



## Security Council

PROVISIONAL

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ENGLISH

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### PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWO THOUSAND SIX HUNDRED AND SIXTY-FOURTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,  
on Wednesday, 19 February 1986, at 3.30 p.m.

President: Mr. ADOUKI

(Congo)

Members: Australia  
Bulgaria  
China  
Denmark  
France  
Ghana  
Madagascar  
Thailand  
Trinidad and Tobago  
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics  
United Arab Emirates  
United Kingdom of Great Britain and  
Northern Ireland  
United States of America  
Venezuela

Mr. WOOLCOTT  
Mr. TSVETKOV  
Mr. LIANG Yufan  
Mr. BIERRING  
Mr. de KEMOULARIA  
Mr. DUMEVI  
Mr. RABETAFIKA  
Mr. KASEMSRI  
Mr. MOHAMMED  
Mr. SAFRONCHUK  
Mr. AL-SHAALI  
  
Sir John THOMSON  
Mr. OKUN  
Mr. AGUILAR

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The meeting was called to order at 4.25 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION BETWEEN IRAN AND IRAQ

LETTER DATED 12 FEBRUARY 1986 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF IRAQ TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/17821)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): In accordance with decisions taken by the Council at its 2663rd meeting, I invite the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iraq to take a place at the Council table; I invite the representatives of Bahrain, Jordan, Kuwait, Oman, Saudi Arabia, Tunisia and Yemen to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Aziz (Iraq) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Al-Sabbagh (Bahrain); Mr. Masri (Jordan); Mr. Al-Shahine (Kuwait); Mr. Al-Ansi (Oman); Mr. Massoud (Saudi Arabia); Mr. Caid Essebsi (Tunisia) and Mr. Al-Eryani (Yemen) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received from the Permanent Representative of the United Arab Emirates to the United Nations a letter dated 18 February 1986 which reads as follows:

"I have the honour to request the Security Council to extend an invitation to the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization to participate in the Security Council's consideration of the item before it, in accordance with the Council's usual practice."

That letter will be circulated as Security Council document S/17847.

The proposal by the representative of the United Arab Emirates is not made pursuant to rule 37 or rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council, but, if approved by the Council, the invitation to participate in

(The President)

the discussion would confer on the Palestine Liberation Organization the same rights of participation as those conferred on Member States when invited to participate pursuant to rule 37.

Does any member of the Council wish to speak on this proposal?

Mr. IMMERMANN (United States of America): The United States has constantly taken the position that, under the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council, the only legal basis on which the Council may grant a hearing to persons speaking on behalf of non-governmental entities is rule 39. For 40 years the United States has supported a generous interpretation of rule 39 and would certainly not object had this matter been raised under that rule. We are, however, opposed to special, ad hoc departures from orderly procedure. The United States, consequently, opposes extending to the Palestine Liberation Organization the same rights to participate in the proceedings of the Security Council as if that organization represented a State Member of the United Nations. We certainly believe in listening to all points of view, but none of that requires violating the rules. In particular, the United States does not agree with the recent practice of the Security Council, which appears selectively to try to enhance the prestige of those who wish to speak in the Council through a departure from the rules of procedure. We consider the special practice to be without legal foundation and to constitute an abuse of the rules. For these reasons, the United States requests that the terms of the proposed invitation be put to the vote. Of course, the United States will vote against the proposal.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): If no other member of the Council wishes to speak, I shall take it that the Council is prepared to vote on the proposal by the United Arab Emirates.

It is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Bulgaria, China, Congo, Ghana, Madagascar, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela

Against: United States of America

Abstaining: Australia, Denmark, France, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): The result of the voting is as follows: 10 votes in favour, 1 against and 4 abstentions. The proposal has therefore been adopted.

I invite the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization to take the place reserved for him at the side of the Council Chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Terzi took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council Chamber.

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

I should like to draw the attention of members of the Council to the following documents: S/17843, letter dated 18 February 1986 from the Permanent Representative of the Islamic Republic of Iran to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General, and S/17846, letter dated 18 February 1986 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Democratic Yemen to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General.

(The President)

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

Mr. MASRI (Jordan) (interpretation from Arabic): Allow me at the outset to extend to you, Sir, our congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the current month. We are confident that your diplomatic skill and wisdom will enable us, God willing, to achieve positive results.

I cannot fail to reiterate my delegation's gratitude to your predecessor, His Excellency Ambassador Li Luye, Permanent Representative of the People's Republic of China, for the exemplary manner in which he conducted the work of the Council last month.

The Security Council is meeting today, at the request of the seven-member Arab Committee entrusted with following developments in the Iraq-Iran war, to consider the grave Iranian escalation of that war through the perpetration by its forces of military acts of aggression against Iraq, which violate its territorial integrity and sovereignty and threaten the lives of its people.

On the night 9/10 February, the Iranian forces launched a large-scale, premeditated attack against Iraq in the sector east of the Basra and the sector of Shatt al-Arab. On 19 December 1985, Iraq had alerted the Security Council regarding Iran's preparations for the launching of an act of armed aggression against its territory and called upon the Council to assume its responsibilities by preventing the aggression. It did so in the letter from the Permanent Representative of Iraq (S/17687).

We in Jordan, a State that believes in the Charter and in the necessity of all States without exception respecting and implementing all its Articles, believe it would have been fitting for the Security Council to take the initiative, either when it received the Iraqi warning or when it received news of the most recent Iraqi attack, and convene as the highest international body responsible for the

(Mr. Masri, Jordan)

maintenance of peace and security and, in accordance with the powers vested in it by the Charter, adopt an effective course of action to put an end to the aggression and at the same time establish the bases for a well-defined process that would lead towards the achievement of an honourable, peaceful and just solution to the prolonged war, the insistence on which one is at a loss to understand.

It is not my intention to belittle the Council or to criticize its role, but it does seem to lack dynamism and the necessary responsiveness to events and variables that are jeopardizing international and regional peace and security. Rather, I should like to recall that there is a basic concept to which we all agreed as Member States when we signed the Charter and committed ourselves to accepting it. According to that concept, in the final analysis the Security Council is the body responsible for the settlement of armed conflicts and the maintenance of peace and security, despite the opposition of any party for whatever reason, since we Member States have committed ourselves to respecting its will and carrying out its decisions in accordance with Article 25 of the Charter.

We believe that although the Council may at times seem unable, for certain reasons, strong or flimsy, to exercise the role entrusted to it, there comes a time when the Council must assume its responsibilities and take action to maintain peace and security and achieve an honourable settlement and justice for all.

We sincerely believe that, in view of this prolonged and devastating war, it is high time the Security Council effectively performed its role as regards the grave situation resulting from the continuing Iran-Iraq war.

(Mr. Masri, Jordan)

In this connection, we emphasize that it is imperative for the Council not to allow anyone to thwart its role or to allow that role to become hostage to the position of one party, especially when the position of that party is based on resort to the use of force as a means of settling disputes. The intransigent refusal of any party to approve the role of the Council under the pretext of holding certain convictions and beliefs as to its right to continue a conflict, which is based on the logic of force and war, is something the Council has already rejected on numerous occasions. Military might is no guarantee of the achievement of peace. Insistence on using such force would only lead to a deterioration and aggravation of the situation, especially in the absence of effective Security Council measures.

We note with great regret that a certain party has been able to thwart the role of the Council. Its rejection of Council resolutions has become commonplace in questions related to the Middle East region, whether those questions relate to the Iran-Iraq war, the question of Palestine or the Israeli-Arab dispute. It is to be noted that Security Council resolutions relevant to those questions remain unimplemented because of the success of one of the parties to those conflicts in thwarting the role of the Council and in refusing to implement its resolutions.

The Security Council has on more than one occasion dealt with the question of the continuing Iran-Iraq war and its repercussions. Since 1980 it has adopted five resolutions on that situation and has issued several statements. The Council has always emphasized the importance of putting an end to that devastating conflict, which is exacting a heavy toll in the lives and material resources of the two countries. The Council has also emphasized its deep concern over the continuation of the war and the danger it poses to international peace and security as a result of non-implementation of the relevant Security Council resolutions. Those

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resolutions and statements stress the following elements and principles, which are of fundamental importance to the achievement of the objective of putting an end to that tragic war:

First, the urgent and imperative need to put an end to military operations through the establishment of a comprehensive and effective cease-fire;

Second, the withdrawal of military forces to the internationally recognized borders;

Third, non-resort to the use of force, and the settlement of disputes by peaceful means;

Fourth, the need to find an honourable, peaceful and just settlement to the conflict by resolving all the problems pending between the two countries by peaceful means in accordance with the principles of the Charter, through negotiation, arbitration or mediation;

Fifth, the need to support the efforts of the Secretary-General of the United Nations to achieve a peaceful settlement through his good offices and praiseworthy mediation efforts and to call upon him to pursue those efforts;

Sixth, maintenance of the freedom of navigation in the international straits and waterways;

Seventh, respect for international humanitarian law, sparing cities and centres of civilian population.

Those principles laid down by the Security Council to deal with the question of the war received universal support and were welcomed by such international organizations as the Organization of the Islamic Council (OIC). That organization undertook intensive mediation efforts to settle the conflict, in addition to the mediation efforts undertaken by the Group of Non-aligned Countries and the good offices of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, carried out either



(Mr. Masri, Jordan)

personally or through his personal representative, Mr. Olof Palme, the Prime Minister of Sweden. Those efforts are of special importance because the Secretary-General enjoys the confidence of the two belligerent parties. Those mediation efforts were aimed at putting an end to the war and finding a formula that would guarantee the legitimate rights of the two parties and achieve a peaceful settlement based on good-neighbourliness and non-interference in the internal affairs of other States.

It is evident that all those efforts reached a dead end because of the intransigent refusal of one of the parties to the conflict, that is, Iran, to respond positively and co-operate. Iraq, on the other hand, co-operated sincerely and positively with all those efforts and sought to achieve an honourable, fair and peaceful settlement of the war. To that end, it accepted all the resolutions of the Council and indicated its readiness to implement them.

Iran has refused to co-operate with the various mediation efforts. It has rejected the Security Council resolutions and has even rejected the role of the Council in settling the conflict. Iraq has unilaterally undertaken numerous initiatives in order to facilitate the achievement of a settlement of the conflict. On more than one occasion it has declared its honourable position in committing itself to undertake a unilateral cease-fire and, to no avail, calling upon Iran to reciprocate. Furthermore, in 1982 Iraq withdrew its forces to the international borders, and in 1980 it responded positively to the proposal made by the late President Sekou Touré, Chairman of the Islamic Mediation Commission, that there be established a fact-finding Committee to determine who started the war. Iraq went even further when it agreed to arbitration, whether through the Organization of the Islamic Council, the Non-Aligned Movement or the Security Council itself.

(Mr. Masri, Jordan)

It is incumbent upon the Security Council to evaluate these facts and to assess the positions of the two parties on that basis. On the one hand, Iraq has responded positively to all initiatives to put an end to the conflict; on the other, there is the position of Iran, which refuses to respond positively to all those efforts and resolutions and insists on continuing the war despite the heavy loss of life and property inflicted on the two countries.

The Security Council, in resolution 522 (1982), welcomed Iraq's readiness to co-operate in the implementation of resolution 514 (1982). The Council called upon Iran to respond in a similar manner.

We believe that simply recalling past resolutions will not be sufficient. The Council should leave that stage behind and proceed to a more developed stage in dealing with the conflict. It should begin with effective action to achieve a comprehensive and immediate cease-fire and the withdrawal of forces to the international borders. The Council should establish a body of international observers to oversee those arrangements. It would then be necessary to take prompt action to achieve a just and peaceful settlement of the conflict.

(Mr. Masri, Jordan)

The current situation between Iran and Iraq is extremely grave and jeopardizes not only the security and peace of the two belligerents but also the security and peace of the Gulf area and the entire Middle East region; that, naturally, entails grave consequences for international peace and security.

What is happening now is that a State Member of the United Nations is the victim of a large-scale military aggression against its territorial integrity, sovereignty and security perpetrated by another State Member which persists intransigently and unmindful of the call of the highest international authority to put an end to this act of aggression and embark immediately on a search to find an honourable, just and peaceful settlement of the conflict.

We call upon the Security Council to deal with the problem of this conflict firmly and resolutely. We believe that the adoption by the Council of effective action to end the haemorrhage and the war that would augur well for the future of the collective security system and the effectiveness of the Security Council itself. However, the failure of the Council to act would bode ill for the future of peace and security in the region and further erode confidence in the Council as the body responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security.

I should like to recall the following statement by the Secretary-General in his report on the work of the Organization to the fortieth session of the General Assembly:

"... I suggest that the Security Council should, in the near future, make a deliberate and concerted effort to solve one or two of the major problems before it by making fuller use of the measures available to it under the Charter." (A/40/1, p. 7)

In this regard, we believe that the Iran-Iraq war, which has been raging for six years, provides a timely opportunity for the Council to heed the Secretary-General's call.

(Mr. Masri, Jordan)

We call upon the Council to deal with this war in particular by using more fully the powers available to it under the United Nations Charter. We believe that it is high time for the Council to undertake an intensive, serious endeavour to end this war promptly. Such a solution would begin with a cease-fire and withdrawal to the international borders; and the Council should then continue its work until the achievement of a comprehensive, honourable and just settlement.

In this connection, the seven Arab States have emphasized in their letter requesting the convening of the Council the imperative that the Council should take serious practical and speedy measures to put an end to the war and to solve the conflict by peaceful means, in accordance with the United Nations Charter and international law. That is what we hope the Council will undertake without further delay.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Jordan for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the Minister of State of Saudi Arabia, Sheikh Mohamad Ibrahim Massoud. I welcome him to the Council and I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. MASSOUD (Saudi Arabia) (interpretation from Arabic): I have the pleasure to join in congratulating you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. I am sure that your competence and expertise will prove to be of great help to the Council and us in reaching a satisfactory conclusion to our deliberations, which will fulfil the hopes of the international community.

I also have the pleasure to recall with great appreciation the efforts of your predecessor in the presidency of the Council for last month, the Permanent Representative of the People's Republic of China, for the wisdom and expertise with which he conducted the Council's deliberations.

(Mr. Massoud, Saudi Arabia)

Today the Council is faced with the invasion of Iraq and the violation of its international borders by Iranian armed forces including Arab land which is part of Iraq. Iran, a neighbouring sister State, is invading and occupying part of Iraq's land, a neighbouring sister State. Iran is escalating its military operations - which are now continuing into their sixth year - without achieving the basic objective of delineating the international border. Despite all appeals and mediations, Iran has not responded to the peace efforts aimed at ending this carnage.

The scenario of the bitter Iraq-Iran tragedy is well known to representatives. There is no need to revert to the painful details of the past. It is a ruthless all-out war between two countries and peoples which are our neighbours and which are dear to us; it is a destructive war in which there is no victor and there will be none; a war that is detested and rejected for its causes and motives, painful in its events and sad for its results; a dangerous war in its reality, which threatens the security of the whole region and the territorial integrity of neighbouring States. These new Iranian war operations warn of a widening of its scope. Five and a half years have elapsed during which the military forces and fire-power of the two countries have been bombarding one another. So we ask: Where is it all going to lead?

Iraq has responded to all the pertinent resolutions of the United Nations. In 1982 it withdrew all its forces to the international borders, declared a unilateral cease-fire and responded to mediation. It has declared, and still declares, its readiness to cease war and destruction in order to prevent bloodshed, create stability, secure a peaceful life, rebuild what this ruthless war has destroyed and reconstruct the ruins it has caused.

From this international forum today, we request Iran to follow Iraq's example by withdrawing all its troops to the international borders and declaring a cease-fire, and then to negotiate in an atmosphere of tranquillity and rationality.

(Mr. Massoud, Saudi Arabia)

We have made appeals to the two warring brotherly countries, in the name of humanity, in the name of Islam, the religion of peace, in the name of good-neighbourly relations, in the name of common interests and in the name of international conventions, norms and commitments. We have followed up those appeals by mediation, United Nations good offices and the efforts of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the League of Arab States and the Non-Aligned Movement, as well as bilateral efforts.

Iraq has responded to those appeals and mediation. But neighbourly and sisterly Iran refuses to respond and to heed those appeals. It even refuses to participate in the Council's deliberations. It continues the deadly and destructive war and escalates military operations. It occupies Iraqi territory, without caring for the tens of thousands of innocent Iraqi and Iranian souls that are perishing, nor for the destruction of the achievements of generations of the peoples of the two countries over centuries and through the ages. Thus Iran is, regrettably, adopting a negative stance towards potential co-operation with peace efforts, from whatever direction they may come.

The Security Council has adopted resolutions 479 (1980), 514 (1982) and 540 (1983), over and above the many statements issued by its President, representing the consensus of opinion in the Council, and the statements and efforts of the Secretary-General. All call for an end to the bloodshed, and all request the continuation of efforts for the achievement of peace and the implementation of those resolutions. We now find ourselves once more at the United Nations, in order to adopt new resolutions going all the way back to the starting-point, not only because the war has not yet stopped, but because Iran has escalated war operations, thus accentuating the danger posed by the war to the point where it has passed limits in a manner that is leading the two brotherly and neighbouring peoples, and the region as a whole, to the most dangerous consequences.

(Mr. Massoud, Saudi Arabia)

While we are considering the adoption of a resolution of the Council, the Council has a commitment to take a firm stand, not only with regard to the new escalation of war operations by Iran, but also in respect of the disruption of peace efforts and the thwarting of initiatives by international bodies to end the war. This stand should be made clear in a resolution that expresses the danger of the bitter conflict between Iraq and Iran continuing, a resolution that gives a strong momentum to carrying out the task that the Security Council has undertaken in order to create the conditions for terminating this fierce war between Iran and Iraq.

I should like to draw the attention of the Council to the fact that the occupation by Iranian troops of Iraqi territory will have dangerous repercussions of deep concern to the countries of the region, because it threatens the security of the whole region and the territorial integrity of neighbouring countries.

We in the Gulf Co-operation Council in particular, and in the Arab League and the Organization of the Islamic Conference in general, are observing with deep concern the recent escalation of battles by Iran. At a time when Iraq declares its readiness to stop the fighting in order to reach a peaceful settlement through negotiations, we hope the Muslim neighbour Iran and its responsible leadership, which is capable of reaching a decision to agree to a cease-fire, will comply with Islamic principles, so that it will not have to shoulder the responsibility of perpetuating one of the worst tragedies of the Islamic nation. Because of that, we, the Member States of the Committee empowered by the Arab League Council to seek an end to this destructive war, together with the General Secretariat of the Arab League, have requested the Security Council to convene in order to have the countries of the world bear their responsibilities in respect of this Iranian escalation of the war, so that the world shares in our efforts and responsibilities in striving for an end to the fighting.

(Mr. Massoud, Saudi Arabia)

The Secretary-General has already launched a mediatory effort to halt attacks on cities by Iraq and Iran. It was a successful initiative that both parties responded to. Therefore, in the name of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, a State that feels more than others the imminent danger, and hence senses strongly what is taking place within the context of the security of our region, in addition to considerations arising from religious, legal and regional commitments, we call upon the sister State and Muslim neighbour, Iran, to respond to the peace efforts - whether of the Council, the Secretary-General or all the international organizations concerned - and implement the resolutions of the Security Council that I have mentioned, on the basis of respect for the sanctity of international frontiers, in order to secure the safety of the peoples of Iran and Iraq, as well as the safety and security of the region.

We all feel the gravity of not adhering to Security Council resolutions and are aware of the need to respond to the appeals of conscience as well as the appeals for peace. We hope the international community will adopt a decisive resolution in its efforts to end the war. In these appeals, we wish all the peoples of the region well, most particularly the Iraqi and Iranian peoples, who have borne the unbearable in a war that has no victor or vanquished. Matters may reach a stage where they go out of control, and that should prompt both parties to revert to their international borders.

I wish to thank you, Mr. President, and the other members of the Council for your prompt response in considering this matter and for giving us an opportunity to highlight the gravity of what has been taking place on Iraq's borders and inside Iraqi territory. I hope we will succeed, so that history and posterity will recall of us and of Iraq and Iran that we worked and exerted efforts in order to ensure that peace would prevail and overcome the barbarism of war and stability, tranquillity and serenity would replace invasion, carnage and destruction.



The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the Minister of State of Saudi Arabia for his kind words addressed to me.

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

Mr. AL-SHAHINE (Kuwait) (interpretation from Arabic): It is a pleasure for my delegation to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month, a month that has witnessed from the very beginning continuing deliberations on many of the problems threatening international peace and security. You have shown outstanding wisdom in presiding over the Council's deliberations, thanks to your knowledge and wide diplomatic skills.

I wish also to pay tribute, Sir, to your predecessor, the Permanent Representative of the People's Republic of China, Ambassador Li Luye, for the wisdom and skill he displayed in presiding over the Council last month.

(Mr. Al-Shahine, Kuwait)

This Council, the body entrusted with the responsibility of maintaining peace and security in the world, is meeting at the request of the Committee of Seven of the Council of the League of Arab States, which is mandated to follow developments in the continuing war between Iraq and Iran and to study developments in that grave situation that have resulted from the latest Iranian attack on the sector east of Basra and Shatt al-Arab, in brotherly Iraq.

Kuwait, like this Council and all the States of the world, has followed with the gravest concern and regret these developments, these acts of aggression against the brotherly land of Iraq, its sovereignty and territorial integrity. Kuwait, its Prince, Government and people have expressed their feelings and their position vis-à-vis these developments through the statement issued by the Government and National Council of Kuwait. One of its paragraphs reads as follows:

"The National Council and the Government express their gravest condemnation and concern vis-à-vis the attempt by Iran to occupy some Iraqi territories, as well as the continuing attacks against Iraq aimed at undermining the independence and sovereignty of an Arab country, despite all the efforts that have been and continue to be exerted for peace and concord between these two Muslim neighbours. The Government and the Council believe that the latest Iranian attack is a factor of instability and a threat to peace. It increases insecurity and tension in the Arab Gulf region and opens the door ever wider to intervention by the super-Powers, which would be most harmful to the States of the region."

The situation is extremely grave: the armed struggle, which is entering its sixth year, is raging relentlessly. There have been continuing waves of killing and destruction between two Muslim neighbours that throughout history have been linked by the tenets of Islam and good-neighbourliness. The continuation of this

(Mr. Al-Shahine, Kuwait)

struggle carries with it the seeds of expansion, as has become ever clearer in the latest attack by Iran. Thus that very important and sensitive region of the world is exposed to the dangers of upheaval, instability and insecurity through the creation of conditions that further justify intervention by the super-Powers in the region under the pretext of protecting their vital interests.

The latest events have been most disappointing to the States of the region and the world and have dashed their hopes of a peaceful and just settlement of this bloody conflict. One of the latest efforts to resolve the conflict was the mediation initiative of the sixth summit conference of the Gulf Co-operation Council.

The war has established a number of ideas that have become firm in the mind of the international community. Ever since the very first spark of the war, Kuwait, in view of its proximity to the conflict, has been convinced of the dangers of the war and the future possibilities of expansion. In assuming its national and Pan-Arab responsibilities, it undertook with its sister countries in the Gulf Co-operation Council, through the League of Arab States, the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC), the Non-Aligned Movement and the United Nations, as well as the Security Council, to put out the flames of the war and speedily to halt its expansionist effects through a just and honourable settlement that would take into account all the duties and rights of the two parties, in accordance with international treaties and laws and the principles of the United Nations Charter, especially those relating to the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force, refrainment from the threat or use of force in international relations, and non-intervention in the internal affairs of others.

(Mr. Al-Shahine, Kuwait)

The efforts of Kuwait and all other efforts have been undertaken in the knowledge that history has always testified that armed struggle or brute force of any kind cannot solve any problem but only lead to more complexities and to a more widespread struggle.

In the light of this firm fact, it would be logical to seek negotiations and to accept good offices proffered in order to achieve right and justice in accordance with international law and norms. Pre-conditions and attempts to put artificial obstacles in the way of peace efforts cannot serve any national or strategic interests. Indeed they would only complicate matters and delay a solution, which in turn would lead to more suffering and to more instability in the region.

Furthermore, it is well known in international forums, and it is a fact we place on record here in the name of right and justice, is that brotherly Iraq is, and has always been, ready to accept and welcome any good offices, whatever their source. Iraq has welcomed envoys with an open heart and mind. It has agreed to all elements which could serve as a good basis for a rapid and just end to this conflict and take into account the legitimate rights of both parties. It has thus proved its firm wish to put an end to the dispute.

We continue to hope that the Islamic Republic of Iran will respond to these good-office efforts, whatever their source, and that it will facilitate a just solution to the struggle, thus sparing the peoples of these two Muslim countries further suffering.

Another well-known fact uncovered by this armed conflict is the destruction of navigation in the Arab Gulf, that important strategic artery. This has affected international trade and indeed opened the door to foreign Powers that may perhaps enter the region under the pretext of maintaining their vital interests.

(Mr. Al-Shahine, Kuwait)

Kuwait, with its sister members of the Gulf Co-operation Council, has stressed, and will continue to stress, that the safety and security of that region of the world is the sole responsibility of the States therein. Therefore we have rejected most strongly any type of foreign intervention. However, as long as the struggle continues, as long as it rages, our fear of such intervention will remain.

Proceeding from this and from our wish to avoid the shedding of more Muslim blood, and maintaining good-neighbourly relations with Iraq and Iran, as well as maintaining peace and security in that part of the world, in this Council we call upon the leadership of the Islamic Republic of Iran to embrace wisdom and move towards peace. We call upon it to accept the laws and instruments accepted by the international community in the arbitration of its disputes. We are convinced that Iraq, which has always been prepared to solve the dispute by peaceful means and in a manner that ensures the legitimate rights of both parties, will, as is usual, co-operate in order that a just peace may be achieved in that region of the world. The Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Iraq, Mr. Tariq Aziz, stressed that most clearly yesterday before this Council.

Kuwait believes that this latest dangerous escalation of the struggle puts the Security Council to a decisive test that it must use positively and effectively to reaffirm its powers and to play the major role for which it was created: the firm collective confrontation of any source that threatens peace and security in the world.

Furthermore, international law and the United Nations Charter provide a wide range of measures and options which, given the necessary unanimity and will, can ensure that the international community really faces up to the main reasons why the struggle continues. My delegation believes it would be logical and appropriate for

(Mr. Al-Shahine, Kuwait)

the Security Council collectively and immediately to request a comprehensive cease-fire, an end to all hostilities and the withdrawal of the forces of both countries to the international borders.

Kuwait calls upon both parties to accept the good offices of the Secretary-General and to co-operate with him in order to negotiate a comprehensive and honourable settlement of all the issues raised by the dispute and which maintains the legitimate rights of both parties on the basis of the United Nations Charter.

(Mr. Al-Shahine, Kuwait)

In our view, there is no justification for bringing up issues extraneous to this dispute; that can only prolong the conflict, and jeopardize the political goal of putting an end to the war. At the same time, the resolutions of this Council, despite their great importance, cannot be the end of the road; the present meetings and any resolution that may be agreed upon will not mean that the Council has shouldered its moral duties and responsibilities.

The war rages in that region, and unless a genuine concrete effort is made to bring about the implementation of any resolution that may be adopted by the Security Council, the Council will be compelled to meet again and to adopt further resolutions, which will remain dead letters.

The persistence and escalation of the dispute are draining the material and human resources of the countries and peoples of the region and threaten to stymie their economic development. We want peace, and we are seeking peace. A lasting peace cannot be achieved and maintained unless it is based upon the principles of justice and dignity. History has shown that solutions imposed by force do not last.

Although, to be sure, the Charter of the United Nations places all the world's States on an equal footing with regard to their rights and duties, we must be realistic and realize that the major Powers have international moral duties commensurate with their position. Under the Charter, they should work together to achieve just peace and security for mankind.

It is only right that those major Powers should be concerned with the fate of those who could die tomorrow through the use of nuclear weapons. But would it not be equally important to work to prevent the slaughter of those who are dying today through the use of conventional weapons?

The primary purpose of the Charter of this Organization is to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war. The horrifying human suffering resulting from this war places upon the Council a historical duty to take concrete action and adopt

(Mr. Al-Shahine, Kuwait)

measures which would at long last put an end to this dispute. Such action should enable the Iraqi and Iranian peoples and other peoples of the region to devote themselves to development and reconstruction and to concentrate on the vital issues of concern to all the peoples of the region.

Let the guns fall silent. Let the flags of conciliation fly high. Let peace, harmony and good-neighbourliness thrive between these two Muslim Members of the United Nations.

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

The next speaker is the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Tunisia, Mr. Beji Caid Essebsi. I welcome him to the Security Council, and invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. CAID ESSEBSI (Tunisia) (interpretation from Arabic): My delegation has already had an opportunity to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council, but since this is the first time I myself have addressed the Council this year I wish to say how pleased I am to see you guiding the work of the Security Council this month, a month marked by heightened international tension. Your outstanding diplomatic ability, your thorough knowledge of international affairs and your wisdom will without question contribute to a successful outcome of the work of the Council. That redounds to the honour of your brotherly country, the Congo and to our African continent as a whole.

The Security Council is considering a subject which has brought us as much sadness as concern. Indeed, as this most important of United Nations bodies meets - a body established specifically to guarantee world security and to deter mankind from any recourse to war - tens of thousands of victims are dying, the number of widows and orphans is growing; ruins are piling up; hatred is spreading. Meanwhile, tolerance and the will for coexistence among men are gradually fading.



(Mr. Caid Essebsi, Tunisia)

Examining the facts of the tragic Iran-Iraq war, we can see that there is no justification for its existence or any logical reason for it not to be put to an end, unless a war is being fought for its own sake or unless an attempt is being made to impose a viewpoint which could not possibly be made to prevail through peaceful dialogue. But the higher interests of both sides should dictate the need to choose another way of resolving their dispute, now that the past six years have demonstrated the futility of armed confrontation and the impossibility of one side's imposing its views on the other by force.

Therefore, it is absurd for this deadlock to continue and for this senseless war to be allowed to continue to wreck the interests of the belligerent parties, to turn the entire region into a powder-keg and to expose international security to dangerous developments.

The majority of international and regional bodies have expressed their horror at this war. They have denounced the unlawful nature of attempting to resolve disputes by violent means and have drawn attention to its danger for the two countries concerned and to the likely harmful consequences for world peace. All of them have called for an end to this war and have advocated instead peaceful dialogue.

(Mr. Caïd Essebsi, Tunisia)

Towards that end, steps have been taken by the United Nations Secretary-General, as well as by the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, the League of Arab States and the countries of the Arab Gulf, not to mention the direct diplomatic efforts made by certain States or by certain world figures.

The Security Council has also made praiseworthy efforts in that direction. It has met a number of times prior to these meetings and has adopted resolutions 479 (1980), 514 (1982), 522 (1982), 540 (1983) and 552 (1984). It has met in informal consultation on many occasions, one of which resulted in a statement by the President (S/15616).

The primary purpose of all those actions was the immediate cessation of the war to put a stop to the bloodshed and destruction and then proceed to the withdrawal of forces to internationally recognized boundaries with a view to opening negotiations to seek a peaceful settlement of the conflict.

Those attempts stood no chance of success unless both parties to the conflict voluntarily agreed to become involved. Unfortunately, the efforts did not meet with the same response on both sides, and that brought about their failure. In this connection the international community as a whole must acknowledge that one of the two parties, Iraq, did give a favourable response to all the multilateral or bilateral initiatives addressed to it. It agreed to the immediate cessation of the war. Iraq showed itself willing to enter into any peaceful and just solution proposed to it. As for the Iranian side, it has set conditions for a halt to the war that should, to put it mildly, be the subject of negotiations held in a climate of security and reduced tension, but that cannot constitute a point of departure for such negotiations. As a result, the war has not been halted; indeed, it has continued to escalate and now directly threatens the sovereignty, security and development of the States of the region.

(Mr. Caid Essebsi, Tunisia)

Today, a whole group of Arab States has come to the Security Council to bring this problem once again to the awareness of the international community. Some of those States adjoin the combat zone; others, like my own, are distant from it. The collective initiative that those countries are taking shows the extent of our concern and the gravity of the dangers we fear.

With the exception of the war in Viet Nam, the Iran-Iraq conflict is the largest war mankind has experienced since the Second World War. It has now been going on for six years. It has caused the death of hundreds of thousands of men and has paralysed the advance towards progress and development of both countries. Unfortunately, there is every reason to believe that the ordeal will continue. Such a state of affairs can well lead to serious developments inherent in the very nature of war and the temptations that can be created by changes of fortune. International complications cannot fail to ensue.

The parties concerned will no longer be the masters of their own actions, and the region will be turned into an arena for rivalry and competition, with all the unforeseeable consequences that entails.

It is true that the actions of the Arab States are prompted by a concern to preserve their interests, but they also reflect fear of seeing the region go down in uncharted waters. Their initiative is an attempt to mobilize international public opinion to put a stop to this horrible war.

Whatever criticisms we level against Iran with regard to its attitude vis-à-vis good offices, our efforts are in no way indicative of any hostility towards that State. In spite of everything, we want to remain free from any prejudgement. We simply want the good of all. The proof of this is that we do not want to judge anyone, and still less mete out blame. For us, the priority is to bring about the immediate cessation of hostilities in order to snatch from death tens of thousands of soldiers ranged against each other on the battle lines and to

(Mr. Caid Essebsi, Tunisia)

alleviate the fears of the hundreds of thousands of innocent civilians who are the daily prey of death and destruction. If reason prevails and that goal is achieved, everything will then be possible within this Organization - be it in the form of investigations, arbitration or negotiations designed to resolve the conflict by peaceful means and to provide a solution guaranteeing coexistence between the two States on the basis of respect for the sovereignty and dignity of both. Thus, I join preceding speakers in exhorting the Iranian Government to respond to the ongoing good offices and to fulfil the expectations of world public opinion, which hopes for an immediate cessation of the fighting and calls for the restoration of peace.

The great Powers, which wield an undeniable influence, should be aware of the apprehensions of the international community with regard to this war. Although those States are not today directly involved in that conflict, they cannot avoid being gradually drawn into it as it develops. Thus, it is no longer possible to stand back and merely observe the evolution of the conflict from the sidelines. The great Powers in particular have a duty to be vigilant and to use their power to perform their proper role as the guarantors of world peace. They must impose the cessation of hostilities and prevent them from spreading.

(Mr. Caid Essebsi, Tunisia)

The tragic events we are witnessing today present a new test for the Security Council which, in the past, has adopted a number of resolutions on this question that have not been implemented. Once again a position is about to be adopted which probably will be similar to those that were adopted earlier. We hope that, with the appeal for the immediate cessation of the fighting and the simultaneous withdrawal of the forces involved to the international boundaries, the two parties will be urged to co-operate with the United Nations, through the Secretary-General, in order to act in accordance with that appeal and to work towards peaceful negotiations in order to resolve the problems arising from the conflict. We hope that due account will be taken of the humanitarian aspects concerning the release of all prisoners and also the rehabilitation of economic bodies and facilities of common economic value.

We hope that this time the resolutions to be adopted will not suffer the same fate as that suffered by their predecessors and that they will be more credible and more effective. That will happen only if the Security Council, whose essential mission is to stop war, makes sure that its resolution on this question will be binding on all States signatories of the United Nations Charter so that no Member of our Organization will be able to find an excuse for shirking its commitments on this matter, nor any loophole for challenging the resolution that will be adopted unanimously by the highest organ of the United Nations.

This is what I wished to state here, on behalf of my country, as a contribution to our common efforts to put an end to this tragedy and to help these two friendly countries off the slippery slope on which they now find themselves and to save world peace from the dangers which would ensue if we were to become bogged down in this situation. It is my hope that everyone will heed the sincere appeals that have been heard in this Chamber and that everyone will become convinced that

(Mr. Caid Essebsi, Tunisia)

the establishment of peace derives from the common responsibility which is incumbent on us all. It is also our hope that those who feel that they should prefer to use violence to resolve international problems will at last realize that the nations are tired of antagonisms and wars and that a peaceful solution - even if it is incomplete - that results from a compromise is more effective, more lasting and more likely to be improved at a later time than a total solution based on hatred, death and destruction.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Tunisia for his kind words addressed to me and to my country.

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

Mr. AL-ANSI (Oman) (interpretation from Arabic): I shall be brief in my statement this evening, since His Excellency the Secretary-General of the League of Arab States and Their Excellencies, the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Arab countries have already spoken at length on this question. They have mentioned many facts which deserve the careful attention of the Security Council.

At the outset I should like to convey to you, Sir, on behalf of the delegation of the Sultanate of Oman, my sincere congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of February. I also wish to pay a tribute to your predecessor, His Excellency Mr. Li Luye, Permanent Representative of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations, for the authority and skill with which he guided the proceedings of the Security Council during the month of January.

It is also a pleasure for me to congratulate the States that have joined the Security Council as members for the years 1986 and 1987. I wish them every success.

(Mr. Al-Ansi, Oman)

The question before the Council has been and continues to be a source of uncertainty not only for peace and security in the Gulf region, but also for the world as a whole.

Since the first days of the outbreak of hostilities between the two neighbouring Muslim countries, Iran and Iraq, the Sultanate of Oman has made a pressing appeal to the two parties to the conflict to put an end to their hostilities, not to resort to force and to settle their differences by peaceful means. It is in that framework that the Sultanate of Oman has striven in all sincerity to reconcile the differing views of the two parties to the conflict for the purpose of finding a just and peaceful solution to this destructive war, which has now entered its sixth year, with no end in sight.

While welcoming the favourable response made by Iraq to international and regional efforts undertaken with a view to ending the war and finding a peaceful settlement to the dispute between the two countries, the Sultanate of Oman expresses its deep regret at Iran's intransigence and obstinacy in continuing the war. The fact that Iran has rejected peaceful mediation efforts and resorts to armed force constitutes intransigent and arbitrary behaviour that is unacceptable to the international community.

(Mr. Al-Ansi, Oman)

The Sultanate of Oman considers that the latest escalation of the war, the Iranian forces' crossing the border into Iraq, is an indication of an expansion of the war's scope that might lead to international conflagration. The Sultanate of Oman, together with its brothers in the Gulf Co-operation Council, has undertaken mediation with a view to finding a settlement to the conflict between Iraq and Iran. The States in the Gulf Co-operation Council are in a position to ensure the legitimate interests of both parties in the context of regional security and stability. Iran can trust in the efforts made by the States members of the Gulf Co-operation Council with a view to achieving peace and justice and limiting the damage.

Despite the consequences to which the war has given rise, there is still time for Iran to decide to co-operate with the Security Council, as well as the States in the Gulf Co-operation Council, and undertake new efforts.

While inviting Iran to take account of the seriousness of the situation and respond favourably to peace appeals, we believe that the international community must take swift action and that the Security Council, in keeping with its responsibilities under the Charter - which both parties to the conflict are committed to respect - must adopt a resolution as the prelude to practical action, including the need for the United Nations Secretary-General to undertake new steps commensurate with the gravity of the deteriorating situation.

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

There are no further speakers for this meeting. The next meeting of the Security Council to continue consideration of the item on the agenda will be held tomorrow, Thursday, 20 February 1986, at 3.30 p.m.

The meeting rose at 5.55 p.m.