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

Held at Headquarters, New York,  
on Tuesday, 10 January 1989, at 3.30 p.m.

President: Mr. RAZALI

(Malaysia)

Members:

Algeria  
Brazil  
Canada  
China  
Colombia  
Ethiopia  
Finland  
France  
Nepal  
Senegal  
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics  
United Kingdom of Great Britain and  
Northern Ireland  
United States of America  
Yugoslavia

Mr. DJOUDI  
Mr. FACHINI  
Mr. FORTIER  
Mr. LI Luy  
Mr. PEÑALOSA  
Mr. TADESSE  
Mr. TORNUDD  
Mr. BROCHAND  
Mr. JOSSE  
Mr. BA  
Mr. BELONOGOV

Sir Crispin TICKELL  
Mr. OKUN  
Mr. KOTEVSKI

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The meeting was called to order at 5.20 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

LETTER DATED 4 JANUARY 1989 FROM THE CHARGE D'AFFAIRES A. I. OF THE PERMANENT MISSION OF THE LIBYAN ARAB JAMAHIRIYA TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/20364)

LETTER DATED 4 JANUARY 1989 FROM THE CHARGE D'AFFAIRES A. I. OF THE PERMANENT MISSION OF BAHRAIN TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/20367)

The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decisions taken at the previous meetings on this item, I invite the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to take a place at the Council table; I invite the representatives of Afghanistan, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Burkina Faso, Cuba, Democratic Yemen, India, the Islamic Republic of Iran, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, Madagascar, Mali, Morocco, Nicaragua, Pakistan, the Sudan, the Syrian Arab Republic, Tunisia, Uganda and Zimbabwe to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Treiki (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Dost (Afghanistan), Mr. Shaker (Bahrain), Mr. Mohiuddin (Bangladesh), Mr. Dah (Burkina Faso), Mrs. De Florez Prida (Cuba), Mr. Al-Alfi (Democratic Yemen), Mr. Dasgupta (India), Mr. Madarshahi (Islamic Republic of Iran), Mr. Khamsy (Lao People's Democratic Republic), Mr. Rakotondramboa (Madagascar), Mr. Diakite (Mali), Mr. Bennouna (Morocco), Mr. Sevilla Boza (Nicaragua), Mr. Shah Nawaz (Pakistan), Mr. Adam (Sudan), Mr. Al-Masri (Syrian Arab Republic), Mr. Karoui (Tunisia), Mr. Kamunanwire (Uganda) and Mr. Mudenge (Zimbabwe) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Malta, Poland, Romania, the United Arab Emirates and Yemen 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 those representatives to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in conformity with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Zapotocky (Czechoslovakia), Mr. Zachmann (German Democratic Republic), Mr. Borg Olivier (Malta), Mr. Noworyta (Poland), Mr. Tanasie (Romania), Mr. Al-Suwaidi (United Arab Emirates) and Mr. Mansour (Yemen) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter dated 10 January 1989 from the Permanent Representative of Algeria to the United Nations, which reads as follows:

"I have the honour to request that the Security Council extend, in accordance with rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure, an invitation to Ambassador A. Engin Ansay, Permanent Observer of the Organization of the Islamic Conference to the United Nations, in connection with the consideration of the item presently on the Council's agenda."

That letter will be published as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/20382.

If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the Security Council decides to extend an invitation to Mr. Ansay in accordance with rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

(The President)

I have received a letter dated 10 January 1989 from the Permanent Representative of Algeria to the United Nations, which reads as follows:

"I have the honour to request that the Council extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Mr. Leasona S. Makhanda, Secretary for Labour of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, during the course of the Council's consideration of the item entitled 'Letter dated 4 January 1989 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/20364)' and 'Letter dated 4 January 1989 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Bahrain to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/20367)'."

That letter will be published as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/20384.

If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the Security Council decides to extend an invitation to Mr. Makhanda in accordance with rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I have also received a letter dated 10 January 1989 from the Permanent Representative of Algeria to the United Nations, which reads as follows:

"I have the honour to request that the Council decides to extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Mr. Solly Simelane, Deputy Representative of the African National Congress of South Africa, during the course of the Council's consideration of the item entitled 'Letter dated 4 January 1989 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/20364)' and 'Letter dated 4 January 1989

(The President)

from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Bahrain to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/20367)'."

That letter will be published as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/20387.

If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the Security Council decides to extend an invitation to Mr. Simelane in accordance with rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

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

I should like to draw the attention of members of the Council to document S/20380, which contains the text of a letter dated 6 January 1989 from the Permanent Representative of Madagascar to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General.

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

Mr. BORG OLIVIER (Malta): Permit me at the outset, Sir, to express my Government's deep regret on learning of the demise of His Majesty Emperor Hirohito of Japan on Saturday, 7 January 1989. On behalf of my Government I wish to pay tribute to a great monarch and to convey through this forum our sincere condolences to His Majesty's family as well as to the Government and people of Japan.

Mr. President, my country extends congratulations to your country, Malaysia, as a new member of the Security Council. I wish to take this opportunity to congratulate you personally on your assumption of the high office of President of the Council for the month of January. I should also like to extend to your

(Mr. Borg Olivier, Malta)

predecessor, Ambassador Kagami of Japan, our sincere appreciation of the skill and dedication with which he presided over the Council, with its heavy workload, during December 1988. Finally, we extend our congratulations also to Canada, Colombia, Ethiopia and Finland, which, like Malaysia, have just assumed their important responsibilities as non-permanent members of the Security Council.

Malta is very seriously perturbed by the heightened tension in the Mediterranean region as a result of the relations between the United States and the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya.

On Wednesday we learned with apprehension that United States navy aircraft had shot down two Libyan military aircraft over international waters in the Eastern Mediterranean.

Malta, a small country situated right at the centre of the Mediterranean, is understandably deeply concerned that once again a grave incident involving the use of armed force has occurred in the Mediterranean region. Immediately after the incident occurred the Minister of Foreign Affairs conveyed the Malta Government's concern to the Ambassadors to Malta of the two countries involved, urged restraint and emphasized the need to ensure that the incident would not lead to further escalation of an already dangerous situation seriously prejudicial to peace and stability in the Mediterranean region.

Malta has for many years actively promoted action aimed at enhancing security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region. We have done so in several international forums, including the United Nations, the Non-Aligned Movement and the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, and in meetings of Heads of Government of the Commonwealth. In the United Nations our initiatives have led to

(Mr. Borg Olivier, Malta)

the adoption by the General Assembly of important resolutions reflecting the concerns and the aspirations of the international community with regard to the need for enhancement of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region. The latest, resolution 43/84, was adopted by consensus by the General Assembly only last month. In that resolution the General Assembly expressed its concern at the persistent tension in parts of the Mediterranean region as well as the continuing military operations in the Mediterranean and the grave dangers that they create for peace and security and general equilibrium in the region. The Assembly in the same resolution reaffirmed that the security of the Mediterranean was closely linked with European security and with international peace and security. It reaffirmed also that further efforts were necessary for the reduction of tension and of armaments and for the creation of conditions of security and fruitful co-operation in all fields for all countries and peoples of the Mediterranean on the basis of the fundamental principles relating to sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, non-use of force or the threat of the use of force and peaceful settlement of disputes.

(Mr. Borg Olivier, Malta)

The Assembly has repeatedly stressed in its resolutions the need for just and viable solutions of existing problems and crises in the area on the basis of the provisions of the Charter and the relevant resolutions of the United Nations. The credibility of the United Nations is not enhanced if resolutions adopted with the support of all Member States are not fully respected and complied with.

We all know that the Mediterranean is already plagued with persistent tension as a result of several unresolved conflict situations that pose serious threats to international peace and security. Any action by any State that heightens tension even further is to be strongly deplored.

As 1988 drew to a close the international community witnessed a number of encouraging developments in the search for peaceful solutions to a number of regional conflicts. As a result a most welcome atmosphere of improved relations through constructive dialogue filled us with optimism for the future. We had hoped that 1989 would be the year for pursuing the same course with even greater confidence and determination so that the many positive achievements of 1988 could be consolidated and strengthened. Now, only a few days into 1989, the fragile foundations of peace on which we were placing such high hopes have been violently shaken, with potentially serious consequences. Malta urges the utmost restraint so that further escalation of existing tension will be avoided. This latest deplorable incident must not be permitted to have a negative impact on the prevailing favourable climate in international relations or to negate the encouraging positive developments aimed at facilitating the Middle East peace process.

Malta expects that all States will conduct themselves at all times in conformity with their obligations under the Charter of the United Nations. While Malta cannot be a judge as to which of the two opposing versions of the incident is



(Mr. Borg Olivier, Malta)

the correct one, we are consistently and strongly opposed to the use of force or the threat of use of force for the settlement of any dispute between States.

Malta believes that it is the right of all peoples to live in peace and security, and we firmly maintain that that must equally apply to all peoples of the Mediterranean region, of which Malta forms a part. As a country that is neutral and that enjoys excellent relations with both the United States and Libya, our neighbour, Malta is always ready to contribute to the restoration of normal relations between those two countries. Malta continues to urge restraint and the avoidance of any escalation or provocation. We consider that it would be appropriate and desirable for the Security Council to request the Secretary-General to use his good offices to explore ways and means of assisting the parties to eliminate their differences through peaceful means and in strict compliance with the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.

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

The next speaker is His Excellency Mr. A. Engin Ansay, Permanent Observer of the Organization of the Islamic Conference to the United Nations, to whom the Council has extended an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. ANSAY: I should like at the outset to avail myself of this opportunity to present, through you, Mr. President, on behalf of the General Secretariat of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, to his Majesty the new Emperor of Japan and his bereaved family and to the Government and the noble nation of Japan, our heartfelt condolences on the demise of His Majesty the late Emperor, who was a symbol of peace, solidarity and prosperity for the people of Japan as well as for the world at large.

(Mr. Ansay)

It is a source of genuine pleasure for the Islamic Conference to have you, Sir, presiding over the Council. Malaysia, as a founder member of the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC), has a very special and particular place among our ranks. I am sure that under your wise personal guidance the Council will be able to tackle those issues that lie at the core of its responsibility to preserve international peace and security. We sincerely believe that the Council will not fall prey to any possible attempt to tarnish the atmosphere of achievement and peace that has unequivocally set its mark upon the previous year of 1988. So much has been done by so many to attain that long-yearned-for state of the world, but, alas, it is so easy to undo in a matter of moments what has taken so long to achieve. All the members of our organization are eager to maintain and enhance this atmosphere. It is therefore imperative that we all exert our best efforts to strengthen world peace and to reaffirm our faith in the United Nations as an instrument of international peace and security.

We extend our congratulations and best wishes to all the new members of the Council. I am confident that their presence in the Council will contribute to the success of its deliberations. We welcome Malaysia, Canada, Colombia, Ethiopia and Finland. We would also like to express our appreciation to the States whose terms of membership have just ended. Our special thanks should be put on record for the commendable and exemplary way your predecessor, Ambassador Hideo Kagami, the Permanent Representative of Japan, conducted the Council's work during the precarious moments of the last month of 1988.

Immediately after the shocking news of the downing of the two Libyan military planes by United States naval aircraft in the international airspace over the Mediterranean, His Excellency Mr. Hamid Algabid, Secretary-General of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, issued a statement at Jeddah expressing the

(Mr. Ansay)

OIC's deep concern over that unwarranted action. While denouncing the attack as a violation of the sovereignty of a State member of the OIC and of all international conventions and practices, he called upon the United States to refrain from its repeated threats against the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. The Secretary-General of the Organization of the Islamic Conference reaffirmed the OIC's full solidarity with the Jamahiriya and called upon its membership to support that brotherly State, particularly at this critical juncture.

The Jamahiriya has categorically rejected the charge that its MIGs were armed aircraft with hostile intentions. Even the American press as quoted by many who have spoken before me has been quite sympathetic to that view. As such, the shooting down of the Libyan aircraft by United States naval fighters in a situation of accidental confrontation in international airspace can be construed as the result of the atmosphere of deep distrust prevailing between the two countries. The current situation of hostility between the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and the United States goes back almost a decade. Our memories are still fresh of the similar incident of the shooting down of two Libyan aircraft over the Gulf of Sidra in 1981 and of the 1986 bombing of Tripoli and Benghazi.

We in the OIC fear that the most recent incident may be a prelude to the exercise of a broader plan of aggression against the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. Thus, while denouncing the very act of shooting down the Libyan planes, we strongly appeal to the responsible officials in the Administration to desist forthwith from a campaign aimed at striking the Jamahiriya on the pretext that it has built an installation capable of producing chemical weapons. Those claims have been strongly and repeatedly refuted by Libya, which has agreed to submit the pharmaceutical complex in question to international inspection. If the United States entertains any different ideas or has other proposals, surely, under the

(Mr. Ansay)

aegis of this body, a peaceable political solution can be found. In that regard the latest proposal of the leader of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to conduct direct talks with the United States could also contribute to defusing the explosive situation.

(Mr. Ansay)

We find it hard to believe that a small country with limited means and resources could cause such an intensive mobilization of forces by the United States Administration at a time when both the United States and world public opinion continue to urge restraint and extreme caution, especially when the international community was beginning to glimpse promising signs of global détente and peace. We believe that the crux of the matter, concealed behind the current manifestations of unwarranted acts and threats, is something altogether different. But what we do not understand is, first, why the Jamahiriya has been singled out and threatened, while neither possessing nor manufacturing chemical arms, whereas many other countries, as we all know, continue to possess, manufacture, and stockpile those abominable weapons. Secondly, why is the alleged proliferation of chemical weapons tackled separately, while the actual presence of the even more abominable nuclear arms in the Middle East and southern Africa is ignored? Once the responsible authorities decide to address these questions, which are at the heart of the matter, instead of singling out for attack a small country which is easy prey, then the United Nations will be able to contribute further to the maintenance of international peace.

The PRESIDENT: I thank Mr. Ansay for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is Mr. Leasona S. Makhanda, to whom the Council has extended an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. MAKHANDA: On behalf of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC), the custodian of the genuine aspirations of the dispossessed, oppressed and exploited African majority in Azania, may I at the outset extend to you, Sir, my sincere felicitations on your assumption of the presidency of this lofty body, the United Nations Security Council. May I also congratulate you on your unanimous election to the Chairmanship of the Group of 77 for the year 1989.

(Mr. Makhanda)

Your country, a member of the Special Committee against Apartheid, has always played a very progressive role in international affairs. Its commitment to peace and justice has made it possible for our wise and venerable leader, President Zephania Mothopeng, to be released unconditionally from racist South Africa's prisons. We believe that this encouraging trend will continue in the Special Committee against Apartheid until Jeff Masemola - a PAC member who today is the longest life-serving political prisoner - Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners are released unconditionally.

May I also take this opportunity to congratulate your predecessor, Ambassador Kagami of Japan, for the most able manner in which he carried out his responsibilities as President of the Council last month. Allow me to express to him and the people of Japan our heartfelt condolences at the passing away of their great leader His Imperial Majesty Emperor Hirohito. The people of Japan and the world in general have truly been denied the wisdom and far-sightedness of this great serene leader. May he rest in peace.

The Council has just been strengthened by the addition of new members which are all represented by tried and tested diplomats, in whom we repose our trust and belief that their presence will make the Council's task easier. The Council has in the past shown wisdom in tackling such issues as have been brought before it, especially those involving the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, a small peaceful African country whose leaders, since its successful revolution, have endeavoured to promote their people's well-being, raise their standard of living, and aid others to do the same in peace and harmony. We are confident that this tradition will be maintained.

When the whole of humanity was just starting to heave a sigh of relief as a result of tangible efforts by many world leaders and the super-Powers to address serious and complex international issues through the one and only rational method - the peaceful discussion and resolution of conflicts - it was rudely shocked into

(Mr. Makhanda)

reality, on 4 January 1989, when two Libyan aircraft were downed by United States Navy war-planes in the Mediterranean Sea off the Libyan coast.

The unanimous decisions and resolutions of the Council and noble campaigns supported by the entire world to save the Sharpeville Six from judicial murder, the courageous settlements in Afghanistan and south-western Africa, the Palestine Liberation Organization's recent declarations, the well-deserved Nobel Peace Prize accepted by the United Nations Secretary-General on behalf of the United Nations peace-keeping forces, and the progress arrived at peacefully through the active participation of the two super-Powers, the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics - all is now threatened by this unfortunate, widely denounced incident against the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya.

The whipping-up of public opinion and emotions against the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya is ominous, especially since this is not the first time it has happened. It happened with dire consequences in April 1986. After a series of disinformation campaigns through various media and a number of threatening utterances by the Reagan Administration, United States forces descended on:

"... facilities used to carry out Libya's hostile policy of international terrorism ..." - including ongoing attacks - "... against United States installations and innocent individuals." (S/17990)

Then the international community was assured that the United States had evidence of Libyan involvement in other planned attacks against the United States. If my memory serves me well, I believe that to date none of the members of this body has seen that evidence, and all who were then present have said so, including the allies of the United States. Needless to say, that incident on that fateful April day killed children and rendered others motherless and fatherless, and much damage was done to the economy and infrastructure of this developing African nation.

(Mr. Makhanda)

The Libyan people love the American people. They have said so themselves in numerous releases and publications. Their Foreign Minister and Permanent Representative, Ali Treiki - one read some years ago - even volunteered to help by contributing to a hospital in the community in which he was resident here in the United States to alleviate the plight of the sick. Such an act would never come from an official of a country whose purpose was to destroy other people. Even if the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya wanted to destroy the American people - an infinitely remote possibility - their numbers and logistics would never allow them to do so. Given their geographic position, the state of international relations and past experience, the only thing they can do is defend themselves by being vigilant at all times - a course of action accepted by the norms of civilized societies and the Charter of the United Nations which the majority of speakers here have endorsed.

It is in line with the above reasoning that the Libyan leadership has agreed to inspection by an independent, disinterested and impartial body of the pharmaceutical factory which has been the cause of this unsavoury incident. Alas, this proposal has not been taken up. My delegation cannot but lament the failure to pursue this peaceful option.



(Mr. Makhanda)

It is no secret that racist South Africa is believed to have developed a nuclear capability, that it even went so far as to detonate what is generally believed to be an atom bomb off the South African coast a few years back. No one to date has challenged the racists to open their sites at Koeberg and Phelandaba to international inspection, save the dispossessed, exploited and oppressed African majority and some African States. Why is every one of the super-Powers quiet on this potentially destructive development? Instead, racist South Africa's membership in the International Atomic Energy Agency has been annually supported despite the objections of African States, representatives of the Azanian people and progressive countries.

The destruction meted out by racist South Africa on its own populations and the havoc it has wrought on the front-line and neighbouring States have gone totally unpunished by those who would punish Libya on the pretext that it is developing chemical weapons. There has not been a show of force by the huge navies of the super-Powers off the racist South African coast, notwithstanding the fact that the Council did adopt a resolution to the effect that racist South Africa was a threat to international peace and security. That resolution having been adopted, even the mildest calls for punitive measures such as sanctions have been thwarted on many occasions by two Powers with a veto in the Council - the United States and Britain.

We appeal to this body to act and act decisively before another 14 April 1986 disaster befalls the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. My delegation would like to endorse Ambassador Aleksandr M. Belonogov's contribution to the Council that, if the United States were to withdraw its navy from the region, his country would do likewise.

We endorse that position because it is our firm belief that when two elephants fight - of which there was a strong possibility before glasnost and perestroika - the grass suffers greatly; but equally true is the fact that when two elephants

(Mr. Makhanda)

make love, as is the case today between the two super-Powers, the grass still suffers. The removal of the two countries' navies from the area will leave the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya's grass to flourish in its greenness for all of mankind to enjoy its beauty and texture. We strongly and humbly urge the Council, through you, Sir, to allow that to happen. I thank members of the Council on behalf of my Chairman, Johnson P. Mlambo and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania.

The PRESIDENT: I thank Mr. Makhanda for his kind words addressed to me.

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

Mr. AL-SUWAIDI (United Arab Emirates) (interpretation from Arabic): I extend our sympathy to the friendly Japanese people on the death of Emperor Hirohito and to express my delegation's condolences to the Government and people of Japan.

On behalf of the delegation of the United Arab Emirates I am pleased to express to you, Sir, our sincere congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council during the current month and on the election of your friendly country to membership of the Security Council, which shows the international community's confidence in and appreciation of Malaysia. We welcome your presidency, since you have already proven your diplomatic skills and prudence in guiding the work of the Council.

I take this opportunity to express our gratitude to Ambassador Hideo Kagami, Permanent Representative of Japan, for his prudent conduct of the business of the Council during the month of December.

Furthermore, I extend congratulations to the other new members of the Security Council - Canada, Colombia, Ethiopia and Finland - and wish them, too, success in discharging their new responsibilities. I also wish to express our thanks and

(Mr. Al-Suwaidi, United Arab  
Emirates)

gratitude to the outgoing members of the Security Council - Argentina, Italy, Japan, Federal Republic of Germany and Zambia - for their effective and positive contributions to the work of the Council over the past two years.

We had hoped that the year 1989 would be one characterized by moves towards harmony and dialogue among States and that longstanding conflicts would be resolved in the course of the year by peaceful means. We had hoped that the new year would be free from threats by some States against others, the resort to provocative means and the pursuit of confrontational policies. We had hoped that this year would reflect in a tangible fashion the climate of détente that had been developing over the past year within the framework of international relations and the actions of the two super-Powers. We had hoped that this year too, as in the past year, there would be resort to United Nations machinery to settle disputes and differences among States.

It is indeed regrettable that this year should have begun with provocative actions by the United States fleet off the Libyan coast and the escalation of that provocation with an act of aggression against Libya in the form of the downing of two Libyan aircraft on a legitimate reconnaissance mission.

Perhaps that provocation and its escalation bode ill for the international community as a whole, and the course of events so far this year may prove contrary to the hopes and expectations placed in it in the light of the achievements made in the past year. May that conclusion prove erroneous and may everything continue to move in the right direction again in the current year.

(Mr. Al-Suwaidi, United Arab Emirates)

The representative of Bahrain, in his capacity as Chairman of the Arab Group this month, expressed the collective Arab point of view, including that of my country, regarding United States aggression against Libya. The United Arab Emirates subscribes to that statement. However, given the special ties we have with sisterly Libya, and because we reject American provocations against Libya and American aggression that resulted in the shooting down of two Libyan aircraft, my Government has expressed its own position in the following communiqué, dated 5 January 1989:

"The United Arab Emirates learned with deep regret news of the attack by the United States air force on two Libyan aircraft over international waters that resulted in the downing of two Libyan planes.

"The United Arab Emirates condemns this totally unprovoked act of aggression, which it considers an act of provocation that will increase tension in the Mediterranean at a time when the countries of the world are seeking to build on the improving climate in international relations in order to promote international peace and security.

"The United Arab Emirates, while expressing its solidarity with the brotherly Arab people of Libya, urges restraint and prudence in dealing with the situation in order to achieve peace, security and stability in the Middle East."

No one can uncouple this fresh act of aggression against Libya from the previous act of aggression committed by the United States air force against Libya that resulted in the martyrdom and injury of many civilians, including women and children, as well as damage to civilian and residential quarters. It cannot be viewed as separate from the escalation of tension by the United States

(Mr. Al-Suwaidi, United  
Arab Emirates)

Administration against Libya. This fresh act of aggression is part of an orchestrated campaign of aggression and provocation against Libya.

We call upon the Government of the United States, as a permanent member of the Security Council and one of the two super-Powers with special responsibilities regarding the maintenance of international peace and security, to opt for dialogue instead of confrontation, to seek understanding instead of provocation, and to refrain from resorting to the use of force and, instead, move towards the peaceful settlement of all outstanding issues between them.

In conclusion, I should like to express our solidarity with and support for the brotherly people of Libya in preserving its independence and dignity. We stand by it in defending its national territory and sovereignty against any act of aggression.

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

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

Mr. ZACHMANN (German Democratic Republic): Allow me at the outset to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of January and to wish you the best of success in the discharge of your responsibilities. At the same time, my delegation would like to express its appreciation for the effective way in which the representative of Japan, Ambassador Hideo Kagami, presided over the Council's work in December.

My delegation takes this opportunity to express its deepest sympathy on the demise of His Majesty Emperor Hirohito of Japan.

(Mr. Zachmann, German  
Democratic Republic)

The German Democratic Republic welcomes the new members of the Security Council. We are convinced that their constructive co-operation will give important impetus to the Council's activities.

I thank you, Mr. President, and the other members of the Council for giving me the opportunity to put forward the position of the German Democratic Republic regarding the matter under consideration.

World public opinion is greatly concerned over the recent deterioration of the situation in the southern Mediterranean. The people and Government of the German Democratic Republic fully share this concern. The downing of two Libyan aircraft by United States armed forces is an aggressive act for which there is no justification whatsoever. We view such acts and the continued threat of the use of force against Libya as a heavy burden that is being placed on the process of improving the international situation, a process in which progress was achieved, especially last year.

There is an urgent need in the interests of peace and security in the region to display level-headedness and readiness to negotiate so as to avoid further confrontation and an aggravation of the situation. This is all the more necessary since in the nuclear age military actions can cause chain reactions with devastating effects.

And, rightly, world public opinion is concerned that intensified efforts by the international community to solve disputes and conflicts exclusively by peaceful means are being torpedoed and placed in jeopardy thoughtlessly. At a time when peaceful solutions are bound to be brought to various regional conflicts, an obsolete instrumentality such as the policy of confrontation has long been out of date. That applies even more to the sorely afflicted Middle East region. It is to

(Mr. Zachmann, German  
Democratic Republic)

be hoped, therefore, that the constructive offer made by the leader of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Colonel Muammar Qaddafi, to start direct talks with the United States administration to settle the conflict will not be turned down.

The German Democratic Republic supports the consistent efforts by many littoral States of the Mediterranean to create a zone in the region free from nuclear and chemical weapons. Such efforts should, like further steps to solve regional conflicts, be characteristic of the year 1989, which has only just begun. The German Democratic Republic stands resolutely in favour of solving the conflicts in Africa, the Middle East and all over the world peacefully through negotiations. It will continue to stand in solidarity with the States and peoples fighting for their sovereignty and independence.

We believe that the new Soviet disarmament initiatives, which were welcomed throughout the world, should not be responded to with threats and violence. It is urgently required that dialogue, understanding, common sense and realism be strengthened in order to make the process of disarmament and détente that has been started in international relations irreversible.

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

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

Mr. TANASIE (Romania): My delegation joins with previous speakers in conveying to the Japanese Government and people our deep condolences on the demise of His Majesty Emperor Hirohito.

Let me first of all extend to you, Sir, my sincere congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the current month and on Malaysia's election to membership of the Council, a country with which Romania is developing relations of friendship and co-operation in all fields. We are convinced that under your able guidance the work of the Council will be crowned with success.

I also express to your predecessor, the Ambassador of Japan, our appreciation for his performance as president of the Council during the month of December.

Our congratulations go equally to the other new members of the Council upon their election to this prestigious United Nations body.

Coming now to the item under consideration in the Security Council, I would like to state from the very beginning that public opinion in Romania took note with deep concern and disapproval of the downing by United States military aircraft of two Libyan planes. In our opinion, this military attack and the massive presence of American military forces strongly equipped with combat techniques are conducive to increasing tension in that part of the Mediterranean.



(Mr. Tanasie, Romania)

It is obvious that the downing of the Libyan aircraft has created a particularly dangerous situation for peace. That is why it is necessary to put an immediate end to acts of force and demonstrations of force in order to ensure respect for the right of the Libyan people, as well as the right of all other peoples, to independence, sovereignty, security and peace.

This serious event in the Mediterranean further highlights the emerging grave situation emerging for the peace and security of peoples owing to the presence of military fleets and demonstrations of force in international waters.

Romania's position on such issues is well-known. We take this opportunity to reaffirm that foreign military vessels should be withdrawn from international waters, that the oceans and seas should be free from any military presence and that demonstrations of force in proximity to the frontiers of other States should be ended.

Romania stands with determination for the use of international airspace only for peaceful purposes and for the prohibition of any military exercises and actions in that airspace. At the same time the Socialist Republic of Romania expresses its solidarity with the aspirations of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to ensuring its freedom and independence.

In deploring the downing of the Libyan planes by American armed forces in the Mediterranean, Romania demands that such acts should not be repeated and that a high sense of responsibility for the security of all countries and the defence of the general interests of world peace should be demonstrated by all parties.

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

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

Mr. ZAPOTOCKY (Czechoslovakia): First of all, Sir, I wish to express my pleasure at your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council in January and to wish you much success in this responsible post. I take this opportunity to voice my recognition to the Permanent Representative of Japan, Ambassador Hideo Kagami, for exerting commendable endeavours and employing the best of his abilities to ensure the success of the Security Council's work in December. I also wish to express our appreciation to the other outgoing members of the Council and to welcome Canada, Colombia, Ethiopia, Finland and your country, Mr. President, as new members of the Council.

I take this opportunity to convey our condolences to the Japanese delegation and Government on the death of Emperor Hirohito.

The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic is gravely concerned with the tragic incident of the downing of two Libyan reconnaissance aircraft by United States military planes. This act, which constitutes a violation of international law, is in direct contradiction to the positive trends in the development of international relations and poses a threat to the situation in the Mediterranean and in the Middle East regions. It has reminded us once again that peace can be fragile and must be treated as such. This is not the first time that we have witnessed a serious event when it is not easy for the Security Council to ascertain all details and circumstances. Nevertheless, the broader context of this case is generally well-known.

(Mr. Zapotocky, Czechoslovakia)

It is beyond any dispute that this incident has been brought about to a significant degree by the exacerbation of tensions caused during recent weeks by the American threats against Libya. These threats based on inconclusive accusations against Libya concerning its intended production of chemical weapons, as well as the demonstrations of the United States military presence close to the Libyan border, have generated an atmosphere of mistrust and suspicion. In such a situation any single, even routine, military manoeuvre can give rise to a misunderstanding involving the risk of tragic events. In the conditions of such a psychosis a failure of the human factor, with tragic consequences, has actually occurred in this case, as in that of the shooting down of the Iranian airliner by a United States battleship in the Persian Gulf last July.

In the circumstances, in which the cited "hostile intent" of Libyan planes was based exclusively on a subjective assessment by American pilots acting in an obvious psychosis of hostility, the use of armed force cannot be justified by references to the right of self-defence pursuant to Article 51 of the Charter. An indispensable condition of the exercise of such a right is the objective existence of circumstances provided by the Charter. Their existence cannot be confused with subjective perceptions of military commanders. Otherwise, the provisions of Article 51 on self-defence would cease to be a mere exception to the general ban on the use of armed force and become, conversely, an instrument of complete and irreversible destruction of this ban.

(Mr. Zapotocky, Czechoslovakia)

Again, it has been confirmed that large concentrations of military forces and combat facilities in crisis areas create conditions for an escalation of tension and for the outbreak of armed conflicts whose ramifications can be perilous for world peace and security.

The world made a certain degree of progress last year in the solution of prolonged and complicated problems, and optimistic hopes for the successful promotion of this positive process have been commonly shared for this year as well.

An inseparable part of this development is the strengthening of the role and prestige of the Security Council as a body that bears the main responsibility for the preservation of international peace and security. In this context, the international community has the full right to expect the permanent members of the Security Council in particular to serve as an example in their behaviour towards other States, to comply strictly with international law and to act with restraint, especially in areas of tension. We want to believe that the United States will come to realize these facts and reassess its policy that has thus far repeatedly led the Council to consider dangerous incidents which are prone to spark new hotbeds of tension. The demand for such a change is the imperative of our times.

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

The next speaker is Mr. Solly Simelane, to whom the Council has extended an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. SIMELANE: I should like to join all those who have spoken before me in extending to you, Sir, our warm congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of January and in wishing you success in the discharge of your responsible tasks.

(Mr. Simelane)

It gives me pleasure to express our thanks and appreciation to your predecessor, Ambassador Hideo Kagami, Permanent Representative of Japan, for his successful conduct of the work of the Council during the month of December.

I should also like to congratulate the new members of the Council and wish them all success in their new tasks.

The African National Congress (ANC) has learnt with disbelief of the United States attack on two Libyan planes over international waters. We disbelieved it because the United States Administration gave the impression that in southern Africa it was working towards a peaceful settlement of regional conflicts. If it is their policy peacefully to resolve regional conflicts in one region, why do they not follow the same path in another region, namely, northern Africa?

Since the ANC has for a long time welcomed and supported the principles of inter-African solidarity which were enshrined in the charter of the Organization of African Unity, it is only natural that today we express our solidarity with a victim of aggression being carried out at random by the United States of America. The noble ideas which inspired the anti-colonial and anti-racist struggles of African people are deeply rooted in the history of our continent and they have been vividly upheld through the years of struggling for national liberation and independence. Because the action by the United States might set false precedents and further escalate the serious situation in that part of the African continent, we cannot but deplore such a flagrant departure from normal behaviour in international relations.

This unfortunate event takes place at a time when the struggle in South Africa is reaching a climax with hopes of peace throughout the continent. Acts of aggression such as these not only run counter to the course of the history of our continent but also poison the atmosphere which yearns for international peace and security.

(Mr. Simelane)

Our struggle in South Africa, our struggle for national liberation, our anti-racist and anti-colonial struggle is basically and closely connected with the struggle for peace worldwide. That is so for the simple reason that apartheid is not only a negation of peace but it also kills people every day and enjoys the collaboration of those forces that call us terrorists.

We call upon the international community to condemn those acts of aggression and to demonstrate its commitment to the cause of peace.

The PRESIDENT: I thank Mr. Simelane for his kind words addressed to me.

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

Mr. NOWORYTA (Poland): I should like to extend my sincere appreciation to the members of the Security Council for giving me the honour and the opportunity to address the Council.

We have learned with sorrow of the passing of His Majesty Emperor Hirohito of Japan. We are aware of his contribution to building modern Japan. I should like to transmit our sincere condolences to the Government and people of Japan on this heavy loss.

Mr. President, we are extremely pleased to see you presiding over the deliberations of the Council for the month of January. You are a representative of the friendly country of Malaysia, with which Poland enjoys relations of fruitful co-operation marked by your own contribution as your country's representative to Poland in the recent past. I am sure that your diplomatic skills and experience will be a great asset in the work of the Council.

It gives me pleasure to express our appreciation to your predecessor, Ambassador Hideo Kagami, Permanent Representative of Japan, for his successful conduct of the business of the Council last month.

(Mr. Noworyta, Poland)

We learned with concern and apprehension of the incident resulting in the shooting down of two Libyan aircraft off the coast of Libya. Our concern is all the greater because this serious incident took place early this year following encouraging developments in the international situation and the emerging trend towards the settlement of conflicts in different parts of the world that marked the year 1988. This incident demonstrates how suspicion breeds tensions that lead to undermining the safety of aircraft in international airspace, raises the sense of insecurity in the area and threatens overall international peace and security.

We follow with great concern the growing tension in relations between the United States and Libya resulting also from the threat to undertake military action against the chemical factory in Rabta, which is alleged to be a plant for the production of chemical weapons, irrespective of the unprecedented offer made by the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to make it the subject of international inspection.

As stated by the spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on 6 January 1989, Poland has stressed on numerous occasions the need strictly to abide by the principle enshrined in the the United Nations Charter to refrain from the threat or use of force in international relations. That is of particular importance today when the new climate in international relations needs further consolidation.

(Mr. Noworyta, Poland)

The discussion in the Council and the universal concern lest the incident provoke more serious consequences testifies to the new sense of common responsibility for international security which is gaining ground in the international community. It also highlights the need to adopt practical measures to strengthen security in the Mediterranean. Poland supports the proposal to turn the Mediterranean into a zone of peace and co-operation.

We also took note with great interest of the statement of Mr. Muammar Qaddafi, who urged dialogue between the United States and Libya in order to resolve disputes between the two nations. We join other delegations which in their statements to the Council have appealed for the exercise of restraint and the prevention of further escalation of tension, as well as for the settlement of disputes by political means, for we are all aware of the need to avoid incidents and political actions which threaten to disturb the creative process of improving the international situation.

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

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

Mr. MANSOUR (Yemen) (interpretation from Arabic): Allow me at the outset, Mr. President, to convey on behalf of the delegation of the Yemen Arab Republic sincere condolences and deep sympathy to the delegation of friendly Japan upon the passing away of Emperor Hirohito.

Because of the excellent relations that our two countries enjoy, Sir, my delegation feels great pleasure at seeing the delegation of friendly Malaysia occupying the lofty post of President of this important international forum. We are also pleased and gratified to see you personally presiding over the Council. We are fully confident that your diplomatic experience and great skill will enable



(Mr. Mansour, Yemen)

the Council to achieve constructive results that will establish justice and eliminate injustice.

Allow me to take this opportunity also to express my delegation's appreciation to Ambassador Kagami of friendly Japan for the exemplary manner in which he guided the Council's deliberations last month.

At the same time, I wish to express my delegation's congratulations to the new members of the Security Council, wishing them every success in the noble tasks that the Council shoulders.

I also wish to express our thanks to the outgoing members of the Council for their outstanding contributions to the cause of establishing peace and maintaining international peace and security.

Last year, 1988, was full of positive developments in comparison with previous years. Wisdom prevailed in the treatment of some of the complex issues which had caused peace and security to deteriorate. It was only natural that we should start at the very beginning of this year to deal with issues that continue to cause us all concern, foremost among which is the question of the Middle East. It was only natural that we should not let the opportunity of international détente slip away without its bearing fruit.

We believe that the events of 4 January constitute a blatant provocation, affecting not only a small country, Libya, but the whole process of peace and security. The flimsy excuse advanced by those who committed the act of aggression against the two Libyan jets is more distasteful than the action itself. After widespread disinformation campaigns against Libya, false accusations and threats to attack the pharmaceutical plant, after the movement of aircraft carriers, submarines and other military vessels to the vicinity of the territorial waters of a small country that had previously more than once been the victim of aggression,

(Mr. Mansour, Yemen)

we are told here that all of that was routine. Those routine actions can only remind us of the obsolete, outdated policy of brinkmanship.

It is our hope that the new United States Administration will rectify the errors of the old Administration, that the respect for and prestige of international legitimacy will be restored, that constructive dialogue will replace threats and warnings, and in particular that the leadership of the friendly Soviet Union will succeed in a policy of building international relations free from tension, a policy of peaceful coexistence even with those who hold different opinions. We wonder whether the new United States Administration will work in the same spirit, not only in its relations with other major Powers but also in its relations with all the other countries of the world. Let us hope so.

During the past week I have not heard the voice of one State supporting this ugly act of aggression. The only voice in support was that of Tel Aviv, which rejoices at anything that may result in undermining peace and security in the region, so that it may continue to occupy the territories of others and to oppress the Arab population.

My delegation hopes that the Council will succeed in finding the prudent way to put an end to aggression and harassment as well as to find the avenues leading to peace and security and stability in the Middle East.

I wish in conclusion to read out the official communiqué of the Yemen Arab Republic of 4 January concerning the armed act of aggression carried out by the United States against Libya. It reads as follows:

"It is with grave concern that the Yemen Arab Republic has followed the reports of the interception by United States aircraft of two Libyan jets and the downing of those jets over international waters in the Mediterranean.

(Mr. Mansour, Yemen)

"The Yemen Arab Republic, while expressing its indignation at that blatant act of aggression against the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, denounces that provocative act, which does not serve the cause of international peace and security and which also constitutes a blatant violation of the United Nations Charter.

"The Yemen Arab Republic reaffirms that the continued harassment by the United States of America of the sisterly Libyan Arab Jamahiriya serves neither the future of American-Arab relations nor international endeavours to to achieve peace, security and stability in the Middle East."

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

The representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya has asked to make a statement, and I now call upon him.

Mr. TREIKI (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (interpretation from Arabic): I should like to join the voice of my delegation to those who have expressed their condolences to the delegation of Japan on the passing away of His Majesty Emperor Hirohito, who had rendered great services to his country and to peace in general.

I do not want to abuse the Council's time. I merely wish to state that despite the numerous voices that have been raised to call for reason to prevail and to appeal to the United States to follow the path of peace and dialogue, and despite our continuous assurances at the highest level and our readiness to enter into dialogue to solve problems and establish peace, the United States has insisted on continuing its same policy.

The Sixth Fleet, which is now present in the Mediterranean, has informed the Libyan civil aviation authorities that it will undertake manoeuvres in the airspace of the Jamahiriya to the east of Benghazi on 16 and 17 of this month, from 8 a.m.

(Mr. Treiki, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

to 4 p.m. That same source that contacted the Libyan civil aviation authorities has confirmed that those manoeuvres and exercises will affect air traffic and may cancel it in the area. We wanted to inform the Council of that serious and new development in the area.

Mr. OKUN (United States of America): The statement we have just heard from the representative of Libya concerns an announcement of my Government concerning a future action. I find it hard to believe, in the absence of the statement itself, that we said we would conduct air operations in the airspace of Libya. That, to me, is simply not credible. Perhaps this concerns a misunderstanding on the part of the Libyan Government, but in any case, I would like at this point, not having seen the statement and having only heard the statement of the representative of Libya, to reserve our right to bring to the Council the facts in the matter.

The PRESIDENT: There are no further speakers inscribed on the list for this meeting. The next meeting of the Security Council to continue consideration of the item on the agenda will take place tomorrow, Wednesday, 11 January 1989, at 3.30 p.m.

The meeting rose at 6.45 p.m.