

PdeC

TRIP TO FRANCE / IRAN / IRAQ

-GENERAL

9-15 SEPT 1987

EASE RETAIN
GINAL ORDER

Clear pyp

DEC 11 2012

UNARCHIVES

SERIES

S-1022

BOX

34

FILE

3

ACC.

92/154

10 September 1987

UNITED NATIONS DAILY PRESS BRIEFING

François Giuliani opened today's United Nations briefing by announcing the departure of Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar for Paris, on his way to Teheran and Baghdad.

He said comments made by the Secretary-General in his response to questions from correspondents would be played back over the in-house channel at 12:15 p.m.

The only appointment the Secretary-General had before his departure was a meeting with Ambassador Said Rajaie-Khorassani of Iran to discuss the final details of his trip to Teheran.

Mr. Giuliani told correspondents he would discuss later in detail during the briefing arrangements being made to cover the Secretary-General's trip and what the Spokesman's office would do in his absence.

He said he had just heard from Geneva that the United Nations-sponsored Afghanistan talks had concluded at 5:30 p.m. today (Geneva time), and that Diego Cordovez, Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs and Personal Representative of the Secretary-General on the situation relating to Afghanistan, was now speaking to the press. Efforts were being made to get his remarks replayed at Headquarters before lunch.

He reminded correspondents that at the United Nations briefing tomorrow, the Under-Secretary-General for General Assembly Assembly Affairs, Joseph V. Reed, would be present to brief correspondents on preparations for the Assembly.

Finally, on the International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development, the Committee of the Whole had met yesterday and recommended by consensus the adoption of a draft final document. The document was prepared by the Chairman of the Committee, Martin Huslid, of Norway, on the basis of reports prepared by three working groups. The plenary would discuss the report tomorrow. In connection with the Conference, there would be a press conference, the timing of which would be announced later, but it would most likely be in the afternoon because of Mr. Reed's briefing.

Regarding the press arrangements for the Secretary-General's visit, the Spokesman's office would be open on Saturday and Sunday, he said. He and his colleagues would be in the office probably from 9:30 a.m. until about 3 p.m.

He said he expected that Samir Sanbar, a Department of Public Information (DPI) official who is travelling with the Secretary-General, would telephone each day in time to enable him brief correspondents at noon. It had been agreed that Mr. Sanbar should seek guidance from the Secretary-General for a full briefing to be given in New York in view of the difficulties correspondents had encountered in securing visas to go to the area.

(more)

1315B

He said Mr. Sanbar had also been instructed to play back by telephone any tapes or statements recorded by the Secretary-General during the visit so that the electronic media or any one interested could use them.

Mr. Giuliani said he would be travelling to Paris to meet the Secretary-General on his return there on Wednesday and would be able to relay also to correspondents some information.

He told a correspondent in answer to a question that the time difference between New York and Teheran was eight and-a-half hours. He would announce tomorrow the exact schedule of what his office intended to do; today's information was to give correspondents an idea of what was planned.

He also told a questioner that the Secretary-General would spend the night in Paris arriving in Teheran on Friday evening. He told another correspondent that if all went as planned, he intended to brief correspondents on Saturday and Sunday, as was normally done during the week.

Asked whether the Iranian Mission had given official reasons for refusing visas to correspondents, he responded affirmatively. When the correspondent asked what the reasons were, Mr. Giuliani directed him to the Iranian Mission, adding he was not its spokesman.

"You asked them; they must have told you the reasons", the correspondent said. "Yes, they told me. That's right", Mr. Giuliani responded. "So what did they tell you?" the correspondent persisted. "Ask them, I'm not the spokesman for the Iranian Mission, until now anyway", Mr. Giuliani replied.

In response to a question by another correspondent on the subject, Mr. Giuliani said there was no truth whatsoever to the suggestion that the Iranian action had been at the suggestion of the office of the Secretary-General. "I want to deny this absolutely", he said.

Mr. Giuliani said the Secretary-General had been fully prepared, as he had discussed with President of the United Nations Correspondents Association (UNCA), to make some room on his plane for some correspondents. He was prepared to do that as long as correspondents could obtain visas. The whole plan foundered because correspondents could not obtain visas.

He told another correspondent that he had been instructed by the Secretary-General to contact the Iranian Mission on the matter. He had done so on two occasions and had been given a reason for their position. He suggested that that the correspondent should seek this out for himself from the Iranian Mission.

He also told another correspondent in his response to further questions on the issue, that the Iranians were not charging \$10,000 for a visa. "We are not charging to obtain a visa either", he added. When the correspondent reminded him that he had said correspondents could travel with the Secretary-General for that amount, Mr. Giuliani said that, as was the custom, correspondents travelling with the Secretary-General paid for their own costs. The visa question was a separate issue.

(more)

Was he under instructions not to divulge reasons for the Iranian action? he was asked. He responded: "I'm always under instructions to talk for no one else, but the Secretary-General."

He also told a correspondent in answer to a question, that he did not believe that the Secretary-General had raised the visa issue with Ambassador Rajaie-Khorassani during their meeting in the morning. "I don't know", he added.

Asked whether there was a precedent for the Secretary-General travelling on official mission unaccompanied by journalists, Mr. Giuliani said: "Unfortunately, millions of times".

* *** *

15 September 1987

UNITED NATIONS DAILY PRESS BRIEFING

Joe Sills opened today's United Nations briefing by saying that "François Giuliani, as you can see, is here with us but his voice is not".

Mr. Sills said the Secretary-General and his party left Baghdad at 3 p.m. today (local time) after meeting on Monday the 14th, for one hour and 20 minutes with President Saddam Hussein and with Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz.

The Secretary-General and his party on Tuesday morning visited the offices of the Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia (ESCWA), where he addressed the staff.

In answer to further questions, Mr. Sills said that he had nothing to add regarding the Secretary-General's talks in Baghdad.

Concerning the General Assembly, he said its forty-first session had closed yesterday. The forty-second session would open at 3 p.m. today with its business being conducted in the following sequence: appointment of the members of the Credentials Committee and the election of the President of the General Assembly.

Following that, there would be consecutive meetings of the Main Committees for the purpose of electing their Chairmen.

Following the meetings of the Main Committees, the Assembly would reconvene for the election of its Vice-Presidents.

Mr. Sills said that beginning from tomorrow, Ms. Nadia Younes, who had been selected as spokesperson for the President of the General Assembly, would brief correspondents on a daily basis on the work of the Assembly.

He drew attention to document A/BUR/42/1 which gives details of the organization of the forty-second session of the Assembly. He described it as an invaluable document containing the agenda and the allocation of items, as well as background information about the session itself.

He also drew correspondents' attention to the first issue of Daily Highlights DH/1 published by the Department of Public Information (DPI). It would appear late in the day or early in the morning with summaries of major events that occurred during the day at the United Nations. In response to a question, he stated that he would check regarding languages, and the nature of the translations, of the Daily Highlights.

The first issue covered the Secretary-General's peace mission to Iran and Iraq, the conclusion of the forty-first session and the start of the new session of the Assembly. It also included information about the election of a new member of the International Court of Justice.

(more)

1507B

Mr. Sills accepted the congratulations of a correspondent on the decision of DPI to initiate this new Daily Highlights press release.

A correspondent remarked that it seemed that information about the Secretary-General's activities in the Gulf region was being withheld from correspondents at Headquarters. He referred to statements which he said the Secretary-General had made to reporters in Baghdad. Mr. Sills said all information he had received had been made available to the press. Nothing had been withheld.

He reminded correspondents that the Secretary-General had made it clear that he would not discuss the substance of his talks until he had reported first to the Security Council. It was his understanding that that had been the position the Secretary-General had taken consistently with the news media in both Teheran and Baghdad.

Asked whether the Secretary-General expected the cease-fire in force during his visit to continue, he said correspondents would simply have to wait until the Secretary-General reported to the Security Council. He had no information as to a date for a Council meeting; he also did not know whether the Secretary-General would give a written or oral report. He added, however, that he expected the Secretary-General would report to the Council fairly quickly following his return.

Mr. Sills told a correspondent that he had no information on a statement she said the Secretary-General had made in Baghdad about a cease-fire. He said the conversation they had had in the morning with the DPI official accompanying the Secretary-General had been very brief, and only included information regarding the departure from Baghdad.

A correspondent asked whether the cancellation of Mr. Giuliani's visit to Paris to arrange a press conference for the Secretary-General meant that the Secretary-General did not plan to meet with the press in Paris. Mr. Giuliani nodded affirmatively.

* * * * *

1507B

not file - 10.11

FLIGHT 11 SEPTEMBRE - 16 SEPTEMBRE 1987

11 septembre

Departure PARIS Charles de Gaulle

10:00 LT

0800 gmt

Arrival TEHRAN

17:45 LT

1415 gmt

14 septembre

Departure TEHRAN

10:00 LT

0630 gmt

Arrival BAGHDAD

13:00 LT

0900 gmt

16 septembre

Departure BAGHDAD

10:00 LT

0600 gmt

Arrival PARIS Charles de Gaulle

Aircraft

DC-9-14

Registration

HB-IEF

Flight number

UN01

Call-sign

UNITED NATIONS ONE

Crew PIC

PERRIARD Pierre

TRAEGNER Frank

Flight attendant

NICOD Marie Chantal

JEANNERET Pierre

Enjoy your flight with AEROLEASING

Secretary-General's aircraft

Crew Members

Commander of aircraft: Capt. Pierre Perriard
born: 7 April 1944 in
Zurich, Switzerland
Swiss Passport No. 5003223
valid until 4 November 1991

Co-Pilot: Capt. Frank Traegner
born: 28 November 1936 in
Geiehain, F.R. of Germany
F.R.G. Passport No. F6807560
valid until 21 September 1991

Cabin Crew: Mr. Pierre Geanneret
born: 13 December 1954 in
Le Lolle, Switzerland
Swiss Passport No. 2351367
valid until 27 February 1988

Ms. Maria Chantal Nicod
born: 19 December 1958 in
La Chaux De Fonds, Switzerland
Swiss Passport No. 2715161
valid until 19 April 1990

The Secretary-General's visit to Iraq

September 1987

Composition of the Party

The Secretary-General

Mr. Diego Cordovez
Under-Secretary-General
for Special Political Affairs

Mr. Iqbal Riza
Director
Office of the Under-Secretaries-General
for Special Political Affairs

Major-General Timothy Dibuama
Military Adviser to the Secretary-General

Mr. Giandomenico Picco
Principal Officer
Executive Office of the Secretary-General

Mr. Samir Sanbar
Spokesman of the Secretary-General

Mr. Raymond Sommereyns
Principal Officer
Office of the Under-Secretaries-General
for Special Political Affairs

Mr. John Hrusovsky
Chief Operations Officer

Mr. Michael Ferry
Operations Officer

Mr. James Anderson
Operations Officer

Ms. Françoise Letellier
Secretary to the Secretary-General

* * *



General Assembly

Distr.
GENERAL

A/42/1*

9 September 1987

ENGLISH

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH/FRENCH/
SPANISH

Forty-second session

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON THE WORK OF THE ORGANIZATION

September 1987

* This is an advance version of the report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization, which will be issued in printed form as Official Records of the General Assembly, Forty-second Session, Supplement No. 1 (A/42/1).

87-21204 5465e (E)

/...

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON THE WORK OF THE ORGANIZATION

Over the past year, in the midst of continuing regional strife and economic and social hardship, there have been occasions in which a greater solidarity among nations was evident in addressing serious problems with global implications, within the multilateral framework of the United Nations. This development, while limited and fragmentary, could prove of broad significance for I believe it has its origins in what I would call the growing commonality factor in international affairs. By this I mean a commonly accepted interest in meeting successfully certain vital global challenges, including achievement of the conditions for sustained economic development, the preservation of a hospitable global environment, the elimination of the most egregious infringements of human rights, the eradication of threats to the health of societies and of individuals that respect no national borders, and, by no means least, the avoidance of nuclear destruction. Countries of disparate political orientations and economic systems have begun to deal with problems of an interdependent world with a new pragmatism in awareness of the dangers of immobility. This can provide a promising basis for broadened multilateral co-operation and increased effectiveness of the United Nations. It is as if the sails of the small boat in which all the people of the earth are gathered had caught again, in the midst of a perilous sea, a light but favourable wind.

The United Nations has been an important catalyst for consensus on global problems and, at the same time is itself, I believe, the object of a greater commonality of view than when I last reported to the General Assembly. It remains prey to a financial crisis of very damaging dimensions. Yet, there has been a perceptible rallying to the Organization prompted, in part, by recognition that it was in serious jeopardy but, more decisively, I am convinced, by changes in the international political, economic and social situation which evidenced with persuasive clarity the need for, and the unique value of, the United Nations and other multilateral organizations.

These months sometimes seemed dominated by financial crisis and administrative reform. I believe that, in the circumstances, it is especially important to recognize the inherent strength shown by the United Nations in bringing nations together in pursuit of common objectives ranging from ending the war between Iran and Iraq to protection of the environment and combating illicit narcotics. From such recognition can come new champions and the greater support that the United Nations needs in extending the favourable trend perceptible on certain problems across a wider spectrum of issues related to the achievement of a world at peace.

In highlighting certain positive developments of the recent months, I would not wish to underestimate the highly unsatisfactory state of world conditions or the magnitude of the tasks that lie ahead. Even if the favourable wind felt this year prevails, our global vessel will need skilful piloting and the assistance of dedicated oarsmen to navigate the many shoals and reach safe landfall in the next century. What developments have suggested these past months is that it can be done - that in the face of great challenges nations can, as at times in the past, work together. The result, I believe, can be fuller realization of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and, ultimately, a new chance for peace.

/...

I

The international security situation during the past year has been far from static. While major conflicts have persisted and neither the number nor the lethal quality of arms has yet been reduced, initiatives have been taken, negotiations have been carried forward, and the Security Council has acted in ways that in themselves constitute hopeful change. I sense a broadened appreciation that present regional conflicts, beyond the intrinsic suffering they cause, entail unacceptable risks for the larger international community and that the number of nuclear weapons at present deployed is, from every point of view, unwarranted.

The war between Iran and Iraq has lasted now for almost eight blood-stained years, endangering the entire region and threatening larger strife. Last year, these protracted hostilities showed signs of dangerous escalation and expansion, pointing to the urgent need for a new United Nations effort to end the bloodshed. In January, I called for the Security Council to consult, possibly at the level of foreign ministers, on action to halt the war, having already in 1985 suggested to the parties eight points that could serve as a basis for terminating hostilities and opening the way to peace. The Council acted decisively, adopting unanimously a resolution ordering immediate implementation of the cease-fire called for earlier and defining steps to be taken by the two countries in order to establish a basis for peace. The five permanent members have served as the motor force in the Council's action, exercising the responsibility from which their special status derives. The Security Council's resolution is an unmistakable manifestation of the deep desire of the international community to bring an end to this strife. It lays down a carefully crafted basis for addressing the legitimate concerns of both belligerents. The resolution assigns me a clear mandate which, at the time of this writing, I am attempting to implement in its many dimensions through intensive discussions with the two Governments. This will now take me to Iran and Iraq. Given the co-operation of the parties, we must hope for an early comprehensive settlement which will satisfy the demands of justice and honour.

At the beginning of this year, I undertook a special effort to pursue the convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East. With the widespread support of the international community, I held numerous consultations with the parties and the members of the Security Council. These consultations focused on both the principle of a conference and questions of procedure. The views expressed to me differed in nuance and detail, but it was generally hoped that they could be sufficiently narrowed to make possible the convening of a conference at which the more difficult substantive issues could be tackled in a constructive spirit. Unfortunately, it has not yet proved possible to obtain the agreement of all the parties to the principle of an international conference and this has hindered my efforts to make progress on the procedural issues. Bilateral efforts to promote the peace process have also apparently run into difficulties. In spite of these set-backs the search must by all means be sustained for a comprehensive settlement through a negotiating process, under United Nations auspices, in which all parties would participate.

It has now been 20 years since the Security Council adopted unanimously resolution 242 (1967), which at the time was viewed as a major first step towards a

/...

settlement of all aspects of the Arab-Israel conflict. During this period, the inhabitants of the region have been subjected to two major wars. A continuation of the status quo is contrary to the interests of all the parties concerned - it hampers economic development, social stability, and freedom of choice. In the search for a comprehensive settlement, the central priority should be the achievement of a just and lasting peace, which will meet the aspirations of all the people in the region. It would seem to me that the emphasis should be more on these objectives than on questions of procedure. The right road, obviously, is that which will lead to fruitful negotiations, based on resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), and take fully into account the rights of the Palestinians. From my extensive consultations, I am convinced that the composition and agenda of a conference do not need to present insurmountable obstacles. No solution can be found without negotiations. Delay can only prolong the violence and danger that have become daily companions to life in the Middle East.

In other parts of the world, too, new opportunities are evident to settle long-standing differences and move towards more positive and fruitful relationships. Two countries in Africa, Mali and Burkina Faso, have accepted a judgment of the International Court of Justice to resolve a border dispute between them, and in Central America, El Salvador and Honduras have submitted a similar dispute of long standing to the Court for judgment. In doing so, these countries have taken the route prescribed in the Charter for the peaceful settlement of disputes - the route of reason and peace.

Despite recurrent tensions in the area and the persistence of the conflict in Kampuchea, I believe there are also opportunities for strengthening peace in South-East Asia. The countries of the region share a deep interest in economic development and reconstruction. It is evident that a resolution of the Kampuchean problem would open significant new opportunities - indeed, it is of crucial importance. I have continued to follow this problem closely and have put forward to the countries concerned some ideas in the hope of furthering a solution. I have recently detected some signs of movement that I hope will develop in the right direction. Meanwhile, United Nations humanitarian assistance continues to reach Kampucheans, especially in the border area with Thailand.

In the case of the Western Sahara, there is also, I believe, an opportunity to move ahead. As requested by the General Assembly, the Chairman of the Organization of African Unity and I have had a number of separate meetings with the parties aimed at a solution of the problem. During these meetings, our discussions have focused on modalities governing a cease-fire and a referendum. Since an examination of these issues involves certain factual information available only in the territory, the Chairman of OAU and I consider that they can best be gathered by the dispatch of a technical survey team to the territory. Once the information is obtained, we will be in a position to formulate a set of proposals with the objective of providing a fair and reasonable basis for a settlement of this problem. I am confident that with the necessary flexibility and determination, further progress towards a settlement can be made.

The long-standing confrontation between North and South Korea is a remnant, in a sense, of the Second World War which left the Korean Peninsula divided. There

/...

have been this past year a series of proposals emanating from both the North and the South for the resumption of talks on overcoming the contentious issues between the two sides. In my continuing contacts with the parties, I have made clear my readiness to be of every appropriate assistance in facilitating steps to reduce the causes of tension on the peninsula. Serious talks aimed at reducing the hardships imposed on Koreans because of separation would correspond with the pragmatic approach that increasingly influences relationships in East Asia. The agreement reached this year between China and Portugal on the return of Macao to Chinese sovereignty in 1999, like the earlier agreement between China and the United Kingdom on Hong Kong, is an example of the benefits for the international community that can come from this approach. In South Asia, yet a further example can be found in the newly formed South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation. The success that it achieves in promoting region-wide socio-economic co-operation can have a favourable impact on political relations as well.

Efforts to resolve the problem related to Afghanistan have reached an advanced stage. The lengthy, non-polemical negotiations, conducted through the good offices of the Secretary-General, are aimed at finding a realistic settlement. Significant progress has been made. For a settlement to be realized, however, the Afghans must achieve a national reconciliation that will open the way for the formation of a government where the voice of all the Afghans - those now living outside as well as inside Afghanistan - will be heard. It now remains for all concerned to reach the kind of decisions required to restore peace and to accord to the Afghan people the rights foreseen for all in the United Nations Charter. I am confident that the United Nations will, with the full support of Member States, be able to meet any tasks foreseen for it in a settlement. I need hardly emphasize again the great benefits that a neutral, independent and non-aligned Afghanistan would bring for the parties directly involved and, also, for broader international relationships on which progress on other issues heavily depends.

As conscious as I of the gravity of the tension and violence in Central America, the Secretary-General of the Organization of American States joined me late last year in making known to the countries of the region the facilities that the two organizations could provide - separately or together - to facilitate resolution of the region's problems. I have always been persuaded that such a resolution must be found by the countries of Central America themselves, but when I toured the region with the Foreign Ministers of the Contadora and Support Groups and the Secretary-General of OAS last January, I found little evidence of political will to solve the continuing conflicts. The peace plan to which they agreed last month in Guatemala on the basis of a proposal of the President of Costa Rica is all the more to be welcomed as an important breakthrough. I now feel encouraged to revise my earlier assessment. There appears to exist a genuine momentum for peace. The provisions of the peace plan show respect for the commitments made by these countries for the peaceful resolution of disputes under the Charter of the United Nations and of the Organization of American States. For my part, I have agreed, in support of the peace process, to serve as a member of the International Committee for Verification and Follow-up, created by the Guatemala agreement of 7 August 1987, and I will extend any additional assistance in ways that are appropriate under the Charter. The support of the international community as a whole will be much needed in the further crucial negotiations that lie ahead. This

/...

opportunity for peace, created, I believe, by the leaders of the region in pragmatic response to the most basic needs of their peoples, must not pass.

Unfortunately, in southern Africa the road towards the peaceful settlement of the problems of the region continues to be difficult to traverse. To a great extent, this is a consequence of systematic racial discrimination represented by the policy of apartheid, and of the unjustified delay in the transition to independence of Namibia.

In South Africa, a human tragedy of overwhelming proportions appears imminent unless timely action is taken to prevent it. As has been particularly manifest over the past year, the policy of apartheid leads inevitably to resistance and oppression and poisons the quality of life for all the inhabitants of the country. An institutionalized system of racial discrimination that denies fundamental human rights to the great majority of the population is contrary to the most basic principles of the United Nations Charter to which all Member States have committed themselves. The destructive consequences of the imposition of this system extends beyond South Africa to encompass the region as a whole, which has been victimized by repeated acts of aggression, sabotage and destabilization. The effects have been particularly devastating in Angola and Mozambique. In the latter country, the situation became so acute that the Government requested my support in mobilizing international assistance to alleviate the hunger and suffering to which its people have been tragically subjected. The front-line States need increased support from the international community to counter economic strangulation and political destabilization.

The continued denial of independence to Namibia also breeds unending violence and suffering. I have, this past month, sent my Special Representative for Namibia to the region to explore ways of ending the impasse regarding the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). His conversations have confirmed that, if the situation is re-examined with realism and sincere concern for the well-being of the inhabitants of the area, it should be possible to open the way for implementation of the United Nations plan for Namibia.

I would appeal to all Member States to use their influence on behalf of the development of social and economic progress in freedom throughout southern Africa. This can only take place in adequate measure if apartheid disappears; if the human rights of all South Africans, and of the inhabitants of the region as a whole, are respected; and if the people of Namibia are permitted to enjoy the freedom and independence that are their right. The concerted action of the international community is needed to achieve these goals.

The Cyprus problem should lend itself to fair settlement through serious, purposeful negotiations that will meet the basic interests of both sides. Encouraging developments have, on a number of occasions, brought the two Cypriot communities to the threshold of real progress. At present, however, the state of affairs in Cyprus gives increasing cause for concern and, as I have reported to the Security Council, a potentially dangerous military build-up is taking place on the island. The possibility of serious confrontations cannot be excluded in the months ahead if present trends continue. The troop-contributing Governments, without

/...

whose generosity the peace-keeping force could not be maintained on Cyprus, are increasingly dissatisfied both with the lack of progress towards a settlement and the growing financial burden they bear. It is particularly disturbing that, in these circumstances, efforts to reactivate productive negotiations are deadlocked. I intend to continue to explore possible measures that might encourage greater confidence and make it possible for useful negotiations to resume. What is at stake is the goal of a federal republic of Cyprus, non-aligned and enjoying sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity as defined in the High-level Agreements of 1977 and 1979.

The prolongation of a regional conflict endangers far more than the parties immediately concerned. In all the problems to which I have referred - those in which positive movement has occurred and those still mired in impasse - governmental decisions will be made which, depending on their nature, can positively or negatively affect the lives and futures of the populations of their region and beyond. I would call upon all leaders in areas of conflict to be guided by this consideration when making decisions in which an added element of accommodation to the concerns of the other party can bring peace or break a sterile deadlock.

II

In the resolution of almost every regional conflict in which the United Nations is engaged, a need for United Nations peace-keeping operations can be foreseen. In the case of Namibia, the agreed United Nations plan entails both military forces and civilian staff carrying out crucial peace-keeping functions in the transition to independence. In other instances new and innovative forms of peace-keeping may be called for. Various conflicts in recent years have extended to the sea, raising the possible need for a United Nations role in ensuring the safety of civilian ships and in maintaining peace at sea as an element in bringing a war to an end. Any peace maintenance operation in the ocean area would differ in key respects from peace-keeping on land, although the same broad principles would apply. At present it would be difficult to mount such operations as quickly on an ad hoc basis as has been the case with land-based operations. There is, therefore, need to plan and be prepared for such eventualities, a process for which the advice of experts in the international academic and defense communities could usefully be sought.

In referring to possible future peace-keeping undertakings, I cannot fail to commend those who, during the past year, have maintained this noble mission for peace. Sacrifices have been a part of their services, particularly in southern Lebanon where brave soldiers of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon have daily risked their lives and 21 have died in the line of duty since last August in protecting the well-being of others. The value of these operations has been repeatedly reaffirmed by the Security Council. The valour and dedication of those who serve are deeply appreciated by the entire international community.

/...

As essential as the deployment of peace-keeping forces has been, and can be in the future, in maintaining a stable situation after the cessation of armed exchange, in the separation of forces, and in affording an opportunity for negotiations, it is not a substitute for the first function of the United Nations which is to prevent war from breaking out. Indeed, the serious crises addressed this past year - many of which are long-standing - point to the need to take timely and effective multilateral action before problems reach crisis proportions. To continue in the future to fail to utilize fully all the preventive capacity of multilateral organizations would be foolhardy in the extreme. One of the greatest tragedies of recent years has been the outbreak of fratricidal conflict between developing countries that had at their disposal for the resolution of their differences the assistance of regional organizations, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and, of course, of the United Nations itself.

I would suggest that the Security Council can in the future make fuller use of possibilities available within the meaning of the Charter, including peace-keeping forces, to head off violence and facilitate the resolution of disputes before armed conflict occurs. When a potentially dangerous situation is identified, a fact-finding mission can be quickly dispatched both to gain a detailed knowledge of the problem and to signal to the parties the concern of the United Nations as a whole. It is auspicious for this purpose that present peace-keeping operations now have the political support of all permanent members of the Council although the financial support from Member States is far from adequate. I have sought through a restructuring of the political functions in the Secretariat to strengthen our early-warning capacity.

The need for international solidarity in preventive action is by no means limited to political crises. It is especially evident in the face of such a global threat as environmental degradation. In the case of the recent food crisis in Africa, the international community, through the United Nations and other international organizations, did a great deal to mitigate the disaster. But, the disaster need not have been of such proportions. The vulnerability of the fragile ecosystems and economies of many African countries has long been widely understood. Too little preventive action was undertaken to strengthen their resistance to disaster.

In the recent past, we have seen other natural calamities of terrible impact - the volcanic eruption in Colombia, the earthquake in Mexico City, the recurrent floods in Bangladesh being among the worst. Like the drought in Africa, such catastrophes could not have been prevented, nor can they be in the future. Their destructive effect can, however, be lessened. The ability to foresee the most likely location and, to a more limited extent, the possible timing of certain types of disasters such as severe earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, floods, typhoons and drought, has grown significantly. Moreover, a substantial knowledge exists of measures that can be taken in advance to mitigate the effect of natural disasters when they do occur. I believe there is much merit in proposals that have been made to stimulate international study, planning and preparations on this subject over the next decade under the auspices of the United Nations.

/...

III

Disarmament, achieved through balanced arms reductions with adequate verification, is an essential element in the dynamic process of building peace. It has stood, rightly, in the forefront of diplomatic activity during the past year. New attitudes and revised policies have emerged, bringing new life to the long, sterile disarmament scene. For the first time, there appears a good and early prospect of a net reduction in nuclear weapons. While an agreement between the USSR and the United States to eliminate all of their intermediate-range nuclear missiles would still leave sufficient nuclear weapons in existence to destroy the world many times over, it would none the less have real significance. Such an agreement can encourage progress in other East-West negotiations, including those on strategic weapons and, by demonstrating the present feasibility of agreement between the USSR and the United States, give impetus to other disarmament negotiations now in progress. Moreover, it can be seen as constituting a first step, at least, towards the goal of eliminating all nuclear weapons for which these two major nuclear Powers have in principle renewed their support. There have already been new positive moves in the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva to complete the treaty - long under negotiation - banning the production and use of chemical weapons under effective verification. Progress on other agreements is overdue and, I believe, will come if the benefits of the elimination of Soviet and United States intermediate-range nuclear missiles are felt. I would point in particular to the desirability of early agreement on a comprehensive nuclear test-ban treaty which for many years has been seen in the United Nations as having cardinal importance. Continuation and even intensification of testing, in so far as it is directed at developing new weapons or perfecting those now deployed, will tend to mitigate the value of eliminating one present type of missile and perpetuate a competition that has been a major cause of distrust.

Verification has been a difficult element on which to find agreement in most of the disarmament negotiations now under way. This is an area in which the United Nations can make a significant contribution. The forthcoming third special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament can, with thorough preparation, provide a valuable opportunity to consider how the Organization's potential in this regard can be realized. Indeed, the session will permit a timely review of the entire work of the United Nations in the field of disarmament, an area of vital importance where rationalization and innovation could permit the resources of Member States to be effectively focused on the most productive activities.

The regional dimension of disarmament merits much attention since it is in regional conflicts that weapons are actually being used for purposes of war. The acquisition of large quantities of sophisticated arms by developing countries places a severe strain on badly needed resources while adding nothing to the strength of their economies. Furthermore, it adds to external debt and creates a secondary demand for imports that increases their dependence. Improved regional security arrangements could reduce the need felt by them for expensive arms and large armed forces. The negotiations currently in progress in Vienna on confidence-building measures and troop reductions in Europe offer a new prospect for that continent. The establishment by the United Nations of regional centres for the promotion of peace and disarmament is an initiative of much promise in this regard in the developing world that merits the support of all Member States.

/...

I am deeply persuaded that the entire world has greatly benefited from the preservation of certain regions - one, outer space, being infinitely larger than the earth itself - from the deployment of nuclear weapons or, in the case of the Antarctica, from any military use at all. This year marks the twentieth anniversary of the entry into force of the Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies, which was concluded under the auspices of the United Nations. As space technology advances and a growing number of countries become involved in space activities, the Treaty assumes ever greater relevance to the common human destiny. It is the shared responsibility of Member States to ensure compliance with the letter and spirit of the Treaty. I would call upon all countries that have a space technology capability to co-operate bilaterally and multilaterally in pursuing peaceful uses of outer space, including projects that will bring the benefits of space technology to developing countries. Let the United Nations not only help to preserve such achievements as Tlatelolco, the demilitarization of Antarctica, and the Treaty prohibiting nuclear deployment on the deep sea-bed, but, proceeding from their example, also seek to gain new regions exclusively for peaceful use.

IV

I have recently had occasion - in particular when addressing the Economic and Social Council and the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development - to express my concerns about the problem-filled state of the world economy. It is evident from the discussions at the seventh session of UNCTAD and the preceding session of the Council that many of these concerns are shared by Member States. The world economy is growing much slower in the 1980s than in the previous two decades; the world financial system remains in the shadow of crisis because of the debt problem and volatile exchange rates; world trade in this decade has been under the greatest threat of protectionism since the 1930s, notwithstanding the wide advocacy of a liberal trading system; and international prices of primary commodities have dropped to their lowest level in real terms in the last 50 years. Economic growth, finance and trade are crucial elements for raising world standards of living; yet these elements have been faltering.

As a result, per capita incomes are lower today in the developing countries than they were at the beginning of the decade and unemployment in developed market economies in the 1980s has averaged twice the level of the 1970s. In 1986, 850 million people lived in countries that experienced no increase in per capita output.

The picture is not totally bleak. Inflation, once an almost universal scourge, has been brought under control or eliminated in a large number of countries. A few developing countries, both large and small, have been experiencing a sustained period of rapid economic growth. On the whole, however, the state of the global economy is highly unsatisfactory.

I find it important that in these circumstances a greater understanding has emerged of the interrelationship among economic and social problems. Because of

/...

this interrelationship, many of these problems cannot be successfully dealt with in isolation. The complex requirements of sustained development on which future conditions of life in both developing and developed countries so heavily depend have been the subject of intensive pragmatic examination. The report of the World Commission on Environment and Development, aptly titled "Our Common Future", prepared at the request of the General Assembly by experts of varied geographical and political backgrounds, defines with great clarity some of the interrelationships that must be taken into account in developing and implementing sound economic and social policies. There has also been movement towards greater integration of differing economic and trade systems, a distancing from rigidity in conforming with doctrine. I believe this trend is evident in a number of instances during the past months in which Member States approached problems in the economic area from a pragmatic perspective taking account of the capacities offered by the United Nations.

At the seventh session of UNCTAD, the participating countries agreed by consensus on a Final Act that constitutes a very comprehensive statement on the issues facing the world economy and on the policies and measures required to address them. The substantive results of the Conference could foreshadow a significant advance towards the revitalization of development, economic growth, and international trade. A constructive outcome, I would note, was by no means a foregone conclusion. A common interest in success prevailed, strengthened by the force of reason in moving forward realistically in many ways, for example, in a growth-oriented debt strategy; in balancing the need for sustainable non-inflationary growth in the developed world and for an environment supportive of growth in the developing world; and in giving impetus to international co-operation in commodities. The purposefulness and flexibility shown by all participating groups in reaching consensus within the framework of a United Nations conference are promising signs for constructive, pragmatic multilateral co-operation in the economic field.

The results reached at the seventh session of UNCTAD can have a significant bearing not least on the critical economic situation in Africa. I must point out, in this connection, that implementation on the part of donors and creditors of the understanding reached at the thirteenth special session of the General Assembly, in 1986, on approaches to adjustment and external debt in Africa has been slow and uncertain. Many African countries have begun to make sharp and wide-ranging adjustment efforts in specific sectors, especially agriculture, and in overall economic management. But the international community has been less forthcoming with an intensified financial resource flow. Because the economic reforms were being undermined in many countries, I established, after consultations with interested Governments and the managements of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, a group of high-level advisers from various regions and charged them with reporting to me before the end of this year on concrete ways to improve the financial situation of African countries. I believe that the recommendations of this Advisory Group on Financial Flows to Africa can encourage further efforts realistically conceived for specific situations.

Other recent steps towards improving the African situation are encouraging. In the Paris Club, debt to official creditors has begun to be rescheduled on

/...

considerably more generous terms for selected countries. Proposals to increase net resource flows through the International Monetary Fund and other multilateral agencies are also being discussed with a greater sense of urgency. What we must ensure is that a comprehensive approach to the financing problem results, one that will accelerate Africa's implementation of its priority programme for adjustment and place the region on a path to more rapid development.

A highly significant agreement has been reached among a number of Member States, both signatories and non-signatories to the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, settling conflicts that had occurred in the claims they had put forward for deep sea-bed mine sites. This agreement, reflecting as it does a realistic assessment of shared interests in orderly exploitation of the resources of the deep sea-bed, should contribute to wider acceptance of the Convention's sea-bed régime. The United Nations, through the Preparatory Commission for the International Sea-Bed Authority and for the International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea, has now taken the historic step of registering for the first time a sea-bed claim - that of India - and reserved an equivalent area for international exploitation. The Convention, which is now poised somewhat precariously at mid-point with 34 of the required 60 ratifications, has, of course, far more than economic significance. The Convention's first purpose is to prevent conflicts over the space, the uses, and the resources of the seas and oceans. The ocean-related nature of recent tensions and hostilities in several areas serves as a constant reminder of the need for full acceptance of this major legal instrument. I would hope that the same realistic assessment of common interests that led to the agreement on mining sites and opened the way for the first site registration will bring the ratification of, or accession to, the Convention by those States that have not yet done so.

I believe that it is also symptomatic of a more pragmatic approach in the fields of trade and development that Member States have increasingly sought the assistance of the United Nations Centre on Transnational Corporations in developing national legislation to facilitate their integration into the growing transnational sector of the global economy. Through its advisory and information services, the Centre actively helps countries in dealing with the various ways in which the integration process can proceed. This process would be much facilitated by the increased predictability and stability that a code of conduct for transnational corporations could bring. A large measure of agreement on a draft has existed for some time. I would hope that before another year passes a final text will be approved.

V

It must be a continuing purpose of the United Nations to encourage universal respect for human rights and bring to this and to other major social problems the force of international co-operation. Respect for human rights is part - and an important part - of the dynamic process of building a peaceful world. I seek, in my capacity as Secretary-General, continually to promote such respect and to ensure that the Secretariat carries out its important responsibilities in this area with full effectiveness. I believe that the activities of the United Nations, aimed at

/...

bringing the widest compliance with the Universal Declaration on Human Rights and the other United Nations human rights instruments have, despite financial constraints, gathered further momentum this past year. The growing international participation in dealing with human rights issues, especially the dedicated, energetic efforts of non-governmental organizations, are having a positive effect. Open debate about situations of concern now takes place regularly in various United Nations bodies meeting at different times of the year, and fact-finding into specific situations is done on an ongoing basis. I would urge that in those cases where full co-operation has been denied the Government concerned give renewed consideration to the matter. I believe the advisory services of the United Nations with growing emphasis on national human rights systems are of special importance in this respect. Technical assistance from the United Nations has proven useful in the development of means for concrete, practical action.

With the establishment of the United Nations, respect for human rights throughout the world was recognized for the first time as the legitimate concern of the international community. In these past four decades, violations of human rights have not been eliminated, but very real progress has been achieved. The world now is alert to infringements of human rights as never before. Their occurrence in any systematic form does not go unnoticed. The United Nations is an important factor in ensuring this is the case. I believe we are seeing evidence now of the Organization's importance also as a forum for concerted action aimed at encouraging rectification of unsatisfactory human rights situations wherever they may be. This is the direction in which we must move with a unified sense of purpose. We now are approaching the fortieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights. I would urge that, in order to increase yet further the benefits brought by that seminal Declaration, the complementary instruments agreed in the United Nations, further defining the rights to which all are entitled and providing procedures to encourage respect for them, be universally ratified and rigorously observed.

In the area of social concerns, I would point to two noteworthy instances in which Member States in past months have joined in constructive efforts to meet serious global threats. In June of this year, 138 nations of every political orientation and every stage of economic development, gathered together in Vienna in a Conference convened by the United Nations at my suggestion to combat drug abuse throughout the world. In 10 days of harmonious, purposeful discussions, the delegates drew up a 35-point plan for a comprehensive, international attack on this scourge. The Conference was both a negotiation and a market-place of ideas and technology. It afforded a glimpse of a workable future in which nations set aside fundamental differences and polemics to face squarely a common threat. There needs now to be a sustained and well-co-ordinated follow-up, nationally, internationally, and in the United Nations system, imbued with this same dedication and realism. The United Nations is already playing a major role in countering drug abuse, being particularly effective in providing technical assistance to developing countries. The recent substantial growth in the resources of the Fund for Drug Abuse Control has permitted the geographical expansion of its programmes. It now receives support from all political and regional groupings - further evidence of jointly accepted responsibility to fight together against a common threat.

/...

Drug abuse can and does undermine the fabric of societies and ruin the lives of uncounted individuals. Degradation of the environment can prejudice life itself and the means of livelihood for all. In facing this threat, too, nations are working together in common purpose within the framework of the United Nations. Spurred by the alarming discovery that there is a hole in the ozone layer over Antarctica, Member States, acting under the provisions of the Vienna Convention for the Protection of the Ozone Layer of 1985, this year registered willingness gradually to phase out chlorofluorocarbons even though for some this will involve painful short-term adjustments. The benefits of this action will be felt by all the world's inhabitants for succeeding generations.

The Secretariat needs to be structured in such a way as to support with maximum effectiveness the work of the United Nations in promoting respect for human rights and encouraging broad understanding of the social dimensions of global problems. The organization of the Secretariat should reflect the importance of these issues. Having this in mind, I have, as part of the broad reform measures now underway in the Secretariat, consolidated activities on social policy and social development in the United Nations Office at Vienna and on human rights in the United Nations Office at Geneva. This should permit the United Nations to serve Member States better and speak with a clearer and more coherent voice on these issues.

I am very happy to note the recognition expressed by many Member States of the skilful assistance rendered by the Secretariat in the instances of progress that I have mentioned in both the economic and social fields, for all of which the United Nations provided the necessary framework and often the catalyst as well.

VI

The more one reflects upon many of the economic and social issues of the day, the more apparent their multi-dimensional character becomes, involving close interaction between economic, social, and, sometimes, political variables. The symbiosis of development, environment and population is beginning to be appreciated. We know that the remedy for drug abuse must be composed of many elements, economic, social and legal. Arms limitation efforts are hampered in some areas by social and economic factors that frequently invite violence and instability, as well as by political tensions. The interrelationship between disarmament, development and security is being usefully highlighted by the current United Nations Conference on the subject. In playing its essential part in dealing with this web of global problems, the United Nations system will need to be more fully integrated, and better able to follow priorities established for the system as a whole. It will be of ever greater importance that tasks be rationally distributed among the organizations of the system and that their capacities be used in complementary ways in order to gain maximum benefit from available resources to meet the growing needs of an ever more demanding world.

Today, there is no representative intergovernmental body in the United Nations that is able to provide authoritative guidance to Member States and to the organizations of the United Nations system with regard to priorities of global

/...

programmes, the allocation of responsibilities, and the utilization of assistance resources. Most of the specialized agencies and some of the organizations of the United Nations itself have governing bodies that meet at the ministerial level. Yet, the Economic and Social Council, which is charged in the Charter with co-ordination and policy formulation for the economic and social activities of the system, is not constituted by representatives of such authoritative rank. I believe this should be corrected. For optimum effectiveness, the Council might become, in practice, a Council of Ministers for Economic and Social Affairs which would have the authority to review the medium-term plans or equivalent documents of all the organizations of the United Nations system, thus contributing to rational utilization of resources in the light of global priorities as defined by the Council and giving greater strength and coherence to the system as a whole. The Council, with an enhanced participation of the specialized agencies, could keep world economic and social developments under review and suggest modifications of programmes to meet changing circumstances and new exigencies. The cabinet-rank Council members, who might vary, or be augmented, according to the economic or social issue under consideration, would be able to speak with much greater authority than is the case. Given the orientation of such a Council, the present deliberative function of the Economic and Social Council might, in part or in whole, be assumed by the Second and Third Committees of the General Assembly. This would require careful analysis.

This concept, if followed, would obviously lead to a radical change in the functioning of the Economic and Social Council, but I believe it might be more consonant with the original intent of the Charter than the way in which the Council has functioned until now. I put it forward in this report because I believe events of the past year have further shown the need for greater integration of United Nations activities to correspond with the need for more integrated approaches to problems in the economic and social fields. I hope that, along with other suggestions that have been made on this subject, it will stimulate early and serious consideration by Member States of the direction in which we should move. I feel compelled to state that in recent years the effectiveness of the Council in providing intellectual leadership and the needed co-ordination of United Nations economic and social activities has been inadequate. I would add also that the incremental reforms undertaken over the years to improve the functioning of the Economic and Social Council have not had the desired effect. We need to focus on what the Council should do rather than on how it can better perform what it has been doing. It is now particularly important that the United Nations be so organized as to bring maximum benefit from what I believe is a nascent consensus among Member States in meeting global problems.

To encourage an integrated approach to problems and take advantage of the human resources of the system, I believe a small policy planning staff for development, which would include representatives of relevant specialized agencies and organizations of the United Nations system, could also be of great value. Such a staff could consider integrated approaches to development-related problems and objectives that would take account of the capacities of the system as a whole.

/...

VII

I am aware that the readiness of Governments to utilize the United Nations as the forum for dealing with many of the problems that I have outlined in the preceding sections of this report will depend in part upon their appreciation of its efficiency and effectiveness. Thus, I welcomed the adoption by the General Assembly, at its forty-first session, of resolution 41/213 on the review of the efficiency of the administrative and financial functioning of the United Nations - a step that could signify a major turning-point for the United Nations at this critical time. As I mentioned in my progress report to the Committee for Programme and Co-ordination earlier this year, the objectives put forward by the Assembly in that resolution can only be achieved if Member States and the Secretariat face together our responsibilities. My views on the direct relationship between any changes in the intergovernmental machinery and modification in the size, composition and work of the Secretariat staff are a matter of record.

The proposed programme budget for the forthcoming biennium that I have submitted to the General Assembly is 1.8 per cent less than the revised appropriation for the present biennium and reflects a number of the austerity measures that I have already taken. A rigorous programme-by-programme review has been launched in order to identify the specific functions where post reductions can best be accommodated. Secretariat structures in the political areas have been streamlined and more effectively organized, and a review of the economic and social sectors is underway. A restructuring of the Department of Administration and Management has been effected and substantial changes in the Department of Public Information are now being initiated. I am convinced that these measures will enhance the ability of the United Nations to discharge its responsibilities.

I must make clear that the necessary prolongation of austerity measures, including the freeze on staff recruitment and restrictions on meetings, has an adverse effect on programme implementation and on the Secretariat staff, although I have sought to minimize both. The mechanisms for staff-management consultations that have proven fruitful in the past have become especially important. In fact, the staff have been active partners in the search for the best means of implementing the reform measures mandated by the General Assembly. More effective communication between staff and management at the department level and at the Secretariat-wide level is still needed, however, to reinforce the co-operation shown in the face of the present critical situation.

With the staff reductions, significant financial savings to the regular budget will be realized. At the same time, these reductions can, in themselves, require special allocations of funds and some additional resources will also be needed to strengthen the Secretariat through the provision of enhanced training, the improvement of career development prospects and the use of computer processing and office automation. We must also continue to design incentives to attract and retain highly talented staff in the service of the Organization with the equitable geographic distribution foreseen in the Charter and in the resolutions of the General Assembly. While the recruitment freeze will inevitably set back the rate of achievement of our earlier goals, special measures are being taken to ensure that competent women in the Secretariat attain senior level positions through the promotion process. Our experience this past year has shown that much can be

/...

achieved in this manner. I have during this period appointed three women to posts at the rank of Under-Secretary-General.

The financial crisis which made necessary the austerity measures and encouraged the reforms that are now being implemented stemmed from more profound causes than dissatisfaction with the administrative efficiency of the United Nations. Deep-seated political differences gave rise to a turning away in some quarters from multilateralism and to the rejection by some Member States of adopted programmes. This led to the withholding of assessed contributions which, in combination with the late payment of assessments, brought about the present crisis. As I have described in the preceding sections of this report, there have been indications of a renewed recognition of the importance of the United Nations in facing global problems. The major contributor has reaffirmed the binding nature of budgetary assessments decided by the General Assembly. Many Member States have demonstrated their faith in the value of the United Nations by providing financial assistance, some beyond their assessed contributions, in response to the acute need of the Organization.

In light of these developments and the reforms that are in progress, I look forward to the early restoration of the financial soundness of the Organization. I must emphasize, however, that this has not yet occurred. There is as yet no assurance that payment of assessed contributions will meet the minimum austerity operating expenses. Orderly administrative management is seriously handicapped when there is uncertainty as to receipt of a significant portion of the regular programme budget. The reforms that are being implemented will do much to bring about the efficient organization in which Member States can have confidence. The financial viability and the operational effectiveness of the United Nations will depend primarily, however, on compliance by all Member States with the financial requirements of membership.

* * *

The pragmatic approach of Member States in seeking together solutions to economic and social problems and the unity displayed by the Security Council in recent weeks are developments which restore a vision of what can be accomplished through the United Nations in bringing a safer, more equitable, and more prosperous world. It is a vision that Member States need to reclaim. It may seem contradictory to speak at the same time of pragmatism and vision. I believe, however, that a vision without the definition of realistic means of approaching it can lead to disillusionment and cynicism. That, to a certain extent, is what has happened in the years since the United Nations was founded with a vision of peace.

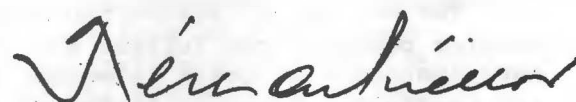
The Charter of the United Nations defines the principles to be followed in gaining peace in the fullest meaning of what true peace entails. These principles have lost none of their relevance or validity. What has too often been lacking is the readiness of Member States to put aside national differences and national ambitions and work together within the United Nations in accordance with these principles towards common goals. It is my belief that the commonality factor, to which I referred as I began this report and which derives from a realistic assessment by Member States of national interests in the face of global challenges,

/...

can do much to bring this about. It is factually evident that these challenges, many of which I have mentioned, including, most important, the prevention of nuclear war, affect the security and well-being of all countries. It is a matter of their individual national interest to work together with others within a multilateral framework since the challenges cannot otherwise be successfully met. For the most part, they are by their nature susceptible primarily to pragmatic measures. In an ideologically divided world, this can provide a basis of unity in action as I believe it has in some cases begun to do. In my expectation, countries that have the experience of putting aside national differences in dealing realistically with global threats to economic and social well-being will more easily do the same in seeking resolutions to political problems that can equally, and even more immediately, affect conditions of life on earth. In these circumstances, the relevance and potential of the United Nations increases as the existing and natural universal instrument for international co-operation on global problems.

The United Nations in its agenda has until now kept pace with global change. Indeed, on occasion, it has set the pace for such change. In the process, it has, perhaps, expanded at times beyond the limits of its managerial capacity and the availability of resources. The budgetary and administrative reforms that are now underway should do much to correct those weaknesses that exist. There will remain, however, a need for the Organization to be ever attentive to the changing needs of a planet in flux and to be sensitive to the wisest ideas and counsel that the intellectual community of the world has to offer. For this, I am convinced that the United Nations must develop a greater capacity to associate with its global mission statesmen and scientists of the highest calibre from around the world. Such a partnership will, I believe, like the non-governmental organizations on which the effectiveness of the United Nations heavily depends, strengthen the United Nations as a vehicle through which the intellectual resources and the practical experience of the international community can be integrated in confronting the demands of the coming years. I shall do all that I can in the years ahead to develop and nurture such an association.

The peaceful resolution of problems depends more than anything else on a convergence of interests. The past year has, I believe, been a time of clarification in this respect. I have no doubt that such convergence now exists on important issues confronting the world. The beginning, evident in the past year, of the translation of this convergence into practical agreements needs to be, and can be, pursued in sustained dialogue and negotiations, and, I would urge, expanded in undertakings that bring together the capacities of nations for the common benefit of humanity. We must see this as a major element in the dynamic process of achieving peace - a process defined in the Charter and in which the United Nations has an indispensable role.



Javier PEREZ de CUELLAR
Secretary-General

Golfe : guerre et diplomatie

Iran-Irak : représailles en série

Un pétrolier chypriote a été attaqué hier par une vedette iranienne. Ce raid constitue la dernière des ripostes aux raids de l'aviation irakienne contre des villes et des centres pétroliers.

Le secrétaire général de l'ONU, Javier Pérez de Cuellar, entame aujourd'hui sa mission de paix à Téhéran puis à Bagdad. Mais, sur le terrain, les hostilités se poursuivent.

Hier, un superpétrolier chypriote, le « Haven », a été attaqué par une unité iranienne dans le sud du Golfe, au large des Émirats. Un incendie s'est déclaré à bord, mais il a pu être maîtrisé et le « Haven » a repris sa route jusqu'à Dubaï. Il s'agit de la première attaque contre un navire attribué à l'Iran depuis le tir de bazookas contre le cargo italien « Jolly Robino », le 3 septembre. L'Iran, qui ne revendique jamais ces opérations, riposte généralement au coup par coup aux attaques de l'aviation irakienne dans le Golfe. Or Bagdad avait annoncé mardi deux raids contre des navires à proximité du terminal iranien de l'île de Kharg.

Toujours en représailles contre ces raids, l'aviation de Téhéran a également pilonné, dans la nuit de mercredi et dans la journée d'hier, des objectifs économiques au sud-est et au nord-est de l'Irak. De son côté, l'aviation irakienne a effectué de nouvelles opérations contre des zones résidentielles dans l'ouest de l'Iran. Le porte-avion français « Clemenceau », qui se trouvait dans la zone du Golfe, est mouillé depuis hier matin à Djibouti. Accompagné de la frégate « Sultane » et du pétrolier « Commandant Decugnot », il y a rejoint une dizaine d'autres bâtiments de la marine française. Outre dragueurs de mines britanniques font route vers le même port.



Javier Pérez de Cuellar, secrétaire général de l'ONU. (Photographie GAMMA.)

Sur le plan diplomatique, Moscou est actuellement le centre d'une intense activité liée à la situation dans la région du Golfe. Après avoir reçu la veille le vice-ministre iranien des Affaires étrangères, M. Laridjani, les dirigeants soviétiques recevaient hier le chef de la diplomatie irakienne, M. Tarék Aziz, en visite avec

une délégation de la Ligue arabe. Il lui ont fourni des assurances quant à leurs intentions, affirmant notamment qu'ils n'étaient pas opposés à une nouvelle résolution de l'ONU appelant à des sanctions contre l'Iran. Mais Moscou entend « donner d'abord toutes ses chances » à la mission de Javier Pérez de Cuellar. L'Irak et la Libye, qui n'entretenaient pas de relations diplomatiques depuis plus de deux ans, ont affirmé hier à Bagdad leur volonté d'apaiser des relations bilatérales « iraniennes » et de les « développer dans tous les domaines ». Dans un communiqué commun publié après la visite à Bagdad du ministre libyen des Affaires étrangères, Jassaf Azzouzi el Taihi, les deux pays ont adjuré l'Iran d'accepter le cessez-le-feu réclamé par l'ONU le 29 juillet.

Série d'attentats en Europe

Des commandos d'opposants au régime de l'ayatollah Khomeiny ont lancé simultanément, hier, une série d'opérations contre des intérêts iraniens dans divers pays européens, dénonçant l'absence de liberté en Iran et les exportations d'armes vers cet État.

L'action la plus spectaculaire a eu lieu à Oslo où une dizaine d'hommes armés ont pris en otage pendant plus de trois heures, onze personnes dans les locaux de l'ambassade d'Iran, blessant trois d'entre elles.

Durant ces heures de grande confusion, les assaillants qui s'étaient emparés de tout le personnel présent dans l'ambassade, y compris des enfants des diplomates, ont déroulé aux fenêtres des banderoles réclamant l'arrêt des exportations d'armes vers l'Iran. A aucun moment ils n'ont formulé de revendication plus précise.

Parmi les trois blessés figure le chargé d'affaires, M. Mohamed Hadi Ardeshir, légèrement touché à l'épaule et qui a réussi à se faire hospitaliser. Les assaillants qui se réclamaient du groupe OGHF (Organisation des guerriers fedayis du peuple d'Iran), un groupe marxiste proche des Moudjahedines, se sont finalement rendus à la police norvégienne sans opposer de résistance.

Peu de temps auparavant, à Paris, cinq personnes avaient brisé à coups de marteau les vitres de la compagnie Iran Air, située sur l'avenue des Champs-Élysées. Selon la police, les casseurs avaient laissé des tracts dénonçant « le régime islamique, qui réprime toute volonté de liberté des peuples d'Iran ».

A Gandhofen, neuf opposants ont occupé durant une heure les bureaux d'Iran Air situés dans l'aéroport de la ville. Ils ont été interpellés après avoir suspendu une banderole réclamant « la libération de tous les détenus politiques en Iran » (AFP, AP, Reuter.)

Lire nos autres informations en page 11.



Des membres de l'équipage du pétrolier chypriote Haven devant les impacts des tirs irakiens. (Photographie REUTER.)

ONU

« Mission de paix »

Le secrétaire général des Nations unies, Perez de Cuellar, se rend aujourd'hui à Téhéran. Il ira ensuite à Bagdad.

WASHINGTON :
Benoît BOLLART

M. Perez de Cuellar, après une brève escale à Paris, enverra aujourd'hui sa « mission de paix » à Téhéran, où il devrait rester jusqu'à dimanche. Après quoi, le secrétaire général de l'ONU se rendra à Bagdad. Son retour à New York est prévu vers le 17 septembre.

Les quinze membres du Conseil de sécurité lui avaient recommandé, voici exactement une semaine, d'accepter l'invitation des gouvernements iraniens et irakiens dans le but de discuter de l'application de la résolution 598, avec comme priorité d'obtenir enfin une réponse sans équivoque du régime khomeiniste à son égard.

Avant son départ, M. Perez de Cuellar a été informé par les deux parties que « tous les arrangements avaient été complétés dans les capitales respectives » pour que les entretiens se déroulent selon les modalités prévues. On peut en déduire que les combats cesseront dans la région, au moins pendant la durée de sa visite.

La résolution 598, votée à l'unanimité par le conseil, le 20 juillet, pose plusieurs conditions comme préalable à un « plan de paix », prévoyant notamment la création d'une commission impartiale chargée de déterminer les responsabilités dans le conflit : un cessez-le-feu immédiat, un échange de prisonniers de guerre, le retrait des troupes iraniennes et irakiennes des zones des frontières internationalement reconnues.

L'Irak a accepté cette résolution. L'Iran ne l'a ni approuvée ni rejetée, profitant d'une trêve irakienne de quarante-cinq jours — rompue depuis — pour exporter davantage de pétrole et se réarmer. M. Perez de Cuellar, qui rencontrera à Téhéran M.J. Khamenei et Rastaniani, entre autres, pourait-il faire sortir les dirigeants khomeinistes de leur subtil atlantisme ? Hier encore, les diplomates de l'ONU et le secrétaire général lui-même étaient pour le moins dubitatifs.

Certes, comme l'a dit l'ambassadeur américain à l'ONU, Vernon Walters, l'adoption à l'unanimité — les Etats-Unis, l'URSS et la Chine votant pour une fois ensemble — de la résolution 598 constitue un « fait sans précédent ». Pour « la première fois l'ONU a effectivement une chance de remplir la mission pour laquelle elle a été créée, à savoir mettre fin à une guerre ». Mais il y a loin de la coupe aux lèvres.

Avec une grande habileté, le gouvernement de Téhéran a cherché, et réussi jusqu'ici, à gagner du temps, « il va continuer », prédit un diplomate français en poste outre-Atlantique. Toutefois, à la faveur de la visite de M. Perez de Cuellar, qu'il n'a pas sollicitée pour rien, il sera des propositions pour ne pas avoir l'air de rompre.

La première d'entre elles, selon le « Christian Science Monitor », consisterait à faire

passer la formation d'une commission sur les origines de la guerre avant la mise en place d'un cessez-le-feu. Pour Téhéran, la responsabilité du régime de Saddam Hussein dans l'ouverture des hostilités en 1980 ne fait pas de doute, et l'Iran n'a pas digéré le fait que le Conseil de sécurité n'ait jamais condamné l'Irak.

La deuxième proposition, si l'on en croit certains milieux arabes, aurait pour but d'obtenir du Koweït qu'il renonce à son aide à Bagdad, qu'il s'agisse d'argent, de pétrole, voire de l'acheminement via son territoire, d'armes de provenances diverses à destination de l'Irak.

La troisième, enfin, dit-on à l'ONU, concernerait le respect des accords d'Alger de 1975 qui délimitaient la frontière entre les deux pays dans le Chah el-Arab et que l'Irak a considérés depuis comme nuls et non avenue.

Seconde

résolution ?

Ces propositions sont irrécouvrables si l'on s'en tient au caractère « obligatoire » de la résolution 598 telle qu'elle a été adoptée le 20 juillet. Mais, à New York, certains diplomates estiment qu'elle ne saurait être appliquée sans discussions détaillées sur plusieurs de ses points clés, comme, justement, la délimitation de ces « frontières internationalement reconnues » derrière lesquelles les troupes des deux belligérants devront se retirer après un cessez-le-feu.

Le conflit est entré dans une nouvelle phase diplomatique et nous sommes prêts à réduire l'intensité des combats tant que des discussions auront lieu. Mais, si le Conseil de sécurité rejette les propositions que nous ferons à M. Perez de Cuellar, nous lancerons alors des attaques massives durant l'automne et l'hiver », prévient un diplomate iranien en poste en RFA, cité par le « Christian Science Monitor ».

Tout cela justifie la prudence, voire la pessimisme, du secrétaire général avant son arrivée à Téhéran. Tout cela donne des arguments, aussi, aux partisans de sanctions immédiates contre l'Iran lui-même, contrairement à l'Irak, de ne pas accepter la résolution 598 d'un seul bloc. Est-ce à dire que les Etats-Unis remettront sur la table leur projet de seconde résolution prévoyant un embargo total sur les livraisons d'armes à l'Iran ? Ce n'est pas sûr. D'abord, parce que la Chine y opposerait sans doute son veto. Ensuite, parce que l'Iran s'approvisionne surtout au marché noir et que, avec ses kilomètres de côtes le long du Golfe, ses déserts, ses montagnes et ses frontières avec cinq pays, un tel embargo ne serait pas très efficace.

Enfin, parce que le chef de l'Etat iranien, Ali Khamenei, s'adressera le 25 septembre à l'assemblée générale de l'ONU. En marge de cette assemblée, en effet, il n'est pas impossible que se tienne une nouvelle série d'entretiens entre responsables de Téhéran et de Bagdad, sous l'égide de M. Perez de Cuellar.

B. B.

Paris-Téhéran : les risques d'enlèvement

De sept jours après le retour à Paris de Mme Torri, la femme du premier secrétaire de notre mission diplomatique à Téhéran, le « guerre des ambassadeurs » qui oppose la France à l'Iran est — encore et toujours — dans l'impasse. Ou plutôt pour reprendre l'expression d'un expert : « On avance à la vitesse d'un escargot malade et laborieux ».

Huit semaines après la rupture des relations diplomatiques décrétée par la France, les problèmes, comme toute crise, d'une telle décision n'ont toujours pas été réglés. Les illiens, à Téhéran, attes Pakistana, à Paris, attendant sagement le pouvoir organiser la « section d'entrée » française et « d'entrée ». Cinq jours avaient été prévus. Et l'on croyait voir large !

Mais le juge Gilles Bouloquin continue d'attendre que l'interprète de l'ambassade vienne « témoigner » au sujet des attentats de septembre 1986. Qu'attendons nous ont été envisagées entre Paris et Téhéran. La France, apprend-on de bonne source, proposa même le départ de tous les diplomates à l'exception de Wafid Gordini, et, en ce qui concerne les Français, de Paul Torri. Il s'agirait bien sûr d'une sorte de moindre mal provisoire. Le gouvernement français a, en effet, refusé d'admettre une « équivalence » entre MM. Gordini et Torri : le premier ne bénéficie pas du statut et donc de l'immunité diplomatique, à la différence du second. Ce distinguo juridique n'empêchera pas le ministre iranien des Affaires étrangères, M. Vahdani,

de déclarer fin juillet : « M. Paul Torri sera traduit devant un tribunal iranien » : si Wafid Gordini l'est devant un tribunal français, ou bien aucun d'eux ne le sera.

Tracasseries multiples

On admet, à Paris, que le pire a jusqu'à présent été évité : même si nos neuf diplomates retenus à Téhéran subissent des « tracasseries multiples » : ainsi Mme Torri n'était pas autorisée

à amener son bébé chez le pédiatre ! Mais, sans le dire, le drapeau de La Mecque (400 morts), aucune manifestation hostile ne s'est déroulée devant notre chancellerie de la rue Neauphile-les-Châteaux. Un spécialiste souligne : « Nous ne sommes pas entrés dans la zone rouge où l'Iran pratiquerait la politique du pire à notre égard ». La dizaine de Français qui vivent et travaillent encore dans la République islamique n'ont pas été inquiétés.

Pourtant, estime-t-on de bonne source, « cette situation

immobilité n'est pas saine. Il ne serait pas raisonnable de la laisser poursuivre indéfiniment ».

Inquiets de ce blocage, certains experts estiment le moment venu pour les deux pays d'amorcer une « escalade » : le départ de ses agents recrutés localement en France. Une solution partielle à ce problème matériel d'être étudiée, estiment des spécialistes. Mais il est évident que les gestes gratuits sont ex-

Claude LORIEUX.



L'ambassade d'Iran, avenue d'Iéna : soixante-treize jours de blocus sous surveillance policière. (Photographie de Serge FOUCAULT.)

11 au 14 Septembre 1987 Thème : Second Empire
Expert : Maître PERRIN
Salles Saint Nicolas
Rue Jeanne d'Arc
de 10h à 20h
Nocturne le vendredi jusqu'à 22h
Renseignements
à l'Office de Tourisme :
44 40 01 00

COMPIÈGNE
20^e SALON
DES
ANTIQUAIRES

RIBOUREL

CANNES
Super-Star de la Côte

599 000 F*
2 pièces - terrasse vue sur mer

Très proche du bord de mer, dans un parc planté d'arbres centenaires, la Résidence Le Palais... La terrasse vous accueillera par ses façades à colonnades et sa majestueuse entrée en marbre. Les appartements de 2 ou 3 pièces disposent de larges baies ouvrant sur terrasse et bénéficiant de la meilleure exposition.

Prix fermes et définitifs à la réservation. Avec 5% à la réservation, *A partir de et jusqu'à l'équipement du stock.

exceptionnel

Découpez et retournez ce bon à RIBOUREL 11090M1FO
120, Champs-Élysées - 75008 Paris, Tél. (1) 45.62.56.56
Appel gratuit au : 05.00.56.56
Je désire recevoir sans engagement de ma part votre brochure 70 programmes Mer et Montagne et votre documentation gratuite sur la Résidence "LE PALAIS" à Cannes
Nom _____ Adresse _____ Code postal _____
Tél. bureau _____ Tél. domicile _____

... d'avoir attaqué un...
a territoire angolais pour sou-
es de l'UNITA (Union nationale
ndance totale de l'Angola).

...NIS

Une bombe détruit une banque koweïtienne

Paris, 10 (ATS, Reuter). - Une violente explosion a dévasté, jeudi vers 3 h. 30, l'entrée du siège social de la Kuwaiti French Bank, rue Caumartin à Paris, provoquant d'importants dégâts mais sans faire de blessé, a-t-on appris de source policière.

L'explosion a également fait voler en éclats les vitres de voitures en stationnement, mais la police a dit ignorer dans l'immédiat ce qui avait provoqué la déflagration.

FOOTBALL

Les hooligans du Heysel sont inculpés à Bruxelles

Bruxelles, 10 (ATS, Reuter). - Les 25 supporters britanniques extradés la veille en Belgique ont été inculpés jeudi de coups et blessures volontaires ayant entraîné la mort sans intention de la donner, à la suite de la tragédie du stade du Heysel qui fit trente-neuf morts en mai 1985.

Arrivés mercredi après-midi à bord d'un avion militaire belge, les 25 hooligans avaient été conduits au Palais de justice de Bruxelles où ils ont été interrogés l'un après l'autre par le juge d'instruction qui leur a ensuite signifié leur inculpation. Ils risquent 15 ans de prison.

Par ailleurs l'agitation s'est poursuivie dans les prisons de Belgique, où les détenus manifestent contre les conditions de détention «trois étoiles» qui auraient été préparées pour les jeunes britanniques à la prison de Louvain.

JEAN PAUL II EST ARRIVÉ À MIAMI (Reuter). - Le pape Jean Paul II est arrivé jeudi soir à Miami, première étape de son voyage de neuf jours aux Etats-Unis et au Canada. Il a été accueilli par le président Reagan.

DEMAIN DANS LE

SAMEDI  LITTÉRAIRE

organisation, qui...
précisé que 90% des personnes exécutées étaient des partisans ou des sympathisants des Moudjahidine-Khalk.

A Oslo, neuf hommes armés, arrivés dans une grosse voiture bleue, ont fait irruption dans l'ambassade, blessant trois diplomates et prenant en

dénonçant le régime...
ment badigeonné à la bou...
se réclamant du mouvement des Moudjahidine du peuple.

GUERRE DU GOLFE

Mission de paix difficile pour M. Perez de Cuellar

New York (Nations Unies), 10 (ATS/AFP). - La nouvelle mission de paix dans le Golfe du secrétaire général de l'ONU Javier Perez de Cuellar débute sous de sombres auspices, l'Irak ayant refusé d'observer une trêve complète des combats, a-t-on appris jeudi dans les milieux officiels de l'ONU.

La reprise mardi par Bagdad de la guerre des pétroliers après quelques jours d'accalmie a entraîné l'Iran dans l'escalade des représailles, avec des tirs d'artillerie dans la région de Bassorah et l'attaque jeudi matin dans le sud du Golfe d'un pétrolier chypriote.

Selon des hauts responsables de l'ONU, les dirigeants irakiens ont simplement promis d'épargner Téhéran durant les conversations du secrétaire général dans la capitale iranienne, samedi et dimanche. M. Perez de Cuellar se rendra à Bagdad en principe lundi et mardi.

Pour sauver la mission de paix de l'échec avant même qu'elle ne commence, les dirigeants de l'ONU ont choisi de croire qu'un cessez-le-feu était encore possible.

A son départ de New York pour Téhéran, via Paris, où il devait passer la nuit, M. Perez de Cuellar a rappelé devant la presse que la mise en œuvre d'un cessez-le-feu sur tous les fronts, dont le Conseil de sécurité de l'ONU avait fait une condition à sa mission, avait été simplement demandée durant sa présence dans la région. «Naturellement,

a-t-il ajouté, j'aurais préféré aller là-bas dans une atmosphère, sinon de paix, du moins de trêve.»

Autre revers pour M. Perez de Cuellar: les principaux dirigeants iraniens, avec lesquels il escompte négocier l'arrêt du conflit, le recevront séparément. Des entretiens sont prévus avec le chef de l'Etat, M. Ali Khamenei, le premier ministre, M. Mir Hosein Mousavi, le président du Parlement, l'hodjatolislam Hashemi-Rafsanjani et le ministre des Affaires étrangères, M. Ali Akbar Velayati.

Craignant que ses interlocuteurs expriment des vues différentes sur la résolution 598, pour surtout chercher à gagner encore du temps, M. Perez de Cuellar souhaitait les rencontrer en groupe, mais n'a plus pu obtenir gain de cause.

Le secrétaire général a reconnu qu'il s'embarrassait pour une mission «difficile», en précisant toutefois qu'il n'était pas sans espoir, les dirigeants iraniens lui ayant dit «accepter le concept d'un cessez-le-feu». Il a cependant rappelé que la résolution 598 était un tout et ne s'arrêtait pas simplement au cessez-le-feu.

Le texte adopté par le Conseil de sécurité, le 20 juillet, prévoit aussi le retrait sans délai des forces des deux pays sur leurs frontières respectives, l'échange des prisonniers de guerre de part et d'autre, ainsi que la création d'une commission impartiale chargée d'établir les responsabilités dans le conflit, et des discussions sur le renforcement de la sécurité régionale.

La résolution agit en outre implicitement des menaces de sanctions en cas de refus d'application par l'une ou l'autre partie.

TCHAD-LIBYE

L'Algérie tente d'offrir sa médiation dans

qui des U...
appe mani...
iranie daient...
politiqu

AFGH

Les de C ajou

Le gouv...
moins d...
pes sovi...
annoncé...
le.

De mê...
han des A...
cette pro...
l'Afghan...
Genève...

Le Pal...
dans un...
accord, a...
tion indi...

Le mée...
général d...
un consta...
indiquant...
semblaien...

Selon d...
credi le se...
Djeredjaf...
res étrang...
rencontres...
lers.

MM. Al...
pour parler...
nistan dans...
Genève. Ces...
des préparat...
York entre...
Shultz et le...
Edouard Che...

M. Yaq...
les A...
no

OVERSEAS NEWS

Scheherazade Daneshkhu and Charles Miller describe Iran's factions
UN confronts a divided Tehran

THE VISIT to Tehran which Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, the United Nations Secretary-General, begins today has brought into focus again the divisions within Iran's ruling hierarchy.

Iran's delay in responding to US Security Council resolution 598, which calls for an end to the Gulf war, has been in part tactical, but it is also the manifestation of an inconclusive bout of ingighting between hard line and pragmatist factions on this most sensitive of issues.

The UN Secretary-General is, of course, going to Tehran and Baghdad with a specific aim: to secure full implementation of the ceasefire resolution, not to renegotiate it.

But the fact that he is going at all is an indication that the pragmatists are by no means a spent force. If they come out on top in the next few days, they are likely to try and keep a dialogue with the UN going, insisting that Iraq be named as the original aggressor in the war but perhaps back-peddalling on Iran's five-year-old demand for the removal of Iraqi President Saddam Hussein before agreeing to a ceasefire.

The hard line faction, however, sharply disagrees and would like to see this resolution rejected out of hand, as all previous Security Council moves have been.

Similar disputes revolve around the issue of a final settlement. Publicly, all Iranian leaders support the war effort and scoff at the idea of holding peace talks. Nobody can contemplate negotiating with Saddam Hussein, but there is some evidence to suggest that the pragmatists may be prepared to talk to a Baathist party Government as long as Mr Hussein and his closest associates are removed.

The key figure remains Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini,

who tries to stay above factional disputes but has tended on foreign policy issues and on the war to side with hardliners. Even if the pragmatists do succeed in keeping lines open to the UN, it would be difficult indeed to imagine him agreeing to consider a ceasefire.

Although the factions are not necessarily consistent on all issues (for example, the pragmatist best known to the West,



Ali Akbar Velayati

Hojatoleslam Hashemi Rafsanjani, the influential speaker of parliament, is a quasi-radical on economic affairs), a discernable group has nevertheless emerged which is less hard line in the main policy areas. Iranians themselves pose the distinction in terms of radicals and "the others." From 1985 until recently, it was these others that were giving the upper hand, though in recent months they have suffered serious set-backs.

Political differences often reflect contrasting backgrounds. The secular pragmatists tend to be Western-educated, as in the case of Mr Ali Akbar Velayati, the Foreign Minister, while many of the secular hardliners are from the lower middle class and some have been involved in

armed movements in such places as Lebanon. There are similar divisions within the clerical hierarchy.

The importance of the pragmatist faction lies in the links it has established with large sections of the population, including those who are not necessarily in full sympathy with the Islamic republic.

Should the pragmatists hold unchallenged power, they would seek to normalise relations with the West and to find a face-saving end to the war. Recent visits to European capitals by high-ranking officials such as Mr Velayati and his deputy, Mr Mohammad Jawad Larijani, were an indication of the pragmatists' continuing efforts to improve relations with Europe.

Domestically, the pragmatists would be prepared to accommodate some of the wishes of the bazaaris (merchants) and the middle class, by encouraging trade and relaxing state interference over matters such as dress and even drink and gambling.

By contrast, the hard-line factions, whose leading figures include the Prime Minister, Mr Mir Hussein Mousavi, and to some extent President Ali Khamenei, still adhere to the ideological principles on which the republic was founded. These include the idea of maintaining permanent revolution, and exporting it.

They finance Islamic resistance and terrorist movements in Lebanon, Afghanistan and Europe, through the World Organisation of Islamic Liberation Movements, formerly headed by the now-disgraced Mr Mehdi Hashemi.

There is no doubt that the hardliners have recently been growing in influence. The evidence includes:

● The recent diplomatic crises with France and Britain. The

arrest and beating-up of a senior British diplomat, Mr Edward Chaplin, in May was most probably undertaken without the knowledge of the Foreign Ministry. The same probably goes for the current confrontation with France, involving an interpreter at Iran's Paris embassy.

These events suggest the increasing influence of Hojatoleslam Mohammad Reyschahi, the head of the internal security organisation and a leading opponent of the pragmatist approach to foreign policy.

● The abolition earlier this year of the Islamic Republican Party, which had been a useful vehicle for the expansion of pragmatist influence domestically and the forced disbanding of an independent organisation of moderate clerical leaders. A newspaper closely associated with the latter group, Resalat, was also shut down.

One of the many ironies of recent US policies towards Iran is that they have helped the hardliners to stage their comeback in the first place, although President Ronald Reagan's original stated aim in selling arms to Iran was to strengthen the moderates within the Iranian Government, the policy probably had the opposite effect, since it is the hardliners that are most closely associated with Iran's arms procurement activities.

In these circumstances, it is hard to see how Mr Perez de Cuellar's mission can succeed. If he emerges next week without Iranian agreement to a ceasefire, the stage will be set for further international moves against Tehran and a further hardening of the political line within the country.

The authors are researchers on Iran in the department of international relations at the London School of Economics.

Troops set to seize Sri Lankan rebel arms

By Mervyn de Silva in Colombo

THE INDIAN peace-keeping force is awaiting orders from Delhi to launch an operation in Sri Lanka's northern province to seize the arms which the separatist rebel groups failed to surrender after the ceasefire on August 1.

Lt Gen Cyril Ranatunge, head of the Joint Operations Command (JOC) and the senior Sri Lankan officer in charge of the north are now in Delhi to discuss the outbreak of violence in the predominantly Tamil areas and intercommunal fighting between rival Tamil groups.

The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) has lost 16 men since the weekend, an LTTE spokesman said. He admitted that the "Tigers" had killed 11 members of the rival Plote grouping.

The decision to flush out arms which the groups have failed to surrender voluntarily follows a mortar attack by the LTTE on a Plote camp.

Estimates of the percentage of arms surrendered vary. The Sri Lankan authorities put the figure at less than 50 per cent while Indian officers say it is nearer 7 per cent, including nearly all heavy weapons.

The Tigers who have accused the Indian troops of "colluding" with rival groups (a charge denied by the Indian high commissioner, Mr Dixit) have begun an anti-Indian poster campaign.

The LTTE claims that "criminal" and anti-social elements have been released from detention in Madras, south India, and brought back to the island's northern province to "tame" the Tigers.

Afghanistan and Pakistan fail to agree Soviet pull-out date

BY WILLIAM DULLFORCE IN MOSCOW

AFGHANISTAN

in (game) suggested that the next step would come from within Afghanistan. The Afghanis needed to be backed.

Australian coal miners begin week-long strike

BY CHRIS SHERWELL IN SYDNEY

MORE THAN 28,000 Australian coal workers yesterday began a week-long strike at scores of mines in Queensland, New South Wales and Tasmania in a desperate last bid to limit mine closures and job losses.

for the proposal. They said the government had agreed to consider a coal employers' while repeated was the stoppage. The export trade. The

3 FOREIGN NEWS

UN Secretary General warns against Gulf War impacts

Baghdad, September 14

United Nations Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar warned that the war between Iraq and Iran which had entered its eighth year endangered the entire region and threatened larger strife.

The statement came in a press release telexed to *The Baghdad Observer* on Sunday by the UN Information Centre in Baghdad, quoting excerpts of a report to the UN by the Secretary General on the Organisation's functions.

The Secretary General's report said that protracted hostilities last year showed signs of dangerous escalation and expansion. He pointed to the urgent need for a new United Nations effort to end the bloodshed.

"In January, I called for the Security Council to consult, possibly at the level of foreign ministers, on action to halt the war, having already in 1985 suggested to the parties eight points that could serve as a basis for ter-

minating hostilities and opening the way to peace."

He said that the Council acted decisively, adopted unanimously a resolution ordering immediate implementation of the cease-fire called for earlier and defined steps to be taken by the two countries in order to establish a basis for peace.

"The five permanent members have served as the motor force in the Council's action, exercising the responsibility from which their special status derives. The Security Council's resolution is an unmistakable manifestation of the deep desire of the international community to bring an end to this strife. It lays down a carefully crafted basis for addressing the legitimate concerns of both belligerents," he said.

The UN Chief added that the resolution assigned him a clear mandate which he tried to implement in its many dimensions through intensive discussions with the two governments. "We must hope for

an early comprehensive settlement which will satisfy the demands of justice and honour," he said.

The UN Secretary General also referred to a special effort he undertook at the beginning of this year to pursue the convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East. "With the widespread support of the international community, I held numerous consultations with the parties and the members of the Security Council. These consultations focused on both the principle of a conference and questions of procedure."

But De Cuellar added, "Bilateral efforts to promote the peace process have also apparently run into difficulties."

"In spite of these set-backs the search must by all means be sustained for a comprehensive settlement through a negotiating process, under United Nations auspices, in which all parties would

participate."

The UN Chief stressed that a continuation of the status quo "is contrary to the interests of all the parties concerned — it hampers economic development, social stability, and freedom of choice." In the search for a comprehensive settlement, he added, the central priority should be the achievement of a just and lasting peace, which would meet the aspirations of all the people in the region. "It would seem to me that the emphasis should be more on these objectives than on questions of procedure. The right road, obviously, is that which will lead to fruitful negotiations, based on resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), and take fully into account the rights of the Palestinians. From my extensive consultations, I am convinced that the composition and agenda of a conference do not need to present insurmountable obstacles."

THE BAGHDAD OBSERVER

Tuesday, September 15, 1987

Editor-in-Chief: Naji al-Hadithi

No. 6298

Price: 100 fils

President meets with De Cuellar

Iraq, UN talks start

Baghdad, September 14, INA

President Saddam Hussein received here this evening Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, Secretary General of the United Nations and the accompanying delegation.

During the meeting Mr de Cuellar briefed President Hussein on his talks with Iranian officials.

President Hussein said Mr de Cuellar's visit has been significant so as to expose the true attitude of the Iranian regime towards Security Council resolution No. 598.

The Iranian regime has stalled on the resolution since July 20 which fact would enable the Security Council to reach a correct conclusion on the Iranian regime's stand, said the President.

The President stressed the fact that Iraq has always cooperated with the UN Secretary General in order to achieve comprehensive peace. He expressed his confidence in the UN Secretary General and stressed that Iraq has a profound belief in

peace and justice.

The President added that there is concrete evidence that it was the Iranian regime that started aggression and war. He said the Iranian regime bears the responsibility for continuation of the war for more than seven years and for the huge human loss and destruction.

President Hussein said Iraq is a peace-loving country which respects international law and the principles of sovereignty. Iraq expressed this attitude before and after the conflict with Iran broke out.

Hence Iraq has never been reluctant in welcoming peace calls and initiatives made by the Security Council and other world organisations to achieve peace on the basis of the UN Charter and the principles of international law, said the President. He added that Iraq's attitude towards resolution No. 598 stems from this principled and constant policy.

The President said that Iraq welcomed the resolution not because it gave some gains for Iraq but because the resolution calls for comprehensive and durable peace. Therefore, Iraq calls for commitment to the resolution in text and spirit, he said.

He added that the resolution

provisions of the resolution with the aim of undermining the Security Council's unanimous adoption of the resolution on July 20 and confusing world public opinion.

The Foreign Minister said Iran had used these tactics to continue war and aggression against Iraq and countries of the region.

Mr Aziz called on the UN Secretary General and the (UN) Security Council to act immediately to implement the Security Council resolution No. 598 and impose sanctions stipulated in Chapter Seven of the United Nations' Charter against Iran for non-compliance with the international community's will of realising total and durable peace.

The talks were attended by the UN Assistant Secretary General for Political Affairs, Mr Diego Cordovez and the delegation accompanying Mr de Cuellar.

Foreign Undersecretary, Mr Wissam al-Zahawi, Iraq's permanent representative to the United Nations, Mr Ismat Kittani and senior Foreign Ministry officials attended the talks on the Iraqi side.

This is the UN Secretary General second visit to the country since the beginning of Iranian aggression against Iraq. Mr de Cuellar visited Iraq in April 1985.



De Cuellar visits Saddam Art Centre

Baghdad, September 14,

stalled on the resolution since July 20 which fact would enable the Security Council to reach a correct conclusion on the Iranian regime's stand, said the President.

The President stressed the fact that Iraq has always cooperated with the UN Secretary General in order to achieve comprehensive peace. He expressed his confidence in the UN Secretary General and stressed that Iraq has a profound belief in

De Cuellar visits Saddam Art Centre

Baghdad, September 14, INA

UN Secretary General Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar today visited Saddam Art Centre in Baghdad.

Mr De Cuellar expressed his appreciation of the works of Iraqi artists displayed at this centre which was opened last year.

Mr De Cuellar was accompanied during his visit by UN Assistant Secretary General Mr Diego Cordovez and Iraq's permanent representative to the UN Mr Ismat Kittani.

Hence Iraq has never been reluctant in welcoming peace calls and initiatives made by the Security Council and other world organisations to achieve peace on the basis of the UN Charter and the principles of international law, said the President. He added that Iraq's attitude towards resolution No. 598 stems from this principled and constant policy.

The President said that Iraq welcomed the resolution not because it gave some gains for Iraq but because the resolution calls for comprehensive and durable peace. Therefore, Iraq calls for commitment to the resolution in text and spirit, he said.

He added that the resolution should be implemented in full and that any attempt to circumvent it is only aimed at undermining it and prolonging the war and aggression against Iraq and the countries in the region.

The President warned the world community and the Security Council against the methods of deceit and manoeuvre practised by the Iranian regime throughout the war, particularly following resolution No. 598.

The President urged the UN Secretary General to inform the Security Council of the true Iranian stand which rejects the resolution. He said the Security Council should abide by its pledge and proceed in its course in line with international law and the UN Charter expressed its determination to end the war.

For his part, Mr de Cuellar expressed his satisfaction over Iraq's clear stand towards resolution No. 598. He also expressed his appreciation of President's sincere attitude towards the cause of peace and for Iraq's cooperation with him and with the Security Council to achieve this end.

The meeting was attended by Iraq's Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Mr Tareq Aziz, Iraq's permanent representative to the UN, Mr Ismat Kittani and the President's Secretary.

Earlier, Mr de Cuellar met with Mr Tareq Aziz.

Mr de Cuellar reviewed results of his talks with Iranian officials.

Mr Aziz reaffirmed Iraq's firm and clear stand based on accepting the Security Council resolution No 598 as comprehensive and indivisible.

He also emphasised the need for total implementation of the resolution in letter and spirit. The Foreign Minister said that the Iranian regime had rejected in words and deeds the UN resolution and that it had been manoeuvring to circumvent the

international community's will of realising total and durable peace.

The talks were attended by the UN Assistant Secretary General for Political Affairs, Mr Diego Cordovez and the delegation accompanying Mr de Cuellar.

Foreign Undersecretary, Mr Wissam al-Zahawi, Iraq's permanent representative to the United Nations, Mr Ismat Kittani and senior Foreign Ministry officials attended the talks on the Iraqi side.

This is the UN Secretary General second visit to the country since the beginning of Iranian aggression against Iraq. Mr de Cuellar visited Iraq in April 1985.

Iraq informed the UN Secretary General during the 1985 visit of its full readiness to cooperate with him with a view to halting the war and finding a comprehensive settlement to the conflict by peaceful means.

Since the beginning of the war, the Security Council has issued eight resolutions which all called for halting armed hostilities, withdrawal to international border, and reaching a peaceful settlement to the conflict through negotiations. Iraq has welcomed these resolutions while Iran spurned every one of them to continue its aggression against this country.