



Thursday, 21 October 1982,
at 10.50 a.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. Imre HOLLAI (Hungary).

AGENDA ITEM 134

**Consequences of the prolongation of the armed
conflict between Iran and Iraq (*continued*)**

1. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decision taken yesterday, the list of speakers in the debate on this item will be closed today at 1 p.m.

2. Mr. VO ANH TUAN (Viet Nam) (*interpretation from French*): It is now more than two years since the dispute between Iran and Iraq degenerated into an armed conflict. Bloody hostilities are apparently continuing because the positions of the two parties to the conflict on a negotiated settlement remain far apart. This prolonged armed conflict, in addition to exorbitant military expenditure, has caused considerable loss of human life and property on both sides at a time when each country needs peace so that it can concentrate all its efforts on the task of national construction.

3. This prolonged war is also a grave threat to peace and security in the region and in the entire world, the more so since those two countries are situated in a region which is coveted by imperialism because of its strategic geographic situation and its abundant natural riches. Those who live by the policy of "divide and rule" and "fish in troubled waters" could make use of this conflict for their selfish interests, which would further complicate the reaching of a speedy negotiated settlement and make the situation in the region of the Persian Gulf even more explosive.

4. My country, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, which maintains cordial relations with both Iran and Iraq, is profoundly concerned at the prolongation of this war. There are many factors which have brought the peoples of Iran and Iraq together in the past and continue to do so now. They need peace, good neighbourly relations and co-operation in order that they may together fight the battle for development.

5. Accordingly, my country whole-heartedly supports the constant efforts of the non-aligned movement to find a negotiated settlement of this painful war between two full-fledged members of the movement. My country is particularly pleased at the efforts made by the Non-Aligned Ministerial Committee on the Iran-Iraq conflict, consisting of the Foreign Ministers of Cuba, India and Zambia and the head of the Political Department of the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], to find speedily "a just, peaceful and honourable settlement of this regrettable dispute", as stipulated in the final communiqué of the Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned

Countries held at Havana [see A/37/333, annex, sect. A, para. 105] in conformity with the principles and objectives of the non-aligned movement.

6. My delegation was also pleased to learn of the parallel initiatives undertaken by the Secretary-General, through his Special Representative, and by the Organization of the Islamic Conference.

7. Given the escalation of hostilities on the Iran-Iraq front, my country joins in the urgent appeal already made to the two parties by other countries to lay down their arms and settle their dispute at the conference table. The people of Viet Nam, having suffered for more than three decades the atrocities and the painful consequences of a war which was imposed upon them, most earnestly hope that the guns will be silenced as soon as possible, so that peace may be rapidly restored to the brother peoples of Iran and Iraq.

8. Mr. SUBRAMANIAM (Malaysia): It is disturbing that the war between Iran and Iraq, which has lasted for more than two years, continues to rage. This protracted war has exacted heavy loss of life, caused acute financial burdens and inflicted untold sufferings on the peoples on both sides of the border. The conflict has the potential of drawing the big Powers into the vortex of armed confrontation, with far-reaching consequences for all countries of that region.

9. Malaysia enjoys good relations with both Iran and Iraq. We have actively involved ourselves in the work of the peace mission initiated by the Organization of the Islamic Conference and identified ourselves with the efforts of the non-aligned movement to seek a comprehensive and just settlement of the conflict through peaceful means. It is our sincere hope that both parties, Iran and Iraq, will exercise restraint to effect an immediate cease-fire and return to the negotiating table, thus avoiding further bloodshed and sparing the two countries continued devastation.

10. The war between Iran and Iraq is indeed a tragedy. It is a war not only between two brother Moslem countries but also between two nations of the third world, nations which can ill afford to sustain such a protracted war. The conflict has attracted considerable concern on the part of members of the international community. It is about time that the two conflicting parties buried their hatchets, in order to restore a just and lasting peace to that region in accordance with international law and in a spirit of good neighbourliness. They must apply themselves earnestly to the task of reconciling their differences in the interests of their peoples and the world at large before the big Powers are drawn in, which would certainly be to their mutual detriment. Clearly, in this conflict there can be neither victor nor vanquished.

11. My delegation would like to express its appreciation of the positive efforts that have been and will be undertaken to expedite a peaceful resolution of the dispute. The prolongation of the conflict will not be beneficial to either party and, apart from endangering regional peace and security, will serve only to impede the fostering of the development efforts of the two peoples, linked and nurtured by long-standing traditions and ties of brotherhood.

12. In conclusion, my delegation would like to assure members of the Assembly and the Secretary-General of my country's continued interest and availability in seeking an early settlement of this protracted dispute. While commending the various efforts to resolve this conflict, my delegation would like to urge that there be more concerted and closer co-ordination between the non-aligned movement, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the Secretary-General for its expeditious resolution. In the meantime, we should like once again to implore the parties concerned to cease fighting and accept mediation and reconciliation, so that an honourable and enduring solution may be found.

13. Mr. KIRCA (Turkey): The conflict between Iran and Iraq is of particular concern to Turkey. Both countries are our neighbours: with Iran we have a common border in the east of Turkey and with Iraq we have one in the south-east. We have close and fraternal relations with both countries, emanating from common historical experience and shared destinies over many centuries.

14. The people and Government of Turkey have been emphatically clear about the way they feel concerning this war from its very outbreak more than two years ago. Turkey wants this costly and dangerous confrontation to end and calls for a mutually agreed settlement of the conflict so that peace and stability may prevail in that strategically critical area of our globe.

15. The war between Iran and Iraq is both prohibitively costly and extremely dangerous. The hostilities are being conducted at tremendous cost to both sides. The figures are staggering and the losses intolerable. The human and material devastation inflicted by each side on the other is extraordinary. Resources and energy are being diverted to the prosecution of the war effort, thus placing a truly heavy strain on both countries. We find all this deeply disturbing and saddening.

16. The continuation of the conflict for more than two years might have deceptively lulled some into thinking that this is a war that the world can live with; this is not only wrong, but quite dangerous. The inconclusive prolongation of the fighting does not in any way reduce the potential dangers involved; on the contrary, these become more ominous and imminent with the passage of time. Not only has the present conflict shattered the relations between two vitally important Powers in the area, but from the outset this confrontation has also carried serious implications for the entire Gulf region.

17. Any further deterioration and destabilization in the area could have dire consequences for the entire region, and such an evolution could in turn significantly affect the balance of international relations as a

whole. Needless to say, the international community does not in any way have the assurance that all consequences of this conflict can be successfully foreseen or reasonably predicted. In short, the war between Iran and Iraq not only continues to threaten regional security and stability, but also constitutes a grave danger to world peace.

18. In these circumstances, it is abundantly clear that the confrontation between Iran and Iraq must be brought to an end without further delay, by means of mutual agreement between the parties. This is imperative, and we must all seriously ponder how we can contribute to this objective.

19. The issues that seemingly led to the initiation of hostilities had been the subject of negotiation between Iran and Iraq in the past. These, as well as the new issues that might have arisen since the inception of the present fighting in September 1980, must be resolved through the mutual effort and determination of the two sides.

20. In this regard—that is, in the achievement of an agreed settlement between Iran and Iraq—the international community certainly has a role to play. But we must draw the attention of this body to the fact that the previous discussions of this matter under the roof of the United Nations, particularly in the Security Council, have not so far served to bring about the desired state of affairs by ending the hostilities.

21. What must be said is that the conflict between Iran and Iraq is one which consists of a multitude of dimensions and complex variables. Some of these factors are objective and quantifiable, but just as many are subjective and deeply emotional ones. It may not be easy, therefore, to give a fully just and fair expression to the complexity of this conflict in the lexicon of a United Nations resolution. In our view, any debate, or any resolution adopted here, should be designed to help the two parties to come together to talk to each other, directly or through intermediaries. We must avoid creating new obstacles in the way of a possible settlement by pushing them further apart. It is with this understanding that we approach the present discussion of the situation between Iran and Iraq at this thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly.

22. The Government of Turkey believes that the duty of the international community today in respect of this conflict will best be fulfilled by making an effort to bring the two sides together so that they can themselves agree on a settlement, and by supporting such efforts as are already under way. We feel that any attempt now, after two years of fighting and changing fortunes, to impose a solution from without, however well-intentioned and whatever its source, would be counter-productive and would surely further complicate the difficult and highly sensitive situation. If an initiative is to have the possibility of success it must have the support, or at least the blessing, of both Iran and Iraq.

23. The Government of Turkey has from the outset of this conflict striven at more than one level to help put an end to it, and will do everything it can in the future towards the same objective. Turkey stands ready to assist its two neighbours, at their request, in the resolution of their differences.

24. We note with appreciation the efforts of the Secretary-General, through his Special Representative, as well as the constructive interest taken by the non-aligned movement in this matter. We should also like to acknowledge the individual efforts to promote a settlement.

25. We must pay a special tribute, however, to the Organization of the Islamic Conference for its unceasing efforts to resolve this conflict. Turkey has the privilege of serving as a member of the high-level Goodwill Committee constituted by the Organization of the Islamic Conference expressly to deal with this issue. So far the activities of the Committee have not produced the desired outcome, but the effort will continue.

26. To conclude, I should like to emphasize the following points: that the hostilities between Iran and Iraq must be brought to an end without delay; that Iran and Iraq must, on their own and through means acceptable to them, find an agreed settlement; that any such settlement must respect the territorial integrity and national unity, independence and sovereignty of both Iran and Iraq; that the international community must try to help, but must not impose a solution; that Turkey, as a neighbour and friend of both countries, will continue to spare no effort in the promotion of an agreed and mutually acceptable settlement.

27. It is in the context I have just depicted, and with a view to preserving our consistent position of positive neutrality and impartiality, as well as to maintaining our capacity at all levels to be of useful assistance to both Iran and Iraq, particularly as a member of the Goodwill Committee of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, that we shall cast our vote.

28. Mr. XIE Qimei (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): The war between Iran and Iraq has been going on, on and off, for more than two years. The prolongation of the conflict has caused heavy losses of human lives and property to both countries and has affected the peace and stability in the Gulf area and the Middle East region. The international community has time and again strongly appealed to both parties to the conflict to settle their dispute by peaceful means. The Chinese Government appreciates and supports the mediation efforts undertaken by the Secretary-General, by the non-aligned movement and by the Organization of the Islamic Conference with a view to bringing an end to this conflict as soon as possible. However, the arms conflict between the two sides along the border is still going on and the danger of the further intensification of the war is not yet removed. This situation cannot but arouse deep anxiety and apprehension on the part of the Chinese Government and the international community.

29. Iran and Iraq are Islamic countries of the third world. Each has made a tremendous contribution to the civilization of mankind. Both are faced with the task of consolidating their national independence and developing their national economy. We always hold that there are no conflicts of fundamental interests among the third-world countries and that their differences or disputes may be resolved peacefully through amicable consultations or negotiations in a spirit of mutual understanding and accommodation.

Resorting to arms can in no way help third-world countries resolve their differences; it will only aggravate the controversies and provide opportunities for the super-Powers to step in and interfere in the affairs of the region. It is therefore the hope of the whole world that the two parties will adopt a sensible approach and respond to the call of the international community for a peaceful settlement of their dispute.

30. The present situation in the Middle East is characterized by turbulence and rising tension. It is therefore all the more imperative for the countries of the region to iron out their differences and strengthen their unity so as to safeguard peace and security in the Middle East. As China is a friend of both Iran and Iraq, the Chinese Government and people sincerely hope that both countries will set store by the overall interests and exercise restraint. We hope that they will seek common ground while putting aside their differences and come to the negotiating table as soon as possible in order to terminate hostilities and restore good-neighbourliness in the interest of the economic growth and the welfare of their own peoples as well as the peace and stability of the region. This will be in keeping with the peaceful aspiration and the fundamental interests of the peoples of Iran and Iraq as well as of all the other countries in the Middle East. Pursuant to this position, the Chinese delegation is ready to join all other delegations and to continue to work for a just, reasonable and peaceful settlement of the conflict between Iran and Iraq.

31. Mr. ABULHASSAN (Kuwait) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Today we are considering a new and important item on the agenda for this session, entitled "Consequences of the prolongation of the armed conflict between Iran and Iraq". We will also study its consequences for international peace and security.

32. This item concerns a war that has been dragging on for over 25 months and that is exhausting the valuable human and economic potential of two neighbours, strongly linked by Islam, a religion that calls for and advocates peace as a methodology. They are also linked by common factors of destiny, since they belong to the non-aligned movement, a movement that was created to strengthen and reinforce links between third world countries in order to meet the political, economic and social challenges of the age.

33. This war is occurring in an area that is one of the most important in the world because of its strategic location and rich resources, a region which really needs stability and peace because for a long time it has been suffering aggression by Israel, which has designs on the land and denied the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and whose ambition is to usurp more Arab land and resources.

34. Since the outbreak of this war Kuwait, together with the other countries and peoples of the region, has been aware of the dangerous consequences this war has for the peoples of those two countries particularly affected and for the peoples and countries of the region in general. Kuwait is of the view that the prolongation of the war between two Moslem neighbours in that important strategic area will definitely lead to its expansion and as a result will expose the peace and security of the region to grave danger and permit foreign Powers to exploit the situation in

pursuance of their own interests, thereby draining the economic and human resources of Iraq and Iran in particular and of the Arab region in general.

35. This war will capture all the attention of the countries and peoples of the region when it should be focused on their development, scientific progress and technology so that they can make their contribution to progress and the development of the whole world. Those countries will fall into the trap of alliances with super-Powers, thus further complicating the situation in the region.

36. Consequently, since the very first day of the war Kuwait has been appealing to both Iraq and Iran to cease hostilities and resort to the teachings of Islam, which embodies in its philosophy the principles that guarantee the peaceful settlement of disputes to protect the innocent souls so valued by God Almighty, and spare the precious resources of these two neighbouring Moslem peoples. We appeal to these two countries to resort to negotiations and to international laws and conventions in order to spare the region, its States and its peoples the evils of foreign intervention in their internal affairs, which would profit from this unfortunate situation to carry out its bad intentions.

37. Kuwait has given its agreement and support to all efforts aimed at a peaceful settlement that have been made by international and regional organizations which, realizing the dangers of the situation, have intensified their mediation efforts to stop the fighting and bring about a *rapprochement* in the views of the two sides as a prelude to determining the causes of the conflict between the two neighbours and finding a settlement that would be equitable and fair to both parties and preserve their rights and dignity.

38. Here we want to register our appreciation of the continued serious efforts of the United Nations, through the Secretary-General's envoy, the non-aligned movement and the Organization of the Islamic Conference, through its various peace missions. Kuwait deeply regrets the failure of all those intensive efforts, but at the same time we believe that they have created a climate propitious to the attainment of the desired objective: the termination of hostilities and the beginning of negotiations to resolve the disputes.

39. We believe that it is high time to put in first place what most interests us, that is peace and security in the area. We therefore applaud the positive initiative of Iraq in withdrawing its forces to internationally recognized boundaries and unilaterally and unconditionally terminating its military operations, since this represents a sincere and genuine effort by Iraq to help to bring the war speedily to an end.

40. This initiative has given the world great hope that an end to the war is near; it demonstrates that our brothers in Iraq are anxious to put an end quickly to this destructive war. Kuwait hopes that Iraq's neighbour, Islamic Iran, will soon recognize the real dimensions of the dangers that will face the region as long as the war continues. Kuwait hopes that Iran will follow Iraq's example and respond to resolutions 514 (1982) and 522 (1982), which were unanimously adopted by the Security Council, the body that represents international determination to preserve world peace and security. In its resolutions the Security Council

has called upon the disputing parties to declare an immediate cease-fire, to withdraw their forces to internationally recognized boundaries and to co-operate constructively with the Secretary-General in his efforts to settle the dispute.

41. Kuwait still believes that respect for these principles, which are in keeping with international law and conventions, and respect for the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force and the principle of settlement of disputes by peaceful means would create a climate in which all existing problems could be resolved. For that reason Kuwait sincerely hopes that our Islamic neighbour, Iran, will follow the example of Iraq and will respect the Security Council resolutions, thus stopping the bloodshed among our Moslem brothers, and will work for the well-being and prosperity of its Islamic people.

42. Good intentions, the genuine political will to end the dispute honourably and confidence that international efforts will achieve peace are the only guarantees of ending the fighting between the two parties and bringing about negotiations to settle the dispute in accordance with the principles of respect for sovereignty and independence, and non-intervention in the internal affairs of the two States.

43. Kuwait believes that the draft resolution that has been submitted [A/37/L.7] reflects the same just principles as are embodied in the Security Council resolutions already adopted. Consequently we believe that it provides a suitable basis on which both parties should agree and that they should implement it. We also believe that international efforts, both individual or collective, should continue and be stepped up to increase the determination to achieve the desired objectives.

44. The hope of peace is precious and valued, for only through peace can mankind preserve its existence. Islam is, after all, the religion of peace, love and brotherhood.

45. Mr. PRASAD (India): The futility of war as a means of settling disputes between nations has not been more tellingly demonstrated in recent years than in the continuing armed conflict between Iran and Iraq. Two developing countries geographically and culturally linked with each other, sharing common values and aspirations, both belonging to the non-aligned movement, are engaged in a fratricidal war that has saddened all of us. It has caused anguish in India, which has historical and friendly relations with both of them. The grievous loss of life, the incalculable damage to property and the unproductive expenditure on the acquisition of arms and on preparations for and the conduct of war have imposed on the two sides a heavy and unbearable burden.

46. The shifting fortunes of war have clearly shown that there can be no winner but only a stalemate with losers on both sides. The consequences for both have been equally grave and damaging, thus demonstrating the utter futility of the conflict and its prolongation or escalation. The raging battle has turned the border regions of the two countries into an inferno. To the people on the two sides, victory or defeat has ceased to be of relevance. What they crave today is peace. It is the search for peace that should guide us in these deliberations, not the temptation to apportion

blame or to extend the conflict into a confrontation in debate.

47. I should like to recall what the Prime Minister of India, Indira Gandhi, said earlier this year:

“The prolonged conflict between Iran and Iraq is a matter of sorrow for all the non-aligned countries. We in India, who have friendly relations with both, wish for nothing better than a speedy ending of it and a peaceful settlement of all the questions in dispute. The prolongation of fighting causes hardships and helps enemies of both countries, and it also indirectly increases tension in the area.”

48. India has been convinced all along that this war would not solve any dispute nor bring peace but would only aggravate the situation and create new problems, causing untold suffering to the two countries. The Government of India lost no time in contacting the two sides with a view to bringing about an end to the conflict as soon as possible. We seized the opportunity in February 1981 provided by the presence of the Foreign Ministers of Iran and Iraq in our capital for the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries to convey to them the agony we felt over the unfortunate conflict. The contacts established at New Delhi marked the beginning of a process of negotiations conducted by the Foreign Ministers of Cuba, Zambia and India and the head of the Political Department of the PLO with Iran and Iraq.

49. It was not insignificant that, at a time when passions were greatly inflamed, both Iran and Iraq acknowledged at New Delhi the threat that the war posed to the non-aligned movement and reiterated and emphasized that no State should acquire or occupy territories by the use of force; that whatever territories had been acquired in this way should be returned; that no act of aggression should be committed against any State; that the territorial integrity and the sovereignty of all States should be respected; that no State should try to interfere or intervene in the internal affairs of other States; and that all differences or claims which might exist between States should be settled by peaceful means in order that peaceful relations should prevail among member States.

50. Having thus established the principles that both Iran and Iraq had accepted as the basis on which the conflict should be ended, the Foreign Minister of India and his colleagues held extensive consultations with the two Governments in their capitals and elsewhere. Detailed plans for a cease-fire, withdrawal of troops and settlement of the respective claims of the two sides were diligently worked out. Consideration was given to the proposals and conditions put forward by Iran and Iraq for ending the war. That the Ministers have so far not succeeded in their efforts is indeed a reflection of deep-rooted mutual suspicion and hatred that the war has generated at Baghdad and Teheran. The wounds that the war has inflicted on the minds of the two peoples are deep, just as the physical ravages of the war have been devastating. The four Ministers are, however, hopeful that the slow process of generating confidence and creating goodwill initiated by their efforts will gain momentum. They are determined that efforts to bring about an early, just and peaceful settlement must continue and they stand ready to do everything possible to contribute to that end in

accordance with their mandate. As the Prime Minister of India, Indira Gandhi, has observed: “Such discussions are not easy, but when there is earnestness and patience we can have a breakthrough. So one must keep on trying even though the prospect does not always seem very good.”

51. During the recent Meeting of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries in New York, the Ministers concerned and indeed the entire movement made sincere efforts to find a way to reconcile the divergent positions of Iran and Iraq. The movement recognized the imminent danger of serious escalation in the conflict and the possibility of widening involvement therein, and appealed to the two sides to refrain from actions that would fan the flames of war. The two sides agreed to restate and reaffirm the principles that should determine the relations between the two countries. We hope that the overwhelming sentiment within the movement for an early end to the conflict and resolution of the issues by peaceful means has made an impact on the two Governments.

52. The non-aligned movement is not alone in its endeavours to bring peace between Iran and Iraq; other organizations, notably the United Nations itself, through the efforts of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, Mr. Olof Palme, have ceaselessly worked in the same direction. All these efforts have sprung from the widely shared conviction that the continuing and escalating conflict in that strategic area has in it the ominous potential for a wider conflagration. The various peacemakers, though acting on the basis of their respective mandates, share a common goal and have remained constantly in touch with each other to co-ordinate and reinforce each other's gains. Temporary setbacks or lack of apparent progress even after two years will not discourage them; nor will the intensification of the war dampen their spirit. The continuing willingness of the two sides to keep their doors open to the peacemakers should in itself be seen as an incentive to explore new avenues to peace.

53. As the Foreign Minister of India, Mr. Narasimha Rao, said in his statement to the General Assembly a few days ago [14th meeting], there will be no victor or vanquished in this war. Iran and Iraq, which have shared values, ideals and common friends, also have urgent tasks that demand their joint attention. They both have natural wealth that should be husbanded for the common good of their peoples and mankind as a whole, and not literally burnt away. They are both fired by an intense love for the people of Palestine, whose tragic plight demands their immediate attention. It is incumbent upon Iran and Iraq therefore, in the interest not only of their own peoples but also of their friends outside, to bring an end to this fratricidal war and channel their energies and resources to constructive endeavours.

54. We fervently appeal to Iran and Iraq to end the war forthwith and to return to the negotiating table.

55. Mr. ALLAGANY (Saudi Arabia) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Since the Second World War a catastrophe has struck the Middle East, inflicting heavy losses on its population, land, economy and stability. That catastrophe is Israel, which, since its creation,

has constantly invaded and annexed the territory of its neighbours, usurped the land and property of the people of Palestine and colonized them with one purpose—that is, to drive that people away from its homeland and annihilate all those demanding their rights that have been usurped.

56. We had thought that this issue, which had exhausted the human and economic resources of the region, was enough, but within the past two years war has broken out between two brother countries dear to us and to the Arab and Moslem nation, namely, Iraq and Iran. What intensifies and increases our pain is the fact that there is no justifiable reason for the prolongation of that war. If we look objectively at events on the field of battle it is quite clear that the only ones benefiting from it are the manufacturers and sellers of arms, while the losers are the children of the Arab and Islamic peoples, who would prefer to see efforts directed towards improving their living conditions, especially since in those two neighbouring countries, as in the countries of the third world, there is a dire need to develop natural resources.

57. Many efforts have been made by various bodies to resolve that painful conflict, but the most important necessity is a cease-fire, followed by the withdrawal of the forces of both parties to internationally recognized boundaries, with good will and the determination to arrive at a fair and equitable settlement that will lead to permanent peace between the two warring nations and in the region as a whole.

58. We appreciate the statements made by one party as reflected in Security Council resolution 522 (1982) as to its readiness to abide by the provisions of Security Council resolution 514 (1980) concerning a cease-fire and withdrawal to internationally recognized boundaries. We appeal urgently to the other party to follow suit.

59. There is no doubt that the continuing war between Iraq and Iran causes us pain because it occurs in our region, but what causes us more pain is the Secretary-General's statement in his report on the work of the Organization [A/37/1], in which he expresses his deep concern over the increasing inability of the United Nations to fulfil the role mandated to it by the Charter. This could lead to a loss of prestige by the United Nations, which in turn would be a great loss to the international community and to the small nations in general.

60. The Security Council has adopted three resolutions on the subject under discussion: resolutions 479 (1980), 514 (1982) and 522 (1982). We do not see the use of so many resolutions. What we consider really important are the numerous efforts that have been made to mediate between the two conflicting parties, including efforts by the Secretary-General, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the non-aligned movement. We do not doubt the sincerity of those efforts at mediation or their objectivity. For this reason we appeal to the two conflicting brothers to abide by the will of the international community as expressed in the Security Council resolutions and by the will of the Islamic nations and those of the third world. We appeal to the brother countries to effect an immediate cease-fire, for the sake of their

children, who are daily being exposed to death, and of their countries, which are being exposed to destruction.

61. We do not believe that the conflict between the two parties justifies loss of human life and property. Nor do we believe that the causes of the dispute cannot be settled if there are good intentions and tolerance, in accordance with the tenets of our religion and culture. We appeal to the Almighty to inspire the two parties and guide them to accept what is beneficial to their countries and peoples and to the international community as a whole.

62. Mr. WASIUDDIN (Bangladesh): I should like to join preceding speakers in expressing our particular distress at the continuing and self-defeating armed conflict between Iran and Iraq. Bangladesh, as a member of the Goodwill Committee of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, has made extensive and in-depth efforts to bring that conflict to an end. The non-aligned movement itself on the one hand and the United Nations on the other have also spared no effort to persuade Iran and Iraq to find an amicable solution to their problems.

63. It is a great tragedy that despite all our collective efforts the war is still continuing. Preceding speakers have already emphasized how the prolongation of this self-defeating conflict has taken a heavy toll of life and property. This armed conflict is not helping anyone. On the contrary, it has brought grief to the doorsteps of many developing countries, including ours, and is likely to cause even greater loss and more grievous injury to those who are not even remotely involved. This tragic and wasteful conflict must not be allowed to continue any longer. We have a moral responsibility to find during this very session an acceptable way to appeal to both Iraq and Iran to halt the armed conflict immediately and to resolve their differences through peaceful means in their own interest, in the interest of the region and, of course, in the larger interest of peace and stability.

64. Bangladesh's commitment to peace through justice in our region is firm and total. As a member of the Goodwill Committee, we are committed to undertaking every possible effort to bring about a peaceful and early settlement of this tragic conflict and to supporting all measures that the Secretary-General may undertake to bring about an end to the hostilities.

65. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The protracted military conflict between Iran and Iraq is a source of serious alarm and profound concern among the overwhelming majority of States Members of the Organization. This alarm and concern are entirely shared by the Soviet Union, which cannot fail to be interested in the elimination of dangerous focal points of tension in areas directly adjacent to its boundaries, as indeed in all other parts of the world.

66. At the time of the outbreak of the hostilities between Iran and Iraq—two States which are neighbours of ours and have friendly relations with us—the Soviet Union adopted a clear and precise position, advocating the prompt cessation of military operations between them and a negotiated settlement of their outstanding differences. As was emphasized by the head of the Soviet State, Mr. Brezhnev, the Soviet

Union resolutely favours the peaceful settlement of this conflict. This position of principle of the Soviet Union was recently confirmed in the statement made at the current session of the General Assembly by the Soviet Foreign Minister, Mr. Gromyko, who said:

"For almost two years now bloody hostilities have been going on between Iran and Iraq. This is a senseless war from the point of view of the vital interests of the peoples of the two countries. This conflict is also fraught with grave consequences. The fire should be put out before it spreads further.

"The most reasonable thing to do would probably be for Iran and Iraq to put aside arms, to slip covers over the muzzies of their guns and to settle their differences at the negotiating table.

"The Soviet Union has invariably come out in favour of putting an end to the war between the two States, with which our country has maintained traditional ties, and it is doing all in its power to bring that about. We expect that other major Powers will abandon attempts to take advantage of the conflict." [13th meeting, paras. 123, 124 and 125.]

67. On the basis of this position of principle, the Soviet Union has resolutely opposed the attempts of the imperialist Powers to derive benefit from the Iran-Iraq conflict and to use it to strengthen their military and political penetration of the Middle and Near East and bring about the further destabilization of the situation in the area.

68. The Soviet Union has always supported and continues to support international efforts to put an end to this long-drawn-out conflict, in particular the use of the good offices of the Secretary-General and the activities of the group acting on instructions from the non-aligned movement.

69. A helpful role in promoting a settlement of the conflict between Iran and Iraq could also be played by the United Nations. In the opinion of the Soviet delegation, the General Assembly could promote a *rapprochement* between the two parties and help to steer this conflict towards a peaceful solution on a mutually acceptable basis.

70. This senselessly tragic conflict between Iran and Iraq, which has been continuing now for 25 months, has brought both countries great loss of life and destruction. Thousands of human lives have already been lost in the flames of war, and vast amounts of property have been destroyed. The attention of the leaders and peoples of those countries has been diverted from the solution of the vital problems of

economic and social development and from the tasks involved in combating Israel's continuing aggression and the plans hatched by imperialist circles to establish their rule over that region. We are convinced that the cessation of the conflict would be in the profound long-term interests of the peoples of Iran and Iraq alike.

71. Mr. LUSAKA (Zambia): The armed conflict between Iraq and Iran has now been raging for well over two years. It has claimed thousands of innocent lives and has resulted in massive destruction of the infrastructure. In financial terms, it has cost the two countries exorbitant sums of money. This is a war that the people of both Iraq and Iran do not need. It is a war for which they have already paid a very high price. They need peace and harmony. They need economic and social development in conditions of peace.

72. The war between Iraq and Iran also has the effect of diverting attention from the just struggle of the Palestinian people. It is a war in a sensitive region of the world that some are only too keen to exploit. It indeed has ominous consequences for international peace and security.

73. Zambia deeply regrets this armed conflict and wishes it to end. We desire a peaceful and just settlement. Together with Cuba, India and the PLO, which are the other members of the Non-Aligned Ministerial Committee set up at New Delhi in February 1981, we have worked tirelessly to achieve this objective. We believe that the conflict can and should end on the basis of the principles articulated by the Foreign Ministers of non-aligned countries at their New Delhi meeting—namely, that: no State should acquire or occupy territories by the use of force; whatever territories have been acquired in this way should be returned; no act of aggression should be committed against any State; the territorial integrity and the sovereignty of all States should be respected; no State should try to interfere or intervene in the internal affairs of other States; and all differences or claims which may exist between States should be settled by peaceful means in order that peaceful relations may prevail among Member States.

74. My delegation appeals to both Iraq and Iran to see wisdom in ending the conflict between them. It is our fervent hope that this debate and the resolution that may be adopted at its conclusion will contribute to a peaceful and just settlement at an early date.

The meeting rose at 12.10 p.m.