



## Security Council

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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWO THOUSAND SEVEN HUNDRED  
AND FIFTIETH MEETINGHeld at Headquarters, New York,  
on 20 July 1987, at 3 p.m.President: Mr. RAIMOND

(France)

Members: Argentina  
Bulgaria  
China  
Congo  
Germany, Federal Republic of  
Ghana  
Italy  
Japan  
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics  
United Arab Emirates  
United Kingdom of Great Britain and  
Northern Ireland  
United States of America  
Venezuela  
Zambia

Mr. CAPUTO  
Mr. GARVALOV  
Mr. HUANG Jiahua  
Mr. ADOUKI  
Mr. GENSCHER  
Mr. GBEHO  
Mr. ANDREOTTI  
Mr. MURATA  
Mr. BELONOGOV  
Mr. ABDULLAH  
  
Sir Geoffrey HOWE  
Mr. SHULTZ  
Mr. PABON GARCIA  
Mr. ZUZE

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The meeting was called to order at 3.10 p.m.

EXPRESSION OF WELCOME TO FOREIGN MINISTERS OF STATES MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I should like at the beginning of this meeting to acknowledge the presence at this table of the following Ministers for Foreign Affairs, to whom on behalf of the Council I extend a very warm welcome: His Excellency Mr. Dante Caputo, Minister of Foreign Relations and Worship of Argentina; His Excellency Mr. Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Vice-Chancellor and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany; His Excellency Mr. Giulio Andreotti, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Italy; His Excellency Mr. Rachid Abdullah, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of the United Arab Emirates; His Excellency the Rt. Honourable Sir Geoffrey Howe, Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland; and His Excellency Mr. George Shultz, Secretary of State of the United States of America . I also welcome His Excellency Mr. Ryohei Murata, Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs of Japan.

EXPRESSION OF THANKS TO THE RETIRING PRESIDENT

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): Before we proceed to take up the item on the agenda, I wish to pay tribute to my predecessor, Ambassador Adouki, Permanent Representative of the Congo, who presided over the Council's work during the month of June with talent, far-sightedness and courtesy. I am sure I speak on behalf of the whole Council when I say how much we appreciated his personal qualities and his considerable diplomatic experience. It is a particular pleasure for me in that the Congo and France have relations of trust, friendship and co-operation, which are developing to the mutual satisfaction of both our countries.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

## THE SITUATION BETWEEN IRAN AND IRAQ

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Iraq, in which he requests 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 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.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Kittani (Iraq) took a place at the Council table.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting today in accordance with an agreement reached in the course of previous consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/18983, containing the text of the draft resolution drawn up during those consultations.

It is my understanding that the Security Council is ready to proceed to vote on the draft resolution before it. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that that is the case.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

Before putting the draft resolution to the vote, I shall call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. HUANG Jiahua (China) (interpretation from Chinese): At the outset, Sir, allow me to warmly congratulate you, the Foreign Minister of the Republic of France, on your presence here to preside over the current meeting of the Council. Your rich diplomatic experience, outstanding wisdom, concern for international affairs and work in that field are known to all. I feel sure that under your presidency the current meeting will be successful.

I wish also to take this opportunity to express our sincere thanks, Sir, to your predecessor, Ambassador Martin Adouki of the Congo, who won acclaim for his contributions to carrying out the Council's onerous tasks last month.



(Mr. Huang Jiahua, China)

The war between Iran and Iraq has lasted nearly seven years. That most unfortunate war has inflicted deep wounds on both countries and has caused inestimable losses of life and property to the two peoples, thus casting a dark shadow on international peace. The Chinese Government and people have watched all this with pain and anxiety. Recently, there have been new developments in the situation: not only has the war itself continued to expand and escalate, but the volatile situation in the Gulf has become even more complicated and strained, with the danger of the war's becoming internationalized ever more imminent. China cannot but be seriously concerned about this worrying trend.

Both Iran and Iraq are countries friendly to China. Their peoples are brothers of the Chinese people. The Chinese position regarding the Iran-Iraq war has, therefore, always been one of strict neutrality and active promotion of reconciliation. Ever since the outbreak of the war, China has called upon the two parties to cease fire immediately, end the bloody conflict as soon as possible, and settle their disputes through peaceful negotiations. The Chinese Government and its leaders have used every possible opportunity to try in a friendly and patient manner to persuade the two parties to reach reconciliation.

China has also consistently advocated that the United Nations, including the Security Council and the Secretary-General, make earnest efforts and useful contributions in that regard, and we have actively supported this. That principled position of China is not only well known to both Iran and Iraq, but is also universally acknowledged throughout the world.

In the face of the grave situation of the Iran-Iraq war and the growing tension in the Gulf, it is but natural for the international community to demand that the United Nations, and the Security Council in particular, take practical

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steps to put an end to the war, thereby bringing peace, stability and tranquility to the entire Gulf region.

As one of the five permanent members of the Security Council, China is deeply aware of its important responsibilities, and is ready to do its utmost to discharge its duties. It is on the basis of this position that, in response to the initiative of the Secretary-General, we have participated in an active, earnest and serious manner in the consultations among the five permanent members of the Security Council. We have done so out of a genuine desire to seek a just and effective way to achieve an early end to the war, with a keen sense of the Council's responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, and with profound feelings of friendship towards the peoples of Iran and Iraq.

During the entire course of the consultations, we have maintained that any Security Council resolution on this subject must be just, reasonable, practical and effective. It should be conducive to winning the co-operation of both Iran and Iraq with the Council and should help the Secretary-General in his further mediation efforts. We have always maintained that the primary objective of the draft resolution is to encourage Iran and Iraq to agree to an immediate cease-fire and to the beginning of peace talks with a view to achieving, at an early date, a just and reasonable settlement of the conflict, and lasting peace in the Gulf region.

It has always been our belief that although the five permanent members bear a special responsibility for maintaining international peace and security, their endeavours must be consistent with the important principle that the Council is an organic whole. The permanent members should heed and respect the views of the non-permanent members and other interested parties and be accommodating to their reasonable demands and proposals, with a view to pooling the broadest possible

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wisdom, thus ensuring that the draft resolution to be adopted truly embodies the common will and aspirations of the Council as a whole.

As members may remember, in his statement at the Security Council held at the Foreign Ministerial level to commemorate the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations, the Foreign Minister of China, Mr. Wu Xueqian pointed out explicitly that the Security Council should reflect the just demands of the great majority of United Nations Member States, particularly the third-world and small and medium-sized countries.

The permanent members should consult the other members of the Council on an equal footing and co-operate with them closely. That has always been our position, and it will remain so in the future.

China's just position, as stated above, and its serious and responsible attitude towards the issue of ending the Iran-Iraq war and maintaining peace in the Gulf are in full conformity with the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations Charter, with the fundamental interests of the two belligerents and their peoples, and with the common will and desire of the international community; they are consistent and disinterested.

The draft resolution before us represents a positive result of the prolonged serious consultations among and the concerted efforts of the five permanent members and other members of the Council. It is our sincere hope that Iran and Iraq will take broader overall interests into account, end the war as soon as possible, and try to solve their disputes in a just and reasonable manner through peaceful negotiations. War brings destruction to both sides, while peace leads to prosperity for all; facts have proved and will continue to prove this.

We believe that following the adoption of this draft resolution the

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Secretary-General should be afforded sufficient time and opportunity to mediate further so as to ensure full implementation of the draft resolution. We also expect that other countries concerned, the major Powers in particular, will exercise restraint and refrain from doing anything to exacerbate the situation, thus making a concrete contribution to an early end to the Iran-Iraq war and to the realization of peace in the Gulf region.

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I should like to reiterate here once again that China favours and supports any initiative that would be conducive to a peaceful settlement of the Iran-Iraq conflict. China endorses and supports the Secretary-General in his continued mediation efforts and in any other endeavour in this regard. What China wishes to see is none other than peace, stability and common prosperity in the entire Gulf region.

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

Mr. ABDULLAH (United Arab Emirates) (interpretation from Arabic): It gives me great pleasure to express to you, Sir, my delegation's sincere congratulations upon your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. The bonds of friendship between our two countries, as well as France's deep interest in peace, make us confident that, under your wise leadership, our business will be conducted in an exemplary manner.

We should also like to convey our thanks to Ambassador Adouki, Permanent Representative of the Congo, for his wise leadership of the Council last month.

The conflict that has been raging between Iraq and Iran for the past seven years constitutes a source of constant concern to us as one of the countries of that region. It is with great distress that we have witnessed the destruction and loss of life inflicted on those two neighbour countries. We are concerned by the constant threat this war has posed to the security of the region, by its grave future consequences for peaceful coexistence among its peoples, and by its continuing threat to international peace and security.

Mindful of the possible effects of the conflict, my country has directly and indirectly made consistent efforts to establish an atmosphere conducive to the achievement of a just and peaceful settlement. Our contribution to the efforts of

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the international community, through the Security Council, have been devoted to that end: my country participated in the adoption of Security Council resolution 582 (1986) and, in the same spirit, participated in all the Council's debates and efforts. Our support for the draft resolution now before the Council is therefore a natural result of our consistent policy and our profound awareness of the destructive dimensions of that war.

We consider the present draft resolution as an expression of international positions that reject continuation of the war. It also represents an important attempt to lay the proper foundations for a peaceful settlement. We believe that a cease-fire between the two belligerent countries is the sine qua non for the initiation of negotiations to discuss the conflict in all its aspects. The present draft resolution reaffirms certain basic aspects of the settlement of disputes, such as respect for international humanitarian law, the inadmissibility of the occupation of territories, respect for civil navigation, the cessation of attacks against civilian targets and the release of prisoners of war.

We believe that the draft resolution is so balanced that it does not prejudice the legitimate sovereign rights of either country. It attempts in a practical manner to establish the mechanism for a settlement through the United Nations, headed by the Secretary-General, whose efforts we appreciate and support.

The draft resolution, therefore, does not and must not aim at prejudicing the right of either country to live in peace within its internationally recognized borders. Both countries have suffered greatly from the scourge of this war. This makes it necessary that both look rationally to the future of their peoples. It also makes it necessary for both of them to seize this opportunity in a serious and positive manner in order to allow their peoples to overcome the destruction caused by the war, to concentrate on socio-economic development efforts and to act in an

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atmosphere of confidence and co-operation with the other States in the region, so as to avoid threatening international peace and security.

We look to the future with great optimism with regard to the establishment of peace and the rehabilitation of both countries. Our optimism is based on the potential of both peoples. At the same time, we call upon the international community to continue to do its utmost to achieve that noble goal and to assist both countries in their rehabilitation efforts. My country will continue to exert its utmost efforts in that regard.

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

Sir Geoffrey HOWE (United Kingdom): It is a particular pleasure to take part in this meeting today under the presidency of a close and valued colleague. You and I have many opportunities to see each other, but this is the first time we have come together in New York in this particular way. Your skills are a great asset to the Council in dealing with the historic business on its agenda today. My delegation would also like to pay tribute to the way in which Ambassador Adouki of the Congo conducted the Council's business in June.

The last meeting of the Council at which I spoke was the one, at which I had the honour to preside, that was held to mark the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations. At that meeting, it is worth recalling, all members of the Council pledged themselves

"to fulfil their individual and collective responsibility for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace with renewed dedication and determination." (S/PV.2608, p. 127)

(Sir Geoffrey Howe, United Kingdom)

Alas, the Security Council has not always lived up to the high expectations of its founders. Today, I think, is different, because it is precisely in order to underline the need for peace - for peace between Iran and Iraq - that so many of our ministerial colleagues have come to the Council today.

We are here together because we all see this as a bloody and senseless conflict. It has taken untold lives and has devastated both countries over a period of nearly seven years - longer than any major war this century.

The past year has seen major offensives on land, renewed air strikes against economic and civilian targets and more and more attacks on shipping, right down the Gulf. These last pose an unacceptable threat to freedom of navigation and have produced a dangerous increase in tension in the whole area. We have again seen the use on the battlefield of chemical weapons, which we unreservedly condemn and which are a reminder, if one were needed, that progress in our efforts at Geneva to obtain a total ban on those ghastly weapons is long overdue.

The draft resolution we are now discussing is the culmination of many months' efforts, first by the permanent members and later by the Council as a whole. My Government and our delegation at the United Nations have been proud to play from the very beginning a prominent part in those discussions. I should like if I may to pay tribute in particular to the energy and dedication of the former Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom, Sir John Thompson, in initiating and promoting the work that has produced this draft resolution.



(Sir Geoffrey Howe, United Kingdom)

The draft resolution is based solidly on Security Council resolution 582 (1986) and it aims to build on the important step the Council took in adopting that resolution unanimously last year. It is a balanced draft resolution which both parties should be able to accept. Indeed it is a tragedy that one of the parties did not take advantage of the opportunity for peace that was offered by resolution 582 (1986). Yes, we should ask how the conflict started and how we should apportion blame; indeed that is recognized in operative paragraph 6 of the draft resolution we have before us. But that is no excuse for delaying moves to put an end to the bloodshed. That is why the Council is ordering a mandatory cease-fire using the powers conferred upon it under Articles 39 and 40 of the Charter.

The adoption by this Council of mandatory action under Chapter VII of the Charter should send a clear signal to both sides. The international community is resolved to do all in its power to bring this appalling conflict to an end.

I want to draw particular attention to the unanimity of view amongst the permanent members of the Security Council. In promoting this draft resolution we are fulfilling the special responsibilities laid upon us under the Charter. Clear consensus of this kind has been all too rare in the history of the Security Council. It is a sign of hope not only for the resolution of this conflict but also for the future in a broader sense. I believe that this is a historic day, and I am proud to be here.

We call on both parties to abide scrupulously by the provisions of this carefully balanced draft resolution. Indeed we demand, in the name of the United Nations and of the cause of peace, that they do so. The Secretary-General, who is no stranger to such things, has a heavy burden on his shoulders to ensure compliance with this resolution. It is up to all of us - every single member of

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the international community - to avoid any action which might increase tension in the region and to give this resolution our full support. Any State which fails to do so, or which stands in the way of its implementation, takes a heavy responsibility on itself.

Tension in the Gulf threatens directly or indirectly the interests of many nations and undermines the stability of the whole region. In particular, attacks on shipping, in contravention of established international law, are a cause of deep concern. We are committed to the principle of freedom of navigation. Once the attacks on shipping have been halted, we must make a special effort to ensure that there is no resumption and that the drift towards military conflict in the Gulf is reversed.

This draft resolution is not an end but a beginning. It is our strong hope that both parties to the conflict will respect the authority of the Security Council, accede to the demand for a cease-fire and withdrawal, and co-operate with the Secretary-General in a spirit of compromise to achieve a negotiated settlement of the conflict. If they do this, they will not find the international community lacking in encouragement and support.

But if one or both of them choose to disregard their obligations under the Charter, then let the world hear this, and hear it clearly: this Council will use all its powers under the Charter to make the resolution effective.

We are not here to take sides, but to end this bloody war.

Here are two countries, both grown from ancient civilizations, that are now making the world ugly, dangerous and ashamed - two countries that will have to face the next half century, each with a lost and buried generation of its children. Already it will take as long as that to recover the energy, skills, love and laughter that those children would have brought to their peoples.

(Sir Geoffrey Howe, United Kingdom)

Today we challenge the leaders of Iraq and Iran to master their anger and their pride; to agree to disengage; and together to bring lasting peace to their despairing peoples.

The world has never been so united in its demand that this war must stop if its participants are to remain in the comity of nations. Let that message be heard by those to whom it is addressed. Let them accept it, whether as a warning or a plea. But let them act upon it now.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs of the United Kingdom for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. SHULTZ (United States of America): Like my colleagues who have spoken before me, Sir, I welcome the opportunity to meet under your presidency. Since the beginning of my country, our two countries have had relations that have been close and constructive; I know you as a man who seeks solutions to problems, and certainly we are here today to look for solutions.

I have come here today for a compelling reason: to take part in the decisive action of the Security Council to bring an end to the devastating war between Iran and Iraq. This conflict should never have been started. It should not be permitted to continue. My Government simply cannot see how the interests of either Iraq or Iran, or the international community, would be served by prolongation of this dangerous, destructive conflict.

September marks the eighth year of the war. The bloody fighting has now lasted longer than either the First or the Second World War. It has taken an extraordinary toll in human life. More than a million people - civilians as well as military personnel - have been killed or wounded. Cities have been razed by artillery and aerial attacks. Chemical weapons have been used, and they honour no

(Mr. Shultz, United States)

distinction between combatants and non-combatants, adding another gruesome element to the enormous human suffering.

The economic infrastructures of both countries have been laid waste. The conflict has frayed the social and cultural fabric that binds the Iraqi and Iranian peoples to their ways of life. Grievous damage has been done to the rich cultural legacies of both nations. Neither combatant can win this war, and both sides are destroying their most precious resource, their youth.

Despite years of bitter struggle, neither side can break the tense stalemate. Its continuation and the danger of further escalation threaten the wider international community. The conflict poses new and serious dangers to regional stability, to the welfare of non-belligerent nations and indeed to world peace. Witness the increasing number of attacks on international shipping in the Gulf. Witness stepped-up terrorist attacks and other forms of aggression directed at non-belligerent States in the region. This widening threat must not be countenanced.

Too many have suffered; too much is at stake. In the name of humanity, in the interests of the belligerents and the non-belligerent States of the region, in the name of world peace and security, the international community joins together today to say "Enough. Stop the war - now."

The Security Council was designed to quell precisely this kind of conflict. The draft resolution to be passed today represents a forceful action by the international community to bring about an immediate cease-fire and establish a framework for peace. The Secretary-General played a crucial role in catalyzing the unprecedented process that led to the proposed adoption of this draft resolution under the terms of Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. He called upon the

(Mr. Shultz, United States)

permanent members of the Security Council to shoulder their special responsibilities. This we have done, and the Council as a whole has functioned in the collegial spirit envisioned by the founders of the United Nations at its creation.

(Mr. Shultz, United States)

Through this binding resolution the international community seeks systematically to create the framework for an equitable and lasting peace, with neither victor nor vanquished, without loss of national territory by either of the combatants. The draft resolution is scrupulously evenhanded. I therefore call upon the Governments of the Republic of Iraq and the Islamic Republic of Iran to comply fully and immediately with its terms - in their own interests and in response to the clear mandate of the global community.

The draft resolution demands an immediate cease fire, the discontinuance of all military actions, and the withdrawal of all forces to internationally recognized boundaries without delay. The draft resolution also initiates a healing process, calling for an early exchange of prisoners and an international effort to assist in post-war reconstruction. The draft resolution confers a special responsibility on the Secretary-General to help arrange for the cease fire and withdrawal, to dispatch an observer team to confirm and supervise the cease fire and to oversee implementation of other provisions of the draft resolution. Importantly, the draft resolution records the Council's decision to meet again to consider further steps to ensure compliance. First and foremost, the killing must stop - immediately.

The draft resolution is being adopted pursuant to Articles 39 and 40 of Chapter VII, the United Nations Charter's most forceful provisions. Compliance is therefore mandatory under international law. The very adoption of this obligatory resolution is an historic step; yet its adoption is only a start. Responsibility for compliance rests fundamentally with Iran and Iraq. The Secretary-General, with support from members of this Council and all other Members of the United Nations will, we are confident, follow through with effective action to facilitate its

(Mr. Shultz, United States)

implementation. President Reagan has assured the Secretary-General of his personal help in the crucial weeks ahead. The United States Government is prepared to join with others in supporting him in his efforts.

My Government is determined that this mandatory resolution not become an empty effort, casting doubt on the efficacy of the United Nations as an organization for peace. We hope and trust that today's decision will be honoured. At the same time we also support the decisive application of enforcement measures should either or both parties reject the call of this body.

The Governments of Iraq and Iran owe it to their peoples, to their children, and to the rest of the world to find a way to say "yes", rather than "no", to this global injunction. If they say "yes" many things are possible, including a United Nations role in helping to maintain peace in the region. My Government strongly supports such a role for the United Nations and other international efforts leading to a reduction in violence and the re-establishment of peace, stability and good relations in that vital area of the world.

Let me also say a word about the views of my Government towards the parties in the conflict. In the past we have had serious differences with both Iraq and Iran. We now have good relations with Iraq. We have grave concerns about policies and practices of the Iranian Government outside its borders. While we respect the right of the Iranian people to determine their own form of Government, the actions of the Government in Tehran - including support of terrorist activities - are inimical to the interests of our country and citizens, as well as to other countries and their citizens. We remain ready and willing to discuss with Iran the serious problems which continue to divide us. A positive Iranian response to this draft resolution and an end to aggressive actions against other States and their

(Mr. Shultz, United States)

citizens would do much to make possible a mutually beneficial bilateral relationship in the future.

In adopting this draft resolution the international community will take a bold stride forward. Together we must follow up this action with other determined steps until our goals of peace and stability in the Gulf have been secured. If ever there was a need for the Security Council and the United Nations to act, this is it. We have an opportunity to realize a primary purpose for which the United Nations was created: to resolve a major breach of the peace that endangers the stability and economic well being of our global community.

In conclusion, we support the draft resolution before us because it is our responsibility as a permanent member of the Security Council to seek peaceful solutions to violent conflicts. We support it because it addresses, fairly and comprehensively, the interests of both Iran and Iraq. This draft resolution is anti-war; it is pro-peace. The war must stop. The healing must begin.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the Secretary of State of the United States of America for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. GENSCHER (Federal Republic of Germany) (spoke in German; English text furnished by the delegation): Allow me first of all to offer you, Sir, my warm congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council. The friendship and co-operation between France and the Federal Republic of Germany are exemplary; they are the foundation for the development of our European Community. It is a happy circumstance that the Security Council meets today to shoulder its great responsibility for peace under your presidency.

I wish also to extend my thanks to your predecessor, the Permanent Representative of the Congo, with which we have friendly ties, for his skilful management of the Council's business in June.



(Mr. Genscher, Federal  
Republic of Germany)

The principal task of the Security Council under the Charter is to maintain world peace. To that end it has been endowed with extensive powers which it is called upon to use to fulfil its responsibility. The Council is today carrying out that task by seeking to end a war which has brought great suffering on the nations concerned and could drag the world into the most awful catastrophe.

The bitter, internecine war between Iraq and Iran has now lasted almost seven years. My country has condemned this tragic war from the very outset; we have since been following it with great concern. Many people have lost their lives, abominable chemical weapons have been used, bombs have been dropped on the civilian population, and both nations are making great material sacrifices which are detrimental to their future.

The continued escalation of this war, which has particularly intensified in recent weeks, is a growing threat to international peace and security. In particular, it seriously affects international shipping in the Gulf; it also poses great danger of a widening conflict. A clear signal is therefore needed. The conflict must not be allowed to spread; other Powers must not be drawn into its perilous maelstrom. The Gulf region and its States need stability.

The foreign policy of the Federal Republic of Germany is directed first and foremost towards the safeguarding of peace. To us, war and the use of force are not acceptable means of pursuing political goals. We are wholly convinced that this should apply everywhere - notably to the war between Iran and Iraq.

(Mr. Genscher, Federal Republic  
of Germany)

An early cessation of the military conflict is in the interest of those two great and ancient civilized nations, with which we maintain close, friendly relations - but not in their interest alone. The war must be stopped as quickly as possible; a political solution to the underlying conflict must be found. The Security Council is called upon to make a determined and constructive effort to end the war and to lay the foundation for a comprehensive, just and durable solution by peaceful means.

It was in that sense that the Declaration of Venice, issued in May this year, appealed to the parties to the conflict to cease their hostilities. The members of the European Community - four of which are currently members of the Security Council - reiterated that appeal in their Copenhagen Statement of 13 July. As neighbours of the South West Asia region, we Europeans have an immediate interest in a negotiated settlement of the conflict. My participation in today's meeting of the Security Council emphasizes that.

As a non-permanent member of the Security Council, we support the initiative of the five permanent members which has now finally come about. We see in this unison an encouraging trend within the Council which will enable it to assume its responsibility for world peace even more effectively. We also regard this co-operation as an important step promoting joint and co-operative responsibility for peace between East and West. We hope that this co-operation will have a favourable influence in bringing about solutions to other regional conflicts as well.

Mr. President, permit me as Foreign Minister of a country that is a close friend of your own to express the hope that, following the severance of diplomatic

(Mr. Genscher, Federal Republic  
of Germany)

relations, the fate of the diplomats concerned will be settled responsibly in accordance with the recognized rules of international law.

There can be no doubt that only in its entirety will the Security Council be able, in the long run, to live up to its responsibility. The non-permanent members of the Security Council can also render an important contribution. The Federal Republic of Germany, which has from the beginning maintained strict neutrality in the Iraq-Iran war, is bearing its share of responsibility as a non-permanent member of the Security Council, to the best of its ability. It has therefore been in contact with both parties to the conflict, and here in the Security Council, as soon as this became possible, helped draft the resolution before us.

This resolution is only the third in the life of the United Nations to exhaust all the means envisaged in the Charter. For the first time ever, the Security Council is mandatorily deciding a cease-fire and the withdrawal of troops. This resolution will therefore hold a special place in the history of the United Nations and the Security Council. That makes it all the more necessary, in our view, that such a fundamental resolution should take account of the legitimate interests of both sides. The Security Council is also acting in its own interest in striving to ensure that its resolutions show the necessary degree of balance, impartiality and fairness. Neither side must be furnished with a plausible argument for refusing to participate in the efforts to end the conflict on the ground that the Security Council is biased.

We see in the draft resolution important new elements capable of paving the way for a peaceful settlement of the conflict by negotiation. That applies in particular to the matter of clarifying the question of war guilt, to war damage, and to regional security. We consider the binding call for a cease-fire followed

(Mr. Genscher, Federal Republic  
of Germany)

by the withdrawal of troops to be imperative and in conformity with the Charter. We welcome the Secretary-General's mandate to study the question of reconstruction.

That is why we shall vote for the draft resolution. We appreciate the fact that it has been possible to supplement the original draft with some proposals from the floor of the Security Council and thus to improve it. The cease-fire, the ending of all military actions, and the withdrawal of troops cannot take place simultaneously; they will follow in succession. I feel it is important and urgent that as soon as this draft resolution has been adopted the weapons on both sides should become silent and that the bloodshed should first actually be stopped without qualification. At the same time, both sides should make it unequivocally clear that they will cease all attacks on vessels in the Gulf - irrespective of nationality - so as to eliminate the danger of widening the conflict. That would make it possible for the Secretary-General of the United Nations to discuss with both parties, and in contact with them decide on, the necessary observance of all other aspects of the resolution.

The point of this resolution, as we see it, is to stop the bloodshed and to make it easier for both parties to tread the path to a negotiated settlement.

The resolution should, in our opinion, serve to strengthen the hand of the Secretary-General, who deserves credit for having been able to gain the trust of both parties. We have great respect, Mr. Secretary-General, for your diplomatic and statesmanlike skill. You have shown an ability to convince both sides, with their highly conflicting interests, of your impartiality, trust and understanding, with the result that you have been listened to by both sides and, at least during some periods, have been able to achieve limitations of the hostilities.

(Mr. Genscher, Federal Republic of Germany)

It is important that this asset built up by the Secretary-General should now be used on the way to genuine peace. The Secretary-General has already drawn up plans for a settlement that is both gradual and comprehensive. The Security Council and both parties to the conflict should now enable him to proceed.

We appeal to all other countries to exercise the greatest restraint. It is important to ensure that the present tensions in the region are not exacerbated. With this resolution the international community has endeavoured to render an unprecedented contribution towards a peaceful solution to the conflict. This objective must remain the focal point of all subsequent actions. It is imperative to take joint action for peace; it is imperative to set the world an example of the new conception of global responsibility for peace and to strengthen the role of the United Nations and its Secretary-General.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the Vice-Chancellor and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. ANDREOTTI (Italy) (interpretation from French): It is a source of special satisfaction for me also, Mr. President, to see you conducting the work of the Security Council. I am convinced that your personal qualities and your experience will greatly assist the Council in its deliberations.

I would take this occasion, too, to extend sincere compliments to your predecessor, the Permanent Representative of the People's Republic of the Congo, on the skill and political sense he demonstrated in presiding over the Council last month.

It is in clear awareness of its responsibilities that my delegation intends now to state its view on the continuing war between Iraq and Iran.

(Mr. Andreotti, Italy)

This war has now continued for seven years. It has lasted longer than any conflict of the contemporary era and the result of the current stalemate is trench warfare in which the destructive effects of the advanced technologies of our time add to the horrors and miseries which characterized the First World War. In fact, this conflict combines the worst aspects of past conflicts. Once again we witness the indiscriminate bombing of civilian targets. Once again we witness the use of chemical weapons, the prohibition of which we thought had been considered a great and precious accomplishment of our civilization, since that weapon had not even been used in the Second World War.

There are two aspects of this tragic situation which strike us: on the one hand, this war continues even in the absence of specific claims on the part of the belligerents - in particular, territorial claims. Secondly, the international community has been unable from the outset of the conflict to find effective means to put an end to the hostilities. It is not among the least of the contradictions at this time that a large part of international public opinion seems to be more worried about the negative effects of the war on trade relations and oil supplies than about the costs of the conflict in terms of human lives and suffering.

There is also the ever-present danger of the conflict's shifting towards other areas and extending to neighbouring regions. It is precisely that concern, as well as fear of the risks involved in the initiatives that could be taken outside the framework of the United Nations to ensure the security and protection of the interests of one or another State, that has led us to support the draft resolution before us, which expressly refers to the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter. That reference, in our view, demonstrates that there is a serious intention to enhance the image of the United Nations and vigorously uphold its role in the

(Mr. Andreotti, Italy)

maintenance of international peace and security. That is why we are meeting here today.

The Security Council has been repeatedly seized of this conflict. It has dealt with it unsuccessfully because of the different approaches that were followed on previous occasions. Consequently, military operations continue. Not a day passes without some disturbing news of additional civilian casualties, of innocent victims of violence and of the use of chemical weapons. Even in the past few days a number of innocent young people were wounded by these heinous weapons and have been hospitalized in Rome. Investigations and inquiries have been carried out with respect to these tragic and illicit aspects of the war. Condemnations have been issued.

But is there any point in condemning single acts, however unlawful or heinous, when the conflict which generates those acts cannot be ended?

The purpose of our Organization is to preserve peace. The Charter requires all Member States to settle their disputes by peaceful means. It is certainly proper to condemn specific acts of violence. However, the real decision which is expected of us is to condemn the initiation and continuation of the war, particularly since it no longer relates to any realistic, well-defined objective. In this regard, Italy, together with the other members of the European Community, has taken a very clear stand.

Therefore, it seems to us that the time has come to take a step forward - a bolder initiative than has been taken in the past. We therefore welcome the appeal made last January by the Secretary-General to the Security Council, and in particular to its five permanent members, to seek the consensus necessary to put an end to this tragic conflict.

(Mr. Andreotti, Italy)

The present draft resolution is the result of long and difficult consultations that have taken place over the last few months, principally among the permanent members of the Security Council, following a procedure which must not become the rule but which can be considered as justified in this case, given the extreme complexity of the problem and the importance of the objectives at stake. This draft resolution, in our view, attempts to meet some fundamental requirements: it takes into account, to the maximum extent possible, the basic political positions of the parties to the conflict; it gives due importance to the problem of the security of the States of the region; it paves the way for the resumption of action by the Secretary-General, who enjoys our full support and trust. No less important, in our view, are the provisions of the draft resolution which address the humanitarian aspects of the conflict, such as the problem of the prisoners of war and of the international collaboration that will be necessary for the reconstruction of the areas struck by the war. In that regard, I take this occasion to state my country's determination to participate palpably and significantly in that task as soon as the situation permits.

The conflict between Iran and Iraq constitutes a breach of the peace; it threatens the security of the entire region and is the cause of repeated and serious violations of the fundamental principles of international law, including Article 2 of the Charter of our Organization, the Geneva Protocol of 1925, the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949 and the norms which regulate freedom of navigation.

It is therefore clear - and the international community has to be unanimous on this point - that this state of affairs must be halted. My country maintains relations of friendship and mutual respect with both Iran and Iraq. Our judgement is therefore objective and impartial. At the same time, Italy cannot shirk the



(Mr. Andreotti, Italy)

responsibilities incumbent upon it, particularly those which derive from its membership in the Security Council. Events have shown that Iran and Iraq are unable by themselves to put an end to the hostilities and to set out on the road to peace. It is therefore up to the international community - notably the Security Council - to use the means provided by the Charter for restoring a just and equitable peace in a situation which poses an increasingly grave threat to international security.

The Security Council has the right to expect the parties to give their full and unconditional co-operation to the Secretary-General. However, if it is to be effective, this appeal, which we support unreservedly, must be accompanied by a willingness on the part of each one of us to act within the framework of the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter, whose specific Articles are directly or indirectly referred to in the draft resolution.

We are called upon to take a stand on a package of principles which could be decisive in the sense that it could set in motion a process which, with God's help and with the good will of men, may lead to peace.

For those reasons, my delegation will support both the draft resolution before us and the follow-up action.

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

Mr. GBEHO (Ghana): Mr. President, the Ghana delegation would like to welcome you to this meeting of the Security Council. Your long history of political service to France is well known and revered by us all. We know you will bring to bear on our delicate deliberations today your wisdom and vast diplomatic skill. My delegation wishes you well in this onerous task.

(Mr. Gbeho, Ghana)

I wish also to extend to Ambassador Adouki of Congo my delegation's congratulations on his conduct of the Council's business during the month of June.

(Mr. Gbeho, Ghana)

The Security Council has convened once again to consider the war between Iran and Iraq, a war which has brought untold tragedy and hardship to the peoples of two friendly countries, States Members not only of the United Nations, but also of the Non-Aligned Movement, organizations to which Ghana belongs. My delegation is therefore ready to participate in the deliberations with responsibility and fairness to both parties so that the tragedy of the war can end as soon as possible.

We convene today painfully aware of the anguish and trauma that the war exacts, not only from the belligerents in the conflict, but also from neighbouring countries in the region. The international community is compelled to bear witness unnecessarily to death and destruction on a massive scale. We believe that in the circumstances the time has come for the Council to employ all wisdom and skill in bringing this painful chapter in the history of Iran and Iraq to an end.

In this regard, it must be recalled that the Security Council's resolutions of the past, especially resolution 582 (1986) of 24 February 1986, have had little or no impact on the conflict, even though the consensus was clearly in favour of bringing the war to an end. Those countries that are best placed to influence the two parties in the direction of peace have openly taken sides and provided resources for the continuation of the war, in spite of the Security Council resolutions.

It is only right, therefore, that the Security Council has reconvened at this time with urgency and renewed resolve seriously to consider ways and means of bringing the war to an end. Faithful to our commitment to the Charter and its principles, the Ghana delegation is pleased to participate in the current debate in support of the present initiative. I must at this juncture place on record our gratitude to the permanent members of the Council for their collective and historic

(Mr. Gbeho, Ghana)

enterprise, which has finally enabled the Council to convene with greater determination than before to end the conflict between Iran and Iraq.

It will be recalled that in many speeches that my delegation has made recently in the Council we have expressed grave concern about the unfortunate image that the Council continues to bear on many issues, through the repeated reluctance of some of its most powerful members to act firmly and in accordance with the Charter in order unequivocally to underpin international peace and security. It is with relief and hope, therefore, that we see a departure from the old practice and are happy to support the present initiative. Whatever the circumstances of war, it is destructive to life and property, and brings untold pain and misery to peoples and nations. For these reasons alone, if for no other, all wars must be brought to an end. We have no reason to make an exception of the one currently raging between Iran and Iraq. We are gratified to be part of the Council's new initiative, which will, we hope, enhance the Council's reputation.

Since the Ghana delegation became involved in the negotiations leading to the present draft resolution before the Security Council, we have taken the view that an end to the war would be better guaranteed if the Council was even-handed in addition to being firm in its decisions in the matter. We have also been sensitive to the fact that the parties to the conflict are fellow Member States of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. We cannot hide our satisfaction that, through tolerance and understanding among members of the Council, the draft resolution now before the Security Council better represents than at any time in the past the international consensus on the war. Even though it does not answer all the legitimate concerns that could be raised, we will support it as the best that can emanate from the Council at this time. The Ghana delegation is of the strong view that the war must be brought to an end and that negotiations must be initiated

(Mr. Gbeho, Ghana)

simultaneously under the auspices of the United Nations to bring a just and durable peace not only to the parties to the war, but also to the subregion as a whole.

The conflict between Iran and Iraq has lasted too long and has consumed too many resources on both sides. It is a war which should never have been started in the first place, and its continuation is in no one's interest. During the seven-year course of the war, the requirements of international humanitarian law and the prescriptions regulating the conduct of States in times of war have been repeatedly and brutally violated, violations which have extended the theatre of death and destruction beyond the battlefield into villages, towns, cities, centres of civilian habitation and even international commerce. Mustard gas and other chemical weapons have been used with premeditated frequency. The imperative to a humane prosecution of war, established from bitter experience, and crystallized into law by the Geneva Protocol of 1925 prohibiting the use of asphyxiating, biological and neurological weapons has been perniciously disregarded. It behoves the Security Council in such circumstances to do its utmost to halt the war as well as find a comprehensive, just and durable solution to the conflict. Let me also take this opportunity to voice my delegation's view that the Geneva Protocol to which I have referred is no longer effective, and that perhaps the time has come for the United Nations to redouble its efforts in reviewing it, with a view to plugging its many loopholes.

The draft resolution under consideration represents a compromise among the members of the Council, and as such it is understandably not as forthright as it could be in some of its important parts. Let me therefore state, in all humility, but in accordance with our principles, the clear understanding of my delegation of some of its key provisions.

(Mr. Gbeho, Ghana)

The Ghana delegation strongly supports the demand for a ceasefire as well as the cessation of all other military actions in the Iran-Iraq conflict, but we also understand by the language of the draft resolution that these necessary measures are but a first step towards a negotiated settlement of the conflict. The two requirements are very important, and the Security Council must accept a role in their fulfilment. To concentrate on one at the expense of the other would, in our view, sow the seed of failure in the handling of the conflict.

My delegation understands all the elements of the current draft resolution to be integral to achieving a negotiated peace through the mediation of the Secretary-General, as mandated by the Security Council. In effect, the requirements of operative paragraphs 1 and 3 must be read together with operative paragraphs 2 and 4, and they can only be so read, if a beneficial and durable solution is to be achieved between the parties to the conflict.

Secondly, the Security Council must not ignore the difficult and real circumstances prevailing in the region of the conflict as it adopts the draft resolution. The aim of the Council or any of its members, as my delegation understands it, is to reduce tension in the area and not needlessly to heighten it. Indeed, operative paragraph 5 of the draft resolution expressly calls upon all States to exercise the utmost restraint and to refrain from any act which may lead to further escalation and widening of the conflict. Therefore, the Ghana delegation believes that the resolution that the Council adopts today should in no way constitute the basis for premeditated aggression or any unilateral action by any State or group of States or major Powers against Iran or Iraq. Any follow-up action that may be required after the adoption of the present draft resolution should be within the framework of the United Nations and should first be discussed and agreed upon by the Security Council.

(Mr. Gbeho, Ghana)

It would be unfortunate if the present exercise of the Council's powers were to be interpreted as giving licence, however obliquely, to the despatch of punitive expeditions by one or another of the Members of the United Nations to pacify the area. There should be no room for unilaterally imposed solutions nor any mandate for concerted action by a few States not under the aegis of the Security Council.

Thirdly, it is the understanding of the Ghana delegation that the determination of responsibility for the war, in accordance with the procedures mentioned in the draft resolution, will be accomplished expeditiously, and that the outcome will be taken into account in the allocation of resources for reconstruction after the cessation of hostilities. We believe that this determination and its consequences will not only constitute an act of justice, but will be a useful precedent in deterring future aggression by any country.

Fourthly, my delegation would like to underscore the Council's recognition of the magnitude of the war damage to both sides and of the need for reconstruction with appropriate international assistance. We believe that an unequivocal commitment to that intention should induce the parties to the conflict to lay down their arms and approach the negotiating table. It is the Ghana delegation's understanding that this commitment to reconstruction is real, and not merely pious. We also hope that, soon after the mandated study by experts of the question of reconstruction, the major Powers especially will make substantial resources available for the purpose, particularly in the light of the need to compensate whichever party is determined to have been a victim of aggression. We express this understanding not in a bid to impose a burden for its own sake on the major Powers, but rather recognizing that the international community also must share the cost of bringing this unfortunate war to a close: this is a part of the responsibility

(Mr. Gbeho, Ghana)

members of the Council must recognize if the words of the Council are to mean anything in such circumstances.

It is with those considerations in mind that my delegation views the onus for achieving the purposes of the current draft resolution as resting not only on the belligerents in the conflict, Iran and Iraq, but also on States members of the Security Council, which are called upon to handle this crisis with wisdom, firmness and justice. My delegation urges the two parties in particular to seize the means rendered by the current draft resolution to co-operate in negotiations towards achieving a comprehensive, just and durable settlement to the conflict. The price for insisting on one side's conditions for an end to the war is too costly in human and material terms to be acceptable.

In the unfolding of this immense tragedy there can be no victor and no vanquished. If anything, we all stand to lose as a result of the dangerous proportions the conflict, in its current drift, has assumed. Peace is within grasp; let us take it, for a better world.

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

Mr. ZUZE (Zambia): On behalf of the Zambian delegation, I wish to congratulate you most sincerely, Sir, on France's assumption of the office of President of the Security Council for the month of July and on the able manner in which Ambassador Blanc has conducted the delicate consultations on the issue now before the Council.

May I also commend his predecessor, my brother and colleague Ambassador Martin Adouki of the Republic of Congo, for the inspiring leadership he provided to the Council during the month of June.



(Mr. Zuze, Zambia)

The conflict between Iran and Iraq, both of them members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, is a matter of grave concern to my country. The efforts of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the United Nations have produced no change in the status of this senseless and ruthless bloodbath. We in the delegation of Zambia know of no other war in the history of conflicts between nations that has been propelled by such meaningless and dubious operational objectives. We are now witnessing a self-perpetuating situation whose momentum is maintained only by the desire of both parties to settle a score.

Repeated appeals by the international community to both countries to co-operate with the United Nations in its efforts to find a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement to the conflict have gone unheeded by one of the parties to the conflict.

The situation obtaining in the Gulf as a consequence of this bloody conflict has heightened tension in the region and now poses a serious threat to international peace and security. It is thus incumbent upon the Security Council, in the discharge of its primary responsibility under the Charter - that of maintaining international peace and security - to do everything in its power to end the war. The conflict cannot and should not be left to continue indefinitely. All efforts aimed at ending the war are in the interest of both Iran and Iraq, and of the international community at large. An end to the Iran-Iraq war will not only bring peace and stability to the region but will also ensure freedom of navigation in the Gulf.

The draft resolution before the Security Council is, in our view, a balanced text which has, to a large extent, taken into account the concerns of both parties to the conflict. Its unanimous adoption would testify to the seriousness with

(Mr. Zuze, Zambia)

which the Council views the prolongation of the Iran-Iraq war. It is our sincere hope that the two parties to the conflict will co-operate in its implementation so that peace and stability may be restored in the region. It is also our sincere hope that both parties to the conflict will co-operate also with the Secretary-General in his mediation efforts.

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

Mr. CAPUTO (Argentina) (interpretation from Spanish): I wish first of all, Sir, to express to you the warmest greetings of the Argentine delegation and our great pleasure at seeing you presiding over the work of this important body on this most important occasion. The excellent relations between our two Governments have encouraged fruitful personal co-operation between us, and I have found you to be a truly valued colleague. I take this opportunity also to congratulate Ambassador Blanc on the efficient way in which he has conducted the work of the Council this month. I repeat to him and to the other members of the Council our firm determination to co-operate.

I wish also to express my delegation's thanks to Ambassador Adouki for his outstanding work as President for the month of June. The ties between us and Congo, both members of the Non-Aligned Movement, facilitated my delegation's work.

We support the draft resolution introduced by the President on behalf of all members. We are firmly convinced of the merits of the text and of the important contribution it can make to ending the war between Iran and Iraq. We believe that, as no solution to the conflict has been found, this decision will satisfy the legitimate and genuine concerns of the entire international community.

(Mr. Caputo, Argentina)

Our support is actually a corollary of my Government's firm commitment to the Purposes and Principles of the Charter. The preservation of international peace and security is a primary objective of Argentina's foreign policy. The peaceful settlement of disputes is, therefore, an obligation that no country is entitled to evade.

Because of the important bonds between my country and Iran and Iraq, we view this tragic conflict with special concern. In his address to the Eighth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Harare in 1986, President Alfonsín stated:

"The Republic of Argentina, which is a friend of both parties, will continue to support efforts in keeping with the Charter of the United Nations and the principles of non-alignment likely to enable both sides once again to enjoy full exercise of their right to life and peace."

That is still our goal.

The international community must not through inaction tolerate the use of non-peaceful means for the settlement of disputes. This war has gone on far too long. The toll in human life is unacceptable and must cease. There is nothing more balanced than the appeal for an immediate cessation of hostilities. That call was voiced by the members of the Non-Aligned Movement in the declaration issued after their most recent summit Conference. The parties must heed it and withdraw their troops to internationally recognized boundaries, in keeping with the provisions of operative paragraph 1 of the draft resolution.

We believe it to be indispensable that such a comprehensive, just and honourable settlement be achieved, acceptable to both parties in all respects and in keeping with the principles of the United Nations Charter. We know that for

(Mr. Caputo, Argentina)

this to occur the necessary conditions must be created for negotiations between Iran and Iraq. The draft resolution we are now considering establishes an appropriate basis for the achievement of that objective. Among other things it requests the Secretary-General to undertake a series of measures to enable the parties to come together. It urges the parties to release and repatriate prisoners-of-war without delay and calls upon third parties to refrain from any act which may lead to further escalation and widening of the conflict.

The Council has also taken into account the arguments put forward by the parties concerned, including the fact that it might be appropriate to inquire into the sources of the conflict and necessary to respect the norms of humanitarian international law. We are also aware of the fact that once the conflict is over it will be necessary to work for reconstruction. All these things are set forth in the draft resolution.

By this measure the Council will fulfil the primary responsibility entrusted to it by States Members of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security. We are convinced that the Council should have taken this action long ago.

We are not unaware of the complexities of the conflict. There are many aspects that merit special attention. We are certain, however, that both Iran and Iraq will correctly interpret the constructive spirit in which the Council demands, that, as a first step towards a negotiated settlement, they observe an immediate cease-fire, discontinue all military actions and withdraw all forces to the internationally recognized boundaries without delay. We are confident that Baghdad and Teheran will respond positively to this important decision by the Council.

In its first paragraph the Charter of the Organization expressly reflects the determination of the peoples of the United Nations to save succeeding generations

(Mr. Caputo, Argentina)

from the scourge of war. It is that lofty objective that inspires our support for the present draft resolution. It is high time that the war between Iran and Iraq came to an end.

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

Mr. ADOUKI (Congo) (interpretation from French): Mr. President, it is customary in my country to use the expression "the right man in the right place". That expression is, I am sure, the most fitting one to describe the close relationship that exists between the subject before the Security Council today and its President. Indeed, at a time when the Council is preparing to take an important, if not historic, decision, the role that your country, France, has played in the process that led up to it, first acting as spokesman for the five permanent members of the Council - a role that Ambassador Blanc performed last month - and, today, as President of the Council, takes on a particular significance. We wish you every success. We are convinced that your experience and your personal qualities, as well as your country's long diplomatic tradition, will ensure us that success. My country and delegation would like to assure you of their full support in your performance of the presidential duties.

I should like to take this opportunity to express my thanks to everyone who expressed congratulations to the delegation of the Congo, which endeavoured last month to respond to the best of its ability to the constructive attitude and evident trust each member of the Council expressed in the Council's work.

Together with other members of the Council, my delegation is today responding to an appeal made by the five permanent members of the Council to put an end to the conflict that for seven years has pitted Iran against Iraq. Who would not subscribe to such a noble goal? We are therefore gratified to have this

(Mr. Adouki, Congo)

opportunity to meet with a number of members of Governments who have come to New York especially for this meeting to set into motion the system of collective security laid down in the Charter. However, because the elements of that system are sometimes ambiguous in their formulation, it is difficult today to appreciate why some questions were not raised. These can be articulated as follows: the disruptive war between Iran and Iraq has in fact been going on now for seven years. This year the Security Council seemed to be in a state of paralysis and irresolution and unable to provide any effective solution to the conflict that would be acceptable to all parties concerned. That ambivalent stance is the result of a kind of behavior based on power that is often alien to interests and procedures of the Security Council. It is in order to provide a maximum guarantee that law will prevail over force, diplomacy and equity over partiality, that my delegation worked within the group of non-aligned countries to improve the draft resolution now before the Council.

(Mr. Adouki, Congo)

It is a pity indeed that our Council did not see fit to open a detailed debate, which would have made it possible for many delegations of Members of this Organization to evaluate the arguments often adduced, to the effect that it would be counter-productive in principle, or because of convictions held, to resort to sanctions and other coercive measures laid down in Chapter VII of the Charter and that such measures have never been fruitful and would, in the case of South Africa for example, only serve to increase its stubbornness, its system of apartheid and, undoubtedly, its ongoing illegal occupation of Namibia.

Adherence to the virtues of Chapter VII today is, for that reason, rather a happy surprise to us, and we are very gratified. The mutations of history are sometimes easier to understand than those of biology. About three years ago, I think, in one of his annual reports on the activities of the Organization, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar asked the great Powers to undertake each year to settle at least one existing conflict in order to bolster the credibility of the United Nations.

The situation in South Africa; the implementation of the United Nations plan of action for Namibia, as envisaged in Security Council resolution 435 (1978); the situation prevailing in the Middle East; and the situation in Central America - to name just a few such problems - are undoubtedly the kinds of conflicts to which the Secretary-General referred as warranting the mobilization of efforts by the Security Council.

No matter how perplexing we may find those situations, we are optimistic that the Security Council will move towards being less selective in dealing with the important problems facing the world. To that end, the usefulness and role of the Security Council - and above all of the Organization - should be strengthened. We hope our good faith will not be betrayed and that in its pursuit of peace in the

(Mr. Adouki, Congo)

Gulf the Security Council will be able to secure the confidence and co-operation of the parties directly concerned, for in our opinion that is the only way to guarantee good results.

In this connection I believe the role of the Secretary-General is fundamental, and nothing and no one should impede the exercise of his functions, particularly as regards the prerequisite of agreement among the parties to determine the ways and means of application of the cease-fire and the entire process that should lead to the final settlement of the problem.

Finally, Iran and Iraq are two countries that belong to the Non-Aligned Movement, and we know how much that Movement's contribution has been valued. It was the relationship existing between Congo and those two countries that led my delegation to make its own modest contribution to the negotiations that produced the draft resolution now before us, by whose adoption we intend to facilitate the advent of peace and dialogue between Iran and Iraq.

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

Mr. PABON GARCIA (Venezuela) (interpretation from Spanish): I am very pleased to welcome you, Sir, to the presidency of the Security Council at this most important meeting and to wish you every possible success in the delicate mission you are now pursuing. The bonds between our two countries are strong indeed, and the future of our relations is very promising.

I should like with equal warmth and gratitude to congratulate the representative of the Republic of Congo and his delegation on the skilful way in which the functions of the presidency were carried out during the month of June.



(Mr. Pabon Garcia, Venezuela)

The Security Council is meeting once again to consider formulas for the halting of an immense conflict that has for seven years been raging between two Members of the United Nations, inflicting untold suffering on both peoples.

Venezuela is conscious of the increasingly urgent need to seek ways and means of finding practical solutions. The human and material cost of that war necessitates persistent ongoing efforts to ensure the attainment of peace, so necessary for the peoples of Iran and Iraq, the region and the whole world.

Unfortunately, so far the appeals of the Organization, particularly those of the Council, the body entrusted with the main responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, have not been heeded. It is with great concern that we have seen the inability of the international community to find any formula likely to bring the two parties to the conflict to the negotiating table.

The most recent resolution, adopted on 24 February 1986 with the participation of Venezuela, resolution 582 (1986), which requested an immediate cease-fire, contains elements which my delegation believes could significantly contribute to the creation of conditions for the return of peace. A number of those elements have been reproduced in the present draft resolution.

The delegation of Venezuela prays that the draft resolution now before us, which incorporates certain new initiatives, is truly a step in the right direction. It is the result of long, difficult negotiations aimed at producing a consensus. It is our devout hope that it will be acceptable to the parties to the conflict and will bring about the restoration of peace between those parties, with which Venezuela has close relations of co-operation and with which we promote the defence of our common interests.

(Mr. Pabon Garcia, Venezuela)

We shall vote in favour of the draft resolution in the belief that it is a balanced text that takes into account the rights and interests of both parties. It will, however, be to no avail if the two parties do not find it to be an acceptable basis for an agreement.

(Mr. Pabon Garcia, Venezuela)

We know that the implementation of this Security Council decision will entail difficulties and sacrifices for both the parties involved, but we are convinced that it is the only way to bring about a cessation of the conflict. These sacrifices, however great, will always appear small compared to the loss of life and the destruction on both sides during this prolonged war.

It is absolutely necessary that the parties to the conflict heed this further appeal by the competent United Nations organ; but it is also necessary that no other State, under any pretext or in any circumstance, intervene in this conflict. The most powerful nations have certain international moral obligations owing to their position, and the Organization's Charter requires that they make a common effort to bring about a just peace. A very encouraging sign is the presence at this Security Council meeting of several distinguished Foreign Ministers.

Once again we find it necessary to define the role being played by weapons-manufacturing and exporting countries in the escalation and continuation of this and other existing conflicts. While this inhuman trade in weapons continues little can be done. No country must be allowed to turn its back on peace.

It is obvious that any situation endangering international peace and security, which takes a toll in human life, consumes vast amounts of resources and prevents creative and positive activities cannot promote the kind of solidarity needed among the developing countries.

My delegation would also like to emphasize the importance of strict respect for the tenets of international humanitarian and other laws governing armed conflicts. That is Venezuela's traditional position of principle, and we therefore condemn the use of chemical weapons, because such practices violate the provisions of the 1925 Geneva Protocol, to which Venezuela is a party.

(Mr. Pabon Garcia, Venezuela)

Venezuela is a country committed to peace and understanding among all nations. We have not been, are not, nor could we be indifferent to conflicts which disrupt international concord. To the fullest extent of our ability we have devoted ourselves to the promotion of peace and understanding at the bilateral, regional and international levels.

Those are the main reasons why we have participated in various United Nations bodies from the very beginning and are now taking part in this Security Council meeting.

As we discharge our responsibility in the Council we wish to appeal both to the international community and to the parties to the conflict to show flexibility and genuine good will in putting an end to this situation which has already disrupted world peace and, unless halted, might have even more unpredictable consequences. Because of the events underlying this tragedy, the international community must, more forcefully than ever before, appeal to both parties for a just, honourable and lasting settlement.

We have placed our trust in the Secretary-General's tireless activities, throughout these long years and are confident of a speedy solution. My delegation reiterates its confidence in the role that the Secretary-General can play in this process and hopes that he will have the co-operation of the parties as he discharges his responsibilities as set forth in the draft resolution.

It should be emphasized that not only international peace and security is at stake: the authority of the Security Council and the image of the United Nations will suffer irreparably if our attempts to end the war between two Member States should fail.

(Mr. Pabon Garcia, Venezuela)

We wish only to contribute in a balanced way to all peaceful efforts to end this confrontation between two countries which are our friends. We hope that a solution can be found through dialogue and negotiation and that the international community's opinion will be heeded without delay so that the peoples of those two countries can devote their efforts to the task of national reconstruction and emerge from the ruins resulting from this war.

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

I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the Minister for Foreign Affairs of France.

We are meeting here today in the name of the entire international community to endeavour to end a war that has been going on for nearly seven years. The Security Council has long been seized of the tragic conflict that is devastating Iran and Iraq. Despite the implacable nature of this war and the failure of attempts to bring about peace, hope of a settlement has never faded. Such hope comes from the lessons of the past. I am thinking in particular of the history of Europe where certain peoples, once considered hereditary enemies, have now decided to unite their destinies.

My country has repeatedly expressed its concern at the escalation of a tragic conflict and its distress at the misfortunes of two great nations which history, civilization and reason invited to remain at peace.

France is also aware of the danger which this conflict represents for the security of neighbouring States and of the Gulf. Its concern is to avert the risk of the war's extending to a region of the world that is particularly sensitive and threatened. For this reason the time has come to demand that hostilities cease and to repeat, with even greater emphasis and conviction than before, our appeal for

(The President)

the observance of international law and to find a settlement acceptable to both sides. I want to emphasize that the demand and the appeal come not from France alone, nor even from the 15 members of the Council; they come from the entire international community.

We sincerely desire a lasting settlement that is comprehensive, just and honourable. It must be founded on respect for the sovereignty of the two States, within their internationally recognized boundaries. How is such a settlement to be approached? The text before the Security Council meets the conditions; it is indeed the result of the serious and thorough work undertaken following the Secretary General's initiative.

(The President)

Its provisions are balanced in that the text takes into consideration the opinions and concerns of all. Whatever their political systems, whatever their reference values, all the members of the Security Council, aware of what is at stake and determined fully to assume their responsibilities, have participated in a constructive manner in drafting this resolution.

As it stands, the resolution is realistic and balanced. It demands in concrete terms that hostilities cease and that the forces that have been fighting each other for so long be withdrawn without delay. It also paves the way for a political solution, without victor and without vanquished.

It is my hope that this resolution will be accepted by all. It is imperative that the two Powers that have worn themselves out in an unending war should devote their energy, with the assistance of us all, to the positive tasks of a peace settlement, reconciliation and reconstruction.

Let no one be deceived: Our hope is the unanimous hope of peoples everywhere. Our resolution embodies all the weight that the United Nations Charter, in its key chapters on peace and security, has conferred on our Council. It must not go unheeded by the leaders of the two countries. The Council addresses itself to their sense of responsibility and their intelligence. In that spirit France will vote in favour of the text submitted to our Council today.

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

I put to the vote the draft resolution in document S/18983.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Argentina, Bulgaria, China, Congo, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Italy, Japan, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Venezuela, Zambia

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): The result of the voting is as follows: there were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has therefore been unanimously adopted as resolution 598 (1987).

I now call on the Secretary-General, who wishes to make a statement.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL (interpretation from French): The resolution that has just been unanimously adopted is the culmination of the joint efforts by the members of the Security Council, as representatives of the international community, to establish the basis for a comprehensive, just and honourable settlement between Iran and Iraq. Nevertheless, their work has only just begun. In order to end the war in the region, it is necessary that the national policies and actions of all Member States be harmonized with the declared will of the Council. In this respect, operative paragraph 5 of the resolution assigns concrete responsibilities to each State in the Organization.

It is only too evident that a first step is necessary in order to advance on the way to a negotiated settlement. We all rely firmly on the co-operation of the two belligerents to establish the cease-fire immediately and thus to facilitate the implementation of other provisions of the resolution.

Indeed, the aim is to implement the various aspects of the resolution, utilizing the most rapid and efficacious approach. The members of the Council may be assured that I shall keep them promptly informed of the course of my efforts.

In addressing the various aspects of the resolution in which I have been entrusted with specific responsibilities, I shall avail myself of the long experience of the Organization. Once a cease-fire is established, the first priority for the United Nations must be to ensure that it holds. It would be my intention, should the need arise during my consultations with the parties, pending the making of the arrangements envisaged in the resolution, to draw upon the



(The Secretary-General)

resources of existing United Nations operations, which would ensure the earliest possible deployment of observers. As the Council may recall, similar arrangements were effected in the past, through an exchange of letters with the President of the Security Council, when I detached officers from the truce supervision organization in the Middle East to verify compliance in Iran and Iraq with a moratorium on attacks on civilian targets.

A general cease-fire would entail a halt to the deplorable practice of deliberate attacks on merchant shipping in the region. It would be essential, however, to develop, in consultation with the two parties and other regional States, arrangements for the long-term security and stability of the region such as are envisaged in the resolution. Further, since the assignment of the responsibility for the conflict has been an obstacle to progress toward a settlement, it would be my endeavour speedily to explore, in consultation with both sides, the possibility of entrusting an impartial body with the task of inquiring into this matter. On another aspect, the International Committee of the Red Cross can depend on my full support when it undertakes the repatriation of thousands of prisoners of war. As regards reconstruction efforts, I shall proceed with care toward the preparations required, utilizing the best expertise available.

Aware as I am of the urgency inherent in this resolution, I intend to enter into consultations with the parties as soon as this meeting concludes.

While I shall exert every effort to fulfil the heavy responsibilities placed upon me by the resolution, I cannot emphasize too strongly that full co-operation by Iran and Iraq is indispensable for progress toward peace. This can make possible the achievement of a comprehensive, just and honourable settlement, acceptable to Iran and Iraq, and ensure security and stability in the region. Those are the common goals of all who sincerely wish for peace.

(The Secretary-General)

I shall not be able to fulfil the mission assigned to me by the Council without the firm and sustained support of its members. Their work, I repeat, certainly has not ended. I shall be able to complete my task successfully if the international community, which all of you represent, maintains its support for my efforts. International solidarity has been given an opportunity: Let us work together - you the members of the Council, Iran and Iraq, and the Secretary-General of the United Nations. Let us work in unity; there will only be victors.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I shall now call on those members of the Council who have asked to be allowed to make statements after the voting.

Mr. BELONOGOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): First, I wish to welcome the Minister for Foreign Affairs of France. Relations with that country have traditionally been regarded by the Soviet Union as an important component of world politics. I wish also to express my gratification at the fact that, under his presidency, the Security Council has just adopted - and adopted unanimously - a resolution on one of the most acute problems besetting the international situation.

I wish also to express my gratitude to the Permanent Representative of France, Ambassador Blanc, under whose guidance the resolution just adopted was prepared.

(Mr. Belonogov, USSR)

I should also like to take this opportunity to express words of thanks to Ambassador Adouki, the Permanent Representative of Congo, one of the African States with which we enjoy friendly relations, who successfully guided the Council's work in June.

The Soviet delegation would like to express its particular gratitude to the Secretary-General, who has undertaken considerable effort to make today's meeting of the Council possible and has put forward a number of valuable ideas which are reflected in the resolution adopted by the Council.

The convening of this meeting of the Council is an indication of the deep concern felt by the international community at the ongoing armed conflict between Iran and Iraq. The Soviet Union fully shares this concern and desires to remove a source of tension that is in direct proximity to our own boundaries. The Soviet Government position regarding the Iran-Iraq conflict and the situation in the Gulf was once again set forth in detail on 3 July this year (S/18970), as well as on 9 January this year (S/18575).

The Soviet Union has constantly favoured the immediate cessation of hostilities between Iran and Iraq and the settlement of their disputes not on the battlefield but at the negotiation table. That is our fundamental position and it is one that we have followed since the very outset regardless of how the conflict has evolved, including its military aspect.

In our view, the entire course of the war demonstrates that relying on the continuous use of military means will yield no solution and in fact will make a settlement even more remote. We are persuaded that despite the difficulty and seriousness of the problems that have accumulated, there are, in fact, no insuperable obstacles to putting an end to the war and establishing peace. Indeed, this is obvious from the history of the relations between Iran and Iraq.

(Mr. Belonogov, USSR)

As we see it, the most important requirement is for both sides to demonstrate political will and good sense, a desire to reach mutually acceptable agreements that would take into account the legitimate interests of both Iran and Iraq. Common sense would indicate that they should focus not on the past but on the future, which means first and foremost the goal of ending the war. Only that will provide both States the prospects for normal economic, social, cultural and intellectual development. Quite clearly, it is not in the interests of the Iranian or the Iraqi peoples that the national wealth of both countries should be wasted on mutual destruction. The sooner the representatives of the belligerent States sit at the negotiating table, the better it will be for both Iran and Iraq; indeed, the international situation as a whole stands to gain.

The Soviet Union favours recourse to the most effective available measures and full use of the possibilities offered by the United Nations Charter, the potential of our Organization - primarily the Security Council.

In many respects today's meeting of the Security Council is of particular significance: the initiative to draw up a draft resolution was taken by the five permanent members of the Security Council because of the particular responsibility they bear under the United Nations Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security. The consultations among the five permanent members of the Security Council in order to explore ways and means of settling the conflict are, in our opinion, a practical embodiment of one of the Purposes of the United Nations, namely, to be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of the common goals of the Organization - the main one, according to the Charter, being the maintenance of peace.

(Mr. Belonogov, USSR)

Those consultations, in the interests of peace, have created an excellent precedent for the creation of conditions in the Security Council conducive to finding solutions to conflict situations in other parts of the world as well: in particular, in the Middle East and in southern Africa.

The Soviet delegation, in its efforts as one of the five permanent members and in the Council as a whole, has consistently endeavoured to tap the potential of the United Nations Charter, to make the most of the possibilities open to the Security Council as the body entrusted by United Nations Member States with primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and security, and find ways to put a speedy end to the war.

We believe that the resolution that we have just adopted is responsive to that task and provides the necessary and just basis for a settlement of the conflict. The Security Council cannot fail to be deeply concerned that the Iran-Iraq conflagration has been blazing for more than six years now and that it has meant and each day continues to cause, profound human suffering, that many hundreds of thousands of human lives have already been lost and that an even larger number of people have been mutilated - not to mention the tremendous material damage to both countries. The dangerous aspect of this situation is that a further escalation and widening of the conflict could take place. As far as we are concerned, we profoundly wish to avoid a degeneration of this regional conflict into an international crisis.

(Mr. Belonogov, USSR)

For all those reasons it was absolutely essential for members of the Security Council, including the Soviet delegation, to adopt a resolution calling upon the belligerents to observe an immediate cease-fire, discontinue all military actions on land, at sea and in the air, and withdraw all forces to the internationally recognized boundaries without delay. That is a necessary first step towards settling the conflict by means of negotiation.

The draft resolution lays down the general parameters for such a settlement - namely, that it must be comprehensive, just and honourable, acceptable to both sides, and in accordance with the principles contained in the Charter of the United Nations.

I would particularly single out one further extremely important aspect of the resolution adopted by the Council. As we worked on the draft it was our constant belief that if this lengthy war between Iran and Iraq continued it might promote a dangerous growth of tension in the Persian Gulf, where events have recently drawn nearer to the danger level. International waters, which are traditionally for the use of peaceful shipping, are being plied by a sharply increased number of warships, including ships belonging to States thousands of kilometres from the area. The concentration of the armed forces of third parties in the Gulf area continues. We cannot but conclude that such activity is dictated not least by an attempt by one party to use the present alarming situation in the Gulf area to realize long-held plans to acquire new military strongholds for its air force and navy.

It is obvious that if the processes to which I have referred are not halted and brought under control in time they may even, despite the desires and intentions of the States involved, result in a serious threat to international peace and security. We believe it is important to refer to the dangerous consequences of

(Mr. Belonogov, USSR)

increased foreign military activity and presence in the conflict area, but obviously there should be no activities that would constitute a threat to international shipping. We are convinced that the security of some cannot be guaranteed at the cost of the security of others. There is no alternative to political steps in the area, because any kind of military step, any attempt to intimidate, to rely on the military fist, on force, entails the risk of the conflict's proliferating.

We advocate resolute steps to improve the situation in the Gulf area. In the opinion of the Soviet Union, the Security Council took very far-sighted action when it adopted a comprehensive, multifaceted approach to the settlement of the Iran-Iraq conflict. It is important not only to guarantee the resolution's implementation by the parties to the conflict, but also to ensure that other States assist in its implementation. In today's conditions, particular significance attaches to that part of the resolution containing an appeal by the Security Council to other States - everybody knows to whom it is primarily addressed - to show the maximum restraint and refrain from any action that might lead to a further escalation and broadening of the conflict.

On 3 July this year the Government of the Soviet Union made concrete proposals intended to improve the situation in the Persian Gulf. They envisaged that, inter alia, all warships that did not belong to the area should be withdrawn from the Gulf as soon as possible and that Iran and Iraq should in turn refrain from any acts that would create a threat to international shipping. Such steps, to be carried out in the context of a comprehensive settlement of the Iran-Iraq conflict, would help to calm the situation and eliminate the threat of enlarging of an explosive source of military tension. We had hoped that the States concerned would show a readiness to subordinate their national interests to tasks of relevance to

(Mr. Belonogov, USSR)

all mankind, to be mindful of the interest of all countries and peoples in not only living for the present day but looking to the future. We can only express our regret that so far those proposals have not been supported.

The resolution recognizes that preparing measures to enhance the security and stability of the region is the prerogative of the States of the region. The principles set out in paragraphs 5 and 8 make it abundantly clear that the problems at present besetting the Gulf can be resolved through the Gulf States' themselves reaching agreement on ways to strengthen the security and stability of the region without any outside interference. In that connection, it is of great practical importance that the Security Council has requested the Secretary-General to consider, in consultation with the States of the region, ways and means of strengthening security and stability in that part of the world. We wish the Secretary-General every success in that responsible mission.

It should be stressed that one important aspect of the resolution is that the Security Council also places other heavy responsibilities on the Secretary-General. Owing to the comprehensive nature of the resolution, they are extremely varied, but their implementation has one objective: through mediation to ensure a turning towards a peaceful solution and settlement of the conflict through negotiation. The complexity of the tasks that the Secretary-General has to undertake will require a prudent, circumspect approach, to ensure that the solution to each problem is balanced and totally acceptable to both sides. Naturally, the Secretary-General will require some time.



(Mr. Belonogov, USSR)

In that connection, we wish also to place special emphasis on the importance of constructive and business-like co-operation between Iran and Iraq and the Secretary-General in the peace-making mission with which the Council has entrusted the Secretary-General. We welcome the statement just made by the Secretary-General, in which he assured the Security Council that he intends to take immediate steps to carry out the responsibilities entrusted to him.

The Soviet Union regards the resolution, which resulted from a collective effort by all members of the Security Council, as an excellent, balanced basis for channeling the Iran-Iraq conflict towards a peaceful solution and for ending the many years of senseless warfare. As emphasized in a Soviet Government statement:

"Imbued by a feeling of respect and friendship for the Iranian and Iraqi peoples, the Soviet Union sincerely hopes they will overcome the existing tragic stage as soon as possible and establish relations of peace and good-neighbourliness." (S/18575, p. 3)

For our part, we have always been and shall continue to be active in our pursuit of that goal, both in our bilateral relations with Iran and Iraq and as part of our multilateral efforts. Our position is an integral part of the Soviet Union's principled policy of eliminating tension and easing conflicts through negotiation, taking account of the legitimate interests of all parties, free from foreign intervention, and with a view to laying the foundations for security in Asia as a major component of the overall system of international security.

Full implementation of the Security Council resolution should demonstrate the ability of the world community to take practical steps towards renouncing confrontation and the use of force and to move international relations towards a new kind of political thinking in keeping with the realities of the end of the twentieth century.

(Mr. Belonogov, USSR)

The Soviet Union is prepared to co-operate with all who genuinely share those goals.

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

Mr. MURATA (Japan): On behalf of Foreign Minister Tadashi Kuranari, who very much wanted to attend today's meeting but who was obliged for compelling reasons to stay home, I should like first to take this opportunity to congratulate you, Sir, on presiding over the Security Council today. I should like also to express my delegation's appreciation to His Excellency Mr. Martin Adouki, who so skilfully guided the work of the Council last month.

Ever since the conflict between Iran and Iraq broke out, the United Nations, the non-aligned countries and the Organization of the Islamic Conference, as well as many countries, including my own, have made serious efforts, jointly or individually, to bring about a settlement. In spite of those efforts, however, the conflict has continued for nearly seven years, taking a heavy toll in loss of human life and material destruction on both sides. Moreover, the conflict has resulted in heightened tension throughout the Gulf region and has seriously affected countries outside the region as well by disrupting free and safe navigation in the Gulf.

The international community is demanding, more strongly than ever before, the prompt and peaceful settlement of the conflict through negotiations. The resolution just adopted was prepared in full awareness of that demand. Japan has been in close consultation with the countries concerned in order to ensure that the resolution would be acceptable to both Iran and Iraq. It is our firm belief that it provides a framework for a comprehensive, just, honourable and durable settlement of the conflict.

(Mr. Murata, Japan)

It is gratifying to note that the resolution has been adopted unanimously. We believe that the close co-operation demonstrated among the permanent members and all the other members of the Security Council in preparing and drafting the resolution will serve as a valuable precedent in future efforts for the peaceful settlement of disputes and the strengthening of the peace-keeping functions of the United Nations.

It is my Government's earnest hope that all Member States, and particularly Iran and Iraq, will faithfully observe and implement this resolution, thereby putting an end to this protracted and tragic conflict.

The Secretary-General, who has been in close contact with both Iran and Iraq, should continue the serious efforts he has been making towards settlement of this conflict. Now that the Council's resolution has been adopted, it is incumbent upon all of us - all Member countries, including Iran and Iraq - to extend even greater support and co-operation to his endeavours. Japan, for its part, is determined to redouble its efforts towards that end.

Japan has maintained close contact with Iran and Iraq. Availing itself of every opportunity, Japan has been pursuing its diplomatic efforts towards an early and peaceful settlement of the conflict from the very beginning. We shall continue to make every effort to realize the objectives of the resolution and achieve durable peace. In particular, Japan, together with other countries, will spare no effort to support and co-operate in the reconstruction of both Iran and Iraq, and in the achievement of lasting security and stability as well as economic development in the region.

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

Mr. GARVALOV (Bulgaria): May I congratulate you, Sir, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of France, on your conduct of the proceedings of the Security Council today and also on France's assumption of the Council presidency for the month of July. I trust that under your most able and wise guidance the Council will discharge its responsibilities in an outstanding manner.

I should like also to avail myself of this opportunity to convey my gratitude to the Permanent Representative of Congo, Ambassador Adouki, President of the Council for June, who, with his great professional qualities and diplomatic experience, conducted the Council's work in an exemplary manner.

The delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria voted in favour of the resolution the Council has just adopted in the firm belief that it is a step in the right direction - that is, a step towards bringing an end to the war.

(Mr. Garvalov, Bulgaria)

Over the past seven years the People's Republic of Bulgaria, like the overwhelming majority of States of the international community, has followed with real concern the armed conflict between Iran and Iraq, two countries with which the People's Republic of Bulgaria has always maintained friendly relations and mutually advantageous and steadfast co-operation and for whose peoples we have feelings of friendship and respect. This war has resulted in heavy loss of human life and in material destruction for both Iran and Iraq and will benefit neither of them.

Since the very outbreak of the conflict Bulgaria's position has been a clear and consistent one: outstanding issues and disputes among States should and could be settled by peaceful political means only, without recourse to the use or threat of force, on terms acceptable to both sides, duly taking into consideration the legitimate interests of the States and peoples involved in the conflict and in accordance with the principles contained in the Charter of the United Nations. I should like to reiterate today that my country, Bulgaria, has always called for and, as a non-permanent member of the Security Council, has spared no efforts to help bring about, a comprehensive, just and honourable settlement of the conflict between the two neighbouring countries.

In today's nuclear and space age of the world it is becoming increasingly evident that the elimination of hotbeds of conflict and tension is an indispensable prerequisite for the maintenance and strengthening of international peace and security. This is equally true with respect to the conflict between Iran and Iraq. The latest events in the Persian Gulf, with the involvement of certain interests, serve to show once again that this conflict could well pose a grave danger to international peace and security. In this respect it is appropriate that the resolution calls upon all other States to exercise the utmost restraint and to

(Mr. Garvalov, Bulgaria)

refrain from any act which may lead to further escalation and widening of the conflict.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria welcomes as an important development the unanimity of the permanent members of the Security Council - and ultimately of all members of the Council - in sponsoring the present resolution with the aim of putting an end once and for all to the tragic and costly war between Iran and Iraq.

Now that the resolution has been adopted we must not fail to observe that its provisions are a sine qua non first step, a step long overdue, towards a negotiated settlement of the disputed issues. I should like to state here the position of principle of Bulgaria that, given goodwill and mutual respect for each other's legitimate interests and for the Charter of the United Nations, there are no problems that cannot be resolved at the negotiating table between the two countries. Bulgaria calls upon the two neighbouring countries to adopt precisely such an approach in implementing the resolution.

On behalf of my Government I should like to convey to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, His Excellency Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, our deepest gratitude for his tireless mediation efforts between the parties to the conflict. We have always supported him and will continue to do so. We are confident that the Secretary-General will continue, in conformity with the Security Council resolution, to spare no efforts in contributing to the elimination of tensions in that part of the world and to the search for a conclusive solution of the conflict.

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

The Council has now concluded its voting procedures. I shall now call upon other speakers who wish to make statements.

I call upon the representative of Iraq.

Mr. KITTANI (Iraq) (interpretation from Arabic): Before making a statement on behalf of my country's delegation, I should like to express to you, Mr. President, and, through you, to all the members of the Council, my country's deep thanks and appreciation for allowing us to participate in the Council's deliberations today. I am honoured to attend this meeting and to address the Council on this historic day.

Iraq, which never wanted the war that has been imposed on it since 4 September 1980, has always called for the establishment of a just, comprehensive and lasting peace between Iraq and Iran. It has always called for settlement of the conflict by peaceful means, on the basis of the United Nations Charter and the rules of international law.

Iraq has from the very beginning recognized Security Council jurisdiction over our conflict with Iran; it has accepted previous resolutions on the conflict adopted by the Council and has made clear its complete willingness to implement those resolutions in good faith. I refer especially to resolution 582 (1986), adopted by the Council in February 1986, and to resolution 588 (1986), which confirms the aforementioned resolution.

In the name of the Iraqi Government I should like to express our high appreciation for the concern shown by the Council throughout the past seven years vis-à-vis this grave conflict and for the efforts made by its permanent and non-permanent members, and by the Secretary-General, with a view to finding a just, comprehensive and durable solution to the dispute. I should also like to refer, in particular, to the efforts made in recent months on the basis of the Secretary-General's initiative. Those efforts have stressed the need for a new level of concern to be shown, one that would reflect the seriousness of the conflict and the grave threat it still poses constitutes to the security

(Mr. Kittani, Iraq)

and stability of our region and of the world at large, as well as the huge human and material losses it has brought about.

The world has become deeply convinced that the Council should step up its measures to the extent of adopting a binding resolution capable of employing the means provided in the United Nations Charter to bring this conflict to an end and to lay the foundations for a just and comprehensive settlement to the dispute based on Charter principles and the rules of international law.

We welcomed - as, indeed, did a broad segment of the international community, the Arab League, the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the Non-Aligned Movement, the European Community and other international gatherings - the consultations conducted by the Council during these past months urging that practical and earnest results be reached.

The call for peace, which is international and comprehensive, is being voiced every day, not only in the countries of the region, but on every continent. It has not been limited to political bodies, but has become for some time now a major concern for popular organizations, parliaments and associations of different colours and political orientations.

Today, the Council has adopted a resolution based on the United Nations Charter, containing comprehensive elements and possessing a binding power provided by the Charter. As a representative of the Iraqi Government I have received the resolution, and I will immediately convey it to the higher authorities in my country.



(Mr. Kittani, Iraq)

On this occasion I can assure the Council that Iraq, which has always responded positively to the Council's resolutions, and which values the importance the Council attaches to a comprehensive settlement, will study the resolution with great care and attention. The Iraqi Government's official position on the resolution will be determined in due course, after the political and constitutional bodies of the country have had a chance to study it.

In conclusion I should like once again to stress our appreciation of the Council's efforts and to reaffirm that we, together with the peoples of the region and indeed of the whole world, look forward to seeing the Council fully shoulder the responsibility entrusted to it by the Charter to establish a just, comprehensive and lasting peace.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): There are no further names on the list of speakers.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The meeting rose at 6 p.m.