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**PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWO THOUSAND
SEVEN HUNDRED AND ELEVENTH MEETING**

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Monday, 6 October 1986, at 3.30 p.m.

<u>President:</u> Mr. AL-SHAALI	(United Arab Emirates)
<u>Members:</u> Australia	Mr HOGUE
Bulgaria	Mr. TSVETKOV
China	Mr. LI Luye
Congo	Mr. GAYAMA
Denmark	Mr. BIERRING
France	Mr. BROCHAND
Ghana	Mr. GBEHO
Madagascar	Mr. RAKOTONDRAMBOA
Thailand	Mr. KASEMSRI
Trinidad and Tobago	Mr. MCBARNETTE
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics	Mr. BELONUGOV
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. FIRCH
United States of America	Mr. OKUN
Venezuela	Mr. AGUILAR

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The meeting was called to order at 4.15 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION BETWEEN IRAN AND IRAQ

LETTER DATED 30 SEPTEMBER 1986 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVES OF IRAQ, JORDAN, KUWAIT, MOROCCO, SAUDI ARABIA, TUNISIA AND YEMEN TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/18372)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Arabic): In accordance with the decisions taken at the previous meetings on this item, I invite the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iraq to take a seat at the Council table; I invite the representatives of Argentina, Bangladesh, Egypt, the German Democratic Republic, Jordan, Kuwait, Morocco, Oman, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Tunisia, Yugoslavia and Zambia to take the seats reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber; I invite the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization to take the seat reserved for him at the side of the Council Chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Aziz (Iraq) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Delpech (Argentina), Mr. Siddiky (Bangladesh), Mr. Abdel-Meguid (Egypt), Mr. Ott (German Democratic Republic), Mr. Salah (Jordan), Mr. Al-Sabah (Kuwait), Mr. Alaoui (Morocco), Mr. Al-Ansi (Oman), Mr. Kabanda (Rwanda), Mr. Shihabi (Saudi Arabia), Mr. Sarre (Senegal), Mr. Bouziri (Tunisia), Mr. Golob (Yugoslavia) and Mr. Mwananshiku (Zambia), and Mr. Khadoumi (Palestine Liberation Organization) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Arabic): I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Afghanistan, Chad, Cuba and Mexico in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite

(The President)

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.

Mr. Zarif (Afghanistan), Mr. Lassou (Chad), Mr. Velazco San Jose (Cuba) and Mr. Moya Palencia (Mexico) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

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

Mr. KASEMSRI (Thailand): First of all I should like to convey to you, Sir, the warm felicitations of my delegation and my own sincere congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. It is most gratifying to see such a distinguished Asian presiding over our deliberations, particularly on such an issue of such importance, which affects your region and which has serious implications for that strategic part of Asia and beyond. My delegation is confident that with your recognized diplomatic skill and experience you will guide the Council's proceedings to a successful conclusion.

I should also like to convey, on behalf of my delegation and on my own behalf, our deep appreciation to your distinguished predecessor, His Excellency Ambassador Aleksandr Mikhailovich Belonogov, Permanent Representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, for the skilful manner in which he conducted the work of the Council last month.

The conflict between Iran and Iraq, now in its seventh year, has continued to exact a heavy toll and has imposed unmitigated suffering and hardship on both parties. It has had serious repercussions and has heightened the tension throughout the Gulf area. More recently, it has threatened to spill over into

(Mr. Kasemsri, Thailand)

neighbouring countries; thus its destabilizing effects are being felt with mounting concern in the region and beyond. Given the strategic importance of the region, its impact on international peace and stability cannot be overestimated. In the light of that fact, the Security Council has not been indifferent to the dangerous situation and it would be difficult indeed to find any other matter on which the Council has remained unanimous in its perception of the senselessness of the situation and of the tragic waste and in its realization of the need to bring the conflict to a speedy end.

The Secretary-General, too, has put forth tireless efforts to assist the parties in alleviating the consequences of the conflict and to bring the war itself to an end. Even though his role is recognized by both parties, he has candidly informed us that:

"Unfortunately, it is evident now that so far those efforts have not achieved substantive progress towards the intended goal - the ending of the war."

(S/PV.2709, p. 7)

(Mr. Kasemsri, Thailand)

The Secretary-General went on:

"The vital question, of course, is what new efforts can be deployed to secure a negotiated settlement. Six resolutions of the Security Council remain as part of the record, without satisfactory implementation. Iraq has stated that it is willing to comply with all of them. Iran has indicated that it is not prepared to accept them, on the ground that the Council has not dealt with Iran's fundamental grievances." (S/PV.2709, pp. 7-8)

The Council's stand of principle on all aspects of the conflict is well known, and so are the genuine efforts by the present Council to achieve a balanced text, as exemplified by resolution 582 (1986) - all this to no avail.

With increasing concern, the Council members on 29 August 1986 requested the President to send a letter to the Secretary-General, expressing their support for his continuing effort to end the conflict, and reaffirming their view that resolution 582 (1986) remains the most relevant basis for a settlement. My delegation wishes to reiterate its full confidence in, as well as its sincere appreciation of, the Secretary-General's role in that regard.

Thailand enjoys diplomatic relations with both parties. In the general debate at the current session of the General Assembly, His Excellency Air Chief Marshal Siddhi Savetsila, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Thailand, on 30 September, addressed the following appeal to them:

"We wish to see our two friends refrain from any action which would further aggravate the situation. We call upon them to take a peaceful and negotiated route towards resolving their differences." (A/41/PV.17, pp. 54-55)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Arabic): I thank the representative of Thailand for his kind words addressed to me and my country.

The next speaker is the representative of Saudi Arabia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. SHIHABI (Saudi Arabia) (interpretation from Arabic): I am pleased to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. We are confident that with your eminent qualities and wise leadership you will be able to guide the Council's proceedings towards the desired results. The bonds between our two countries defy definition and are so strong as to be beyond description.

I also have the pleasure of congratulating Ambassador Belonogov, last month's President, who so ably directed the Council's proceedings, in a manner that earned the appreciation and respect of all.

This is not the first time that we have come to the Security Council in an international initiative to stop the bloodletting between Iraq and Iran, and it seems to me that it will not be the last.

The development of the tragedy so far, and what it will cost the people of the two countries, over and above what it has already cost, makes this appeal today from the Security Council a world appeal for a comprehensive and just peace between the two countries, an appeal that should have a deeper significance than the appeals of the past, because the dam is almost bursting, and the minds and souls of the people of the world are suffering the burden of the continuation of a war that has become meaningless.

There is no victor or vanquished, and there are no indications that the war will result in any victor or vanquished. It has entered its seventh year, and the peoples of the two brother countries have suffered more than enough, paying a toll in blood every day for the past six years, beyond what any people should be called on to bear; and yet they still face a stark future. In their early history each of those two peoples built a great civilization that gave an impetus to human progress until the two peoples fraternized and were fused into one entity by the

(Mr. Shihabi, Saudi Arabia)

religion and civilization of Islam, which united their hearts and swords as well as their means of livelihood.

The true religion of Islam rejects the sacrifice of hundreds of thousands of innocent souls in a war that has lost its meaning and substance, a war with no reasonable objective or acceptable significance. Islam calls upon the peoples of Iraq and Iran to make peace with their brothers. Islam rejects unjustifiable killing.

We say that so that those in charge will review their assessment of the truth about what is taking place, looking at the war from outside the battlefield and examining and assessing it from an independent position.

Iraq has agreed to end the war and resort to arbitration in accordance with international rules. We sincerely hope that the Muslim voice of Iran will give a positive response and rise above the level of the conflict, in order to save the blood of Muslims.

The purpose of the appeal that will be before the Council in the form of a draft resolution is to explain to the fighting parties that the peace-loving world insists on putting an end to the war, absolutely rejects its continuation and is not convinced that the objections to ending it have any justification.

Needless to say, what is happening to navigation in the Gulf, in the form of obstructions and damage to shipping, is a bad omen of possible developments if the war continues and attacks resume in an environment charged with the dangers of deepening and perpetuating the tragedy.

We all know that if peace and good-neighbourly relations are to be achieved, sacrifices must be made to arrive at a sound formula to solve the problems of war and peace. We all know even better that those sacrifices, no matter how substantial, are still less than the sacrifices in terms of a human life and of the

(Mr. Shihabi, Saudi Arabia)

destruction of countries that would be made if the war continues. The fuel for those huge sacrificial pyres is the flower of the youth of the two countries, whose corpses are littering the barren stretches of the battlefields. Those sacrifices and those victims are beyond price, in terms of either war or peace. To whose benefit is the war? And for what end does it continue, so that we have to pay the price in human tragedies and economic disasters inflicted on our two brother peoples?

(Mr. Shihabi, Saudi Arabia)

We know that a resolution of the Security Council would not stop this war; but a unified stand by the United Nations and the peoples of the world would make the fighting parties realize that we do not approve of this war, a sad war that is a burden on the human conscience. Such a stand should have an effect upon the minds of those decision-makers who are rejectionists. We do not doubt that they possess sensitive souls, because the humanitarian ethic emanates from the conscience of peoples and nations, because they are human and have families and relatives, as do the rest of the people affected by the consequences of these massacres on the battlefield.

This way is wrong. No one is infallible, but we say to our brothers who throw their own children into the battle that it is high time to redress the wrong by means other than total destruction. Destruction and ruin do not redress wrong; on the contrary, they deepen the wounds, which will be difficult to heal in the lifetime of present or coming generations.

Why continue this war and threaten peace, security and normal life in the area, with all the implications that this threatening situation has for other regions and for the interests of many States? We should beware of the continuance of the war between these two neighbouring countries and of the mistake of its scope widening in such a way as to bring about strong reactions. We should all be careful, first and foremost the people of the area, to preserve the understanding that has characterized our relations and the amity desired by all.

We all recognize that the simplest humanitarian standards require the ending of this war. Is it possible for the United Nations to stand by as a spectator from now on, or for the Security Council not to shoulder its responsibility?

(Mr. Shihabi, Saudi Arabia)

Let us work to persuade the world public to raise their voices above everything and declare publicly what we say at our restricted meetings: stop this war in accordance with international arbitration and international law and norms. Persistence in striving to achieve this goal is a responsibility from which no one is exempt.

We call upon the Council to adopt the resolution submitted to it without delay. It is an appeal for a just and viable peace, and it is one of our primary responsibilities to support its substance and content. We call upon our neighbour, Iran, to respond to the appeal for a peace that will bring it prosperity and satisfy the world's conscience.

We greatly hope that the Council will take a responsible stand that clearly reflects world public opinion and recognizes the implications for the United Nations of the continuance of this war.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Arabic): I thank the representative of Saudi Arabia for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Bangladesh, whom I invite to take a place at the Council table and to make a statement.

Mr. SIDDIKY (Bangladesh): I am thankful to you, Sir, for according me this opportunity to speak this afternoon. May I commence by extending to you my sincere and heartfelt congratulations upon your assumption of the presidency of the Council. I have no doubt that your well-known qualities of head and heart will enable you to guide our deliberations to a fruitful conclusion. I join my other colleagues in expressing sincere appreciation of the effective conduct of the affairs of this body by your predecessor, Ambassador Belonogov of the Soviet Union.

(Mr. Siddiky, Bangladesh)

I have asked to be allowed to speak because to us in Bangladesh the item on our agenda, "The situation between Iran and Iraq", is a crucial one. I feel that, if I did not add my voice to those of my many colleagues in urging the need for peace, I should have sinned by silence.

The continuing fratricidal war between Iran and Iraq and the consequent sufferings cause us deep pain and anguish. Like all wars, this too has destroyed and divided. It has brought ruin upon the edifices of two of the world's most ancient and glorious cultures. It has generated far more heat than light. It has threatened to tear to shreds the fabric of Islamic unity. It cannot but be a sad chapter in the annals of our times. The sooner we close this chapter the better for all of us.

Time and again the international community has endeavoured to bring the belligerents to the negotiating table, but to no avail. As a member of the Peace Committee set up by the Organization of the Islamic Conference, Bangladesh has been an active participant in this effort. Let me assert unequivocally that Bangladesh is prepared to do all within its power to advance the cause of peace. We firmly believe that both Iran and Iraq are keen to end this tragic episode in their relations. Sadly, the various sets of terms proposed have failed to receive the whole-hearted support of both parties. We should also bear in mind that the peoples of both Iran and Iraq will need to be satisfied that the terms are honourable. Let us try, therefore, to design the peace formula accordingly. Here my delegation would like to acknowledge with great appreciation the important efforts made by our Secretary-General to bring peace to the region.

This year, 1986, has been designated International Year of Peace. Let this be an important watershed from which to make yet another massive effort. Today, with this in mind, I wish to voice a fervent appeal to my Iranian and Iraqi brothers.

(Mr. Siddiky, Bangladesh)

The eyes of the world are focused on them. Let those eyes behold a supreme example of belligerents' having risen above their self-interest for the greater and nobler cause of peace. That peace is in the interest of all is beyond debate. Let the fighting cease forthwith. Let the modalities of peace be worked out in due course. Let the parties show their dauntless courage in accepting peace as they have displayed it in going to war. As soldiers of peace let them rebuild a structure of harmony that will long endure. It is not just the hope and desire of Muslims but the cherished aspiration of peoples everywhere.

I say this to my brothers in Iran and Iraq. A large segment of our globe remains underprivileged. Billions are poor and hungry in this world of scarce resources. Let us, therefore, not deplete these resources on the battlefield. Let us use them not to wage war but to wage peace and development.

To those who have worked for peace, including the Secretary-General and the Security Council, we give our thanks, but their labours should be more aptly rewarded by the cessation of these hostilities.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Arabic): I thank the representative of Bangladesh for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Kuwait, Sheikh Sabah Al Ahmad Al Jabar Al-Sabah. I welcome him and invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make a statement.

Mr. AL-SABAH (Kuwait) (interpretation from Arabic): My country's delegation is particularly pleased to see you, Sir, presiding over the Security Council this month, since you represent a sister Arab country from the Arab Gulf region. Your presidency reflects the significance of that region in international collective action and the contribution of its peoples to the achievement of security, stability and prosperity for the world. We are confident that you will succeed in your task, thanks to your unique skill and experience which you will undoubtedly bring to bear in shouldering the responsibilities of this lofty office.

I wish also to commend the valuable work done by Ambassador Belmogov, Permanent Representative of the Soviet Union, during the past month.

Today we are once again addressing the Council on the Iran-Iraq conflict. Having entered its seventh year, this military conflict has now become the longest of the century - a century replete with scientific, intellectual and humanitarian accomplishments on which we pride ourselves, which has led us to reflect on the lessons of the past and the wars and conflicts that inflicted untold tragedies and calamities upon mankind.

This conflict is raging between two neighbouring Moslem countries that have been linked throughout the ages by bonds and relationships which should have prevented them from slipping into the inferno of a senseless and aimless armed conflict. It has taken on grave dimensions, which the Council has identified. Since the outbreak of the conflict, the Council has therefore adopted six resolutions and agreed upon a number of statements by its President. These resolutions and statements have all called for one principal and basic goal: stopping the armed conflict and having recourse to negotiations aimed at a just and honourable solution that protects the legitimate interests of these two neighbouring countries. They were also based on the United Nations Charter and on the principles of international law and were in conformity with the spirit of our

(Mr. Al-Sabah, Kuwait)

true religion of Islam - the religion of tolerance, love, justice and dignity, in whose light bask the two parties to the conflict.

Ever since the conflict first erupted, individual, collective, regional and international efforts have been energetically and actively made to douse its flames. Those who undertook such well-meaning endeavours were motivated by the clear perception that the persistence and aggravation of the conflict without any solution in sight was massively exhausting the resources and energies of the two countries involved in the dispute and also posing a direct threat to regional and international peace and security. From the very outset we have recognized the perils of this tragic conflict and we have therefore sought actively with our brothers and friends to end it. My country, Kuwait, and I personally had the honour of contributing to many of those efforts aimed at bringing an end to the conflict.

After all those years, after all the heavy loss in life and property of the two neighbouring countries and after all the consequences of the conflict that have reached such a degree that the area's security and safety are being threatened, we now find ourselves confronted with alarming indications heralding foreign intervention in this critical region of the world should the war linger on and expand to embroil countries that are not party to it.

Against this background we ask the following: Until when? What are we headed for? Who benefits from all these tragedies? Who can stop this devastating conflict and drive the danger away from the peoples of the region, and indeed of the world? In the circumstances, and since we are guided by our faith in and our commitment to the United Nations Charter and its lofty principles, we are obliged to have recourse to the Council and its members, in the hope that they will effectively shoulder their responsibilities and seek immediately to implement the Council's previous resolutions on the subject.

(Mr. Al-Sabah, Kuwait)

Let us speak frankly. Each time we are driven by circumstances to bring our cause to the Council on a question that has already been debated several times and on which many resolutions have been adopted mostly with unanimity, our concern about the role and efficacy of the Security Council - the body on which the United Nations Charter has vested special responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security - is heightened.

Our concern stems from a profound belief in the role and significance of this world Organization in general and the Security Council in particular. Ever since the creation of this machinery, mankind has solemnly undertaken to have recourse to it for solving differences; it has been held as the legitimate instrument for settling disputes by peaceful means instead of by resorting to the use of force. Whenever we again have recourse to the Council to discuss the same subject-matter, it means that its resolutions have not been implemented, its will has not been respected and international legitimacy has been discredited.

Kuwait believes that the members of the Security Council have to move from a position of theoretically registering their concern over the situation and their desire to establish peace to a practical position providing the necessary conditions for ending the tragedy.

We expect the Council truly and sincerely to fulfil the responsibilities incumbent upon it in the provisions of various Articles of the Charter which are aimed at settling disputes by peaceful means and refraining from the use or threat of use of force in international relations.

Iraq has responded favourably to the Council's resolutions; it has accepted them and the Council's mandate in settling its dispute with Iran; and it has also subscribed to all the endeavours and initiatives undertaken by many parties. Iraq has itself introduced its own initiatives, the latest of which includes the foundations that should be included in any just and comprehensive solution.

(Mr. Al-Sabah, Kuwait)

Essentially, they are comprised of commonly endorsed provisions of international law and instruments: complete withdrawal to international boundaries, comprehensive exchange of prisoners of war, signing of a peace and non-aggression agreement and non-intervention in internal affairs.

(Mr. Al-Sabah, Kuwait)

Iraq also introduced proposals for arbitration to determine who started the aggression and has persisted in it. Regrettably, that genuine desire by one party to the conflict for the establishment of peace was not reciprocated by the other party. However, we still hope that, out of concern for the security, peace and safety of our region and the world, the Islamic Republic of Iran will reconsider its attitude regarding this conflict and take the international consensus on the necessity of terminating this war and having recourse to negotiations and an honourable peace as adequate motivation for responding to the global appeal and to the role played by this Council in solving disputes by peaceful means.

Together with other nations of the world, we believe that military force, however great, of whatever kind and no matter what the cause of its use, cannot ensure the establishment of lasting peace and the peaceful, stable coexistence of nations. Persistence in using force will undoubtedly lead to further exacerbation and complication of the situation and expose the entire region to danger and destruction.

The Heads of State or Government of non-aligned countries met last month in Harare and debated the various international situations and intractable disputes that threaten the security, stability and unity of the countries members of the Movement and international peace and security. First among such conflicts is the Iran-Iraq war, on which the leaders of the non-aligned countries agreed on a clear, forthright text that reaffirmed the inevitability of applying in this conflict the principle of the non-use of force in international relations and urged both Iran and Iraq immediately to cease military action in order to prevent further loss of life and property. The Heads of State or Government also vowed to do their utmost to help to bring this tragic dispute to an immediate end. That text achieved a general consensus among the leaders of the Movement's member countries and was incorporated in the Political Declaration that they adopted. We therefore come to

(Mr. Al-Sabah, Kuwait)

this Council supported by that collective position adopted by the Non-Aligned Movement, which comprises 101 of the nations of the world. The Security Council's concurrence with and endorsement of the demands made by the non-aligned countries at their summit meeting in Harare would represent a triumph for right and justice and a contribution towards ending this devastating war in our region.

Since the outbreak of this conflict the Secretary-General of the United Nations has exerted considerable and sincere efforts to bring it to an end and avert its effects and the danger of its scope being widened. While thanking him for undertaking these valuable endeavours and for the realistic report he submitted to the Council last Friday, Kuwait is hopeful that he will remain indefatigable in his efforts to ensure a prompt and speedy end to this war on the basis of the principles which the international community has accepted as providing the best means of solving any conflict in our world.

We in Kuwait feel the enormous danger more than others and have an overwhelming sense of the menace of its exacerbation and the consequences for security in our region. Because we are anxious for peace and good-neighbourliness with Iran, our Muslim neighbour, and for coexistence and fruitful co-operation between our peoples, we have come with our brother members of the Committee of Seven, to put this question before the Security Council once again. We expect the Council to play a more effective role than in the past, a role that derives from the responsibility that it bears for world peace, a role that puts right in perspective, prevents danger and ends the conflict.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Arabic): I thank the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of Kuwait for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of the German Democratic Republic. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make a statement.

Mr. OTT (German Democratic Republic): Permit me at the very outset, Sir, to convey to you my warm congratulations on your assumption of the presidency for the month of October and to wish you success in that responsible task.

At the same time I should like to express thanks and appreciation to the Permanent Representative of the Soviet Union, Alexander Mikhailovich Belonogov, for the excellent way he conducted the proceedings of the Council in the month of September.

The delegation of the German Democratic Republic has asked to speak in this debate in order to express, like many other States, its deep concern over the continuing war between Iran and Iraq, which has led to untold human suffering and devastation on both sides. We deplore this, particularly since it is a confrontation between two non-aligned States whose peoples have contributed so much to world civilization and today have to cope with many common tasks in their social and economic development, two States with which the German Democratic Republic maintains friendly relations.

My delegation shares the view that the tragic consequences of this conflict have already done great harm to the two peoples and prevent them from using their potential to the full in the anti-imperialist struggle.

In this context, I should like to stress that my country is linked with the countries of that region by efforts to secure world peace and the search for a comprehensive, durable and just solution to the problems in the Middle East.

The continuation of this military conflict greatly endangers stability and security in the entire Gulf region. Furthermore, it is a serious threat to world peace because the most reactionary imperialist forces are using this conflict as a pretext for growing interference and their military presence in the region. For these reasons also the German Democratic Republic calls for a speedy termination of the war between Iran and Iraq and warns against any outside interference and escalation and internationalization of the conflict.

(Mr. Ott, German Democratic
Republic)

In this connection, the German Democratic Republic reaffirms its position that conflicts and disputes between States must be settled by peaceful means, with full respect for the peoples' right to self-determination. This attitude is based on the fundamental principle of our foreign policy that there is nothing more important than to secure world peace.

In view of the attempts made by those in well-known imperialist quarters to achieve their own hegemonic aims by way of plotting regional conflicts, a speedy and peaceful settlement of disputes is very important. This is especially true of the conflict between Iran and Iraq, two significant States of that region with which the German Democratic Republic maintains multifarious relations.

My delegation, therefore, supports all initiatives which are conducive to a solution, on the basis of international law, acceptable to both sides.

From the first day of the conflict, the German Democratic Republic has clearly stated that disputes and military conflicts are not in the interest of the peoples.

(Mr. Ott, German Democratic
Republic)

Therefore, we very much regret that despite a number of attempts to settle the conflict, no progress has been achieved. Nevertheless, it is imperative, in the interest of the peoples and of world peace, to silence the guns and open the door to negotiations. Everything must be done to convert the Gulf region into a zone of peace and stability.

In a tense international situation, when the further stockpiling of weapons and the attempt to militarize outer space are threatening the very existence of mankind, it has now been possible, after consistent efforts to achieve dialogue and understanding and after unilateral measures of good will and far-reaching disarmament proposals, to send an encouraging signal.

The leading representatives of the Soviet Union and the United States will shortly continue their talks at a summit meeting. Thanks to the realism and constructive approach of both sides, it was possible a few days ago to reach agreement on that meeting. With the continuation of this dialogue all mankind cherishes the hope for disarmament and durable peace, for new steps to replace confrontation by common sense and realism. As the peoples of the world rightfully expect, the talks should also provide an important impetus to a policy of understanding and realism in all spheres, and create an atmosphere for the promotion of peaceful settlement when peace is broken. In this sense, all possibilities for a solution by negotiation to the tragic conflict between Iran and Iraq should be used without any further delay.

What the peoples want and need is not the continuation of confrontation, and least of all the search for new weapons systems, but effective steps to end the arms race on Earth and prevent its spread to outer space. For this, the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic and other socialist States have made

(Mr. Ott, German Democratic Republic)

far-reaching proposals, which also take into consideration ideas and concepts of the other side.

Since the questions at issue directly affect the security of all countries, indeed the very existence of mankind, serious and businesslike dialogue assumes immense importance.

This was and is the position of the German Democratic Republic - the position by which it is guided in its active peace policy. As was underlined by my country's Head of State, Erich Honecker, in our time, when the issues of war and peace have shifted into the nuclear dimension, nothing can replace political dialogue. It is of great importance for the relaxation of tensions; it deepens mutual understanding and promotes co-operation.

My delegation believes that this maxim is in accordance with the will and vital interest of all peoples. This was illustrated by the eighth summit conference of non-aligned countries at Harare and can also be seen from this forty-first session of the United Nations General Assembly. The announcement of the Soviet-American meeting indeed sends an encouraging signal for all those who hold dialogue and the peaceful settlement of disputes close to their heart.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Arabic): I thank the representative of the German Democratic Republic for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Cuba. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. VELAZCO SAN JOSE (Cuba) (interpretation from Spanish):

Mr. President, first of all we would like to express our pleasure at seeing you preside over the Security Council. We are convinced that your proven diplomatic skill will ensure the smooth progress in our work.

(Mr. Velazco San Jose, Cuba)

I would also like to congratulate the Ambassador of the Soviet Union, Alexander Belonogov, for the very capable manner in which he conducted the proceedings in the Security Council last September.

The conflict which is today claiming the attention of the Security Council broke out six years ago, and throughout those years hundreds of thousands of men, women and children, combatants and civilians, have lost their lives in a war which never should have begun. To this terrible toll can be added the destruction of both countries' economies, which seriously affects the future development of the countries and jeopardizes the interests of peace in this area of the world and in the entire world.

When it was Chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, Cuba decided, in May of 1980, to offer to mediate in order to try to avoid the conflict that seemed to be looming in view of the steady deterioration in relations between the two countries and of the beginning of military activities along the borders. Only a few months later, immediately after the war began, our country continued to put forward its peace efforts, together with other members of the Movement. It was our conviction, and it continues to be so, that it is for the non-aligned countries to strengthen their cohesiveness and solidarity and redouble their efforts for peace, for a new, just, economic order and for an appropriate solution to the problems that are weighing heavily on our peoples.

The war between Iran and Iraq has not only caused bloodshed in these two States members of our Movement, but is also preventing them from fulfilling their human and economic potential in the interest of their peoples and in the interest of the just causes in which we are all involved.

(Mr. Velazco San Jose, Cuba)

A short time ago, attending the summit conference in Harare, we heard the overwhelming majority of the Heads of State and Government pleading for a cessation of the war and for a peaceful and honourable solution. Just a few steps away from this Council Chamber, in the General Assembly, the same heartfelt appeals can be heard. It can be said that the overwhelming majority of mankind is earnestly calling for a cessation of the war between Iran and Iraq and has urged that there be no more bloodshed among the sons of those countries and that peace reign in this nerve-centre of the world.

It is time for a cessation of the hostilities, time for a just and honourable peace to replace the sound of guns and put an end to the loss of human life. We must all make an effort to bring about a cessation of the conflict and to try to find a way to put an end to the hostilities.

Our country has excellent relations with both parties to the conflict and we are distressed and dismayed at the sacrifice in this war of the finest young people in Iran and Iraq, nor do we like to see the continuation and extension of this conflict offering the imperialists an excuse to intervene with their forces and to strengthen a presence which no one wants and which will only prove to be detrimental to the people of the region.

(Mr. Velazco San Jose, Cuba)

The voice of reason must hold sway over the voice of war.

The interests of the peoples of Iran and Iraq, and those of the peoples of Palestine and of the region as a whole, must take precedence over any other kind of consideration.

In conclusion, I should like to quote the words of the President of the Council of State and of the Council of Ministers of Cuba, Comrade Fidel Castro, in the recently concluded eighth summit Conference of Non-Aligned Countries in Harare:

"The war between Iran and Iraq, two Member States of our Movement, should never have broken out. Unfortunately, all efforts to find a solution to this difficult and complex conflict have been in vain, but this must not lead us to falter in our efforts to find peace and to do what we can to repair the damage and bind the wounds resulting from this fratricidal conflict."

That is Cuba's position. We will never falter in this task, which is also the task of the whole Non-Aligned Movement, as long as there is a chance to help to restore peace between Iran and Iraq.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Arabic): I thank the representative of Cuba for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Mexico. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. MOYA PALENCIA (Mexico) (interpretation from Spanish): Mr. President, first I should like to express to you the pleasure of my delegation at seeing you preside over the Security Council this month, in view of your well-known diplomatic skills. We are also pleased to pay a tribute to your predecessor, the Permanent Representative of the Soviet Union, for the manner in which he conducted the proceedings in the Council last month.

The President of Mexico, President de la Madrid, addressing the General Assembly on 24 September last, stated:

(Mr. Moya Palencia, Mexico)

"The prevention of nuclear war is linked to the solution of conflicts affecting the balance of power. In various geographical areas the exercise of force and intolerance hinder chances for conciliation." (A/41/PV.8, p. 17)

After referring at length to the crisis in Central America, he added:

"We stand for negotiated solutions to conflicts not only in the region which is closest to us but also in other areas, whether in the South Atlantic, southern Africa, the Middle East, the Mediterranean or South-East Asia. We are convinced that, with an imaginative and constructive approach, opportunities for understanding can be found in each of these places."

(ibid., pp. 18-20)

It is in this spirit that my delegation has asked to speak, without the right to vote, at this meeting in accordance with the provisions of Article 31 of the Charter of the Security Council dealing with the situation between Iran and Iraq. We consider that all regional conflicts and threats or the use of force, as well as all forms of intervention, jeopardize the security not only of neighbouring countries but also ultimately jeopardize the security of all Member States. There is no other way to construe the essential purpose of the United Nations as summed up in Article 1, paragraph 1 of the Charter, which is to maintain international peace and security, and, to that end: to take effective collective measures, in conformity with international law.

At its meeting on 24 February 1986, the Security Council examined in detail the question which has now been before us for more than six years as a result of the conflict between Iran and Iraq - both countries with which we have cordial diplomatic relations - which has caused heavy loss of life and considerable material damage, and which is endangering that international peace and security.

The Council recalled the provisions of the Charter, and in particular the obligation of all Member States to settle their international disputes by peaceful

(Mr. Moya Palencia, Mexico)

means, emphasizing the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force; it also took note of the praiseworthy mediation efforts being made in this case by the Secretary-General.

Having considered the situation once again today, Mexico considers it appropriate, in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter, and with the unbroken peace-loving traditions of our people and Government, to appeal to both parties to the conflict to comply fully and without delay with all the provisions of resolution 582 (1986), adopted by the Council on 24 February of this year, not only to achieve a lasting peace between the parties to the conflict, but also by so doing to contribute to the peace and security of mankind as a whole.

The geographical and cultural affinities that have linked Iran and Iraq throughout their history, and the desire of their peoples to live in peace and achieve a prosperous development, should, in the opinion of my delegation, override any other peripheral considerations, as well as the origins and causes of the conflict, so that it can be settled peacefully and with honour as soon as possible.

The history of both these Member States and the conflict with which we are dealing here certainly did not begin with this war, and it will certainly not end with it. That history should be extended in the future on the basis of mutual understanding and coexistence in accordance with international law and with due regard for their respective values. Thus Mexico today joins the appeal made by a majority of Member States that Iran and Iraq should immediately implement Security Council resolution 582 (1986), to which I have referred, and that the Secretary-General should intensify his efforts to persuade both parties to establish a lasting peace which would be of benefit to one and all and would demonstrate the desire of both sides to promote the development of their peoples by putting an end to this long and distressing conflict.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Arabic): I thank the representative of Mexico for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Bulgaria. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. TSVETKOV (Bulgaria) (interpretation from French): Mr. President, I take great pleasure in congratulating you, on behalf of the Bulgarian delegation and on my own behalf, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of October. Aware as we are of your wealth of diplomatic experience and political wisdom, we are confident that you will successfully carry out the responsibilities entrusted to you this month.

On behalf of my delegation, I should like to take this opportunity to thank Ambassador Belonogov, the Permanent Representative of the Soviet Union, for the high degree of skill and effectiveness with which he guided the meetings of the Council during the month of September.

(Mr. Tsvetkov, Bulgaria)

I have listened closely to the speakers who preceded me. Their legitimate concern about the conflict between Iran and Iraq, which has been going on for more than six years, is one which we entirely share, as it is shared by the international community, and that is borne out by the urgent convening of the Council. This has been a long war and a bloody one, which has brought only suffering and incalculable losses to the peoples of those two countries and to those in that part of the world and which, furthermore, has proved to be a dangerous destabilizing factor in an already explosive area, a war which seriously endangers international peace and security. Its escalation can only serve the narrow interests of those who take the liberty of proclaiming this part of the world "an area of their vital interests".

The Bulgarian delegation consequently joins in the urgent appeals made by all previous speakers that an immediate end be put to this senseless conflict and that it be resolved by peaceful means, particularly since in a complex and tense international atmosphere any local conflict has inherent in it the real risk of leading to a major confrontation, even a global one.

The facts make it necessary for a new approach to be taken to the problems of war and peace, the problems of national and international security. That approach is one which should once and for all rule out war from the life of mankind, an approach based first of all on an end to the arms race and the peaceful settlement of disputes.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria has always followed the principle that States should avoid resorting to force or the threat of force in resolving their controversies and disputes. These problems should be settled around the negotiating table, with full respect for the independence, sovereignty and legitimate interests of the States concerned, without any foreign interference. To

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bring that about it is essential also that all the States involved and the entire international community play their collective part.

That approach was confirmed once again in the communiqué issued following the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the States Members of the Warsaw Treaty held last June in Budapest:

"It is only through political means and by collective endeavours on the part of all States that it will be possible to guarantee all peoples and countries security and conditions of peace for their development and their progress."

Furthermore, that requirement is one of the fundamental principles of the Charter, which enjoins upon all nations the duty to settle their disputes by peaceful means and to avoid endangering international peace and security. It should also be recalled that solving international disputes is one of the fundamental elements of the general system of international security, the creation of which will be discussed at the forty-first session of the General Assembly on a proposal made by the socialist countries, including the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

All this is fully germane to the present conflict between Iran and Iraq. The position of Bulgaria on this, a position repeatedly put forward, has not changed since this armed conflict first broke out. The People's Republic of Bulgaria has always joined in any appeal for the immediate cessation of hostilities so that this conflict can be brought to an end in an honourable way, through peaceful means, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and the resolutions of the Security Council.

This position is a reflection of our concern at the continuation of the abnormal and dangerous situation prevailing in that part of the world as well as our anxiety to see an end to this useless bloodshed. Bulgaria, which maintains

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friendly relations, together with mutually advantageous co-operation, with both parties has extremely warm feelings towards both those peoples. In the hope that they will shortly be liberated from the horrors of war, we are prepared to make our full contribution in order to bring about the cessation of this armed conflict and a just and comprehensive solution to the dispute between Iran and Iraq within the framework of the United Nations. My country has never failed to give its support to the mediation efforts of the United Nations Secretary-General and other constructive efforts made internationally to bring about a political settlement to the conflict.

The role of the Security Council in this regard is extremely important.

In conclusion may I express the hope, on behalf of my delegation, that through energetic and constructive efforts the world community will be equal to the requirements of our day and will do everything it can to bring about a just and lasting settlement to the conflict between Iran and Iraq, in this International Year of Peace which it has proclaimed, so that the way can be paved to a better and more secure world.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Arabic): I thank the representative of Bulgaria for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Co-operation of Chad. I welcome His Excellency and invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. LASSOU (Chad) (interpretation from French): First may I thank you, Mr. President, and other members of the Council for allowing me to participate in this debate on a matter which is a major concern of the international community.

I should like to take this opportunity to congratulate you, Sir, on your accession to the presidency of the Security Council for this month. We are

(Mr. Lassou, Chad)

particularly satisfied at seeing the representative of a friendly country, whose diplomatic acumen, tact and far-sightedness are well known to all. Those qualities augur well for the success of our future work. I should also like to express my gratitude to Mr. Alexander Belonogov for the admirable way in which he conducted the work of the Council during September, a month marked by the triggering off of terrorist attacks. Unfortunately, it is once again violence, that sordid instrument for settling disputes, which is the subject of our present debates.

For six years now, a murderous conflict has plunged into mourning two fraternal countries, members of the great family of the Islamic Conference. In that senseless war, a heavy price has been paid by both sides, materially and in human terms.

(Mr. Lassou, Chad)

The disturbing dimensions that the conflict is now assuming present the inexorable risk of its spreading throughout the Gulf region, implying a grave threat to international peace and security. Geo-strategic interests have already turned the area into a veritable powderkeg.

The Security Council, which has had this worrying matter before it since 1980, has considered all aspects of the conflict on a number of occasions. The elements of a comprehensive solution were clearly set out in resolution 514 (1982), of 2 July 1982. Since then they have been regularly repeated.

Unfortunately, the voice of reason and moderation has not been heeded, thus provoking, it appears, the exact opposite - a new flare-up of violence.

Last February the international community followed with deep anxiety the major offensive launched by the Islamic forces of Iran against Iraq's very sovereignty, the objective being to occupy certain parts of that country's territory.

By adopting resolution 582 (1986), of 24 February 1986, the Security Council laid the foundations for a just and lasting solution to the Iran-Iraq conflict. President Saddam Hussein adopted a position complying with that resolution, which meant co-operating by all means possible with the Security Council to achieve a comprehensive peace. He proposed a general, complete and unconditional withdrawal to the internationally recognized boundaries; a general and complete exchange of prisoners; the signing of a peace and non-aggression pact between the two countries; and non-intervention in each other's internal affairs, with each country respecting the other's choice of its own path. My delegation believes that those are elements of a constructive attitude, consistent with the norms of international law.

However, my delegation is concerned that that good-will gesture has received no favourable response from the Iranian side, which, moreover, states that Iran will not extend its hand again to the people of Iraq until those people are

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freed from the grip of Saddam Hussein. That blatant, stubborn disregard of the decisions of the international community has the potential for an escalation with unforeseeable consequences.

Chad, which has known the horrors of a war imposed on it by the expansionist Tripoli régime, is well placed to understand the seriousness of such a turn of events. That is why we firmly support President Saddam Hussein's peace initiative.

The Council at its present meetings should adopt appropriate measures conducive to ensuring the unconditional implementation of resolution 582 (1986). Only positive steps and the co-operation of both parties can make possible an end to that futile conflict and allow the two countries to devote themselves to a more constructive task - the rebuilding of their devastated economies. We make that appeal on behalf of the suffering peoples of Iran and Iraq.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Arabic): I thank the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Co-operation of Chad for his kind words addressed to me.

There are no further speakers for this meeting. The next meeting of the Security Council to continue consideration of the item on the agenda will be held tomorrow at 3.30 p.m.

The meeting rose at 5.35 p.m.

