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ENGLISH

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWO THOUSAND
NINE HUNDRED AND FORTIETH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Sunday, 16 September 1990, at 2.15 a.m.

President: Mr. VORONTSOV

(Union of Soviet)
Socialist Republics)

Members: Canada	Mr. FORTIER
China	Mr. JIN Yongjian
Colombia	Mr. PENALOSA
Côte d'Ivoire	Mr. ANET
Cuba	Mr. ALARCON de QUESADA
Ethiopia	Mr. TADESSE
Finland	Ms. RASI
France	Mr. BLANC
Malaysia	Mr. RAZALI
Romania	Mr. FLOREAN
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David HANNAY
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 2.15 a.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION BETWEEN IRAQ AND KUWAIT

LETTER DATED 15 SEPTEMBER 1990 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF FRANCE TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/21755)

LETTER DATED 15 SEPTEMBER 1990 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF ITALY TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/21756)

LETTER DATED 15 SEPTEMBER 1990 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF CANADA TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/21757)

LETTER DATED 15 SEPTEMBER 1990 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF DENMARK TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/21758)

LETTER DATED 15 SEPTEMBER 1990 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/21759)

LETTER DATED 15 SEPTEMBER 1990 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF BELGIUM TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/21760)

LETTER DATED 15 SEPTEMBER 1990 FROM THE CHARGE D'AFFAIRES A.I. OF THE PERMANENT MISSION OF FINLAND TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/21761)

LETTER DATED 15 SEPTEMBER 1990 FROM THE CHARGE D'AFFAIRES A.I. OF THE PERMANENT MISSION OF AUSTRIA TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/21762)

LETTER DATED 15 SEPTEMBER 1990 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF HUNGARY TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/21763)

LETTER DATED 15 SEPTEMBER 1990 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF SPAIN TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/21764)

LETTER DATED 15 SEPTEMBER 1990 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF THE NETHERLANDS TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/21765)

LETTER DATED 15 SEPTEMBER 1990 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF GREECE TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/21766)

LETTER DATED 15 SEPTEMBER 1990 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF IRELAND TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/21767)

LETTER DATED 15 SEPTEMBER 1990 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF SWEDEN TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/21768)

LETTER DATED 15 SEPTEMBER 1990 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF NORWAY TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/21769)

LETTER DATED 15 SEPTEMBER 1990 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF PORTUGAL TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/21770)

LETTER DATED 15 SEPTEMBER 1990 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF AUSTRALIA TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/21771)

LETTER DATED 15 SEPTEMBER 1990 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF LUXEMBOURG TO THE UNITED NATIONS (S/21773)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I should like to inform the Security Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Iraq, Italy and Kuwait in which they request 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 those representatives 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. Kadrat (Iraq) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Abulhasan (Kuwait) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Traxler (Italy) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council Chamber.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Council is meeting in response to the requests contained in letters dated 15 September 1990 addressed to the President of the Security Council from the Permanent Representative of France to the United Nations, document S/21755; the Permanent Representative of Italy to the United Nations, document S/21756; the

(The President)

Permanent Representative of Canada to the United Nations, document S/21757; the Permanent Representative of Denmark to the United Nations, document S/21758; the Permanent Representative of the Federal Republic of Germany, document S/21759; the Permanent Representative of Belgium to the United Nations, document S/21760; the Chargé d'affaires ad interim of the Permanent Mission of Finland to the United Nations, document S/21761; the Chargé d'affaires ad interim of the Permanent Mission of Austria to the United Nations, document S/21762; the Permanent Representative of Hungary to the United Nations, document S/21763; the Permanent Representative of Spain to the United Nations, document S/21764; the Permanent Representative of the Netherlands to the United Nations, document S/21765; the Permanent Representative of Greece to the United Nations, document S/21766; the Permanent Representative of Ireland to the United Nations, document S/21767; the Permanent Representative of Sweden to the United Nations, document S/21768; the Permanent Representative of Norway to the United Nations, document S/21769; the Permanent Representative of Portugal to the United Nations, document S/21770; the Permanent Representative of Australia to the United Nations, document S/21771; and the Permanent Representative of Luxembourg to the United Nations, document S/21773.

(The President)

Members of the Council also have before them document S/21774, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by Canada, Cote d'Ivoire, Finland, France, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and Zaire.

It is my understanding that the Security Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now. Since we have an understanding that members who so wish may make their statements before the vote, I shall now call upon those members that wish to do so.

Mr. BLANC (France) (interpretation from French): France called for the immediate convening of the Council in order without delay to consider events of special gravity that have just occurred in Kuwait. Indeed, in recent days Iraq has violated international law and the Vienna Conventions on diplomatic relations and consular relations by forcibly entering the diplomatic premises of several countries, some of them members of the Council, and removing from them diplomatic personnel and persons not enjoying diplomatic status.

In the residence of the French Ambassador, the Iraqi army apprehended four French nationals present there, namely the Military Attaché and three persons not enjoying diplomatic status. If our Military Attaché has since been released, the three other French nationals have joined the numerous foreigners held hostage in Iraq and Kuwait.

The French Government has at the national level already taken a number of steps. We believe that this is a new intolerable act of aggression on the part of Iraq, which, through certain members of the international community, is aimed at the international community as a whole. This compounds the initial aggression by Iraq against Kuwait and the second aggression constituted by the taking hostage of several thousand people of various nationalities. The purpose of these latest

(Mr. Blanc, France)

actions is clear. By attacking diplomatic and consular missions in Kuwait, Iraq is seeking the disappearance of that State.

As it did after the two previous instances of aggression, our Council must act vigorously and swiftly, by firmly condemning the inadmissible violations that have just been committed and by demanding that Iraq immediately release not only the persons just kidnapped but all foreign nationals that have been taken hostage.

We must ensure the success of the strategy chosen by the international community, namely the embargo. It is therefore necessary to recall that the embargo must be strictly respected and that its implementation to that end must be monitored with vigilance.

Finally we must send Iraq a clear warning that in view of its persistent refusal to comply with Security Council resolutions the international community is determined to adopt other measures.

France, which since the beginning of the crisis has acted within the framework of the United Nations, hopes that Iraq will finally comply with the will expressed by the international community through our Council's resolutions. To that end it is essential that the international community continue to stand firm against all new activities contrary to international law and to the resolutions of the Council perpetrated by Iraq. Accordingly we call upon the members of the Council to support the draft resolution before them.

Mr. FORTIER (Canada): Canada has joined with a number of other countries in requesting this immediate meeting of the Security Council. Our decision to do so was necessitated by the continuing flagrant violations of international law on the part of the Government of Iraq. The unlawful entry into the residence of the Canadian Ambassador in Kuwait yesterday and the detention of a Canadian diplomat, as well as a number of his diplomatic colleagues, is totally and unequivocally

(Mr. Fortier, Canada)

unacceptable and yet further evidence of Iraq's continuing disdain for the resolutions of this Council, in particular its resolution 664 (1990).

We are pleased that once again the international community as here represented in the Security Council, and with the active support of many Member States of the United Nations which appealed for urgent action, will speak with a decisive and determined voice. We have no doubt that that will be so. The draft resolution we will adopt shortly is clear and cannot be subjected to nuance of interpretation. In no uncertain terms we will condemn the aggressive acts perpetrated by Iraq against diplomatic premises and personnel in Kuwait, as well as the abduction of foreign nationals who were present on those premises. We will demand their immediate release as well as the release of all other detained nationals.

(spoke in French)

For the seventh time since 2 August 1990 our Council is meeting urgently to make it possible for the international community to express its indignation and condemnation of Iraq. Yet again we demand that Iraq comply immediately and unreservedly with its international obligations. We also demand that it protect and ensure the well-being of the diplomatic and consular personnel and premises in Kuwait, as it is its obligation to do under the international conventions to which it is a party.

(continued in English)

By this evening adopting the seventh draft resolution on the situation between Iraq and Kuwait since Iraq brutally invaded Kuwait at the beginning of August, this Council will lay out, once again, the standards of conduct to which Iraq must adhere if it wishes to resume its place as a full member of the international community. Canada sincerely hopes that Iraq will now do what it is called upon to do - indeed what it must do. Its failure to respond appropriately and without

(Mr. Fortier, Canada)

delay will only lead to further action on the part of this Council, which remains committed to living up to its responsibilities under the Charter of the United Nations.

Sir David HANNAY (United Kingdom): In resolution 662 (1990) the Council declared the purported annexation of Kuwait null and void. Iraq's subsequent campaign to force the closure of diplomatic missions in Kuwait is therefore both a breach of the Vienna Convention and a defiance of the resolutions of the Council.

The breaching of the inviolability of the French embassy and of its occupants is only the latest and most serious example of Iraq's total disregard for its international obligations. Diplomatic immunity is probably the oldest part of international customary law. It does not exist for the personal comfort of diplomats but to enable them to carry out their main tasks of protecting their nationals and helping to resolve international disputes by peaceful means. The whole international community has benefited over centuries by the adherence to this concept.

Iraq, by its treatment of foreign nationals, has shown that it has no interest in fulfilling its international obligations for their well-being and by its invasion of Kuwait has shown that it has no interest in the peaceful resolution of disputes. It is therefore not surprising, but it is utterly deplorable, that for weeks now Iraq has been trying to force foreign diplomats out of Kuwait by cutting off their water, their electricity and their telephones, and by surrounding their embassies with troops. Some diplomats have been forced to leave, but many have stayed to look after the interests of their nationals. My Government pays a tribute to the courage and determination of those in its own diplomatic service who have stayed on at their posts in these gruelling conditions, and it pays a tribute similarly to those of other nations who have done likewise.

Iraq has now taken a further step in breach of its international obligations. Iraqi troops have forced their way into a number of diplomatic premises in Kuwait City and abducted diplomats and other foreign citizens who were staying there. Some of have been released but others have not.

(Sir David Hannay, United Kingdom)

The draft resolution before the Council condemns this latest Iraqi action. Condemnation is necessary but it is only a first step. We are therefore determined to ensure that the consultations to which we are committed by paragraph 6 of the draft resolution before the Council, calling for further measures to deal with Iraq's continuing violation of its international obligations and the decisions of the Security Council, to be brought to a speedy conclusion and lead an intensification of the pressure to bring Iraq into conformity with the resolutions of the Council.

Mr. BAZALI (Malaysia): Malaysia will support the adoption of the draft resolution in the overall interest of demonstrating further the common purpose of the Security Council to have a collective response to all actions stemming from that single act of aggression committed on 2 August. The actions that violate the immunity and inviolability of certain diplomatic missions in Kuwait require an immediate and determined response. As these actions stem primarily from that original act of 2 August, these actions may be interpreted as aggressive acts.

The interpretation that these actions are taken not against diplomatic missions on the argument that their status has changed is clearly not acceptable. These missions that are determined to stay on in Kuwait, at some risk and sacrifice, make a strong international statement that the sovereignty of Kuwait remains inviolable, recognized and intact.

Malaysia interprets the significance of operative paragraph 6 as a collective determination to continue to take action through the Security Council of the United Nations and not unilaterally. We also see the purpose of paragraph 6 as one that underlines a strong resolve, but at this stage this resolve is clearly absent of any need to resort to more force.

Ms. RASI (Finland): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the five Nordic countries, Denmark, Iceland, Norway, Sweden and my own country, Finland.

During the Gulf crisis Iraq has already breached several long-established and uncontroversial rules of international law and State conduct. For several weeks now concern has mounted regarding the fate of foreign diplomats in Kuwait. Now Iraq has stepped up its action in complete disregard of its obligations and of customary international law and the Vienna Conventions on Diplomatic and Consular Relations, to which Iraq is a party.

The sequence of events started from Iraq's illegal declaration to annex Kuwait, followed by its demand to close foreign embassies and consular offices in Kuwait and its order to foreign diplomatic and consular officials to move to Baghdad. Thereafter, increasing pressure was mounted on the many embassies and consular offices, which continued to remain open. Supplies of running water were cut, electricity was cut, military forces were used to prevent the free movement of protected persons and to maintain a continuing threat of force.

The use of force against protected persons is Iraq's most recent action. The violation of diplomatic and consular immunities perpetrated by Iraq's armed forces is not only in blatant conflict with Iraq's international obligations, but its scope and deliberateness are also unprecedented in recent history. The protection of diplomats and consular personnel, as well as the inviolability of their premises, is one of the oldest and clearest rules of international law. These rules also enjoy primary importance in Islamic law and practice. By breaking them, Iraq has chosen to remain oblivious to world opinion, as well as the traditions of the culture which it claims to represent.

(Ms. Rasi, Finland)

The Nordic countries condemn Iraq's recent action as illegal and unjustifiable. The Nordic countries are, however, fully conscious that the crisis continues to have many other aspects. The annexation of Kuwait has not been brought to an end. The fate of thousands of foreigners remains imperilled. The threat of war is a reality. Iraq's most recent actions are only a part of the tragedy as a whole, but their importance lies in showing how far Iraq is prepared to go to breach the most fundamental rules of international conduct.

Let me recall that the embargo was chosen by the Security Council as a political means to deal with the crisis in order to achieve a peaceful solution to the dangerous situation. Full compliance with resolution 661 (1990) is therefore essential to attain this goal.

Mr. LUKABU KHABOUJI N'ZAJI (Zaire) (interpretation from French): As

recently as last Thursday my delegation indicated to the Council that in the Gulf crisis Iraq had shown absolute contempt for the Security Council and its decisions and, thus, for the international community as a whole.

By violating the diplomatic missions and attacking persons enjoying diplomatic immunity, Iraq is disregarding the commitments it freely undertook when it ratified the Vienna Conventions on Diplomatic and Consular Relations of 15 October 1963 and 15 January 1970. Iraq has thus placed itself outside the system of law and has moved into that of force, with all that that entails.

With regard to the two aforementioned Conventions, Zaire believes that these legal instruments constitute a guarantee of order and respect in relations between States. My country reaffirms here its belief in respect for principles of law, and it cannot, under any circumstances, accept their violation. For that reason, my country, Zaire, is a sponsor of the draft resolution to be voted upon, and we will vote in favour of it. That is Zaire's collective response to all measures of intimidation and provocation by Iraq towards the international community.

Mr. JIN Yongjian (China) (interpretation from Chinese): The Chinese

delegation was shocked at the unlawful intrusion into the premises of some countries' embassies in Kuwait and that their diplomats and other personnel were detained and grossly treated. This action of Iraq is a serious violation of international law, the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations and the Vienna Convention on Consular Relations, as well as of resolutions 662 (1990) and 664 (1990) of the Security Council. This has further complicated and exacerbated the already seriously Gulf situation. We strongly call upon the Iraqi Government immediately to stop and to avoid taking any more actions of this kind, to implement in real earnest its international obligations and to ensure the safety of

(Mr. Jin Yongjian, China)

diplomatic missions and their personnel in Kuwait so that the diplomatic missions can perform their normal functions. It is on the basis of that position that we will vote in favour of the draft resolution.

In recent days the foreign nationals in Iraq and Kuwait, including Asian nationals in their hundreds of thousands, have been stranded. Their plight has caused great concern in the international community. The Security Council adopted resolution 666 (1990) on the question of supplies of foodstuffs to be sent to Iraq and Kuwait in humanitarian circumstances, and the Committee established under resolution 661 (1990) has issued a statement in that regard. We are of the view that those foreign nationals are innocent and should not be hurt by the sanctions. In accordance with international law Iraq has the responsibility to ensure their rights and interests. China supports the proper measures taken by the countries concerned in protecting their nationals. We hope that the Iraqi Government will implement the relevant resolutions of the Security Council, co-operate fully with countries and international organizations concerned and alleviate the sufferings of those foreign nationals so as to facilitate an appropriate solution of this problem.

The Security Council has already adopted a number of resolutions. A certain period of time is needed so that the resolutions may yield fruitful results in the endeavour to seek a political settlement of the present Gulf crisis. China has consistently held that the Gulf crisis should be given a political solution through peaceful means. We believe that this is an effective way for restoring peace in the Gulf at an early date. The draft resolution contains a formulation "to take further concrete measures", whose implications we find too wide and which may not be conducive to the efforts of all parties in seeking a political settlement. Therefore, we express our reservation in this regard.

Mr. ANET (Côte d'Ivoire) (interpretation from French): In adopting the draft resolution before it the Council will be adopting its seventh resolution condemning Iraq. This proves that the international community does not intend to stop its efforts to bring Iraq to dialogue.

Sacha Guitry said that

"When a couple seems to be somehow getting along it means that everything is all right."

So long as the Council continues to condemn Iraq and appeal for its understanding and so long as it continues to urge that the Secretary-General play a role, it means that we are still at peace - peace is the very *raison d'être* of the United Nations.

Since 2 August, Iraq has constantly violated international law, and in this specific instance in violating the Vienna Convention it ratified, it is once again demonstrating its contempt for its international obligations.

For our part, it is the duty of the Security Council to act firmly and to condemn Iraq once again. In this connection it is worth recalling that by adopting resolution 662 (1990) the Council unanimously rejected Iraq's annexation of Kuwait. My country is of the view that all the problems raised by that annexation should be resolved within the framework of the United Nations and, in particular, the Security Council. Iraq must ensure the protection of all diplomatic and consular personnel in Iraq as well as in occupied Kuwait.

For those reasons my delegation is a sponsor of the draft resolution, which once again reaffirms the obligations by which Iraq is bound in keeping with the provisions of international law governing relations among States. The draft resolution affords Iraq a further opportunity to reverse its annexation of Kuwait. Certain Arab Heads of State have advised this course. My delegation fears that

(Mr. Anet, Côte d'Ivoire)

Iraq's persistent refusal to comply with Security Council resolutions represents a serious escalation which can only lead to a breach of peace.

Mr. PICKERING (United States of America): Once again, Iraq has violated a fundamental rule of international law. Not satisfied with violations such as depriving diplomatic missions in Kuwait of food, water and other services, Iraqi Special Forces troops have now added to their crimes, breaking and entering diplomatic premises, kidnapping the French military attaché and three French citizens, ransacking the house and treating brutally two female Philippino-citizen workers.

The felonies of the Iraqi authorities are not random events, as their violation of Belgian, Canadian and Dutch diplomatic premises confirms, and including as well the detention of an American consular officer accredited in Baghdad. These diplomats are there, in part at least, to protect the now-incarcerated, harassed and starved citizens of their own States. By singling out diplomatic missions for attack, Iraq has in a special way confirmed its preference for the instruments of force over the paths of diplomacy and negotiation. This choice of Iraq threatens the ability of the Security Council and its members to resolve through diplomatic means the conflict launched by Iraq since its invasion of Kuwait.

(Mr. Pickering, United States)

Tonight this Council has had to respond quickly to this new violation. But this resolution does not discharge the members of the Council of their obligations to take concrete steps. At the earliest possible date, tomorrow if possible, we must take concrete measures under Chapter VII of the Charter to deal with Iraq's continuing violation of the Charter, the resolutions of the Council and international law. My delegation welcomes the decision of the Council to take those steps and the commitment of Council members to do so quickly. All States have an explicit duty, as stated in resolution 661 (1990) and reconfirmed in paragraph 5 of this draft resolution, to report any failure to comply with the resolutions the Council has adopted as a result of Iraq's violations.

As proven by Iraq's expulsion of Kuwaiti citizens from the State of Kuwait in flagrant violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention, Iraqi crimes of violence are continuing. Members of the Council have a special duty to keep the spotlight of world attention on Iraq's behaviour and to take concrete measures to restore international peace and security. The United States delegation will do its part.

Mr. FLOREAN (Romania): Romania supported the adoption of resolutions 660, 661, 662, 664, 665 and 666 (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 draft resolution we are going to adopt this morning.

We fully share the preoccupations expressed here by other delegations concerning the negative consequences of the violation by Iraq of the diplomatic privileges and immunities of diplomatic and consular missions in Kuwait. The acts committed against some embassies in Kuwait are in flagrant violation of the basic principles and rules of diplomatic law and of international law in general.

(Mr. Florean, Romania)

As a country deeply affected by events in the Gulf region, Romania expressed immediately after the emergence of this problem its point of view on the acts perpetrated by Iraqi authorities against diplomatic and consular missions in Kuwait. The Romanian Government made an appeal on that occasion for respect for the universally accepted principles of international law and in particular of diplomatic law. The Minister of Foreign Affairs of Romania stated at that time that he did not intend to close the Romanian Embassy in Kuwait. We have clearly made known our position concerning the illegal decision by Iraqi authorities to close the foreign embassies in Kuwait. While keeping our embassy in Kuwait functioning, we have brought attention to our strong position against the measures undertaken by the Iraqi authorities against diplomatic and consular missions in Kuwait. Given the aggravated circumstances and conditions imposed by the Iraqi military occupation authorities in Kuwait, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Romania has decided for humanitarian reasons to repatriate the staff of the Romanian embassy in Kuwait. This decision does not in any way affect the continuity of diplomatic relations between Romania and Kuwait. The activities of the Romanian embassy in Kuwait will be resumed immediately when adequate conditions exist for the work and life of the diplomatic personnel.

We also have to stress Iraq's full responsibility for the consequences deriving from the measures undertaken against the diplomatic and consular missions. From a more general point of view, my delegation would like to recall that Romania stands for the withdrawal without delay of Iraqi military forces beyond the internationally recognized boundary 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 that all States display

(Mr. Florean, Romania)

moderation and responsibility and undertake nothing that may further aggravate the situation. Any new escalation of force would make settlement of the situation, which is already particularly serious, even more difficult.

What continues to be necessary is to resort to political action and to keep dialogue always open.

Finally, my delegation would like to reiterate its position as officially presented to the Council in its memorandum of 27 August 1990. In spite of the difficulties with which my country is confronted as a result of the implementation of sanctions against Iraq, Romania will strictly observe and fully apply the provisions of resolution 661 (1990), as well as of the resolution we are going to adopt this morning.

Mr. PEÑALOSA (Colombia) (interpretation from Spanish): My Government wishes to express its deep concern over the new events that are being considered this morning by the Council. In every respect this is not a fortuitous event but one that is deliberate and is conducive to increased escalation in the Gulf region. Despite the fact that in resolution 664 (1990) the Security Council reaffirms that annexation of Kuwait by Iraq is null and void and demands that the Government of Iraq rescind its orders for the closure of diplomatic and consular missions in Kuwait and the withdrawal of the immunity of their personnel, and refrain from any such actions in the future, the Iraqi Government has not acted accordingly. On the contrary, it has aggravated the situation.

Colombia joins in the protest and condemnation by the international community, which include an unequivocal message to the Iraqi authorities that they desist from their acts of harassment and comply unconditionally with the demands of the Security Council. My delegation believes that it is up to Iraq as the invading State to guarantee the security of each and every diplomatic or consular mission,

(Mr. Peñalosa, Colombia)

as well as their personnel, in conformity with international norms and custom safeguarding the exercise of the noble and historic profession of diplomacy. We would have preferred not to see included the reference contained in operative paragraph 5 of the draft resolution, because the Charter clearly sets forth the obligation of all States Members of the Organization to accept and comply with decisions taken by the Security Council, as well as their duty to fulfil their obligations in good faith, convinced that in this way we are being consistent with the universally recognized principle that was in fact introduced into the Charter on Colombia's initiative. None the less, faced with the facts before us today and the continued and flagrant violations of human rights of the Kuwaiti population in open violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention, we believe that presentation of these standards in operative paragraph 5 reaffirms the international community's commitment to find a speedy solution of this crisis.

(Mr. Peñalosa, Colombia)

Moreover, we are convinced that the Security Council is fully empowered to adopt new measures in the context of its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. Hence, paragraph 6 of the draft resolution is somewhat redundant; but this places no obstacle in the path of my Government's support of the text proposed by the delegation of France and sponsored by a number of members of the Council, and we shall vote in favour of the draft resolution.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The crisis caused by Iraq's occupation and subsequent annexation of the State of Kuwait remains the focus of attention in the Security Council. Despite its stubborn persistence, that crisis must be resolved by political and diplomatic means. The international community insists that Iraq fulfil its obligations under the United Nations Charter, under the relevant resolutions of the Security Council, which as a Member of the Organization it must implement, and under other international legal documents of which Iraq is a signatory.

At the same time, reports from the region continue to fill us with grave concern and fear. The latest actions of the Iraqi authorities towards personnel of the Embassies of France and several other States in Kuwait show that Iraq continues to ignore the will of the international community and refuses to cease its illegal actions against diplomatic and consular premises in Kuwait. Those actions constitute a flagrant violation of the fundamental principles and norms governing relations among civilized States and of specific provisions of Security Council resolution 664 (1990) by which Iraq is obliged not to obstruct the activities of diplomatic and consular missions in Kuwait.

(The President)

All of us around this table are diplomats, and we understand that the dignity and interests of States require full respect for their diplomatic representatives. Any infringement on diplomatic missions and their personnel - even more, any deprivation of their immunities and their ability to carry out their duties and obligations - has been considered since the earliest days of civilization an encroachment on the honour and sovereign rights of the States those diplomats represent.

We therefore support such provisions of the draft resolution and share the legitimate indignation they express at the latest actions by Iraq. We shall vote in favour of the draft resolution.

We have the right to expect that the Government of Iraq will finally heed the demands of the Security Council, principal among them the immediate complete withdrawal of all Iraqi forces from the State of Kuwait so that the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of that State may be restored. Iraq must understand that with the adoption of the draft resolution before it the Security Council will be sending Iraq a strict warning that its failure to abide by the Charter will lead the Council to adopt further measures aimed at securing the unconditional implementation of its decisions and reflecting the will of the international community, which is declaring with determination that aggression cannot and will not bear fruit.

Like other countries, the Soviet Union hopes that common sense and responsibility will prevail in Iraq and that in that way the crisis will be resolved.

I now resume my functions as President of the Security Council.

I shall now put draft resolution S/21774 to the vote.

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 (interpretation from Russian): There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has thus been adopted unanimously as resolution 667 (1990).

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

Mr. ALARCON DE QUESADA (Cuba) (interpretation from Spanish): At the outset, my delegation wishes to express its appreciation to the delegation of France for the position it took in the negotiations that led to the resolution we have just adopted and for its willingness to seek compromise formulations that made it possible for all members of the Council to support the text.

I must, however, say that, unfortunately, the resolution we have just adopted contains some elements on which I must comment. Above all, the text reaffirms some resolutions with respect to which our position is not changed by the vote we have just cast; that vote should not be interpreted as reflecting a change in our position. In our view, resolution 665 (1990) violates the United Nations Charter; resolution 666 (1990), adopted only two days ago, contains approaches and criteria which in our judgement are marred by inhumanity.

My delegation would have preferred different wording in some paragraphs of the text we have just adopted, where reference is made to aggressive acts, which seem to us to be somewhat excessive since such expressions were not used even in resolution 660 (1990), which referred to the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. We are also concerned about paragraph 6, since it might be inferred that some Powers could use its provisions to exacerbate the conflict and press on to military action.

(Mr. Alarcon de Quesada, Cuba)

We regret that no reference is made in this text to the need to continue the efforts to find a peaceful solution to the conflict. We regret also that no space was found to mention the responsibility and function in connection with diplomatic missions in Kuwait that can and should devolve upon the Secretary-General.

My delegation decided nevertheless to vote in favour of this resolution because we agree with the major elements of its operative part. We regard as absolutely unacceptable the actions in violation of the integrity of diplomatic premises and personnel in Kuwait.

For Cuba, respect for and full implementation of Security Council resolutions 662 (1990) and 664 (1990) remain an imperative necessity.

Our vote should also be understood as an expression of friendship and respect for France, Canada and the other States whose diplomatic personnel and missions have been and are the object of actions and incidents that Cuba can only reject.

Mr. TADESSE (Ethiopia): The Security Council has been convened once again to consider one of the most serious implications of Iraq's occupation of Kuwait - namely, the violation of the premises of some foreign missions in occupied Kuwait City.

The actions taken by Iraq, in violation of the basic norms governing diplomatic and consular missions, not only reveal Iraq's defiance of the relevant resolutions of the Security Council but also constitute yet another attempt by Iraq to consolidate its annexation of Kuwait. Taking place as they do at a moment when the international community continues to express its grave concern over the plight of the civilian population in Kuwait and the safety of third-country nationals, these actions are bound to aggravate an already tense situation.

As these illegal actions continue to challenge and test the will of the Security Council - indeed, that of the international community - it is only

(Mr. Tadesse, Ethiopia)

appropriate that the Council has acted on this crucial issue in the most expeditious manner.

We view the adoption of resolution 667 (1990) as an initial step to confront the flagrant violations committed by Iraq against diplomatic missions in occupied Kuwait. As these incidents we have considered are not isolated cases, the resolution we have just adopted provides only our initial reaction to the serious situation. It is our conviction that the Council will further consult on the matter, with a view to taking the necessary measures to compel Iraq to comply with all the relevant resolutions of the Security Council, and to ensure Iraq's strict adherence to the rules of international law.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): The Council will now hear other statements.

I invite the representative of Italy to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. TRAXLER (Italy): As the Council is aware, Italy and other countries members of the European Community also requested this immediate meeting of the Security Council, in support of the request submitted by France. In so doing, Italy and other members of the European Community are acting in pursuance of numerous decisions taken by their Ministers, one of which, in particular, stated that

"Any attempt to harm or jeopardize the safety of any European Community citizen will be considered as a most grave offence directed against the Community and all its member States and will provoke a united response from the entire Community."

It follows that the offence against the French Embassy is regarded as an offence against all members of the Community.

(Mr. Traxler, Italy)

The Twelve are fully aware of the suffering that Mr. Saddam Hussein's policy of invasion and annihilation of an independent, sovereign State is imposing on hundreds of thousands of human beings. Indeed, it is well known that the Community and its member States responded immediately to the plight of these human beings and are to this day the most generous providers of assistance to the people rendered homeless by the reckless policy of Mr. Saddam Hussein.

But, at the same time, the members of the European Community cannot ignore the violations of the basic rules of civilized relationships perpetrated by Iraq. In the first place, Iraq violated the fundamental rights of foreign residents both in its country and in Kuwait. Then the Iraqi authorities grievously interfered in the actions, life and very existence of foreign embassies in Kuwait. And, finally, they physically attacked these embassies, whose reasons for being include the protection of their own nationals. This particular offence must, in our view, elicit an immediate response, because it affects the very bases of intercourse between nations.

Quite recently President Saddam Hussein tried to single out Iraq as the cradle of civilization, going back to Hammurabi, the great legislator. We do not claim to go back so far. We would like him to respect some more recent conventions, some more-recent rules of behaviour, including the Vienna Conventions, because these are really at the root of the existence of this very Organization, the existence of this building. Our ability to address you, Mr. President, to listen to other States, to respect everybody's point of view rests on respect by all the members of the international community for certain rules of behaviour.

That is why, in Italy's view, Iraq's action against the embassies in Kuwait must elicit a response not just from the individual countries against which the

(Mr. Traxler, Italy)

offence has been committed, but from the whole international community as represented in the Security Council - for Iraq's action constitutes an offence against the whole international community.

For those reasons, Italy fully supports the measures contained in resolution 667 (1990), just adopted. In particular, we sincerely support paragraph 5, calling upon Iraq to respect the Council's previous resolutions. Should this not happen, we are prepared to support further actions which the Council may take under paragraph 6 of the resolution.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I now call on the representative of Kuwait.

MR. ABULHASAN (Kuwait) (interpretation from Arabic): Once again we are meeting at a late hour to discuss a thoroughly extraordinary situation resulting from the continued Iraqi aggression against and occupation of Kuwait. It is an occupation against which the international community has adopted a unified position, completely isolating Iraq from the civilized world.

The events we are considering today are the continuation of a series of illegal acts committed by the occupation forces of the Iraqi aggressor. Not only have the Iraqi forces of aggression violated the sanctity of the homes of diplomatic personnel; Iraq has also violated the sanctity of a country and its sovereignty. Iraq has violated international instruments, the Vienna Conventions on diplomatic relations and consular relations.

The Council of Ministers of the State of Kuwait, at a meeting yesterday, stated that it had

"examined with concern and indignation the barbaric acts committed by the brutal forces of the Iraqi aggressor against foreign diplomatic personnel in Kuwait, which constitutes a flagrant violation of the Vienna Conventions on diplomatic relations and diplomatic communities. The Minister has also condemned the violation of embassies in Kuwait.

"The Minister of Foreign Affairs of Kuwait and the Foreign Affairs Council, while denouncing Iraq's deeds, call upon the international community firmly to oppose Iraq's actions and to put an end to them. We refer to the barbaric deeds of Iraq which seek to undermine international order and the norms of international law."

The act of aggression against the embassies in Kuwait is merely the continuation of Iraq's aggression against the Kuwaiti Embassy in Baghdad and the

(Mr. Abulhasan, Kuwait)

detention of the Ambassador and the Kuwaiti personnel of that Embassy, who were thrown into prison and remain there.

Iraq's act of aggression is only the continuation of a series of barbaric and inhuman crimes perpetrated by the Iraqi occupation forces on a day-to-day basis in Kuwait, against the Kuwaiti people and residents of Kuwait.

These actions deserve the Council's most vigorous condemnation. These actions deserve the adoption of further measures to oppose the Iraqi invader.

These actions are the result of the continued occupation of Kuwait. That is why the Security Council is called upon to consider, especially, the need to put an end to the occupation of Kuwait. The Security Council is called upon to tighten the vice by every possible means and procedure without discrimination to compel Iraq to comply with the Council's resolutions, withdraw its troops from Kuwaiti territory entirely and enable the legitimate Government of Kuwait to resume its rightful place and continue in the generous tradition of the Kuwaiti State.

Allow me once again to express Kuwait's appreciation to all States that have faced up to the difficulties imposed by Iraq, those countries that have thus far kept their Embassies open in Kuwait. We should like also to express our appreciation to the Security Council, which continues to keep under consideration the situation between Iraq and Kuwait and Iraq's occupation of Kuwait with a sense of responsibility, firmness and persistence in pursuing the need to apply the provisions of the Charter.

In so doing, the Council stands as a bulwark in defence of peace and security. I thank the Council and convey my deep admiration.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I call on the representative of Iraq.

Mr. KADRAT (Iraq) (interpretation from Arabic): With a swiftness that is hardly its custom, the Security Council has been adopting resolution after resolution and imposing sanctions against Iraq and its people, depriving them of a normal life, medicines and foodstuffs, in contradiction of the most elementary and basic humanitarian principles. It would have done better to act with the same swiftness to implement its resolutions concerning Israel and the occupied territories, which have been completely ignored by the Israeli occupation forces in recent years without the Council's even moving its little finger.

(Mr. Kadrat, Iraq)

The news of the claimed intrusion into the residence of the French Ambassador is completely false and unfounded. The actual instructions given to the local authorities in the province of Kuwait are very clear. These instructions stipulate that these residences should not be entered, although they no longer have diplomatic immunity. What happened is that a French national who had been working as a counsellor in the French Embassy - an ex-counsellor of the French Ambassador - was in the house of one of the members of the Royal Family. After having been identified, he was taken to the residence of the French Ambassador. Nothing was done to him.

It is very clear that the measures announced by the French Government today are unjustifiable. If one looks at the French political scene, one will understand that the French Government was looking for a pretext to escalate the situation and to justify its colonialist-expansionist policy, which depends upon a tie-in with United States policy. Thus France has tried to create unfounded tension.

Iraq, which has had long and friendly relations with France, did nothing against France, the French Government, the French people or French nationals resident in Iraq. Moreover, French nationals - the elderly and those who are ill - have received Iraq's permission to depart as of 17 September. France is fully responsible for the escalation of the situation, with all its ramifications and consequences.

As everyone knows, Iraq's position is clear: our country respects the Vienna Conventions on Diplomatic and Consular Relations. Even in Kuwait City, Iraq has taken into account the humanitarian considerations involved, to the extent that this does not contradict security requirements. That is why it is clear that the resolution the Council has just adopted is one which will in no way promote a peaceful solution.

Mr. BLANC (France) (interpretation from French): I wish to speak in exercise of the right of reply. I shall be brief.

The facts speak for themselves. The truth cannot be camouflaged. The Council has given its answer: it has, quite rightly, just unanimously condemned the new act of aggression committed by Iraq.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): We have heard the last speaker for this meeting.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda. It will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 3.35 a.m.

