pp. 229–230.
41. Stewart to Wilson, 'The Persian Gulf', 25 January 1966, FO 371/185196.
42. See 'Editorial Comment', *FRUS, 1964–68, Vol. XXI*, p. 25.
43. The CIA predicted in February 1966 that Britain's position in the Middle East would 'dwindle further'. See the National Intelligence Estimate, 17 February 1966, *FRUS, 1964–68, Vol. XXI*, pp. 26–27. On the fears of the Ruler of Bahrain see the Airgram from the Department of State to the Consulate General in Saudi Arabia, 22 November 1966, *FRUS, 1964–68, Vol. XXI*, pp. 189–191.
44. Information Memorandum from the Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs (Battle) to Secretary of State Rusk, 20 November 1967, *FRUS, 1964–68, Vol. XXI*, pp. 244–245.
45. 'Defence Expenditure Study No. 6. Long-Term Policy in the Persian Gulf. Report by the Defence Review Working Party'. Defence and Overseas Committee Papers (67) 8, 7 June 1967, CAB 148/8.
46. *Ibid.*
47. *Ibid.*
48. See Dockrill, *Britain's Retreat from East of Suez*, pp. 193–194; also Shohei Sato, 'Britain's Decision to Withdraw from the Persian Gulf, 1964–68: a Pattern and a Puzzle', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, Vol. 37, No. 1, March, , pp. 99–117 , esp. pp. 104–106.
49. Letter from Luce to Sir Geoffrey Harrison, Secret, 4 February 1964, FO 371/174481.
50. *Ibid.*
51. *Ibid.*
52. *Ibid.*
53. *Ibid.*
54. Luce to Stewart, Valedictory Despatch No. 18, 1 August 1966, FO 371/185167.
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57. This assumption was based on the fact that between 1954 and 1962, a rebellion led by the Imam of Oman against the sultan had received far-reaching support from Saudi Arabia. See Madawi Al-Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia*, Cambridge University Press/Cambridge 2002, pp. 115–116; also Francis Owtram, *A Modern History of Oman: Formation of State since 1920*, I. B. Tauris/London 2004, pp. 105–106; and Uzi Rabi, *The Emergence of States in a Tribal Society. Oman under Sa'id Bin Taymur, 1932–1970*, Sussex Academic Press/Brighton 2006b, pp. 71–90.
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70. Jackson to George Brown, Despatch No. 8 Confidential, 3 April 1968, FO 960/4.
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72. Ibid.
73. S. Crawford to Brown, 'Kuwait and the Southern Gulf', Despatch No. 12, 18 May 1967, FO 371/179843.
74. Ibid.
75. Kuwait to FO, Tel. No. 458, 25 October 1965, FO 371/179843; Brenchley to Jackson, 5 November 1965, *ibid.*
76. Jackson, 'Report about conversation with Shaikh Jabir', 25 March 1967, FO 960/4.
77. Kuwait to FO, Tel. No. 99, 26 March 1967, FO 960/4.
78. Kuwait to FO, Tel. No. 321, 14 July 1965, FO 371/179854. See Jill Crystal, *Oil and Politics in the Gulf. Rulers and Merchants in Kuwait and Qatar*, Cambridge University Press/Cambridge 1995, pp. 84–91.
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80. S. Crawford to Brown, 'Kuwait and the Southern Gulf', Despatch No. 12, 18 May 1967, FO 371/179843.
81. Jackson to Brenchley, 16 November 1965, FO 371/179843.
82. J. A. N. Graham to Weir, 'Kuwait and the Lower Gulf', 27 April 1967, FO 960/4.
83. S. Crawford to Brown, 'Kuwait and the Southern Gulf', Despatch No. 12 Confidential, 18 May 1967, FO 371/179843.
84. Jackson to Brown, Despatch No. 8, 3 April 1968, FO 960/4.
85. H. Boyle to S. Crawford, 'Kuwait and the Gulf', 22 April 1967, FO 960/4.
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88. See Simon Smith, *Britain's Revival and Fall in the Gulf: Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, and the Trucial States, 1950–71*, Routledge-Curzon/London 2004, pp. 60–61.
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90. Ibid.
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95. See Chapter 6 of this study.
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102. S. Crawford to Brown, 'The Trucial States', Despatch No. 35, 29 November 1967, FCO 8/828.
103. Ibid.
104. See Louis, 'British Withdrawal from the Gulf', pp. 83.
105. Cabinet Conclusions (68) 1, 4 January 1968, CAB 128/43.
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116. Glencairn Balfour-Paul, *The End of Empire in the Middle East: Britain's Relinquishment of Power in Her Last Three Arab Dependencies*, Cambridge University Press/Cambridge 1991, p. 124.
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Conclusion

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