### THE GULF CRISIS: BRIEFING NOTES

#### CURRENT ISSUES: BULL POINTS

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

Annex: United Nations Security Council Resolutions

(Revision)

2 November 1990

- If peaceful pressures do not work, the international community will have to take further measures to remove Iraq from Kuwait.
- "We are clear about the legal justification [for military option]. The amount of pillage, suffering and killing going on in Kuwait is really a very substantial justification.

"But no decision has been taken by the US or anybody else because everybody is very anxious to let the peaceful pressures do their work if they are going to." (Foreign Secretary's interview with Daily Telegraph I November).

- Iraq condemned by international community: some countries originally sympathetic to Iraq now committed to sanctions.
- Iraqi efforts to split coalition against it unsuccessful. President Gorbachev, during visit to Paris (28/29 October), while calling for new diplomatic efforts to find peaceful solution to crisis said "We cannot allow and should never give grounds for Iraq, the regime of Saddam Hussein, to be able to think or hope that there will ever be any disharmony or weakening of decisions". Both he and President Mitterand emphasised commitment to ending of crisis according to terms of UNSCRs.
- Armoury of international pressures in place: they are formidable, and will grow to become even more comprehensive.
- Western forces in the Gulf at the request of Gulf states as part of international force made up of contingents from some 30 countries. They will leave when asked to do so.
- Iraq flouts international law by not allowing all foreign nationals to leave Iraq and occupied Kuwait. Where hostages have been released, this has clearly been a great relief for their families. But there should be no hostages. SCR 674 again expressed demand of international community that Iraq should cease this practice.

ADM 70/AAI THE GULF CRISIS: BRIEFING NOTES POINTS FOR USE WITH ARABS AND OTHER MUSLIMS ILLEGALITY OF IRAQI INVASION OF KUWAIT - Cause of crisis Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. - Security Council Resolutions (SCRs 660 and 662) condemned Iraqi invasion and state that its annexation of Kuwait is null and void. - Ridiculous for Iraq to claim Kuwait always part of Iraq: up to invasion Iraq government dealt with Kuwait as a separate sovereign state - "I remind the Iraqis once again that at all levels of authority, military or civilian, they are personally responsible under the Geneva Convention for illegal acts committed as occupiers of Kuwait" (Foreign Secretary speaking in House of Commons, 24 October). - SCR 674 (adopted 13-0, Cuba and Yemen abstaining, 29 October) reaffirms international condemnation of Iraqi actions and reminds Iraq that it is liable under international law for loss, damage and injury arising from illegal occupation of Kuwait. SADDAM HUSSEIN: A LOSER - AND ISOLATED - Iraq has been at peace in only two of Saddam Hussein's eleven years as President. He has gained nothing and weakened Iraq. - Saddam Hussein invaded Iran in 1980. A major miscalculation. Eight years of war resulted in the deaths of 100,000 Iraqi and 250,000 Iranian soldiers, and foreign debts for Iraq of \$80,000 mn. - In August 1990 Saddam Hussein threw away all Iraq's gains from the war with Iran, dropping his claims against Iran and reverting to the 1975 agreement on the Shatt al Arab. IRAQ ISOLATED IN FACE OF INTERNATIONAL CONSENSUS ON FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF SCRs (660, 661, 662, 664, 665, 666, 667, 670, 674) - Saudi Arabia, the other members of the Gulf Cooperation Council (Kuwait, Qatar, UAE, Oman, Bahrain), Egypt, Syria and other members of the Arab League (Morocco, Somalia, Djibouti, Lebanon) have called for Iraqi withdrawal and UN sanctions. - Meeting GCC Foreign Ministers in Riyadh, 28/29 October, reiterated condemnation of Iraq's occupation of Kuwait as breach of international and Islamic law, and expressed full support for UNSCRs.

- 2 -- Only possible solution for Arabs and everyone else is that endorsed by Security Council. Anything short of SCR requirements will reinforce Saddam Hussein's disregard for the sovereignty and independence of his neighbours. - Arab League and Islamic Conference Organisation have also condemned invasion. - Many Arab and Muslim countries showing great steadfastness in implementing sanctions. Over 100 members of UN have informed UN they are taking steps to implement sanctions. - Statement by Heads of State and government of six Asian Muslim States (Bangladesh, Brunei Darussalam, Indonesia, Malaysia, Maldives and Pakistan) issued on 16 October in Dhaka, called upon President Saddam Hussein to withdraw Iraqi troops from Kuwait in compliance with relevant SCRs. - EC meeting in Rome, 27/28 October, denounced Iraq's unscrupulous use of hostages, agreed to discourage any further national or private missions to Baghdad, and said efforts to divide Community would be in vain. - 84th Conference of Interparliamentary Union (in Uruguay) endorsed universal condemnation of Iraqi action and supported UNSC Resolutions. - ICAO (International Civil Aviation Organisation) has condemned Iraq's looting of Kuwait International Airport since the invasion, and has demanded return of foreign aircraft seized in Kuwait. Resolution endorsed by IATA (International Air Transport Association) at Annual General meeting in Geneva on 29 October. IATA also called for release of passengers and crew of foreign aircraft. EFFECT OF SANCTIONS ON IRAQ - Iraqi economy vulnerable - based almost totally on export of oil. Iraq heavily dependent on imports: Iraq potentially rich in resources but financial reserves badly depleted by war on Iran (in debt by Dollars 100 billion). - Sanctions will work if full support of international community is maintained and objectives of SCR resolutions steadfastly held. - Acceptance of Iraqi offer of oil at \$21 per barrel would infringe SCR 661. FOOD AND MEDICAL SUPPLIES - SCR 661 makes an exception to the embargo for "supplies intended strictly for medical purposes and, in humanitarian circumstances, foodstuffs". Iraqi statements speak of women and children suffering for want of supplies. But contradicted

- 3 -- Reports from Iraq which indicate that while some individual scarcities (eg increased prices for cooking oil, queues at bakeries) Iraq at present has plenty of food in stock. Markets being stocked from pillaged Kuwait. - Iraqi Government saying priority will go to armed forces and that foreigners may have to find their own food. This falls particularly hard on Arab and Asian workers in Iraq. Many have left, but 5,000 Asian workers have been prevented from leaving Kuwait, so that essential services in the city are maintained in operation. - Obligations of SCR 664 and international humanitarian law give Iraq full responsibility for welfare and safety of third country nationals in Iraq and Kuwait: Iraq should observe this responsibility. SCR 674 underlines Iraqi obligations to third country nationals as well as to Kuwaitis. - Iraq has rejected offers from both the UN and the International Committee of the Red Cross (neutral independent body in a position to ensure relief supplies go where they are needed) to provide humanitarian assistance in Kuwait and to investigate whether residents in Iraq or Kuwait are suffering from food shortages. WESTERN FORCES IN THE GULF - International force in response to request from Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and other Gulf States. - Purpose of deployments assisting Gulf States entirely defensive. - Only reason force is there is Iraqi aggression against Kuwait. - SCR 665 enables forces with Security Council authority to use measures "commensurate to specific circumstances to enforce trade embargo." - Over 25 nations involved including Arab contingents from all GCC states, Egypt, Morocco, Syria. Also Senegal, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Argentina, Poland and Czechoslovakia. - No wish to keep international force in area longer than necessary to do its job of getting Iraq out of Kuwait. Expensive: Western public opinion will want it to return as soon as job done. - Holy places are Mecca and Medina. International force far from them - over 1,000 kms. PALESTINIAN DIMENSION - Iraq the main obstacle to progress. - "Saddam Hussein has set back by his act the cause of peace between Israelis and Arabs, but we cannot afford to abandon it"

(Foreign Secretary to Diplomatic and Commonwealth Writers' Association, London, 4 October). - UN SCR 672 demonstrated international condemnation of excessive force by Israeli police, and authorised Secretary General to send mission to Israel to investigate incident and developments in occupied territories. - Reinforced by SCR 673 (adopted unanimously), deploring Israeli government's decision not to accept the Secretary General's mission and asking them to reconsider. Resolution repeats request for report. - "I hope the government of Israel may yet agree to accept the UN Secretary General's mission to investigate those killings. To do otherwise will risk diverting the Security Council from its main task - getting Iraq out of Kuwait - and will give Saddam Hussein a cause which he will exploit ruthlessly" (Foreign Secretary's statement in House of Commons, 24 October). - Should remember Iraq an unreliable supporter of Arab causes. - Iraq has done little since 1948 to help the Palestinians. Iraq has not honoured its obligations to contribute to PLO under Baghdad Arab Summit of November 1978. - Only after Western criticism of Iraq's development of chemical weapons that Saddam assumed the mantle of defender of the Arab world against the Israelis. - Loss of Kuwaiti funds following invasion deeply felt in occupied territories. - Only solution in sight to Palestinian problem remains international conference based on SCR 242. PLO's acceptance of SCR 242 in 1988 a major step forward. - Palestinians aspire to an independent state. The whole purpose of international action against Iraq is to assure the independence of small states close to powerful expansionist neighbours. "The PLO cannot possibly be in favour of the usurpation by force of one country by another" (Bassam Abu Sharif of the PLO in Tunis on 19 September) MECCA CONFERENCE ON GULF CRISIS - The World Islamic Conference on the Gulf crisis organised by the Muslim World League ended in Mecca on 12 September, and expressed strong condemnation of the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait and called for Iraq's immediate and unconditional withdrawal and restoration of legitimate government. Agreed Saudi Arabia's request for foreign military assistance was justified by necessity, and thus in accordance with Islamic law. Conference called on governments and Islamic organisations to do all they can to prevent the outbreak of war and achieve Islamic unity.

- 5 -- Claims of being champions of Islam from Iraqi Baathist leadership, notably Saddam Hussein himself, deplored by Kuwaiti Muslims in exile: reports of desecration of Korans by Iraqi soldiers, plucking out of beard of religious leader before his murder. - Abdulaziz Ibu Adullah Al-Sheikh, member of Committee of Senior Islamic Scholars, has asked "Those who justify Iraqi annexation of Kuwait, will they accept annexation of their countries by other forces?" - Dr Omer Saleh Al-Samahi, President of the Federation of Islamic Societies in New Zealand, voiced support of muslims in New Zealand for measures taken by Saudi Arabia, which came within the framework of the teaching of Koran: the Kingdom has legal and Islamic right to seek help from friendly and brotherly nations. THE FUTURE - "It is impossible to say now how long it will be for but our forces will stay there obviously while the host states want them to stay and while we judge the danger remains" (Foreign Secretary, 14 September). - When Iraq has withdrawn from Kuwait, as it must, and the legitimate government is restored a need for arrangements involving UN to ensure Kuwait's security and that of other countries of the region. - King Fahd of Saudi Arabia on 22 September stressed to a group of French Senators the necessity of immediate withdrawal of Iraqi troop concentrations on the Saudi border, and for guarantees that the Iraqi regime would not repeat its aggression against any Gulf state (Saudi Press Agency). - Kuwaiti National Conference on "Liberation: our slogan, cause and aim" in Jedda from 13-16 October united Sabah family, Ministers, officials, journalists, academics and representatives of opposition groups in a commitment to solidarity in the interest of recovering Kuwait with the prospect of a more representative system of government.

ADM 70/AAD THE GULF CRISIS: BRIEFING NOTES EFFECTS OF IRAQI INVASION OF KUWAIT 3. - Kuwait a ghost town under curfew, with regime of terror under Saddam Hussein's cousin, Ali Majid. Collapse of public order. - Systematic looting of what remains of public and private property continues unchecked. Systematic nature indicates deliberate plan to dismantle infrastructure of state of Kuwait, and to impose rapid demographic change. (Senior Iraqi official reported (26 October) as saying: "the situation in Kuwait is now being corrected and is getting back to normal. This false state is returning to being a normal city.") - Basic foodstuffs in short supply. Long queues for bread, no eggs, no fresh fruit, very little meat; all at exorbitant prices. - No work, no schools, restrictions on cash withdrawals by Kuwaitis (of their debased currency), shortage of medicines, make leaving an attractive alternative to difficult survival in Kuwait. - Iraq has encouraged the emigration of young, elderly and female Kuwaitis. Their homes and positions have reportedly been given to Iraqis and Palestinians. Of 700,000 Kuwaitis in the Emirate at the time of the August invasion, only 300,000 are thought to be left. - Kuwaiti banks were early target for invading Iraqi command. (\$1.6 bn in gold and foreign exchange reported plundered from Central Bank.) Iraq has forced through a one-for-one exchange of Iraqi and Kuwaiti dinars, effectively a ten-fold devaluation and ordered that the Kuwaiti dinar is no longer legal tender. - Iraq busily appropriating Kuwaiti assets. According to Iraqi government Kuwait Airlines "no longer exists", and all its assets have gone to Iraqi Airways. - A new pipeline has been installed between Kuwait and Basra, and it is reported that oil from Kuwait is being pumped along it. Otherwise Kuwait crude production down to 10% of normal; refineries have been shut and many installations mined. - Iraq attempting to wipe the existence of Kuwait from the map. Kuwaiti passports, vehicle licence plates, identity cards and currency invalid from 1 October. - Iraqis have changed the face of Kuwait, renaming districts and buildings and neglecting maintenance. The city is littered with burnt-out cars and debris from fallen buildings. Rubbish is piled high in the streets but giant portraits of Saddam Hussein erected around the city. Most schools have closed and commercial activity has virtually ceased. - Iraqis have stripped Kuwait of everything they can remove, including equipment and spare parts for industries hit by

- 2 sanctions. Medical equipment and supplies (and even street lights and traffic signals) have been removed, and the contents of the Kuwait National Museum, Kuwait University and the Kuwait Institute for Scientific Research pillaged. - Amir of Kuwait told the United Nations General Assembly on 27 September that Iraq's aggression against Kuwait was unique in post-World War II history. Not only had Iraq overrun a sovereign independent member state of the UN and attempted to annex it by force, it had also tried to erase the name and existence of Kuwait from the world political map and destroy its political, economic and social structures. "Rape, destruction, terror and torture were the Iraqi rule of the day in Kuwait". - But Iraqi News Agency reported that Saddam Hussein, on 3 October, walked about in the streets of Kuwait city "familiarising himself with its landmarks which were resplendent, reflecting pride in the city's return to the homeland". - Reports of atrocities committed by Iraqi forces in Kuwait multiply. - Amnesty testified to US Congressional Human Rights caucus (10 October). After summarising organisation's concerns about Iraq's human rights record prior to invasion, gave further account of repression in Kuwait. People being tortured by Iraqi military and intelligence personnel said to include Iraqi Shia muslims with suspected links with opposition group al-Dawa Al Islamiyya (membership of this group is capital offence in Iraq). Many individual cases of torture, abuse, summary execution cited. Victims include boys as young as 13. Reported group executions including shooting at peaceful protest group of about 35 women and young people in early August. - Testimony by Kuwaiti refugees to House of Commons Select Committee on Foreign Affairs (24 October) reinforces this evidence (eg doctors forced to take blood from small children for transfusions for Iraqi soldiers). - All Kuwaitis hiding foreign nationals from the occupying forces or displaying the Kuwaiti flag or a portrait of the Amir incur a death penalty, which can also follow failure to declare possession of a fax or photocopier. - All Arabs and foreigners in Kuwait who fail to report to the Residence Department by 5 November will be liable to legal proceedings and residence permission will be terminated. - 15,000 Kuwaitis rounded up by Iraqis and imprisoned in Iraq. - Iraq has rejected offers both by the UN and the International Committee of the Red Cross (neutral independent body in a position to ensure relief supplies go where they are needed), to provide humanitarian assistance both in Kuwait and to investigate whether any residents in Iraq or Kuwait are suffering from food shortages. Private Iraqis, especially Kurds, continue to be helpful.

- 3 -- SCR 674 (29 October) condemns actions of Iraqi authorities to mistreat and oppress Kuwaiti and third State nationals, in violation of the Geneva Convention and International Law. It invites states to collect substantiated information on grave breaches of 4th Geneva Convention and make them available to Council. - Resolution also invites states to collect information regarding claims for restitution or financial compensation by Iraq. - Kuwaiti National Conference on "Liberation: our slogan, cause and aim" in Jedda from 13-16 October united the Sabhh family, Ministers, officials, journalists, academics and the opposition in a commitment to solidarity in the interest of recovering Kuwait. - "We will rebuild Kuwait on the firm foundation of our national unity and the legitimate system of government which we have chosen and are content to be ruled by, strenghtening consultation and democracy and popular particiaption in the light of our 1962 Constitution" (Conference Final Statement).

#### THE GULF CRISIS: BRIEFING NOTES

- 4. WHAT HAPPENS IF SANCTIONS DO NOT WORK
- Hope to achieve objective peacefully, but use of force cannot be ruled out. "We are not precluded by reason of the SCR from exercising the inherent right of collective self-defence in accordance with the rules of international law I am not prepared to limit our legitimate freedom of action" (Prime Minister in Parliament on 6 September).
- Poll shows Britons favour use of force. Latest Gallup poll published on 18 October repeats that public support for UK (and US) policy in the Gulf unwavering after 2½ months. 86% of Britons said they would back force to free Kuwait and liberate the hostages if sanctions failed.
- "We are tightening the screw of peaceful pressures but we cannot shirk our part in the alternative course if that course finally becomes necessary" (Foreign Secretary's statement in House of Commons, 24 October).
- Bush-Gorbachev Helsinki Summit statement "we are determined to see this aggression end, and if the current steps fail to end it, we are prepared to consider additional ones consistent with the UN Charter. We must demonstrate beyond any doubt that aggression cannot and will not pay".
- "In the context of recent events I should remind those who regard aggression an acceptable form of behaviour that the United Nations has the power 'to suppress acts of aggression'. There is already ample evidence that this right can be exercised" (Mr Shevardnadze to the UNGA on 25 September).
- "Can anyone seriously believe that if Iraq wins this contest with the international community, it will be easier to eliminate chemical weapons or biological weapons or nuclear weapons in the region? Of course not" (Mr James Baker to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, 17 October).
- "The greatest prospect for peace lies in this paradox ... the certainty which we have to create in his [Saddam Hussein's] mind that, if he does not go in peace he will be removed by force." (Foreign Secretary speaking at Canning House, October 30.)

#### THE GULF CRISIS: BRIEFING NOTES

#### 5. REFERENCE PAPERS

Verbat	
VS 42/	90 Prime Minister's speech to House of Commons, 6 September
VS 43/	90 Foreign Secretary's speech to House of Commons, 7 September
VS 48/	Passage in Foreign Secretary's speech to UNGA, New York, 26 September
VS 50/	"Palestine: the other Middle East problem": speech by Foreign Secretary to Diplomatic and Commonwealth Writers' Association, London, 4 October
VS 54/	90 Statement by Foreign Secretary in House of Commons, 24 October
VS 56/	
VS 57/	
Guidan No 47/ 50/	90

# Retracts

52/90 61/90

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

- "Options available": transcript of Foreign Secretary's discussion with Arab journalists, New York, 27 September
- Transcript of interviews given by Foreign Secretary in New York to BBC Radio and IRN, 2 October
- Extracts from debate on Middle East in House of Commons, 24 October
- Evidence of Foreign Affairs Select Committee

## Survey of Current Affairs

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

### The Gulf Crisis: Briefing Notes

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

#### Video Material

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

ADM 64/AAU THE GULF CRISIS: BRIEFING NOTES ANNEX UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS - The UN Security Council has adopted eight mandatory resolutions concerning the invasion of Kuwait on 2 August. Of the 15 Security Council members only Yemen and Cuba abstained on SCR 661 and 665. Resolution 660 was adopted by 14 votes with none against or abstaining (Yemen was absent). SCR 662, 664 and 667 were adopted unanimously. Cuba was the only SC member to vote against SCR 670 and Cuba and Yemen both voted against SCR 666. Resolution 660 (1990) - adopted 2 August - condemned Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. - demanded that Iraq withdraw "immediately and unconditionally" all its forces to their positions on 1 August 1990. Resolution 661 (1990) - adopted 6 August - called for (1) the import of "all commodities and products originating in Iraq or Kuwait" and (2) the sale or supply to Iraq or Kuwait of any commodities or products except "supplies intended strictly for medical purposes and, in humanitarian circumstances, foodstuffs" to be strictly prevented by all States, including non-members of the United Nations. - established a committee of the Security Council to examine reports by the Secretary General on the implementation of the Resolution and to seek information on action taken by States to implement it. - nothing in the Resolution should prohibit assistance to the legitimate Government of Kuwait whose assets should be protected. Resolution 662 (1990) - adopted 9 August - decided that the annexation of Kuwait by Iraq was null and void. - called upon all States to refrain from any action that might be interpreted as an indirect recognition of the annexation. Resolution 664 (1990) - adopted 19 August - recalled the obligations of Iraq under international law in regard to third State nationals in Iraq and Kuwait. - demanded that Iraq permitted the immediate departure of such nationals from Kuwait and Iraq, granted immediate and continuing consular access and took no action to jeopardise their safety, security or health.

- demanded that Iraq rescind its orders for the closure of diplomatic and consular missions in Kuwait. Resolution 665 (1990) - adopted 25 August - called upon those states cooperating with the Government of Kuwait and deploying maritime forces to the area "to use such measures commensurate to the specific circumstances as may be necessary under the authority of the Security Council" to halt inward and outward shipping to verify cargoes and ensure strict implementation of the provisions in Resolution 661. Resolution 666 (1990) - adopted 13 September - expected Iraq to comply with its obligations under SCR 664 (1990) in respect of third state nationals. - requested the Secretary General to seek urgently information on the availability of food in Iraq and Kuwait, with particular attention to eg children under 15 years of age, expectant mothers, maternity cases, the sick and the elderly. - requested the Secretary General, in the event of a decision to supply foodstuffs to Iraq and Kuwait in humanitarian circumstances, the use his good offices to facilitate their delivery and distribution. Resolution 667 (1990) - adopted 16 September - condemned Iraqi aggression against diplomatic premises and personnel in Kuwait. - demanded that Iraq take no action to hinder the diplomatic and consular missions in Kuwait and Baghdad, including access to their nationals and the protection of their personal interests. - decided to consult urgently in order to take further concrete measures under Chapter 7 of the Charter. Resolution 670 (1990) - adopted 25 September - orders nations to close airspace and landing strips to planes flying to and from Iraq and Kuwait unless they submit to cargo inspection - exceptions will only be made for food supplies in humanitarian circumstances and medical flights subject to UN authorisation. - calls on all states to detain any Iraqi-registered ships which enter their ports in violation of sanctions. - reminds governments of their obligations to freeze Iraqi assets and protect those of the legitimate Kuwaiti government. Resolution 674 (1990) - adopted 29 October condemned Iraqi mistreatment of Kuwaitis and foreign nationals in Iraq and Kuwait, and the taking of hostages.

- reminded Iraq of its obligations under, eg the 4th Geneva Convention.
- demanded that Iraq facilitate the work of diplomatic and Consular missions in Kuwait and Iraq and allow third country nationals (including diplomatic and Consular personnel) to leave if they wish.
- reminded Iraq that under international law it is liable for any loss, damage or injury arising in regard to Kuwait and third States as a result of its illegal occupation.
- invited states to collect relevant substantiated information about Iraqi breaches of international law, including 4th Geneva Convention.
- invited states to collect relevant information regarding claims for restitution or compensation from Iraq.