



Security Council

PROVISIONAL

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ENGLISH

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWO THOUSAND
NINE HUNDRED AND THIRTY-FOURTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Thursday, 9 August 1990, at 11.25 a.m.

President: Mr. MUNTEANU

(Romania)

Members:

Canada

Mr. KIRSCH

China

Mr. LI Daoyu

Colombia

Mrs. CASTAÑO

Côte d'Ivoire

Mr. ANET

Cuba

Mr. ALARCON de QUESADA

Ethiopia

Mr. TADESSE

Finland

Ms. RASI

France

Mr. BLANC

Malaysia

Mr. RAZALI

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

Mr. LOZINSKY

United Kingdom of Great Britain and

Sir Crispin TICKELL

Northern Ireland

United States of America

Mr. PICKERING

Yemen

Mr. AL-ASHTAL

Zaire

Mr. LUKABU KHABOUJI N'ZAJI

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The meeting was called to order at 11.25 a.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION BETWEEN IRAQ AND KUWAIT

LETTER DATED 2 AUGUST 1990 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF KUWAIT TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/21423)

LETTER DATED 2 AUGUST 1990 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/21424)

LETTER DATED 8 AUGUST 1990 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVES OF BAHRAIN, KUWAIT, OMAN, QATAR, SAUDI ARABIA AND THE UNITED ARAB EMIRATES TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/21470)

The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decisions taken at the 2932nd meeting, I invite the representatives of Iraq and Kuwait to take places at the Council table.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Al-Anbari (Iraq) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Abulhasan (Kuwait) took a place at the Council table.

The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Oman in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Al-Khussaiby (Oman) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council Chamber.

The PRESIDENT: The Security Council will now resume its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the requests contained in a letter dated 8 August 1990 from the Permanent Representative of Kuwait to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/21469) and a letter dated 8 August 1990 from the Permanent Representatives of Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/21470).

Members of the Council have before them document S/21471, which contains the text of a draft resolution that has been prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

I should like to draw the attention of members of the Council to the following other documents: S/21444, S/21445, S/21446, S/21448, S/21449, S/21450, S/21451, S/21452, S/21453, S/21454, S/21456, S/21457, S/21458, S/21460, S/21461, S/21462, S/21464, S/21465, S/21466, S/21467 and S/21468, which contain communications from Italy, Argentina, Paraguay, Egypt, Japan, Kuwait (two communications), the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Saint Kitts and Nevis (two communications), Maldives, Nicaragua, Ghana, Chile (two communications), Japan, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Uruguay, Cuba, Haiti and Oman, respectively.

Members of the Council have received photocopies of communications received from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America, and from the Islamic Republic of Iran, which will be issued as documents of the Security Council under the symbols S/21472 and S/21473, respectively, at 0600 hours tomorrow.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution (S/21471) before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Canada, China, Colombia, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Malaysia, Romania, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Yemen, Zaire

The PRESIDENT: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has therefore been adopted unanimously as resolution 662 (1990).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. PICKERING (United States of America): We are pleased and gratified by the unanimous approval by the Council of resolution 662 (1990).

The United States does not recognize Iraq's outrageous and unlawful declaration that Kuwait is part of Iraq.

My Government, therefore, is eager to support the legitimate Government of Kuwait through the consensus resolution we have adopted which declares that any such charade is null and void and without legal effect. Iraq has repeatedly, over the last several days, shown its scorn for the international community and for the resolutions of this body. Iraq's declaration is further proof of its continuing threat to the world community and its disdain for international law. For our part, at the request of Governments in the region, the United States has increased its presence in the area. We are in the course of informing this Council officially by appropriate letter of our action taken under Article 51 of the Charter. As President Bush said yesterday, this is entirely defensive in purpose, to help protect Saudi Arabia, and is taken under Article 51 of the Charter and indeed in consistency with Article 41 and resolution 661 (1990).

(Mr. Pickering, United States)

As resolution 661 (1990) affirms, Article 51 applies in this case. The Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and the large military presence on the Saudi frontier create grave risks of further aggression in the area. This being the case, my Government and others are, at the request of Saudi Arabia, sending forces with which to deter further Iraqi aggression.

Why is this resolution necessary? It is necessary because Iraq is attempting to extinguish the sovereignty of a State Member of the United Nations. There is something repugnant, chilling and vaguely familiar about the statement issued yesterday by the Iraqi Revolutionary Command Council. We have heard that rhetoric before. It was used about the Rhineland, the Sudetenland, about the Polish corridor, about Mussolini's invasion of Ethiopia and about the Marco Polo Bridge incident in China. It was used to divide and swallow up sovereign States, contrary to international law. The world community did not react. The result was global conflagration.

We believe the international community has learned this lesson well. We here will not and cannot let this happen again. We have finally learned the grim lesson of the 1930s which was succinctly articulated by a Soviet Foreign Minister of that era, Maxim Litvinov. He said, "Peace is indivisible". We agree.

My Government is heartened by the response from the world community to resolution 661 (1990) and we are confident that the procedures to implement it are well under way by the Member States and in the United Nations. Resolutions 660 (1990) and 661 (1990) should be used not only to contain this cancerous act of aggression but also to require Iraq to withdraw its forces immediately, unconditionally and totally.

The Council also again today calls for the restoration of the legitimate authority, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kuwait.

(Mr. Pickering, United States)

By this resolution the international community again reaffirms that this crisis is not a regional matter alone, that it threatens us all and that we have learned the lessons of history. We cannot allow sovereign States Members of the United Nations to be swallowed up. The United States stands ready to return to the Council as circumstances warrant to seek further Council action to implement resolution 660 (1990). We are gratified that the Council continues to work expeditiously and effectively in its efforts to deal with this crisis.

Mr. BLANC (France) (interpretation from French): My statement will be very brief because the situation is, unfortunately, quite clear. On 2 August Iraq invaded Kuwait; a few days later it set up a government at its service. But despite the adoption as early as 2 August of resolution 660 (1990), demanding the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Iraq, and despite the withdrawal announcement made a short time later by that country, the occupation has continued.

Yesterday Iraq took one more step by announcing the merger of Iraq and Kuwait. That is an extremely serious decision taken in violation of international law and the United Nations Charter. It calls for a total condemnation on our part, and it led us to support without reservation the resolution just adopted unanimously by the Council. My country will of course look with favour on subsequent decisions that will be taken to ensure the implementation of resolutions 660 (1990), 661 (1990) and 662 (1990).

Mr. LOZINSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): There is deep, continuing alarm and concern in the Soviet Union over the uninterrupted trend towards a rapid growth of confrontation in the Persian Gulf area, caused by the armed invasion of Kuwait by Iraq, and also by yesterday's announcement of the so-called merger of these two States, and by the deployment of United States naval and air forces in Saudi Arabia. This was mentioned in the statement made today by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR.

Despite the efforts of the international community - and that includes the Soviet Union - undertaken in the days following Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, Iraq not only has not withdrawn its forces from Kuwait but has actually declared its annexation.

(Mr. Lozinsky, USSR)

It is hard and bitter for us to talk this way about Iraq's latest actions. Iraq is a country with which we have long had friendly relations, and we should like to maintain that friendship, but in this situation we cannot take a position of silence, and still less can we go against our conscience.

The Soviet approach to this question of principle remains a firm one. The sovereignty, national independence and territorial integrity of the State of Kuwait must be fully restored and protected. The Soviet Union is against reliance on force and against unilateral decisions.

In our view, the surest, wisest way to act in conflict situations is to make collective efforts and to make full use of the machinery of the United Nations. What is taking place in the Persian Gulf at this time demonstrates with particular clarity how important it is to be prudent and circumspect in such situations and to reject actions which might pour more oil on the fire.

We wish to remind everyone once again that the Soviet Union is against reliance on force and against unilateral decisions. The experience of many years has proved that the surest and wisest way to act in conflict situations is through collective efforts, using to the full all the potential of the United Nations. Specifically, as pointed out in the statement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, we favour having the Security Council now devote its attention to this extremely acute matter on a permanent basis. We are prepared to undertake consultations immediately in the Security Council's Military Staff Committee, which, under the Charter of the United Nations, can perform very important functions.

As we see it, the efforts of the Arab countries themselves could play a special role here in preventing the situation in the Persian Gulf from expanding into an even larger military conflict.

(Mr. Lozinsky, USSR)

We listened attentively to statements about holding an urgent meeting of the Heads of the Arab States at Cairo, and we hope that the results of that meeting will be an important factor in joint actions with regard to the situation centred around Kuwait.

The Soviet Union calls upon all who are directly involved in the dangerous confrontation unfolding in the Persian Gulf area to respect the will of the international community and to show a high sense of responsibility for the fate of the world.

Mr. KIRSCH (Canada): I shall be brief, as the resolution that we have just adopted unanimously is clear and needs little amplification.

As the resolution states, the Iraqi declaration of its annexation of Kuwait has no basis in law and is null and void. Canada does not recognize this purported annexation and continues to recognize the legitimate Government of Kuwait.

There can be no doubt that other recent actions of the Government of Iraq are also in complete disregard of international law, the Charter of the United Nations and the principle of the peaceful settlement of disputes among States.

The international community, through the Security Council, has condemned the Iraqi invasion and occupation of Kuwait. We have imposed sanctions on Iraq for failing to withdraw its troops immediately and unconditionally. The announcement yesterday that Iraq had annexed Kuwait was made in defiance of this international condemnation, is an act of exceptional gravity and cannot be tolerated.

My delegation therefore voted in favour of resolution 662 (1990). We call upon Iraq to comply immediately with operative paragraph 3 of that resolution by rescinding its actions purporting to annex Kuwait.

Sir Crispin TICKELL (United Kingdom): We have passed through eight extraordinary days. Who would have imagined that the Security Council would have been put to the test in the way that it has or that it would have responded so well in the form of the three resolutions: resolutions 660 (1990), 661 (1990) and 662 (1990). Confronted with the terrible events that have happened, my Government is delighted at the response to these amazing events, and we are particularly glad that the resolution we have just adopted should have been adopted unanimously. I shall not dwell upon that, but I should like to make one or two other brief comments.

I think that most of us, thinking about this crisis, have a terrible feeling that we are in a kind of time warp, that we are looking at one of those black and white films of the 1930s when the dictators strutted on the world stage and seized the territories of others, claiming anschluss, or whatever it might be, as if the world was not really looking. Now, we are caught in this time warp and looking at events which, I think, even 10 days ago would have seemed to most people almost incredible. But we have responded well, and I think it very important that we watch each stage of the crisis when we consider the events that are to follow.

The first is, of course, that we have been misled in a most lavish and dramatic fashion. We were told that Iraq had no intention of invading Kuwait; that was passed on privately and publicly to the world. The invasion then followed. We were told very recently that Iraq had every intention of withdrawing; a timetable submitted to the United Nations indicated that Iraqi forces would be withdrawing from 8 o'clock on Sunday morning. Now we are told that Iraq has no ambitions elsewhere in the region; I think we must regard any assertions of that kind with legitimate suspicion and doubt.

Members will remember also that we were told that a "provisional free Kuwait government" had been invented to conduct the affairs of that country. It was true that most members of that government were Iraqis, but nevertheless the government

(Sir Crispin Tickell,
United Kingdom)

was formed and we saw television pictures of that government taking office. It is hardly necessary for me to say that that government was neither free nor Kuwaiti nor a government - but it was certainly provisional.

The Iraqi Government is now trying to invoke arguments to justify its actions by harking back to the time of the Ottoman sultans to demonstrate a right to engulf Kuwait. I would just remind the Council that on 4 October 1963 Iraq formally recognized Kuwait's sovereignty and independence. Iraq should stand by that undertaking now.

Even at this stage it is not too late for Iraq to implement Security Council resolution 660 (1990) and avoid the impact of the sanctions provided for in Security Council resolution 661 (1990). I reiterate that we must continue to support the efforts of the League of Arab States; it must be our profound hope that the current Arab summit in Cairo will bear fruit and point a way out of the crisis. But I must also make it clear that such a way out of the crisis must include the restoration of the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Kuwait under its legitimate Government, and the withdrawal of all Iraqi forces unconditionally from Kuwait in accordance with Security Council resolution 660 (1990).

Members of the Council may wish to know that four orders to give effect to Security Council resolution 661 (1990) under British law in the United Kingdom and our dependent Territories, and as regards British nationals and companies overseas, entered into force at midnight last night. In short, we have now given legislative effect within our territories to the provisions of Security Council resolution 661 (1990).

Members of the Council will also know that at the request of the Government of Saudi Arabia my Government has agreed to contribute forces to a multinational

(Sir Crispin Tickell,
United Kingdom)

effort for the collective defence of the territory of Saudi Arabia and other threatened States in the area. We will do so in accordance with Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations, which members will recall was specifically reaffirmed in the preamble to Security Council resolution 661 (1990). The presence of British forces, particularly naval forces, in the area will be of added advantage in the context of securing the effective implementation of resolution 661 (1990). Paragraph 6 (b) of that resolution in particular called upon all States to provide further information regarding the action they had taken concerning the effective implementation of the provisions of that resolution. We see the close monitoring of maritime traffic as a key element in making the embargo effective. We shall, of course, give the new Security Council Committee, which is to meet for the first time this afternoon, the fullest collaboration, and will pass on the information thereby gathered as rapidly as possible for assessment and appropriate further action.

This, I think, is another important day in the history of this institution and sets a precedent for the kind of Security Council and the kind of functioning of the Security Council first envisaged by the founding fathers when they drew up those documents so long ago.

Mr. TADESSE (Ethiopia): We are deeply aggrieved by the turn of events following Iraq's illegal annexation of Kuwait. It saddens us to note that Iraq has emerged as a new international pariah. It has violated the fundamental principles of the pacific resolution of disputes by launching naked aggression against Kuwait. It has defied the will of the international community, and certainly of this Council, that it immediately and unconditionally withdraw its forces from Kuwaiti territory.

(Mr. Tadesse, Ethiopia)

What we are watching before our very eyes is an act of utter lawlessness, a sad re-enactment of the tragic events of the 1930s when might made right. We all recall where that led. This Council is determined to prevent a repetition.

This Council bears the supreme responsibility for the restoration of law, sanity and respect for the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

We condemn in the strongest possible terms this latest attempt at the sudden and forcible obliteration of the State of Kuwait through the invasion by Iraq of the sovereign and peaceful State of Kuwait. It is incumbent upon us to stand firm and to strive to nullify that outrage, that utter defiance of the collective will of the Council and, indeed, of the entire international community.

It is with that conviction that Ethiopia, which itself was a victim of such aggression in the past, condemns Iraq's aggression and its annexation of Kuwait. Needless to say, my delegation is prepared to co-operate in all possible measures that may be envisaged to face up to the grave challenge posed to the preservation of international peace and security. We call upon Iraq to comply with Security Council resolution 660 (1990) and we reiterate our support for the full restoration of the unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kuwait.

Mr. RAZALI (Malaysia): Malaysia is extremely disappointed and alarmed by the Iraqi action to annex Kuwait. The action was taken in the face of Security Council resolutions 660 (1990) and 661 (1990), raising very grave questions about the steps ahead. Malaysia upholds that every country, the weak as well as the powerful, must come within the parameters and strictures of United Nations principles. No principle is more important and more hallowed than the right of all nations to their sovereignty, national independence and territorial integrity.

The world has come a long way from the history of wars and miseries brought about as a result of ambitions and imperatives of States to expand and annex other States around them. There is now total rejection of such acts and policies. The Security Council this time and in this instance can do no less. The annexation of Kuwait is totally unacceptable. In rejecting the annexation of Kuwait, the Security Council will need to do so from the high ground that it represents as a collective international authority, and it must be prepared to take the necessary action to restore to Kuwait its sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Malaysia would like to appeal to Iraq not to doubt the will and ability of the United Nations to bring the full weight of its power and influence to implement Security Council resolutions 660 (1990) and 661 (1990). The atmosphere at the moment is dangerously charged with ominous possibilities. The Arab countries at this moment are engaged in critical discussions at the highest level to determine a response that will move the situation away from the precipice towards which we are advancing.

We must all give the Arab countries all support, understanding and encouragement. We must all take several steps away from that precipice. The reaffirmation of the central role of the United Nations and the eschewing of unilateral actions will contribute to a move in that direction. No country

(Mr. Razali, Malaysia)

would wish to see a further deterioration of the situation and all would now appeal to Iraq to abide by Security Council resolutions 660 (1990) and 661 (1990) and heed the call of its Arab and Muslim brothers to end its occupation of Kuwait.

Mr. LI Daoyu (China) (interpretation from Chinese): The Chinese delegation, like many other delegations, is shocked at the recent actions of Iraq. We wish to reiterate here that the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Kuwait must be restored and respected, that Security Council resolution 660 (1990) must be implemented immediately and effectively, and that Iraq should withdraw all its troops from Kuwait immediately and unconditionally. We believe that the annexation of a sovereign State constitutes a gross violation of the United Nations Charter and the basic norms governing international relations, and therefore cannot be allowed. Based on that position, we voted in favour of draft resolution S/21471.

In the meantime, we have noted with joy that an emergency Arab summit will be held today. We always support the mediation efforts of the Arab States and hope that the summit will yield positive results, so as to help reach a peaceful solution to the current dispute. We call upon all concerned parties to exercise restraint and refrain from taking any actions that might further complicate the situation, in order to restore peace and stability in the Gulf region.

Mr. ALARCON de QUESADA (Cuba) (interpretation from Spanish): I will be brief, since I have in fact no real need to explain my delegation's vote. My delegation, when it was first consulted about this situation and the draft resolution, confirmed that we would have no objection to voting in favour of the draft resolution, since we agreed that this decision should be taken at any appropriate time by the Council.

(Mr. Alarcon de Quesada, Cuba)

However, I feel bound to make a number of comments, because I have heard rumours according to which someone, for some unknown reason, is seeking to disinform public opinion and the representatives of other States members of the Council concerning a supposed Cuban action to prevent or delay the adoption of the draft resolution. As members know, we indicated at informal consultations yesterday that we were ready to vote on it then and adopt it, as we were sure it would be adopted unanimously. What my delegation has in fact said in the consultations that we have been holding over the past few days since the adoption of Security Council resolution 661 (1990) is something quite different. We were saying it before the announcement of the annexation of Kuwait or even before the intention to do so was made public.

I feel duty bound to repeat what I have felt obliged to repeat constantly: our profound conviction that the Security Council and the international community must act energetically and promptly to prevent the conflict from becoming exacerbated and from spreading. We cannot ignore the obvious fact that certain Powers are taking unilateral measures that are not in accordance with the decisions taken by the Council, and that - as we noted at an earlier meeting - do not accord with the desire to maintain the sovereignty or territorial integrity of Kuwait or any other State. Such measures simply correspond to the hegemonistic designs of these Powers in the Middle East.

One cannot justify war and interventionism in the Middle East on the basis of any arbitrary interpretation of the right to self-defence.

The world did not come to an end with Mussolini, and the United Nations was born out of the ashes of fascism. And since the United Nations was born we have witnessed how certain great Powers have sought to use the Council more as a tool for their own strategic interests rather than as a body working for the maintenance of international peace and security.

(Mr. Alarcon de Quesada, Cuba)

I am not going to make a long statement at this point. The last time I spoke before the Council, I called to mind that, not 50 or 60 years ago, but here and now the Council has failed to act on certain matters that affect us. My delegation will continue to insist that the Council must reject any unilateral or selected approach designed solely to benefit certain great Powers. I know that some delegations do not like names to be mentioned, but in this particular case I am talking especially about the United States of America.

Reference has been made, for example, to the importance of monitoring maritime transport routes so as to ensure that an economic and trade embargo is strictly applied. That is fine; my delegation is ready to wait until 17 August.

(Mr. Alarcon de Quesada, Cuba)

I think we agreed that on 17 August we would hold the next meeting of the Committee of the Security Council - which was created not last week but exactly 13 years ago - entrusted with monitoring the implementation of the embargo against the South African régime, and this is not a trade embargo but an arms embargo.

A few weeks ago we saw a document from a prestigious non-governmental organization which indicated that more than one Member of the United Nations and of the Security Council was failing to comply strictly with the provisions of that embargo.

The idea has been mentioned of using the naval forces of certain States that have these means available, and are willing to provide them, to contribute to ensuring that the Committee on the South African arms embargo is able to work more effectively. We look forward to receiving proposals on these lines on 17 August.

But I think that I should call the attention of all members to the fact that it is not of benefit to the immense majority of mankind to accept the imposition, as a practice of our Organization, of these selective approaches based on the priorities of just certain quarters.

We think - and this is the only point that we have been stressing constantly in the past few days of private consultations - that we must act when all the media disclose and announce that there are some who are marching towards war, who are preparing for war; when calculations are made about the consequences this could have for their forces or military means. We think that it would be very irresponsible of the Security Council not to take this fact into account and not to act, and act immediately. This has nothing to do with the adoption of resolution 662 (1990), which we voted in favour of.

I would stress it is particularly important for us to keep in mind this serious and perturbing state of affairs in the Middle East region because, at the

(Mr. Alarcon de Quesada, Cuba)

same time, we have heard today news of something that we trust can open a door to hope and the solution of this deplorable conflict between Iraq and Kuwait and this serious situation prevailing in the region. I am referring to the summit meeting of the Arab States, which should be just getting under way in Cairo.

In this respect, I should like to quote the following from a message sent yesterday by President Fidel Castro to all the Heads of State of the Arab countries - a message that I had the honour of giving personally to Ambassador Abulhasan for transmission to his Government:

"... let me share with you, Sir, the certainty which inspires me of the wisdom and courage of the leaders of the Arab nation and the vitality of its institutions.

"Nothing and no one can replace this force, this authority and this morale in the immediate search for a negotiated solution to a conflict between two Arab peoples, one which entails, of course, the withdrawal of the Iraqi troops and the total restoration of Kuwait's sovereignty, without catastrophic wars, immolation of peoples and vast material destruction." (S/21465, p. 4)

My delegation expresses the hope that, given the concerted efforts of all the Arab States, they will be able to find a fair and swift solution to this conflict and thus shut the door in the face of today's and yesterday's imperialists, who are seeking to dominate the Middle East and treat it as if it were their own backyard.

Ms. RASI (Finland): The international community has been struck by the Iraqi declaration on the annexation of Kuwait. The adoption of Security Council resolutions 660 (1990) and 661 (1990) conveyed a very clear message of reason from the international community to Iraq. We regret that this message has not met with a responsible and serious reaction. Instead of serious intentions to withdraw and normalize the explosive situation, Iraq chooses expansion.

(Ms. Rasi, Finland)

The acquisition of the territory of another State by the use of force contradicts one of the most basic and firm principles of international law. Finland considers the annexation of Kuwait by Iraq null and void and has just joined other members of the Security Council in calling upon everyone not to recognize it.

We note with satisfaction that the Arab countries are sparing no effort to alleviate the extremely dangerous situation, and we look forward to positive results from the summit meeting convened to deal with the developments.

We once again appeal to Iraq and to all others concerned to exercise extreme restraint, in order not to accelerate the cycle of tension and escalate the situation.

The occupation of Kuwait by Iraq must be brought to an end. It would be an unforgivable mistake to repeat failures of history at a time when world developments present an opportunity to work for the better.

Mrs. CASTAÑO (Colombia) (interpretation from Spanish): In the light of the events that have followed the adoption of Security Council resolutions 660 (1990) and 661 (1990), the delegation of Colombia expresses its profound concern at and its outright condemnation of Iraq's declaration that it is annexing Kuwait, in direct contravention of the fundamental principles of international law.

We lent our support to and co-sponsored resolutions 660 (1990) and 661 (1990), and the same is true of the resolution that the Council has just adopted. We did so because we believe that the Security Council must continue to play the leading and salient role it has played so far in the search for a peaceful solution to this conflict, which affects the world.

The use of force can never legitimize the occupation and subjugation of a Territory. Hence, we hope that all States and international organizations in the

(Mrs. Castaño, Colombia)

world will take the action required in order to nullify the annexation of Kuwait. The independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty of Kuwait must be restored, and to that end we recognize the Security Council's competence. Thus, States must work together to ensure that tensions are not exacerbated or allowed to spread to other areas.

My delegation offers its co-operation in the work of the Security Council. We hope that the influence of the League of Arab States will help to bring about a peaceful solution to this dispute.

The PRESIDENT: I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of Romania.

Romania voted in favour of resolutions 660 (1990) and 661 (1990) on the item, "The situation between Iraq and Kuwait", and called for their immediate and unconditional implementation. It is in the same spirit, and in conformity with the same position, that Romania expresses its full support for the resolution that has just been adopted, contained in document S/21471. It is our firm stand that no reason can justify the use of force against an independent and sovereign State and the military occupation of that State. We are strongly of the view that resolutions 660 (1990) and 661 (1990) should be implemented promptly by all countries.

Romania again stands for the withdrawal without delay of the Iraqi military forces beyond the internationally recognized boundaries between the two countries and for the restoration of the legitimate Government of Kuwait. At the same time, we believe that all States should act in strict conformity with the universally accepted principles of international law. It is imperative for all States to display moderation and responsibility and to undertake nothing which may further aggravate the situation. Any new escalation of force would make the settlement of the situation, which is already particularly serious, even more difficult. What is necessary now is to resort to political actions and to keep dialogue always open.

The United Nations and its Member States should be able to exercise their influence on events to keep the crisis under control and to keep the problems created by the use of force and the military occupation of another State under control. The resolution contained in document S/21471 is crystal clear in that respect, emphasizing that the occupation of Kuwait by Iraq has no legal validity. It underlines the Council's determination to restore the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Kuwait.

(The President)

We express the hope that this new resolution as well as the previous ones will be fully observed and implemented by all the parties concerned.

I now resume my function as President of the Council.

I now call on the representative of Kuwait.

Mr. ABULHASAN (Kuwait) (interpretation from Arabic): For the third time in a week the Council is meeting to discuss the Iraqi aggression against Kuwait, Iraq's occupation by brute force of all Kuwait's soil and the ramifications of that aggression. For the third time I am speaking in the Council while suffering and choking in pain, because the brother in whom we had put our full trust and the neighbour whom we have always treated well has acted in a manner that we least expected, a manner that has always been unacceptable under any norms or instruments: falsehood paraded in words and aggression paraded in actions.

The Council has met today to discuss the real motive for the aggression that started on 1 August. That motive has become clear to the world, as seen in the usurpation and total annexation of Kuwait by military force. This brings us back to the law of the jungle. It runs counter to all international norms, instruments and principles.

How could the aggressor so flout and disregard the international will, norms and practices governing relations between States and peoples? How did we get here? We got here through a series of lies and cheating that marked the Iraqi régime.

Before its invasion of Kuwait the Iraqi régime had made commitments to Arab leaders, greatly respected and appreciated by Kuwait and its people and equally respected by their peoples and by the world. They were commitments to the effect, as the Council well knows, that Iraq would not commit any act of aggression against Kuwait, let alone invade Kuwait. The result was that Iraq invaded Kuwait and occupied its soil in its entirety.

(Mr. Abulhasan, Kuwait)

The Iraqi régime then made another claim, that its invasion of Kuwait came at the request of alleged local parties. That claim was also proved false in a way that made it the subject of the mockery of all the peoples and countries of the world.

The Ir régime continued with its claims and promises. It promised to withdraw, and actually said that it had started withdrawing. Soon the substance of the Iraqi régime's true greedy desire became manifest - to swallow and annex the whole of Kuwaiti soil, advancing false claims that did not prevail in the past and will not prevail now, in our day. How, then, after today can we believe any promises, any commitments or any stated intentions of that outlaw régime, flouting international norms and instruments?

The Emir, Government and people of Kuwait, faced with this new challenge not only to us, but to all the other peoples of the world, call upon your Council, and through it the international community, to condemn and categorically reject this annexation, and to consider it null and void, with no legal validity.

(Mr. Abulhasan, Kuwait)

There is a clear principle deeply rooted in international instruments and norms, namely, the non-admissibility of the acquisition of territory by force. It is a principle that can, given its strength, face up to the tyranny of the Iraqi aggression, which has shown boundless hegemonistic intentions and threatens the peace and stability of the region.

The Council is called upon strictly to implement resolutions 660 (1990) and 661 (1990) so as to lead to Iraq's heeding the international will and withdraw all its forces and those who have illegally entered Kuwait and to the restoration of the situation to what it was prior to 1 August and the invasion. The Council is called upon also to support the efforts of the legitimate Government of Kuwait aimed at the reinstatement of its legitimate authority over the country's resources and the liberation of all Kuwaiti territory.

There is a genuine struggle being waged by the people of Kuwait under occupation, despite their limited resources. This struggle is a living expression of Kuwaiti rejection, whether by citizens or residents, to the tyranny of the occupier, to its aggression and to its presence on the soil of Kuwait. This struggle has grown recently because it is at the same time resisting the inhumane practices of the occupation forces, to which we drew the Council's attention in detail and which were clearly the subject of concern to all international mass media. The Council is called upon to support this genuine struggle and intervene, calling upon the occupying authority to cease immediately these inhumane practices. Our grave concern over the situation in Kuwait leads us to call upon the Council to make it absolutely clear to Iraq that it must respect the Fourth Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilians in Time of War.

The resolution just unanimously adopted is, from our point of view in Kuwait, considered as a necessary reaction to the Iraqi claim, which is null and void, legally and in spirit, both as to procedure and result. We believe that this

(Mr. Abulhasan, Kuwait)

resolution's provisions are within the framework of Chapter VII of the Charter. We look forward to the Council's continued support in implementation of resolutions 660, 661 and 662 (1990), thus upholding Kuwaiti legitimacy, the principles of the Charter and international norms and instruments.

In these critical moments in the life of peoples and nations, and in particular that of Kuwait, its Prince, its Government and its people, I find myself unable to suppress my feelings and those of all members of the Kuwaiti delegation. We are greatly impressed by the support and understanding we perceive in you, Mr. President, in the Secretary-General, in members of the Security Council, and in all delegations of States Members of the United Nations. From the very beginning of our tragedy, we have been overwhelmed by their sympathy, concern and understanding of the true meaning of this aggression, an aggression that would not limit itself to Kuwait's boundary. Its tyranny, blackmailing and terrorism would spread to include all States in the region and threaten peace in the world.

On behalf of my delegation, I wish to tell you, Mr. President, the Secretary-General the members of the Council and everyone here that you are standing on the side of right and are recording in the annals of history testimony of your firm respect for principles and your rejection of the senseless use of power devoid of right - something which cannot prevail and cannot govern the life of peoples and the destiny of humanity.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Kuwait for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Oman, who wishes to speak on behalf of the States members of the Gulf Co-operation Council. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. AL-KHUSSAIBY (Oman): On behalf of the Permanent Representatives of the Gulf Co-operation Council member States, I wish to express our appreciation to you, Mr. President, and to the other members of the Security Council for your relentless efforts in trying to find a solution to end the Iraqi invasion, occupation and, today, annexation of Kuwait.

The Gulf Co-operation Council's member countries issued a strong statement concerning this act of aggression against Kuwait. Furthermore, the international community heard several statements condemning the Iraqi aggression, including statements issued by the League of Arab States and the Organization of the Islamic Conference.

(Mr. Al-Khussaiby, Oman)

In the light of such act of aggression, the Security Council, under your leadership, Mr. President, correctly adopted Security Council resolution 660 (1990), calling for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Iraqi forces to the positions before 1 August 1990, and for the need for the peaceful settlement of all their differences.

The Council was then faced with the situation which is threatening international peace and security. The Gulf Co-operation Council countries fully support the role of the United Nations and the Security Council to bring about a peaceful solution between these two brotherly countries and continue to express their recognition of the legitimate Government of Kuwait, under the leadership of His Highness Sheikh Jaber al-Ahmed al-Sabah, the Amir of Kuwait.

In their extraordinary ministerial council meeting on 7 August 1990, the Gulf Co-operation Council countries issued another communiqué to reaffirm their support of the legitimate Government of Kuwait, as circulated in the official document.

Once again, the Gulf Co-operation Council countries reiterate their call to Iraq to withdraw its forces immediately and unconditionally, in accordance with the resolutions adopted by the Security Council.

As a result of Iraq's non-compliance with Security Council resolution 660 (1990), the Security Council unanimously adopted resolution 661 (1990), which calls for relevant sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter.

Unfortunately, before seeing any positive results of all the collective efforts of the international community, we learned with dismay of the declaration issued by the High Revolutionary Council of Iraq, annexing Kuwait to Iraq. This represents an act of defiance against the wishes of the international community and is in total disregard of the Charter of the United Nations.

The Gulf Co-operation Council countries regret this action and do not recognize such annexation. They urge other countries not to recognize such

(Mr. Al-Khussaiby, Oman)

annexation of a sovereign State and a full-fledged Member of the United Nations that has enjoyed years of international recognition by all countries, including Iraq.

Here the international community was faced once again with another serious situation which justified the adoption of another Security Council resolution. It is to be hoped that the resolution adopted here this morning will send a clear message to the world that such a declaration of annexation of the legitimate and sovereign State of Kuwait is null and void and unacceptable.

In conclusion, I wish to take the opportunity to express my appreciation to you, Mr. President, the members of the Security Council, the Secretary-General, and the Members of the United Nations for their understanding, encouragement, tireless efforts and support.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Oman for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Iraq on whom I now call.

Mr. AL-ANBARI (Iraq) (interpretation from Arabic): Those who live in glass houses should not throw stones, especially at their neighbours' homes. Forty-five years ago, the United States of America dropped the atomic bomb on two Japanese cities, killing thousands of innocent people during the course of that operation.

Some weeks ago the Council met in Geneva, with the support of all its member States, to debate the protection of women and children in the occupied Arab territories resulting from Israel's actions. The American delegation, however, did not hesitate to exercise its veto to prevent the adoption of a resolution on the subject. It was not alone in this, because the delegations of other countries have also dealt with Security Council resolutions in the past without giving due consideration to the international legitimacy on which they make fine speeches.

(Mr. Al-Anbari, Iraq)

I refer to such matters but I nevertheless respect fully the Security Council and its members.

My Government officially stated that it would undertake the withdrawal from Kuwait of its forces on 5 August this year, and that withdrawal was begun. None the less, some international circles do not want this withdrawal to proceed peacefully. That is why they have brought serious pressure to bear on the international community diplomatically and by other means and issued threats against my country; and that has made it impossible for my country to complete the withdrawal in a serene climate.

The allegations that Iraq is acting against a brotherly Arab country are without foundation whatsoever. Iraq has denied those allegations at a very high level and repeated that it respects the territorial integrity of all neighbouring Arab States, including the brotherly country of Saudi Arabia. Nevertheless, military intervention in the region is, in fact, the factor for the instability there.

When the Security Council adopted resolution 661 (1990), we heard statements from some of its members that the imposition of economic sanctions should not be a pretext for unilateral military measures on the part of any State not involved in the matter. None the less, a member of the Security Council trampled upon that resolution and did undertake unilateral military measures, and that is the true factor for the instability in the region at the present time.

The Revolutionary Command Council in Iraq, which is the supreme authority of our country, adopted an important resolution, and I think that the best comment to be made on the resolution adopted by the Council today at this meeting is to quote some passages from that resolution. The Iraqi Revolutionary Command Council stated that the former colonizers had not left our region without first having undertaken certain tasks.

(Mr. Al-Anbari, Iraq)

"In the past, the Arab nation was one and indivisible. After independence was gained by the Arab States the many countries of the region were the result of foreign colonizers carving up the territory of the region. The colonizers re-drew the geopolitical map of the region in order to weaken the Arab States. That did indeed split the Arab nation and made it difficult for it to speak with a single voice. The colonizers succeeded in their undertaking: They transformed the Arab nation into 22 Arab countries, including the recently united Yemen.

"In that way a part of the region cherished by Iraq - Kuwait - was separated from Iraq. This was our country's area of strategic access. The colonizers did not hesitate to do in Iraq what they did in other countries of the region.

"That is why the Iraqi Revolutionary Command Council decided to restore to our country the portion taken away from it, thus re-establishing the eternal, indestructible unity of our country. This continues today to have value for us, as we in Iraq believe; we now have the territorial unity that has emerged from our decision."

My Government reaffirms that the unity of Iraq and Kuwait is indestructible.

(spoke English)

It is an eternal and irreversible unity.

MR. PICKERING (United States of America): I hesitate to make a statement, but just a minute ago we heard something so strange, so outrageous, so unusual that it requires comment. The statement from the representative of Iraq was built around the initial notion that somehow all of this was the fault of the United States, ignoring the fact that his own Government moved forces without provocation to swallow up a fellow Arab country - indeed, an Arab brother - on the one hand, and secondly that a nearby threatened country, Saudi Arabia, asked for assistance from the United States and other friends, which has now been provided under Article 51 of the Charter.

He then went on to describe the unilateral, forcible, indeed aggressive "reunification" of the Arab world under his President, somehow seeming to justify it, contrary to international law, the Charter and the position of the League of Arab States, the Gulf Co-operation Council and indeed everyone that I can think of sitting here or anywhere in the world who believes in right and in justice. The notion that Iraq can take unilateral action to accomplish some Arab objective which only its President perceives, of course, leads us to wonder where does it end? Does it end in Kuwait? Does it move on to Saudi Arabia? Does it move to Jordan? Or does it move beyond, to other countries? All this is aside from the fact that in this particular region, with respect to this particular problem, my Government has no historical connection except to promote and defend the freedom and independence of the countries in that area.

And one wonders how this new-found surge of aggressive interest in Arab reunification can possibly be squared with the action of his own Government, as we heard just a few minutes ago, in 1963 in recognizing the freedom, the independence, the sovereignty and the territorial integrity of the State of Kuwait, which we have just, of course, reaffirmed here in the Council.

The PRESIDENT: The representative of Kuwait has asked to speak, and I now call on him.

Mr. ABULHASAN (Kuwait) (interpretation from Arabic): I apologize for making another statement, but feel I must respond to the representative of Iraq.

I was being extremely honest. This was made plain by the fact that the representative of Iraq agreed with me in his reference to the colonial presence in the region and to the way in which the Arab world was partitioned. His statement confirms my statement that Iraq's expansionist objectives would not stop at Kuwait's boundaries. We know the Iraqi leadership's promises; we have come to see where those promises have led.

The Council has heard an attempt to justify the recent attempt to annex Kuwait. The representative of Iraq follows that justification with a promise that the aggression will not reach other countries. In the light of what we have seen of the credibility of Iraqi promises and the philosophy behind the invasion and annexation of Kuwait - as made clear a moment ago by the representative of Iraq - I leave it to the Council to draw the proper conclusions about the extent of Iraqi aggression in the region.

The representative of Iraq said that the Iraqi Revolutionary Command Council was his country's highest authority. I would point out that the Iraqi Revolutionary Command Council is not the highest authority in the world. The best answer to the Iraqi delegation's alleged eternal unity is the answer the Security Council has spoken through its unanimous adoption of resolution 662 (1990). The international authority of the Security Council supersedes that of the Iraqi delegation's Revolutionary Command Council.

The PRESIDENT: There are no further speakers. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.