



Security Council

PROVISIONAL

S/PV.2713
8 October 1986

ENGLISH

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

**Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Wednesday, 8 October 1986, at 4 p.m.**

President: Mr. AL-SHAALI

(United Arab Emirates)

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

**Mr. WOOLCOTT
Mr. ROLEV
Mr. YU Mengjia
Mr. GAYAMA
Mr. BIERRING
Mr. de KEMOULARIA
Mr. GBEHO
Mr. RABETAPIKA
Mr. KASEMSRZ
Mr. ALLEYNE
Mr. BELONOGOV

Mr. GORE-BOOTH
Mr. WALTERS
Mr. AGUILAR**

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The meeting was called to order at 4.05 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION BETWEEN IRAN AND IRAQ

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

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Arabic): In accordance with the decisions taken at previous meetings on this item, 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 Afghanistan, Argentina, Bangladesh, Chad, Cuba, Egypt, the German Democratic Republic, Guyana, Jordan, Kuwait, Mauritania, Mexico, Morocco, Nicaragua, Oman, Peru, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Tunisia, Yemen, Yugoslavia and Zambia 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. Zarif (Afghanistan), Mr. Delpech (Argentina), Mr. Siddiky (Bangladesh), Mr. Lassou (Chad), Mr. Velazco San Jose (Cuba), Mr. Abdel Mequid (Egypt), Mr. Ott (German Democratic Republic), Mr. Jackson (Guyana), Mr. Salah (Jordan), Mr. Al-Sabah (Kuwait), Mr. Ould Boye (Mauritania), Mr. Moya Palencia (Mexico), Mr. Slaoui (Morocco), Mrs. Astorga Gadea (Nicaragua), Mr. Al-Ansi (Oman), Mr. Alzamora (Peru), Mr. Kabanda (Rwanda), Mr. Shihabi (Saudi Arabia), Mr. Sarré (Senegal), Mr. Bouziri (Tunisia), Mr. Basendwah (Yemen), Mr. Golob (Yugoslavia), Mr. Mwananshiku (Zambia) and Mr. Kaddoumi (Palestine Liberation Organization) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Arabic): I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Uruguay in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

Mr. Lupinacci (Uruguay) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council Chamber.

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

I should like to draw the attention of members of the Council to a document containing the text of a letter of 7 October 1986 from the Permanent Representative of Iraq, document S/18384, addressed to the Secretary-General.

Mr. AGUILAR (Venezuela) (interpretation from Spanish): Mr. President, during the months in which we have had the pleasure of working by your side in the Security Council, we have been able to observe your personal and intellectual qualities, and this is why we are convinced that you will be able wisely to guide our deliberations during the month of October. Venezuela has the most cordial relations of friendship and co-operation with your country, and this is one more reason why we are particularly pleased to see you presiding over this body.

I also wish to express our appreciation to your predecessor, the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Mr. Belonogov, for the exemplary way in which he presided over the Council in September.

Since 1980 the Security Council has met 12 times to consider the conflict between Iran and Iraq, a war which should not have begun and which has gone on now

(Mr. Aguilar, Venezuela)

for more than six years. During this period the Security Council has adopted nine presidential declarations and five resolutions, four of them unanimously.

Unfortunately, these decisions, the resolutions of the General Assembly, the persevering efforts of our Secretary-General, and many peace initiatives taken by non-governmental organizations have thus far been fruitless.

This conflict has on many occasions very rightly been termed absurd because the links, aspirations, and interests that bind these two peoples are greater than the differences that separate them. Geographical proximity, the ties that history and religion have created between them, their status as developing countries, the defence of vital shared interests, in the Organization of Oil Exporting Countries, and their participation in the Non-Aligned Movement, are all factors that naturally lead to friendship, solidarity and mutual co-operation.

When we think of everything that these two sister States have done and could do for the benefit of their peoples, we experience a sense of frustration at the results of this prolonged armed confrontation. The war has already taken an extremely high toll in human lives and suffering. The estimated number of persons killed, disappeared or wounded in this conflict are staggering and the most distressing thing is that most of these victims are young, sometimes adolescents, whose loss will be felt when the time comes to restore peace and begin the arduous task of reconstruction.

(Mr. Aguilar, Venezuela)

The material losses of both countries are incalculable and their economies have suffered considerably from the burden of the immense and unproductive expenditure that this fratricidal war involves. The development process of the two countries, which had made significant progress in the pre-war years, has been suspended, and it will probably take many years before they can recover from the grave consequences of this war. It can well be said that in war there are usually only losers. The prolongation and intensification of this conflict, in a region where there are so many underlying interests and risks, also affects the trade and traffic of neutral ships and aircraft in the Gulf and prompts justified fears that the conflict will spread to other States. What is at stake is the interests of the long suffering peoples of Iran and Iraq, and peace and security in the region.

Given this situation, the Security Council, the organ which under the Charter has primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, unanimously adopted, on 24 February 1986, resolution 582 (1986), which in our view constitutes a balanced decision, in which reference is made to the characteristics of the conflict, to the principles that should be applied to the case, and to the measures that should be taken by both sides to put an end to this war.

The provisions of the Charter are underlined in the resolution and in particular the obligation of all Members of the Organization to settle their international disputes by peaceful means, in such a way as not to endanger international peace, security and justice, and to stress the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force. In that same resolution the Security Council deplores the initial acts which gave rise to the conflict, its continuation and escalation, especially territorial incursions, the bombing of purely civilian population centres, attacks on neutral shipping or civilian aircraft, and the violation of international humanitarian law and other laws

(Mr. Aguilar, Venezuela)

of armed conflict and, in particular, the use of chemical weapons contrary to obligations under the 1925 Geneva Protocol.

In that same resolution, the parties are specifically asked to observe an immediate cease-fire, a cessation of all hostilities on land, at sea and in the air, and withdrawal of all forces to the internationally recognized boundaries without delay, with a comprehensive exchange of prisoners of war to be completed within a short period after the cessation of hostilities in co-operation with the International Committee of the Red Cross. The parties are called upon to submit immediately all aspects of the conflict to mediation or to any other means of peaceful settlement of disputes. The Secretary-General is requested to continue his ongoing efforts to assist the two parties to give effect to the resolution.

Lastly, in the final operative paragraph, the Security Council calls upon all other States to exercise the utmost restraint and to refrain from any act which may lead to a further escalation and widening of the conflict. The Council further decides to remain seized of the matter.

In the view of our delegation, this resolution is fully valid and the Security Council should therefore once again urge the parties immediately and fully to implement, without delay, each and every one of its provisions.

There is also a need to reiterate once again our confidence in the Secretary-General and to ask him to intensify his efforts to achieve the implementation of this resolution and to report to the Council, within a reasonable period of time on the steps that he has taken.

It is clear, of course, that the political will and co-operation of the parties is essential for a prompt and peaceful settlement of this conflict. Venezuela, which has close relations of friendship and co-operation with Iran and Iraq, joins the universal appeal by asking both parties to heed it. In so doing

(Mr. Aguilar, Venezuela)

we are inspired solely by our profound feelings of friendship and solidarity with these fraternal peoples.

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

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

Mr. OULD BOYE (Mauritania) (interpretation from Arabic): Mr. President, it gives me pleasure to begin my statement by congratulating you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. We are confident that your high personal qualities, as well as your experience and prudence, will enable this Council to succeed in its present proceedings. The United Arab Emirates and Mauritania are bound not only by national, cultural, social and religious bonds, but also by links of close co-operation in several areas of development.

Mr. President, may I be permitted also to pay tribute to your predecessor, the representative of the Soviet Union, for the skill he demonstrated in presiding over the proceedings of the Council during the month of September.

The subject we are now debating, namely the war between Iran and Iraq, is in fact a painful matter for my country. It is indeed difficult to describe accurately our sentiments when we discuss this issue. The war between these two sister States has now entered its seventh year, resulting in heavy human losses, estimated at some one million lives. The material loss is indeed incalculable.

From a political and developmental standpoint, the third world has been adversely affected by this war. Its potential risks expand day by day, as the means of transport and communications are now endangered in that area. The situation might perhaps develop into a massive conflagration which might prove to be totally destructive and might well get out of control in that strategic

(Mr. Ould Boye, Mauritania)

region. This undoubtedly constitutes a threat to international peace and security.

We are now in the year 1986 and in the year 1407 after the Hegra of Prophet Mohammed, peace be upon him. We are in the age of science and technology, the age of reason and the rule of international law, in order to resolve disputes among States.

(Mr. Ould Boye, Mauritania)

Hence, my country has often stated its position with regard to ending the war between Iran and Iraq in the General Assembly, the Non-Aligned Movement, the Organization of African Unity and the Organization of the Islamic Conference. Today, we subscribe to the Council's sincere appeals to make every possible effort to end this extremely dangerous war, which is fraught with world-wide consequences.

In this context, we call for setting in motion the process of peace by both parties observing an immediate cease-fire and submitting all aspects of the conflict to mediation and we support the efforts made by the Secretary-General and the members of the Organization of the Islamic Conference.

My delegation takes this opportunity to place on record its satisfaction with Iraq's favourable response to the peace initiatives undertaken so far.

We urge the members of the Security Council, which have a genuine interest in seeing that peace, justice, international security and the right of man to life are upheld, to make every possible effort to accelerate the process of peace in the Gulf region.

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

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

Mr. BASENDWAH (Yemen) (interpretation from Arabic): I should like to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. Your well known personal qualities, and the skills you have demonstrated throughout the period I have spent in the Organization, give me full confidence that you will be able to guide the proceedings of the Council in a wise and outstanding manner. Before dealing with the subject under discussion in the Council today, it behoves me to put on record my thanks and appreciation to your predecessor, Ambassador Alexander Belonogov, Permanent Representative of the Soviet

(Mr. Basendwah, Yemen)

Union, for the outstanding way in which he guided the work of the Council throughout his presidency last month.

It is extremely distressing that year after year the ferocious war between Iran and Iraq continues unabated. It had gone on for six long years and now, approximately two weeks ago, it entered into its seventh with no end in sight. Whatever the reasons for its outbreak, this war should not have been allowed to continue. It has taken a heavy toll in human life and destroyed installations and property and depleted the resources and energies of the two neighbouring countries. It has lasted far too long and exacted too great a price.

Since its outbreak in September 1980, the Council has time and again been seized of this appalling military conflict. The last time was on 24 February last, when resolution 582 (1986) was adopted. Although its content was clear, calling for an immediate cease-fire, a cessation of all hostilities on land, at sea and in the air and withdrawal of all forces to the internationally recognized boundaries without delay, for both parties to submit immediately all aspects of the conflict to mediation, and requesting the Secretary-General to continue his ongoing efforts to assist the two parties to give effect to the resolution, the resolution remains a dead letter and unimplemented, because Iran persists in continuing the war and refuses even to listen to all the calls for peace, let alone submit to mediation, whereas Iraq is ready to observe an immediate cease-fire and leaves no stone unturned to help to Secretary-General achieve his goal.

In coming before the Security Council, we are not asking the Council to help one party to achieve a military victory over the other. Like the other countries that are saddened by the continuation of this ferocious war, we have come to appeal

(Mr. Basendwah, Yemen)

to the Council to assume its responsibility under the Charter and work for the maintenance of peace. If the Council does not perform this role, then who else will? If the monstrosities of this ferocious war and its astronomical costs are inconceivable, then a just peace, by putting an end to this horrible blood-letting, is not only a duty to be assumed by the Council under the Charter but, in the first place, it is a human duty emanating from the human conscience.

The war has lasted this long - having entered its seventh year - because the world has remained a mere onlooker. There are those who are content just to disapprove of it; others remain indifferent so long as they are not adversely affected by it; and finally, there are those who gloat over it and wish the war to persist. But all those who maintain such attitudes are in error, because they think that its consequences, although confined to the two countries involved so far, will not affect them. This war with its monstrous evils, a war which is taking place in such a sensitive area, will undoubtedly, extend to other areas and its consequences will be felt by other countries. Should it lead the world to witness a more widespread tragedy, the ensuing catastrophe will have far-reaching dimensions. If Iraq has time and again declared its readiness to observe an immediate cease-fire, on the basis of the withdrawal of all forces to the internationally recognized boundaries, it is because of its desire to save further bloodshed, in line with the initiative taken last August to observe such a cease-fire.

(Mr. Basendwah, Yemen)

In order to achieve a cease-fire and end the war, it is necessary for Iran to follow suit, because without its agreement it will be impossible to end the war.

Should the international community observe the continuance of this war month after and month and year after year without making any effort to put an end to it, just because Iran rejects a cease-fire? The continuance of this situation constitutes a serious challenge to the Security Council, the United Nations and the rest of the world.

My country, the Yemen Arab Republic, because of its affinity with the two peoples and from the humanitarian standpoint, is racked with sorrow and pain as it sees those two brotherly neighbouring countries suffering in this bloody tragedy and waging an unnecessary war, a war in which there can be no victor and no vanquished because both the murderer and the victim are Muslim.

My country has repeatedly called for an end to the bloodshed, for reason to prevail over emotion and wisdom over obstinacy, and for an end to the war. It has sought a cease-fire and endorsed all mediation efforts aimed at extinguishing the fire of this ferocious war. Although the efforts of the Council, the Secretary-General, the Non-Aligned Movement and the Organization of the Islamic Conference, along with others, have failed so far, that failure compels us to redouble our efforts, continue our endeavours and take a clearer and firmer stand on the need to end this war so that friendly relations and good-neighbourliness may return to the two sister countries.

Our sorrow and anguish are all the more acute because the brotherly relations between these two countries, inherent in their common faith, Islam, and based on their age-old good-neighbourliness, should suffice to overcome the causes of the dispute. We hope the leaders of Iran will find inspiration in the following lines of poetry by an Arab poet of Persian Islamic descent:

"Though one day, alas, they went to war and bled

They recognized their kinship and tears were shed."

(Mr. Basendwah, Yemen)

But will Iran remember the blood relationship and good-neighbourliness and cease to persist in the war, after obstinacy has blinded it for so many years?

It is now more necessary than ever for the Security Council to ensure that the suffering of the peoples of Iraq and Iran end as quickly as possible. Enough is enough, and certainly enough has happened since the outbreak of that ferocious war. It is not sufficient for the Council to adopt a resolution that remains unimplemented, as have the previous resolutions. It must insist on implementation and imposition, using the powers entrusted to it. If it does that it will not be because it is biased against one party; it will be to end the ferocious war in the best interests of the two warring parties, not of one only. Will the Council not do this, will it not champion peace? We hope that it will.

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

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

Mr. SLAQUI (Morocco) (interpretation from French): First of all, Mr. President, I should like to thank you and all the other members of the Council for giving me the opportunity to participate in the debate on a question which is at the very heart of the concerns of my Government and particularly of His Majesty King Hassan II, who, since the beginning of this fratricidal conflict between Iraq and Iran, has constant'y appealed for an end to the hostilities and blind destruction which are compromising the future of these two Islamic countries and seriously threatening the neighbouring countries of the Gulf area, as well as international peace and security.

I take this opportunity to express to you, Sir, our satisfaction at seeing as President of the Council a representative of a sisterly country with which we maintain the friendliest relations. We know you to be a competent and experienced

(Mr. Slaoui, Morocco)

diplomat whose human qualities and great openness are the best guarantee of the success of the work of this Council.

I wish also to extend my congratulations to Ambassador Belonogov of the Soviet Union for the effective and skilful way in which he guided the work of the Council last month.

We must pay a tribute to the Secretary-General for his tireless efforts at mediation in order to bring about a rapid end to hostilities, alleviate the sufferings of the civilian populations and halt the loss of innocent lives.

The legitimate anxiety of the international community concerning this conflict have been expressed many times within this body, which bears the main responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. Six resolutions have already been adopted with the same objectives, namely, to stop the fighting, ensure respect for the internationally recognized boundaries and establish peace between the two neighbouring countries. The latest of these, resolution 582 (1986), was adopted unanimously on 24 February this year after Iran had launched a new large-scale offensive on Iraqi territory. The Council, in its great wisdom, called upon Iran and Iraq

"to observe an immediate cease-fire [and] a cessation of all hostilities on land, at sea and in the air and withdrawal of all forces to the internationally recognized boundaries without delay".

The Council also reiterated its appeal to the two parties to submit all aspects of the conflict to mediation or to any other procedure for the peaceful settlement of disputes.

The Kingdom of Morocco, as a member of the Group of Seven of the Arab League, participated actively in the work of the Council last February, emphasizing all the peace efforts undertaken jointly at the world level and within the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the League of Arab States to prevent a worsening of the situation.

(Mr. Slaoui, Morocco)

On 9 March 1984 His Majesty King Hassan II, then Chairman of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, uttered a warning cry about a war whose

"shadow every day looms ever larger, more threatening and more destructive. Everything that Iraq and Iran possess in men, means of living, civilization and culture is threatened with annihilation. Two brotherly countries which throughout history have been the jewels in the crown of Islam and which together and separately have contributed to its influence risk, if they are not careful, being overcome by the blind destruction towards which they are headed.

"The world cannot continue to remain a mere spectator of these acts of extermination affecting hundreds of thousands of innocent people. Vigorous action must be taken to put an end to this reign of irrationality and folly."

His Majesty King Hassan II then made a solemn appeal to the two parties to halt hostilities immediately and resume the dialogue within the Islamic peace committee.

Unfortunately, all those initiatives were unsuccessful, because of Iran's intransigence and its persistent rejection of Security Council resolutions and various offers of mediation, the most recent being that in April 1985 of the late Olof Palme, to whose memory today we pay the tribute due a man who devoted his life to the cause of peace. Moreover, Iran does not even take part in the work of this honourable body in order to present its own grievances, as it has constantly been urged to do, again most recently by the Secretary-General.

We must say that that challenge by Iran to the international community contrasts with the positive, conciliatory attitude shown constantly by Iraq, as evidenced by successive reports of the Secretary-General, who has stated that country's readiness to co-operate in good faith to implement Security Council

(Mr. Slaoui, Morocco)

resolutions, including all aspects of the plan for a comprehensive, just and honourable settlement of the conflict. Iraq repeated that commitment in the Council recently, on 3 October.

It is imperative, and a matter of urgency, that our Council exercise all its powers under the Charter to impose respect not only for its own decisions but for the fundamental principles of our Charter - the right of all States to exercise their full independence and sovereignty within the framework of their territorial integrity. It is a matter of the credibility of our Organization as a whole.

The urgency of the situation and of the need for a response from the Council is clear when we bear in mind, as the Secretary-General reminded us in his statement to the Council on 3 October,

"Iran's declared intention to launch another major offensive to bring a military conclusion to the conflict". (S/PV.2709, p. 7)

That desire for military escalation by a Member State is inadmissible and intolerable; it goes against the fundamental norms of international law recognized by the whole international community. Our participation in the work of the United Nations confers rights upon us, it is true, but it also imposes duties on us, the first of which, placed by the founding Members at the very beginning of our Charter, is to "save succeeding generations from the scourge of war". It is therefore up to us to carry out that duty in the present case, in order to restore peace and security in one of the most sensitive regions of the world.

It is high time clearly to define the responsibility for the prolongation of the conflict and to use the arsenal of measures that would allow a peaceful solution, in keeping with Article 33 of the Charter, guaranteeing the rights of each of the parties.

(Mr. Slaoui, Morocco)

The Kingdom of Morocco remains convinced that the restoration of peace between Iraq and Iran will be the prelude to a new era of creativity, which will lead them to continue and to strengthen their age-old contribution to Islamic civilization and the cultural heritage of all mankind. That peace for which we devoutly wish is the best wager one could make on the future in order to assure the prosperity and harmonious development of their respective peoples.

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

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

Mrs. ASTORGA GADEA (Nicaragua) (interpretation from Spanish): May I first, Sir, express my delegation's satisfaction at seeing you preside over the Council's work this month. You are discharging your important responsibilities with great skill. Your vast experience and the fact that you are the representative of a non-aligned, peace-loving country guarantee the success of the Council's work.

Please allow me also to congratulate Ambassador Alexander Belonogov of the Soviet Union on the able way in which he guided the Council's work during September.

The fratricidal war between Iran and Iraq is now entering its seventh year. Every day that it continues the suffering and terror of those fraternal peoples increase. That tragic conflict, which should never have begun and whose continuation cannot be justified, must end without delay.

Nicaragua, which is suffering a war imposed on it and which has spared no effort to achieve peace and understanding in our region, considers it a duty to speak out in favour of peace in the Gulf region.

(Mrs. Astorga Gadea, Nicaragua)

We know the devastating consequences of war, the suffering, poverty and backwardness that result for peoples. The conflict between Iran and Iraq has already cost hundreds of thousands of human lives and astronomical material and economic losses. The resources of those countries that are wasted to sustain the war should be used for the economic and social development of their respective peoples.

At the same time, my delegation emphasizes the need for strict respect for internationally recognized humanitarian norms in armed conflicts.

(Mrs. Astorga Gadea, Nicaragua)

The Movement of Non-Aligned Countries has on many occasions reiterated that the principle of the non-use of force in international relations is applicable to the conflict between Iran and Iraq. Nicaragua fully supports the Declaration of the eighth summit Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, which in the section dealing with this conflict states:

"In this context, they expressed profound regret at the initiation and continuation of hostilities between the two countries, which are important members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. The Heads of State or Government therefore appealed once again to Iran and Iraq to cease hostilities forthwith in order to avoid further loss of life and damage to property. They once again pledged themselves to exert every effort to facilitate a speedy end to this tragic conflict."

As President Daniel Ortega stated at the summit meeting held in Harare last month, non-alignment is a reality that requires a decision by our countries not to tolerate bloodshed among fraternal peoples, for it is the blood of the Movement that is being shed. That is the case with the war between Iran and Iraq.

The United Nations, the Security Council, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, the Organization of the Islamic Conference - in a word, the entire international community - must persevere in making creative efforts to find the appropriate mechanisms for bringing those two fraternal countries closer together and find a basis for a just and honourable agreement for the settlement of this conflict which has gone on for too long.

In that regard, we commend and encourage the efforts and initiatives of the Secretary-General to promote peace. My delegation believes that a fundamental and urgent step to achieve peace should be an immediate cessation of hostilities, as well as the initiation of dialogue between the parties with the object of finding formulas for understanding.

(Mrs. Astorga Gadea, Nicaragua)

Nicaragua, a country that has brotherly relations with Iran and Iraq, fervently hopes that the efforts of the international community will at last be successful. We have no interest in siding with one party or the other in this distressing conflict. We are inspired by the respect and sincere friendship that Nicaragua feels for Iran and Iraq. We are inspired by our devotion to peace, to the causes of the third world and non-alignment, which will be strengthened when fraternal blood is no longer being shed and when both unite their voices in the defence of, and the struggle for, peace, development and co-operation among peoples.

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

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

Mr. ALZAMORA (Peru) (interpretation from Spanish): Mr. President, we extend our greetings to you, and to your distinguished predecessor, in your important post. My delegation deeply appreciates the opportunity afforded to us of participating in this debate, thus fulfilling our duty as a founding Member of this Organization, which was created to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, to practise tolerance and live together in peace, and to join forces for the attainment of those objectives which are set forth in the Preamble to the United Nations Charter. Above all, our participation is an essential duty as part of the international community, which is organized on the basis of principles, rights and obligations.

When in 1795 Immanuel Kant, the German philosopher, wrote his guiding thoughts on war and peace under the title "Towards Everlasting Peace", he recognized in lasting peace the common desire for stable and creative human coexistence which inspires us today, and in the international community an abiding collective responsibility for the prevention and the cessation of war, one which cannot be

(Mr. Alzamora, Peru)

shirked by those involved in the conflict. History demonstrates that war has been and remains a fact of life, irrational and destructive; but history has also witnessed the persistent struggle of the peoples to abolish all forms of violence and to affirm peace and law.

The quest for peace is not an exceptional one for Peru. We are deeply committed to the peace-making efforts of Contadora. We are promoting in Latin America the reduction of arms expenditures for the benefit of development and we encourage as much as we possibly can the reduction of tension and the creation of harmony in our region.

Therefore, there is nothing unusual in our deep interest in the fate of two fraternal third-world non-aligned peoples whose blood has been shed year after year in an unbridled war; nor is our hope for generous and far-sighted reconciliation an illusory one. In many ways the tragedy of this war is also our own, inasmuch as it not only distresses us but also weakens the unity and compromises the solidarity of our joint actions in defence of political and economic interests that are shared also by Iraq and Iran. At this time of such great pressure, of so many dangers, confrontation between two nations so important for the solidarity of our front and the success of our common cause is costly indeed, because it undermines the effectiveness of our collective struggle for national independence, for economic justice and for the peace and security of all.

However, we have no illusions in making this statement. We know the strength of nationalist feelings and how intense is the fire of patriotism when convictions and feelings affecting honour and justice among peoples are involved. Nevertheless, it is our duty to make every possible effort to offer our Iranian and Iraqi brothers the possibility of putting an end to their tragic extermination. We do so out of fraternal friendship for all, without taking sides, without ignoring the views of any party and without disregarding any right or any feeling. We do so for them, our brothers, and also for ourselves, for our Organization, but also

(Mr. Alzamora, Peru)

for a world in which, above and beyond the decisions and interests of men, it is our primary duty to preserve the work of the Creator and the peaceful coexistence of the human race.

Rather than dwelling on the characteristics of war, my delegation wishes to contribute to the appeal for peace and lend its firm support to any initiative that may bring peace closer. The stronger and the more unanimous that appeal the greater will be the possibility of replacing the destructive dynamics of war with the fruitful option of peace.

That appeal is at this time strengthened and further dignified by the call addressed to all political and spiritual leaders in the world four days ago by Pope John Paul II, who urged that 27 October 1986 be made a day of universal truce in which for 24 hours all combatants will lay down their arms in a symbolic gesture of peace and in a collective exercise of reflection. On that day world leaders and the leaders of all religions congregated in Assisi will meet to invoke that universal mobilization for peace.

(Mr. Alzamora, Peru)

As we approach that date, we are not unaware of the value of symbolism or of the importance of our responsibility; because we are convinced that, as the Constitution of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) states:

"since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed".

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

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

Mr. LUPINACCI (Uruguay) (interpretation from Spanish): Sir, I should like first of all to congratulate you on your assumption of the Presidency of the Council for the month of October and to express the hope that under your expert and competent leadership this body will take effective steps towards fulfilling its important responsibilities.

I also want to extend my congratulations to your predecessor, the Permanent Representative of the Soviet Union, Ambassador Belonogov, for the fairness and efficiency with which he guided the work of the Council in September.

Uruguay is a peace loving country, one whose international policy has traditionally been based on the maintenance and promotion of relations of friendship and co-operation with all the peoples of the world and on the principle of the peaceful settlement of international disputes. The observance of this principle is even a constitutional mandate, and Uruguay is a party to treaties on this subject, which guide its international conduct. Inspired by those principles, Uruguay is also a member of the Contadora Support Group as a way of contributing to peace and co-operation among our brothers in Central America.

(Mr. Lupinacci, Uruguay)

Uruguay is therefore firmly committed to the cause of peace. It is in the name of peace that we have asked to address this body, which has the primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and security pursuant to the Charter, in order to ask Iran and Iraq to make every possible effort to bring about the complete and immediate implementation of the relevant resolutions of the Security Council, in particular resolution 582 (1986), and to put an end to the conflict that for over six years now has brought death and destruction to those two peoples.

Uruguay is a country geographically distant from Iran and Iraq but it is linked to the two by excellent relations of friendship. For this reason we cannot remain silent in a situation which has not only submerged two friendly countries in a blood bath but which also affects the entire international community and distresses all mankind.

Peace is indivisible. Any breach of the peace in any region of the world endangers universal peace. This is crystal clear, especially in respect of a conflict of a seriousness and length of the one that pits those two friendly countries against each other, and in which all other countries, in one way or another, see their interests affected: the general and supreme interest of international peace and security and specific interests related to co-operation among States, the stability of international trade, the security of communications, and many others.

Uruguay also makes this appeal for peace between the parties to this conflict because today more than ever we must focus all our energies on strengthening the United Nations system. The war between Iran and Iraq is putting to the test the effectiveness and credibility of this system, which is the greatest guarantee, especially for medium-sized and small States, of their own security and of the establishment of appropriate conditions for their full development and the well-being of their peoples.

(Mr. Lupinacci, Uruguay)

The Security Council must do everything in its power, within the framework of the Charter, to obtain the immediate cessation of hostilities and the initiation of negotiations that can lay the foundation for a firm and definitive settlement acceptable to both parties.

My country wishes to stress the efforts made by the Secretary-General in the search for a peaceful solution to the conflict, and we express our support and encouragement to him to continue that mission, and to renew his offers of intellectual and material co-operation for that purpose.

We particularly trust that, through that co-operation, it may be possible to find the path of peace we all desire; we once again urge the Governments of Iran and Iraq to implement Security Council resolution 582 (1986), to heed the call of the international community, and to resolve their differences through dialogue and negotiation, which will do honour to them both for the attainment of a peace the main beneficiaries of which will be their own peoples.

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

I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of the United Arab Emirates.

On behalf of the delegation of the United Arab Emirates, I should like to pay a tribute to Ambassador Alexander Belonogov, the representative of the Soviet Union, for his distinguished and able guidance of the Security Council during the past month of September.

I should also like to express thanks to all those who have extended congratulations to me. I hope that through co-operation with our colleagues in the Council we shall be able to discharge the tasks entrusted to the Council, especially in view of the difficult times through which international relations are passing, and the increasing crises in several parts of the world.

(The President)

In my capacity as a representative of one country in the region, which is suffering from the crisis of the destructive war between the two neighbours, Iran and Iraq - the question which is being debated by the Council today - I may say that the achievement of peace is a matter of primary concern to us in the United Arab Emirates.

We fail to understand how there can be any positive aspects to the war or any justification for its continuation. Regardless of the outcome of the conflict, it will not warrant the destruction, devastation, killing, and rendering of people homeless in both countries.

During the past six years of the war, the Security Council has adopted six resolutions, all of which called for an end to the war and for the achievement of a peaceful settlement that would ensure to both countries their rights under the United Nations Charter and under international law. Moreover, nine statements have been issued by the Presidents of the Council, all in the same vein.

(The President)

For his part, the United Nations Secretary-General has made considerable and sincere efforts in a bid to implement those resolutions, and has also undertaken personal initiatives to that end, namely, the achievement of peace. Furthermore, several regional and international institutions have made efforts to end the scourge of this war and to save the lives of hundreds of thousands of innocent people. Last February, the Security Council, thanks to efforts by all its members, worked hard to achieve the adoption of resolution 582 (1986). We had a fervent hope that that resolution would have some chance of being accepted and implemented by both parties. But, as we take stock of the overall situation, it is indeed painful to recognize that the international community finds itself in an extremely difficult stalemate and that all those efforts have proved to be vain.

Today, the Security Council meets again, in a fresh attempt to find a peaceful formula to resolve that dilemma. In this context, we welcome the response by Iraq to the Council's resolutions, as well as the mediation efforts made by others, which are all directed to the peaceful settlement of the conflict. But our conviction, as always, is that this attitude by Iraq needs to be reciprocated by the Islamic Republic of Iran. We do hope that this will be the case. Therefore, on the basis of our firm convictions, we call upon Iran to find an appropriate way of responding to the peaceful initiatives so that this destructive war can be brought to an end.

The debate over the past few days has shown the concern of members of the international community over the continuation of the conflict, and the potential dangers posed to the whole region and to world peace. Since the outbreak of that war, my country has not been slow in making every possible effort, with other sister countries, individually as well as collectively, within the framework of institutions in the region, as well as other international bodies, and we will

(The President)

continue our efforts towards this goal until peace and stability have been brought to an area which has suffered appalling destruction.

I now resume my task as the President of the Security Council.

Members of the Security Council have before them document S/18383, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's consultations. It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to a vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objections, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I shall first call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the vote.

Mr. de KEMOULARIA (France) (interpretation from French): Mr. President, I would like to express my delegation's satisfaction at seeing you presiding over this Council, first of all because you represent the United Arab Emirates whose links with France, my country, are friendly and sincere. I would also like, on a personal note, to refer to my many visits to the Emirates, and the friendly attitude of the various notables I met in your country, including Sheikh Zayid, your President. I therefore wish you full success in your presidency.

I would be failing in my duty if I did not pay a tribute to your colleague, Ambassador Belonogov, whose presidency, distinguished by finesse and flexibility, imprinted a character at once conciliatory and effective on our discussions, thus reflecting his lofty diplomatic qualities.

Once again the Security Council is meeting to study the conflict between Iraq and Iran. This meeting is testimony to the growing concern of the international community over the prolongation and intensification of a war which is now entering

(Mr. de Kemoullaria, France)

upon its seventh year. France shares this concern. It understands the reasons which have led to the convening of the Council, upon the initiative of the Committee of Seven of the Council of the Arab League. Anxious to promote the development of its relations with these two great countries, Iraq and Iran, France must necessarily be alarmed over the tragic chain of violence. As the Prime Minister of France stated here a few days ago in the General Assembly:

"The dogged prosecution of this absurd war threatens to shatter the equilibrium of a region of strategic importance ... France is aware of and deeply concerned by this situation." (A/41/PV.8, p. 63-65)

How indeed can one remain insensitive to the suffering and sorrows of the people of those two countries? How can we fail to deplore the immense material damage caused by the continuation of hostilities?

France, for its part, has constantly invited the two belligerents to make peace. The President of the Republic, in a visit to Kuwait on 19 September, made an appeal for an end to the war and for the two countries, which we respect, to take active steps to seek peace. Here, in the United Nations, on 24 September, Mr. Jacques Chirac also expressed his hopes for a reasonable and negotiated outcome to this endless conflict, and pressed for the implementation of the Security Council resolutions. He added that France supported all effort to put an end to the fighting, including the Secretary-General's offers of mediation.

For several years the international community has been exhorting Iran and Iraq to commit themselves to the road towards a peaceful solution to their dispute. The Security Council has made proposals. It has already declared it in resolution 540 (1983) for a comprehensive, just and honourable settlement that would be

(Mr. de Kemoullaria, France)

acceptable to both parties. More recently, in resolution 582 (1986), the Security Council laid down the basis for a negotiated settlement.

The Secretary-General of the United Nations, for his part, has made untiring efforts directed to restoring peace in that region. France has supported and continues to support these different initiatives, and hopes he will continue those efforts.

The draft resolution before us calls upon the two parties to implement a resolution unanimously adopted by the members of the body charged by the United Nations with the principal responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. The Council also requests the Secretary-General to continue and intensify his efforts to achieve peace.

These ideas are those of the international community as a whole. They are in line with the appeals which the French delegation has constantly made to the parties, and with its tireless encouragement of the mediation efforts of the Secretary-General. France will therefore vote for the draft resolution before us.

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

Mr. GORE-BOOTH (United Kingdom): Mr. President, your country and mine have enjoyed a long, special and historical relationship. It gives my delegation particular pleasure to see you in the Chair of the Council for this month. We are delighted that the United Arab Emirates should be represented on the Council for the first time. As your alphabetical neighbour at the table, we are particularly well placed to admire your personal qualities. The Council will benefit from the energy, wisdom and good humour you are bringing to what looks like being a busy month.

I also wish to extend the thanks of my delegation to your predecessor in the Chair, the Permanent Representative of the Soviet Union, who conducted the work of the Council in the month of September with an efficiency and touch that belied his status as a newcomer to our deliberations.

The armed conflict between Iran and Iraq is not simply one of the most serious questions on the Council's agenda. It is a great human tragedy, on a scale which has profoundly shaken the two peoples involved, and the entire region in which they live. It was with the purpose of avoiding such human tragedies that the United Nations was founded over 40 years ago with the resolve, in the words of the Charter:

"to ensure by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest."

The appalling human suffering caused by the conflict, together with the material harm done to the well-being of the people of both sides, has rightly caused horror and dismay in every country of the world. The risk of the conflict extending to other regional States, some of whose Foreign Ministers have honoured this debate by their presence, is also rightly a matter of grave concern to the Council. The way in which the present conflict has been conducted has also given

(Mr. Gore-Rooth, United Kingdom)

rise to grave concern. The views of my delegation on the use of chemical weapons are well known: we are implacably opposed to their use which is in contravention of the Geneva protocol of 1925. The Security Council has strongly condemned the use of chemical weapons, most recently in its statement on 21 March this year. We are equally alarmed by the tendency, demonstrated by the growing number of attacks by both sides on civilian targets, to ignore their obligations relating to the protection of civilian populations in time of war. We wish to stress, in the case of these hostilities, as in the case of any others, the importance of upholding the corpus of humanitarian law in armed conflict, including the Geneva Conventions of 1949. Similarly, we are gravely concerned by the continuing occurrence of attacks on vessels flying the flag of States which are not involved in the current hostilities, including my own, causing the loss of many lives and serious damage to ships and cargoes. It is, needless to say, wholly unacceptable to my Government that armed attacks should continue to be directed in this way against merchant vessels.

The decision to precipitate a conflict, or the refusal to end it, reflect a lack of confidence in the ability of our Organization to bring about a just and peaceful settlement of the dispute concerned. My delegation firmly believes that the United Nations has offered and continues to offer the two sides the means to reach, through negotiations, a just, honourable and enduring settlement of their dispute.

An important step was taken with the unanimous adoption by the Council on 24 February this year of resolution 582 (1986). We urge the party which has not declared its readiness to abide by this resolution to reflect urgently upon the opportunity it offers for peace, and for the avoidance of further unnecessary bloodshed and suffering. It is right to be concerned about how the conflict was

(Mr. Gore-Booth, United Kingdom)

begun, but it is even more important to be concerned about putting an end to it. That is why we appeal for the implementation without further delay of resolution 582 (1986) and why we shall vote in favour of the draft resolution in front of us. In particular, we urge that the call be heeded for an immediate cease-fire, cessation of hostilities, withdrawal of all forces to the internationally recognized boundaries, and the submission of all aspects of the conflict to mediation or to other means of peaceful settlement. In this regard, we wish to reiterate our complete confidence in the Secretary-General, and our full support for his efforts to bring such a settlement about. At the same time, we should like to draw attention to the wise words in his annual report for this year that:

"To express full confidence in the Secretary-General while failing to give the necessary support to the Security Council ... is fundamentally contradictory" (A/41/1, p. 17).

In this connection, I understand that the Permanent Representative of one of the parties is preparing a statement in exercise of the right of reply in connection with the draft resolution we are about to adopt in another part of the building. My delegation would prefer him to be at this table behind a placard bearing his country's name. I have to say that my delegation would also prefer speeches to be confined to members of the Council and those, to quote rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure, whose "interests ... are specially affected" by the question under discussion. This is especially true when the General Assembly is in session. We do not need General Assemblies at both ends of the corridor.

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

Mr. WALTERS (United States of America): Mr. President, this is the first occasion I have had to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council and to express my confidence that your well-known diplomatic

(Mr. Walters, United States)

skills and experience will enable you to steer our Council in a positive and effective way. I should also like to express my congratulations to your predecessor, the Permanent Representative of the Soviet Union, Mr. Aleksandr Belonogov, for the able and distinguished way in which he presided over the discussions of the Security Council.

When the Security Council met last February to discuss the war between Iran and Iraq, we called on both parties to agree to enter into negotiations for a comprehensive settlement. We were concerned that in the absence of such negotiations the war would intensify and even spread throughout the region. Unfortunately, those negotiations have not taken place. One party, Iraq, has declared its readiness to negotiate. The other party, Iran, has continued to decline to do so. The concerns which we expressed here eight months ago regrettably have proved correct. The war has not only continued but has expanded.

The Iran-Iraq war, already among the longest and most destructive wars in the modern era, has entered its seventh year. The heightened tempo of the fighting and the heightened danger that this fighting will spill over to other countries have increased the risk to the security of the entire region. The war continues to be a threat to neutral shipping. As my delegation has said on other occasions, the United States would view an expansion of the war to neutral third parties as a major threat to our interests.

In addition to its material costs, the war has inflicted a heavy human toll on the people of this region. The United States has frequently deplored the terrible suffering created by this senseless conflict. Further loss of life can only add to the tragedy that has already severely affected the populations of both Iran and Iraq. We express again our profound hope that these unnecessary sacrifices will end.

(Mr. Walters, United States)

This war need not continue. The Secretary-General has made a number of constructive proposals that could be the basis for a mediated settlement. He has indicated his readiness to continue his efforts. They offer a real possibility of bringing this war to an end.

(Mr. Walters, United States)

We commend the Secretary-General's initiatives as well as those of various other parties. We call again on Iran and Iraq to work closely with the Secretary-General and his associates to find the best way to end this conflict speedily. The goal should be and it remains the earliest possible conclusion of hostilities with the sovereignty and territorial integrity of both Iran and Iraq preserved.

As has been made clear in this debate, virtually the entire international community has repeatedly called upon Iran and Iraq to settle their conflict through negotiations. The resolution that the Security Council will vote on today is based on resolution 582 (1986), which it unanimously adopted on 24 February 1986. Today's resolution again reflects the international community's deep concern at the futile continuation of this unnecessary war. My delegation supports it and hopes that its moderate and balanced language will be respected by both parties to the dispute.

We recognize that the two sides do not share the same perception of the causes of the war. This fact, however, should not stand in the way of a negotiated settlement. Iraq has repeatedly responded positively to the Security Council's appeals. Once again therefore we call on the Iranian leadership to join in working towards a prompt and peaceful settlement of the war. Even though Iran is not present in the Council today, it is our sincere hope that the leadership of Iran will seriously consider the Security Council's action, not as an arbitrary criticism but as an appeal for a renewed effort to end the war. We are genuinely persuaded that the Iranian and Iraqi people alike can only benefit from a positive response to the appeal we make here today.

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

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it.

Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now. There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Australia, Bulgaria, China, Congo, 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

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Arabic): There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has therefore been adopted unanimously as resolution 588 (1986).

There are no further speakers inscribed on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The meeting rose at 5.35 p.m.