



## Security Council

PROVISIONAL

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ENGLISH

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

Held at Headquarters, New York,  
on Thursday, 20 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. GBEHO  
Mr. RABETAFIKA  
Mr. KASEMSRI  
Mr. MOHAMMED  
Mr. SAFRONCHUK  
Mr. AL-SHAALI  
  
Sir John THOMSON  
Mr. WALTERS  
Mr. AGUILAR

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The meeting was called to order at 4.55 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 at previous meetings, 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; 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. 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; Mr. Terzi (Palestine Liberation Organization) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council Chamber.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I should like to inform the members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Egypt, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and Morocco in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity 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 accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Badawi (Egypt), Mr. Azzarouk (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) and Mr. Filali (Morocco) took the places reserved for them 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 document S/17849, which contains the text of a letter dated 19 February 1986 from the Permanent Representative of the Islamic Republic of Iran to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General.

Members of the Council have received photocopies of a letter dated 20 February 1986 from the Permanent Representative of the Islamic Republic of Iran to the United Nations. It will be distributed this afternoon as Security Council document S/17850.

The first speaker is the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Co-operation of Morocco, Mr. Abdellatif Filali. I welcome him to the Council and I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. FILALI (Morroco) (interpretation from French): Mr. President, I should first like to thank you and the other members of the Council for giving me the opportunity to participate in the discussion on a question that is central to my Government's concerns and particularly to His Majesty King Hassan II, Current Chairman of the Arab Summit and of the Organization of the Islamic Conference.

I wish to take this opportunity also to express our satisfaction at seeing as President of the Council the representative of a brother country with which we have friendly relations, a competent and experienced diplomat whose human qualities ensure the success of our work.

Finally, I wish to pay tribute to Ambassador Li Luye of the People's Republic of China for the outstanding manner in which he guided the work of the Council last month.

It is not without deep sadness and enduring concern that we see the continuation of the fratricidal conflict between Iraq and Iran, which has now lasted for more than five years. The various aspects of this conflict have repeatedly been pointed out in the Council. The first resolution adopted by the Council on this subject was resolution 479 (1980) - as long ago as 28 September 1980. The outline for a comprehensive solution was clearly set forth in Security Council resolution 514 (1982) of 12 July 1982 and has periodically been reiterated since that time. Mediation efforts have been interruptedly carried out by the Secretary-General of our Organization and within the context of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, which at its Third Summit Conference, held in Taif, Saudi Arabia, in January 1981, set up an Islamic Peace Committee.

(Mr. Filali, Morocco)

After the Fourth Islamic Summit Conference, held in Casablanca in January 1984, His Majesty King Hassan II made the following solemn appeal:

"War is raging between Iran and Iraq. Each day its spectre becomes more and more widespread, threatening and destructive. Disintegration is threatening all that Iran and Iraq own in manpower, means of survival, civilization and cultural assets. Considered throughout history as the jewels of Islam to whose influence they have, together or individually, contributed, these two sister countries may, if precautions are not taken, sink under the rubble of the blind destruction in which they are engaged. The most serious danger is threatening all the neighbouring countries and may even spread beyond those borders.

"...

"Numerous efforts have already been made, in particular by the Islamic Peace Committee ...

"This action must be continued.

"...

"As Chairman of the Fourth Islamic Summit, I wish to launch an earnest appeal to all peace-loving and justice-loving leaders, peoples and men, to give their backing and support to this action." (S/16405, annex)

This solemn appeal is most timely now that we are witnessing a serious deterioration in the situation as a result of the latest large-scale offensive of the Iranian army taking place on Iraqi territory. As was stated by His Majesty King Hassan II, peace initiatives at all levels continue to be as imperative and urgent as ever.

All our efforts have been concentrated on the need to respect the principles of the Charter of our Organization and the basic norms of international law, to

(Mr. Filali, Morocco)

wit, respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of States and non-interference in their internal affairs. Such is the framework advocated by our Council in seeking a just, honourable and comprehensive settlement of this conflict. This implies a cease-fire, the withdrawal of troops to international borders, the sending of a United Nations observer group to ensure control and monitoring of those operations, guaranteeing for all access to the sea and freedom of navigation and, lastly, the exchange of prisoners of war.

(Mr. Filali, Morocco)

Since the adoption of resolution 514 (1982), the Secretary-General has reported on several occasions to the Council. In his report of 16 July 1982 he noted that

"the Foreign Minister of Iraq informed the Secretary-General that the Government of Iraq was ready to co-operate in the implementation of the resolution". (S/15293, para. 4)

In his report of 7 October 1982 he stated that the Foreign Minister of Iraq had informed him that "his Government supported efforts to facilitate a peaceful solution of the conflict" and that his Government "shall co-operate in good faith with the Council" (S/15449, para. 5).

In the Secretary-General's report of 13 December 1983, he stated that the Government of Iraq "was ready to co-operate in 'finding an effective system for ensuring a cease-fire'" (S/16214, para. 3).

That is not an exhaustive list, but we must recognize that while Iraq has constantly shown readiness to implement the comprehensive plan for the final restoration of peace, Iran, on the other hand, has, as noted in those same reports of the Secretary-General, constantly rejected it, thus blocking all the international community's peace initiatives.

That negative attitude has, unfortunately, prevented a negotiated settlement. Consequently, loss of life, destruction and damage to international navigation have continued at an alarming pace. The mediation attempts of Mr. Olof Palme, Special Representative of the Secretary-General, and his visit to the region in April 1985 met with the same obstacle: Iran's rejection of the comprehensive settlement proposed by the Security Council.

All international bodies - including the Security Council, in its resolution 522 (1982) of 4 October 1982, the Organization of the Islamic Conference, in its resolution 8/4-P adopted at the fourth summit, held at Casablanca in January 1984,

(Mr. Filali, Morocco)

and the League of Arab States, at its twelfth summit, held at Fez in September 1985, and its extraordinary summit held at Casablanca in August 1985 - have welcomed Iraq's acceptance of the peace plan set out in Security Council resolution 514 (1982) and have reiterated their call for the commencement in that framework of negotiations between the two parties.

The new escalation of hostilities we are witnessing shows - if we needed to be shown - the grave danger posed by Tehran's aggressive policy to the security of the entire Gulf region and to international peace. In keeping with their charter, the countries members of the League of Arab States, standing in full solidarity with Iraq, have repeatedly affirmed the need for a negotiated settlement taking account of the legitimate rights of both parties to the conflict and establishing among all countries of the region good-neighbourly relations based on respect for the principles of the United Nations Charter.

We are honoured to be among the seven member States of the Follow-up Committee established by the League of Arab States in March 1984. At its special meeting held at Baghdad on 13 February 1986, that Committee recalled Iran's responsibility for the continued hostilities and deplored that country's refusal to abide by Security Council resolutions aimed at reaching a comprehensive and honourable settlement for the two parties to the conflict. On that occasion, the Committee appealed urgently to all international bodies and to all peace-loving States to pool their efforts to restore peace and security for the good of both parties and of the entire region, and in the interests of the maintenance of world peace and security.

In that spirit we decided to turn to the Security Council and ask that it shoulder its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. Through its highest authority, His Majesty King Hassan II, the Kingdom of Morocco has constantly appealed for vigorous action to put an end to the reign



(Mr. Filali, Morocco)

of madness and senselessness; we have faith that the members of the Council will have the wisdom to undertake such action at this especially critical moment. Indeed, it has become vital that we pool all the goodwill and means of this Organization to convince Iran to participate in the peace process outlined in Security Council resolution 514 (1982).

As a Member of the United Nations, Iran has entered into precise obligations under the Charter, including Article 33, which states that

"The parties to any dispute, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, shall, first of all, seek a solution by negotiation ...".

Article 36 says that

"The Security Council may, at any stage of a dispute of the nature referred to in Article 33 or of a situation of like nature, recommend appropriate procedures or methods of adjustment".

Having established the framework for a comprehensive negotiated solution of the conflict, it is for the Council to urge Iran to abide by the Charter and by the procedures for a peaceful settlement set out by the Council.

Threats to international peace and security have become a fact of life. There is no doubt that the occupation of Iraqi territory in violation of international law inevitably leads to expanded hostilities in one of the world's most sensitive areas in economic and strategic terms. It is hardly admissible nowadays for a State to claim the right to resort ceaselessly to force as a favoured instrument of national policy. While it is necessary to put an end to such defiant behaviour, the Council cannot now merely put out the flames; it is the Council's duty to adopt concrete measures and use all its powers to provide lasting stability so that, within their international borders, all States may coexist with their neighbours in peace.

(Mr. Filali, Morocco)

The establishment of a lasting peace would undoubtedly meet the hopes of all the peoples of the region, who wish to use their energies for positive purposes in the exhilarating task of economic development, thereby guaranteeing the prosperity of future generations. In that way we could see the meeting of word and deed on the noble path of true Muslim humanism.

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

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

Mr. AL-SABBAGH (Bahrain) (interpretation from Arabic): I thank you, Mr. President, and the other members of the Security Council for making it possible for me to address the Council on a very important item which has been the focus of our attention as well as that of the international community. I wish also to pay a tribute to you, Sir, for your competence and your broad knowledge of international affairs, which we are certain will ensure that the Council's deliberations are successful. I pay a tribute also to your predecessor as President, the Permanent Representative of China, for his great competence.

The members of the Security Council as well as of the international community as a whole have of course been following the events connected with the latest large-scale offensive launched by Iran against Iraqi territory, and are aware of all the human and material damage which has resulted from it. This new offensive is but another link in the chain of Iranian acts of aggression against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the sister country of Iraq. This attack is contrary to religious principles, to good-neighbourly relations and to the common interests of two sister Muslim countries.

This offensive was launched on the night of 9/10 February 1986 in the sector east of Basra and the sector of Shatt al-Arab, and it is continuing. There is therefore a serious threat to the peace and security of the two States involved and of our region in particular.

The Security Council is meeting now at the request of the Arab Committee of Seven, a subsidiary body of the Council of the League of Arab States. The Committee met recently, on 12 February 1986, in Baghdad to consider the present situation, and it requested the urgent convening of the Security Council to discuss the dangerous developments in the field and to take all the necessary serious and practical measures to put an end to the conflict as soon as possible, by peaceful means and in accordance with the United Nations Charter and international law.

(Mr. Al-Sabbagh, Bahrain)

We are considering a very dangerous situation which is the result of this new Iranian offensive against Iraq. The aim of the offensive is to occupy more Iraqi territory and threaten Iraq's security, sovereignty and territorial integrity, with a view to destabilizing the Gulf region and creating a new political, military and economic situation. The consequences of such a state of affairs would be further material damage, many more victims and the escalation of the area of a conflict that has already gone on for some time now between two Muslim neighbours. Moreover, the Islamic Government of Iran has recently announced that it intends to expand the area of the conflict. But it is obvious by now that military force cannot bring us closer to peace.

In setting forth this brief background of the facts, we wish to refer to the constructive efforts constantly made by the Arab Co-operation Council since the very outset of the hostilities between Iraq and Iran, in September 1980. Those efforts have been designed to put an end to the hostilities, because this disastrous war is a constant threat to peace and stability in the region and to the very important stake that many other States have in the region.

Politically and economically, and in terms of trade and security, this war is very harmful not only to the Gulf region but also to the entire Middle East. That explains the reaction of our States, which firmly believe in a just peace and in mediation efforts between two warring Muslim States for the purpose of reaching a just and honourable peace. That is the only way that security and stability in that key region of the world can be achieved; it is the only way to spare the region from a conflict between the great Powers and from the dangers of polarization.

The sixth summit conference of the Arab Co-operation Council recently took place in the Sultanate of Oman. That was the most recent mediation effort to put an end to the conflict.

(Mr. Al-Sabbagh, Bahrain)

No one can deny that Iraq responded favourably to all the mediation efforts that have been made. Iraq has agreed to bow to international legality. It is regrettable that, because of the inaction of the Islamic Government of Iran, the peace efforts designed to end the conflict have not been successful. Iran is obstinately pursuing its policy and continues its premeditated aggression against Iraq. Recently, Iran launched new attacks against Kuwaiti and Saudi oil tankers and ships which were outside the declared zone of military operations. The Security Council adopted resolution 552 (1984), in which it called on Iran to put an end to these attacks on commercial ships and not to interfere with ships en route to and from States not parties to the hostilities. The Council reaffirmed that these attacks were a threat to the safety and stability of the region as well as to international peace and security.

The other praiseworthy efforts made by the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the League of Arab States, the United Nations and the non-aligned countries have also been marking time because Iran has heeded none of the appeals for a cessation of hostilities by means of negotiation and respect for international legality.

Despite all that, the States of the Gulf region continue to make mediation efforts for the purpose of improving relations with Iran, on the basis of good-neighbourly relations, respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, and non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States.

We very much desire the Gulf region to be spared these difficulties and to be a stable region, for it is very important to the world. The right of innocent passage in international waters vessels must be respected. Roman jurists declared that the seas were the common heritage of mankind.

(Mr. Al-Sabbagh, Bahrain)

Everyone knows that Iran has destroyed Iraqi ports, preventing that country from exporting its oil. That has been the case since the very outset of the hostilities. This is in violation of Iraq's legitimate rights to its territory and its sea space. With this new, broad offensive, Iran is trying to deprive Iraq of its right to trade and navigation as a Gulf coastal State.

We have come to the Security Council now in an attempt to put an end to this large-scale attack, because the Council is entrusted with the responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. Furthermore, the international community's confidence in the Security Council must be restored; the Council's credibility must be strengthened. That necessarily entails a sense of collective responsibility to contain this conflict and then solve it by the peaceful means provided for in the Charter.

Through the Security Council, we ask Iran to abandon its policy, for history and geography have forged links of good-neighbourliness and religion among us, and we have common interests. Iran must take into consideration the fact that it is a member of the group of non-aligned Islamic countries. It must therefore put an end to this Muslim bloodshed in order that a just peace between these two sister countries may be established.

(Mr. Al-Sabbagh, Bahrain)

Bahrain is asking the Security Council to put an end to the war before the situation developing in the region gets out of control. If it does not do so, the consequences will be extremely difficult, not only for the Gulf countries but for the entire world, which has vital interests at stake in that key region. We once again ask that the Islamic Government of Iran respond to the appeals for reason and peace and to act so that wisdom and higher interests may prevail around a negotiating table, particularly because of the tens of thousands of victims of the war - men, women and children - not to mention the many vital interests of the Iranian and Iraqi peoples, including national infrastructures, that are at stake.

Since 28 September 1982 the Council has adopted four resolutions designed to put an end to hostilities and to resolve the conflict peacefully - resolutions 479 (1980), 514 (1982) and 540 (1983) of 31 October 1983 - which Iraq accepted, as it accepted a cease-fire - and resolution 552 (1984). Iraq began a withdrawal of its forces from Iranian territory to international borders in 1982, and it agreed to a cease-fire.

The States of the Gulf Co-operation Council, including Bahrain, want to reaffirm the principle of collective security and their call for an end to this war, which continues to drain human and material resources and threatens the survival and interests of their peoples. We of Bahrain have consistently warned of the danger presented by prolongation of this war. The Declaration adopted recently in Bahrain reflects the anguish of my Government vis-à-vis recent events. It states:

"Although Bahrain, along with other fraternal States, is attempting to stanch the haemorrhage caused by this war that has been going on for more than five years between the two Muslim States, Iraq and Iran, and to bring this war, which has claimed so many victims, to an end, and despite all the efforts

(Mr. Al-Sabbagh, Bahrain)

that have been made to limit the calamity that has befallen both Muslim peoples and now threatens peace and security in the region and the Islamic world, Iran has once again taken us unaware with this new offensive it has launched to the east of Basra and in the Shatt al-Arab region designed to occupy more Iraqi territory.

"In these difficult times there is a great need to demonstrate clear-mindedness and wisdom in order to stanch our wounds and take the path that can lead us to peace and security, free from war and its retinue of misfortune and destructions."

This cruel war is entering its sixth year. That is why the international community is stepping up its efforts and working tirelessly to bring an end to the conflict. Further, there is a need for the States that enjoy a certain ascendancy in the world to live up to their moral and international responsibilities for the consolidation of peace, rather than merely mouthing pious hopes. They must use all their influence, political or otherwise, to end the bloodshed being caused by this war, especially in view of the worsening of the situation in the field.

There can be no question but that the continuation of this war poses a threat to the interests in the Gulf and to the interests of the entire world, as well as to international trade. That is why the Security Council, the guardian of international peace and security, which is today being called upon to adopt firm and decisive measures to halt this destructive war, one that has already lasted far too long, must now take the initiative. That must be done in light of the rights and duties of the parties to the conflict and in accordance with the principle of the inadmissibility of the occupation of territory by force and the principle that members shall refrain from the threat or use of force.



(Mr. Al-Sabbagh, Bahrain)

What we must do is implement the pertinent Security Council resolutions adopted since 1980. Those resolutions call for an immediate cease-fire, an end to all military operations and the withdrawal of forces to internationally recognized borders, as well for a peaceful resolution of the conflict. Positive measures must be adopted to implement those resolutions so that those States can begin the task of national reconstruction and recovery from the war and ensure for themselves an existence worthy of their peoples, alleviating their sufferings and enabling them to live in prosperity, well-being, security and calm.

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

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

Mr. BADAWI (Egypt) (interpretation from Arabic): We have listened with great interest to the statements by Foreign Ministers who have convincingly described the escalation of violence on the Iranian-Iraqi front that has resulted from the new, large-scale offensive by Iran against the sovereignty of Iraq and its territorial integrity to the east of Basra and in the Shatt al-Arab region that began on 9 and 10 February 1986.

We should like to assure the Ministers present here that Egypt shares their concern over this explosive situation that obviously threatens the security, peace and stability of a region of vital importance to international peace and security and the international economy.

From the outset Egypt has deplored the new Iranian aggression against Iraq. The Egyptian Foreign Minister made a statement in which he affirmed that Egypt deplored this state of affairs and reiterated Egypt's appeal for an immediate cease-fire and the transfer of the conflict to the negotiating table. In that

(Mr. Badawi, Egypt)

statement, Egypt also urged Muslim States, the non-aligned States, all peace-loving States and the entire international community to step up their efforts to stanch the haemorrhage created by this war and to adopt the necessary measures and abstain from any acts that might tend to prolong the conflict. We welcome the coming of the Ministers to New York to participate in the Security Council's deliberations. We believe their visit, provides clear evidence of the danger of the situation, which again impels us to redouble our efforts, within the United Nations and outside it, to remove the causes of the conflict.

Since the outbreak of hostilities Egypt has followed with great concern the development of the conflict between Iraq and Iran. These are two Muslim countries that have the closest of historic ties with Egypt. That is why since September 1980, when the hostilities between the two States began, Egypt has warned of the possibility of their military confrontations engulfing the entire region. Egypt has stated that that war is a drain on the economic resources of both countries, and it has appealed for mediation aimed at finding a peaceful settlement to the conflict. Egypt has spared no efforts, within the United Nations and outside it, and particularly within the framework of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, to bring to an end this absurd and futile war. Meetings have been held with Arab leaders, and, in a statement to the United Nations General Assembly, Egypt has urged the international community to redouble its efforts to put an end to the war between Iran and Iraq.

(Mr. Badawi, Egypt)

President Mubarak stated:

"We do not ask anyone to take sides, but we do ask everyone to adopt a clear position against war and in favour of peace. To that end, we must avoid taking sides or being inactive while awaiting for both sides to become exhausted, for we are all interested in putting an end to a devastating and destructive war."

Nevertheless, it is high time for all of us to appeal for international peace and security, especially given the deterioration of the situation in the field following upon the large-scale offensive undertaken by Iran, which has occupied Iraqi territory and threatens extending the scope of the hostilities for the purpose of creating a new economic, military and political situation.

The consequences of the Iran-Iraq conflict go beyond the frontiers of those two countries and involve the entire Gulf region. The conflict threatens the economic and security interests of the region and of the world as a whole.

In its efforts to put an end to the war between Iran and Iraq, Egypt asks that an end be put to the hostilities, that a withdrawal of troops begin and that the two parties sit down at the negotiating table with a view to restoring rights to their legitimate owners, in keeping with the basic principles of international law, the United Nations Charter and non-alignment, and with full respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of States and non-interference in their internal affairs.

Egypt will spare no effort until the appeals of the international community are heeded, until the fighting stops and until negotiations begin with a view to reaching a peaceful settlement of the conflict. In this connection Egypt wishes to reaffirm its support for the General Assembly and Security Council resolutions on ending the conflict between Iran and Iraq and requests the Council to adopt all

(Mr. Badawi, Egypt)

necessary measures to ensure the implementation of the provisions of those resolutions towards arriving at a peaceful and comprehensive solution to the conflict.

Egypt also welcomes the continued efforts of the Secretary-General to reach such a comprehensive solution to the conflict and requests the Secretary-General to pursue his contacts with the two belligerent parties in order to reach that goal.

We have heard the statement made by the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iraq. Iraq responds favourably to the efforts made both inside and outside the United Nations to put an end to the war; it abides by international law with a view to ending the conflict by peaceful means. Going beyond that, Iraq has undertaken initiatives and made suggestions for ending the war or alleviating its consequences. In 1983 Iraq also proposed the adoption of a special agreement between Iraq and Iran, under United Nations auspices, on the prohibition of bombing civilian targets. Iraq also accepted to receive in Baghdad United Nations permanent observers and the commission of inquiry on the situation with regard to prisoners of war. Iraq has accepted the Secretary-General's eight-point proposal and proposed adding two clauses to the proposal, namely, the withdrawal of troops to international boundaries and a general exchange of prisoners.

We deplore the fact that the conflict between Iraq and Iran continues and that it has entered its sixth year. It is deplorable to note that Iran continues to refuse to respond to the initiatives of the international community. Iran does not even attend meetings of the Security Council; it refuses to implement Security Council decisions and, furthermore, it has increased military operations in the field and continues to occupy Iraqi territory, thus violating the principles of international law, of the United Nations Charter, non-alignment and the Organization of the Islamic Conference.

(Mr. Badawi, Egypt)

Egypt hopes that Iran will follow in the footsteps of Iraq, which has given a favourable response to the peace initiatives. Iran has attacked the sovereignty of Iraq, occupied its territory and pursued military operations. That is why Iraq has come to the Security Council, requesting it to act in a manner commensurate with its responsibilities under the Charter as the guardian of international peace and security.

Will the Council be satisfied with the resolutions it has previously adopted, resolutions which have remained dead letters in the course of these past six years? No. It is high time that the Council implement those resolutions and ensure that they are respected in order to reach a comprehensive settlement of the conflict between Iran and Iraq. That is the goal we all wish to achieve as soon as possible.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): The next speaker is the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. TERZI (Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)): I wish to thank you, Mr. President, and the other members of the Council for having extended an invitation to the Palestine Liberation Organization to participate in this debate.

A most devastating war engulfs one of the most vital areas rich in its subterranean wealth and its contributions to civilization. The Arab Gulf, Mesopotamia, Babylon, the Hanging Gardens of Baghdad, the Tigris and Euphrates, and perhaps the Code of Chamorabi. There have been hundreds of thousands of deaths and thousands of millions of losses. The national economies not only of the two parties directly involved in the conflict but also of the entire Arab world have been severely and damagingly affected, but the war continues.

(Mr. Terzi, PLO)

It is simple and easy to say that the Council cannot do more. It has adopted many, perhaps too many, resolutions, but unfortunately nothing has been accomplished, the fighting has not ceased, and the decisions of the Security Council have neither been respected nor carried out as prescribed by the Charter, or, rather, as demanded by the Charter.

The Security Council is neither a court of first instance nor is it the International Court of Justice. The Council is entrusted with the task of maintaining international peace and security and also of preventing any and all acts that constitute threats to international peace and security. The relevant principles of the Charter are articulated and remedies to situations, particularly regarding action against Member States that fail or refuse to carry out the Council's decisions, are prescribed in the Charter. It is possible that some might think that this action-oriented remedy would not lead to a cessation of hostilities but might exacerbate the situation. Thus, one is compelled to count on the bona fide commitment of each and every Member to respect and carry out such decisions, and hence the need to establish conditions and a format to bring the parties to the conflict to agree in principle, but not at the cost of compromising or abandoning their sovereign rights.

(Mr. Terzi, PLO)

The process or method of negotiation is often talked about. The Security Council is a forum. However, it is essential to identify the protagonists or interlocutors in the negotiating process for a very simple and elementary reason, namely, that at the end of the day they should be in a position to deliver or implement whatever was agreed to in the negotiating process.

Here, one must admit that the Council has permitted itself to be derailed and made to address peripheral, marginal issues, ramifications and derivatives at the price of bypassing or even forgetting the real issue. In a case of war - an undeclared war, as is the case the Council is now considering - we feel that the Council should concentrate on and confine itself to finding the means to bring peace to the war zone, to the area, and to the entire world, as well as to ensure its maintenance. Derivatives and ramifications will be considered within the war context, not as the issue.

As is the case of the "Situation in the Middle East, including the Question of Palestine" - and, to be more precise, the "question of Palestine" - for one reason or another the Council has been derailed and, instead of addressing the root cause, addressed derivatives, serious as they are but which are in fact not the real issue. For example, the Council has failed - or has been made to fail - to address the question of Palestine since 1947 or to carry out the first recommendation in General Assembly resolution 181 (II). But why? Because the United States of America, a permanent member of the Security Council, realized that such action in the Council would be contrary to its planned policy and constant, that is, denying the Palestinian people its right to independence and self-determination. The United States on several occasions has proved to be the obstacle to all endeavours for a peaceful settlement, so long as such a settlement was based also on recognition of the existence of the Palestinian people and its right to self-determination, independence and sovereignty. So, from our own experience, we call upon the Council to assume its responsibility and address the real issue.

(Mr. Terzi, PLO)

positive response of our Iraqi brothers. It is our sincere hope - for the sake of the Iranian and Iraqi peoples, for the sake of peace in the region, and for the sake of the determination of all our brothers to maintain and escalate their support of our struggle for the liberation of our homeland and redressing the injustices which have befallen the Palestinian people - that the brothers in Iran also will heed and respond to this call. The latest phase in the escalation of war acts does not serve the purpose of peace; neither does it serve the welfare and development of their peoples.

The sources of international law are many, but one that comes to my mind now is the Islamic Sharia law which draws its validity from the Holy Koran, and I shall end my statement with the following quotation from the Holy Koran, again with the hope that the responsible authorities in the Islamic Republic of Iran will heed and respond in a positive way:



(Mr. Terzi, PLO)

"And if they incline to peace" -

and we have heard the Deputy Prime Minister of Iraq stressing his inclination to peace -

"incline thou also to it, and trust in Allah. Lo! He is the Hearer, the Knower.

"And if they would deceive thee, then lo! Allah is sufficient for thee. He it is Who supporteth thee with His help and with the believers,

"And (as for the believers) hath attuned their hearts. If thou hadst spent all that is in the earth thou couldst not have attuned their hearts, but Allah hath attuned them. Lo! He is Mighty, Wise." (The Holy Koran, VIII:61-63)

Next I wish to quote another verse from the Holy Koran, as follows:

"And hold fast, all of you together, to the cable of Allah, and do not separate. And remember Allah's favour unto you: how ye were enemies and He made friendship between your hearts so that ye became as brothers by His grace; and (how) ye were upon the brink of an abyss of fire, and He did save you from it. Thus Allah maketh clear His revelations unto you that haply ye may be guided". (The Holy Koran, III:103)

Finally, it is our wish that the other party will heed those words and also be guided.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): The next speaker is the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. AZZAROUK (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (interpretation from Arabic): My delegation has already had the honour on a previous occasion of wishing you the best, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. We understand the responsibility that you have to shoulder, and we appreciate the

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excellent manner in which you are guiding the Council's work this month, which has given fresh proof of your well-known statesmanship and experience.

What can the Security Council do about the topic before it? Our bitter experience with the Council has confirmed to us that it has become useless with respect to carrying out the role entrusted to it and that its effectiveness has come to an end, because of the irresponsible practices of the United States - its use of the veto and its insistence on paralyzing the role and machinery of the United Nations so that the United States may become the world's policeman, imposing political hegemony over the world in a form of neo-globalism.

Before the Council adds a new resolution to its impotent resolutions, and before it demands anything from Iran, it must implement the resolutions that it has adopted on the question of Palestine and impose sanctions against the Israelis. Those sanctions should include an embargo on the sale of arms to that entity, which has defied all human values and norms in practising official terrorism. The same applies to South Africa.

The Council must also find a way to implement the resolutions that it would have adopted but for the United States hegemony and its use of the veto to paralyse the Council. The Council had no way to condemn the terrorist act of aggression committed by a member of the United Nations against the safety of international aviation, which was a blatant violation of all international laws and norms.

As a result of the stalemate created in the Security Council, many peoples and countries, including my country, are no longer looking to the Council as a body capable of accomplishing its task. They have lost confidence in the Council. More than that, they have lost respect for it and they have lost hope that it will play its role in maintaining international peace and security, as it has become a paralysed mechanism. Indeed, we regard it as an American Council.

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My country will not heed the Council unless the Council's main problem is reviewed. Here I refer to the right of veto. That veto power should be given to all permanent and non-permanent members, as an expression of equality, sovereignty and democracy among all peoples and countries and their role in maintaining international peace and security, as it is an important, joint responsibility of all the countries of the world.

The recommendations and resolutions of the General Assembly must become mandatory and must be respected and endorsed by the Security Council, as an expression of the will of the majority of the international community.

International circumstances today are different from those in which the Charter was formulated. At that time 50 countries drew up the Charter in the light of prevailing international circumstances. We recall that the Council is only the child of a secret meeting between Roosevelt and Stalin, held on the fringes of the tripartite conference in Tehran in December 1943, when Roosevelt proposed to Stalin the formation of a team of four policeman - the United States, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and China - to maintain the world's system. That is how the Security Council was born; that was its origin.

Today the number of member countries of the United Nations has tripled. International circumstances and international relations are different. The new situation dictates to us that we must rectify the historic mistakes of the United Nations. The most important need is to end the monopoly of influence and privilege that some States try to secure for themselves, not in the interest of the international community but for their own selfish interests, to sanctify the policy of hegemony and influence.

Unless the United Nations Charter is reviewed on the basis of what I have said, including an end to the monopoly of the veto, many countries, including my

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own, will find themselves obliged seriously to consider withdrawing from the United Nations, as it has become a paralysed piece of machinery.

Mr. REIS (United States of America): The last speaker addressed matters which are not before the Security Council today and he did so using language that was intemperate with regard to the Security Council and disrespectful of it. His language was also, in my own view, slanderous with regard to the United States, and accordingly unacceptable. While a serious military conflict continues to rage between Iraq and Iran, which is the subject before this Council, the representative we have just heard contents himself with asserting that the Council is somehow a tool or a pawn of the United States. His words are unacceptable.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): 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, Friday, 21 February 1986 at 4 p.m.

The meeting rose at 6.15 p.m.

