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NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

Documents of the Security Council (symbol S/...) are normally published in quarterly *Supplements* of the *Official Records of the Security Council*. The date of the document indicates the supplement in which it appears or in which information about it is given.

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2248th MEETING

Held in New York on Sunday, 28 September 1980, at 3 p.m.

President: Mr. Taïeb SLIM (Tunisia).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Bangladesh, China, France, German Democratic Republic, Jamaica, Mexico, Niger, Norway, Philippines, Portugal, Tunisia, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zambia.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2248)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. The situation between Iran and Iraq

The meeting was called to order at 5.15 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation between Iran and Iraq

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): In accordance with the decision taken at the 2247th meeting, I invite the representative of Iraq to take a place at the Council table.

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

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

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Nisibori (Japan) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council chamber.

3. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I wish to draw the attention of members of the Council to document S/14199, which contains the text of a letter dated 26 September from the Secretary-General to the President of the Council.

4. The situation prevailing between Iraq and Iran makes it incumbent upon us to maintain our vigilance and to follow developments very closely, day by day and hour by hour. The Secretary-General and I, together with all the members of the Council, have been doing precisely that.

5. I am happy to note that the combined action of the Secretary-General and the Council, action undertaken from the very outbreak of hostilities, has begun to bear fruit. In response to our appeal of 22 September and in response to the messages I sent on 25 September to the Presidents of the Republic of Iraq and of Iran, the Iraqi Government has officially informed me on 26 September that it was accepting the offer of good offices which was mentioned in my message. That offer of good offices emanated from a regional organization, the Islamic Conference.

6. I was informed officially yesterday that the mission of that regional organization, consisting of the President of Pakistan and the Secretary-General of that organization, had arrived in the Iranian capital, where it had been well received. The mission was to proceed immediately afterward to the Iraqi capital. I was also informed that the mission would be coming to New York as soon as possible to make contact with the Council.

7. This morning the representative of Pakistan transmitted to me a message from his President, in which he expressed to me his appreciation of the efforts made by the Council and reported to me on the progress of that mission.

8. I welcome the fact that the information and good-offices mission is continuing, and I should like to express wishes for its complete success, since it is pursuing the same objectives as the Council and constitutes complementary action which should be encouraged, in accordance with the principles of the Charter.

9. I hardly need to recall that ever since the outbreak of hostilities the Council has spared no efforts; consultations have been carried on uninterruptedly, day and night; contacts have been maintained permanently with all the parties directly concerned and others; appeals and messages have been sent through the President and the Secretary-General; and a first official meeting of the Council has already taken place, on Friday [2247th meeting]. However, if the Council

in its wisdom has deemed it useful not to take any hasty decisions, taking into account considerations of effectiveness and timeliness, it is nevertheless true that its action, because of its persistence and its discretion, has been useful and has aroused some favourable response.

10. Our objective, indeed, is to see to it that the fighting ceases as soon as possible and that the two parties, with the assistance of all possible good will, have recourse to peaceful means to settle their dispute and safeguard international peace and security. It is in that spirit that we are meeting here today. After lengthy consultations among the members of the Council, I am happy to announce that we have before us a draft resolution, submitted by Mexico [S/14201].

11. I understand that the Council is ready to vote on the draft resolution. Since there is no objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

The draft resolution was adopted unanimously (resolution 479 (1980)).

12. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I call on the representative of Iraq.

13. Mr. KITTANI (Iraq): I thought that, in accordance with the provisions of the Charter and the provisional rules of procedure of the Council, my delegation was invited here, as a party to the dispute, to participate, without a vote, in the deliberations of the Council. Is that understanding correct?

14. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I thank the representative of Iraq—

15. Mr. KITTANI (Iraq): No, I only wanted to ask you a question. I am surprised, Mr. President, that when I wanted to make a brief statement before the vote you did not give me the floor. I simply wanted to draw the attention of the Council, at this stage, to two paragraphs of the verbatim record of the Council and to bring something of extreme importance to the attention of the Council. If you do not interrupt me, I should like to do that now that you have adopted the resolution.

16. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I believe that the request by the representative of Iraq for participation was inscribed and accepted by the Council. In accordance with the normal procedure, we proceeded to a vote, and I am happy—and I hope that the representative is as happy as I am—that the vote was unanimous.

17. We shall now give all members of the Council an opportunity to express their views. If the representative of Iraq wishes to speak, as I know he does, he will of course be given the opportunity in due

course and will be able to make all the comments he deems necessary to help the Council in its present and future deliberations.

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

19. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: I have noted the terms of the resolution that the Council has just adopted. I shall, of course, continue to do my utmost to carry out the intentions of the Council. I am appreciative of the confidence that the members of the Council have displayed in me in the paragraphs of the resolution concerning the role of the Secretary-General. I note in particular that paragraph 5 requests me to report to the Council within 48 hours. I wish here merely to remark that my ability to make a useful report in that time will depend on the responses of the parties concerned, and I take this opportunity to appeal to them to respond urgently to the resolution.

20. Mr. President, I wish to take this opportunity to express my sincere gratitude to you personally and to the members of the Council for the most valuable co-operation extended to me in this grave and difficult situation.

21. Mr. MUÑOZ LEDO (Mexico) (*interpretation from Spanish*): From the beginning of the conflict with which we are dealing, the Council has worked tirelessly and with a total sense of responsibility. Barely two days ago we decided to convene in open meeting and, in this brief period of time, all delegations seem to have agreed on a draft resolution—a text which Mexico had the honour to submit, with the full support of Norway and of the developing countries members of the Council, which worked together very hard in the drafting of the text. This is not the first step we have taken, but it is a firm step.

22. There are few instances, in conflicts of such gravity, of the Council's having acted so expeditiously, rationally and in keeping with the complex international reality which we are facing. It has been our purpose from the outset to encourage the mediation efforts which had begun and not to interfere with them in any way whatsoever. Our constant concern has been to ensure that the authority of the Council is safeguarded and is exercised in a decisive, prompt and constructive manner.

23. I believe we have acted in accordance with our duty and that we must continue to do so in the future, avoiding a situation in which the many pressures unleashed by conflicts of this type hinder or hasten our actions and trying to exert a positive influence on the course of events.

24. What is most important now is the cessation of hostilities, and that is provided for in the resolution we have adopted. It is also indispensable that the settlement of the conflict should be in conformity with the

principles of justice and international law so that the peace which we are attempting to foster may be established on solid foundations and in keeping with the Charter.

25. It is absolutely necessary for the parties in conflict to heed this imperative call from the competent body of the United Nations; but it is also necessary that no State should intervene in the conflict under any pretext or in any circumstance.

26. The developing countries non-permanent members of the Council have been particularly careful to analyse all the elements of the situation and all possible solutions. We believe that, since this problem affects and involves sister countries, we must act in common agreement. That we have done and will continue to do.

27. We heeded the appeal of the President of Pakistan, who is also President of the Islamic Conference, to postpone by one day the vote on this draft resolution while he was conducting the negotiations that he had personally undertaken. We are gratified that he has achieved initially satisfactory results in his negotiations and that he agrees with us that it is opportune and appropriate for the Council to adopt a resolution.

28. We trust that the activities which the Secretary-General has been pursuing unceasingly during the last few days may help in the achievement of a speedy and just settlement of the conflict and we await further information from him in that respect.

29. The sense of responsibility shown by all States members of the Council and the active work of their delegations have made it possible for this body to shoulder its responsibility and become the centre of all the efforts now being made to bring about peace.

30. We hope those efforts will soon be crowned with success, with the co-operation of the parties concerned, to whom the resolution we have adopted is primarily addressed.

31. Mr. McHENRY (United States of America): Mr. President, on behalf of the United States, I want formally to acknowledge your tireless efforts this month and those of your predecessor last month. As President of the Council, your dedication to the principles of the Charter which define our work has been obvious to all.

32. The United States has historically supported a strong and effective Security Council. President Carter himself has taken a deep interest in the work of the Council. In 1977, at the start of his Administration, the President advanced for consideration a number of suggestions for strengthening the conduct of the Council's business. Many other States have joined in that effort and I invite the attention of members of the Council to the statement concerning the Council's

work made by the Foreign Minister of Norway, Mr. Frydenlund, when he addressed the General Assembly on 22 September.¹

33. The Charter is clear. Article 24 states:

"In order to ensure prompt and effective action by the United Nations, its Members confer on the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, and agree that in carrying out its duties under this responsibility the Security Council acts on their behalf."

34. The Council usually experiences difficulty in bringing to a rapid end a serious outbreak of hostilities. On occasion we fail. But the Council cannot abdicate the heavy responsibility which the Charter has given to it and to which the entire membership of 154 independent nations has agreed.

35. In common with other Member States, the United States supports the initiative undertaken by the Organization of the Islamic Conference. We are heartened that President Zia of Pakistan has been willing to undertake his present mission. He should know that the United States stands ready to assist him in any way that may be appropriate.

36. At the same time as we support the Islamic Conference mission, we in this room are obliged to act in fulfilment of our own responsibilities. We are bound by treaty and we are bound by 35 years of history to do so.

37. The United States has therefore supported the resolution just adopted, as a reasonable action by the Council that may help to bring these extremely serious and tragic hostilities to the earliest possible halt. Too many lives have been lost, and we are gravely concerned that more lives may be in jeopardy. We share with many others the opinion that the Council must raise its collective voice towards the end of bringing this conflict to a conclusion. We believe that the Council's discharge of its duties is entirely compatible with the mission that has been undertaken by the Islamic Conference.

38. I should like now to turn to the views of the United States with regard to the conflict between Iran and Iraq.

39. The President of the United States has set forth the principles which guide the position of my country with regard to this dispute. It may be useful to review those principles here.

40. First, the United States will continue to observe a strict and scrupulous attitude of neutrality in this dispute. We have not been, and we will not become, involved in the conflict except to assist, to the extent of our power to do so, the efforts which are made by

the international community to bring the conflict to an end.

41. Secondly, we expect that other nations will follow the same policy of neutrality and non-interference in this dispute. In particular, we expect all concerned to resist the temptation to exploit this conflict for their own purposes.

42. Thirdly, the freedom of navigation to and from the Persian Gulf, which is of primary importance to the international community, must not be infringed in any way.

43. Fourthly, this dispute must be settled at the negotiating table, not on the battlefield, and there must be an immediate cessation of hostilities.

44. The Council began informal consultations on this violent conflict six days ago. On 23 September,² the President of the Council, speaking in the name of all of the members of the Council, underlined our grave concern that armed activity must cease forthwith. The President appealed to both sides to cease all threats and acts of violence against one another. It is a matter of deep regret that this appeal has not yet been heeded. We urge the Council, together with the Islamic Conference and all others who may be in a position to assist in the restoration of conditions of peace, to act to help Iran and Iraq find a way to bring the fighting to an end and to begin the long and difficult task of seeking a resolution of their dispute by peaceful means.

45. I wish to add one final word. Throughout the week of this grave conflict, the Secretary-General and his staff have laboured with high intelligence and devotion to assist in bringing the hostilities to an end. Indeed, the Secretary-General has shown great initiative in this regard. He and his staff have given of themselves untiringly. We believe that they deserve the warm thanks of the community of nations for their efforts.

46. We look forward to the report of the Secretary-General that is called for in the resolution that has just been adopted.

47. Mr. FUTSCHER PEREIRA (Portugal) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, since I have not had an opportunity to do so before, I should like, on behalf of my delegation, to congratulate you most warmly on your assumption of the duties of President of the Council. We are very well aware of your talents as a diplomat and of your skills and firmness as a mediator. They have been demonstrated once again during the past few days. We wish you every success in the delicate and important task that has been entrusted to you.

[*The speaker continued in English.*]

48. I should like to say a word of thanks to all my colleagues round the table for the kind words they said about my presidency of the Council last month. In my turn, I should like to express gratitude to all of them for their useful advice and constant support. In this expression of appreciation I would include the staff of the Council for their unfailing competence and dedication.

49. The Government and the people of Portugal have been following with great concern the very serious situation resulting from the conflict between Iran and Iraq. What began as an exchange of verbal attacks soon became a series of border incidents and has now developed into full-scale war. The escalation must stop before the conflict spreads and involves other parties. Whatever the reasons both Governments feel they might have, they should utilize all peaceful means to solve their differences, avoiding the use of force and all the sacrifices it imposes on their peoples.

50. It is certainly not our intention to enter now into the substance of the matter. Before doing so we shall have to listen to the parties involved. In this context, we cannot help expressing our appreciation for the readiness shown by Iraq to send to New York a special representative to state his Government's position before the Council.

51. In the name of the international community that we all represent here, we solemnly appeal to the Governments of Iran and Iraq to cease forthwith all military activities and start discussing their differences peacefully. We have taken note with deep satisfaction and appreciation of the offer of good offices made by the Secretary-General, who once again in this difficult situation has shown his statesmanship and dedication to the cause of peace. We have taken note also of the timely and constructive decision of the Islamic Conference to undertake a mission of good will. Its task is indeed a very difficult one, and it would be unfair to expect it to yield immediate results. But we believe that both parties will make full use of all the mediation efforts offered to them, and we hope that peace will soon be restored in the area.

52. Mr. LEPRETTE (France) (*interpretation from French*): Since my delegation has not yet had an opportunity to do so, we should like to congratulate you, Mr. President, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for September. I am happy to see the representative of a country with which France enjoys close, friendly relations assuming this high office at such a delicate time in international relations. As our recent meetings have once again demonstrated, your long diplomatic experience and your deep knowledge of the United Nations have been and continue to be particularly useful to the Council.

53. I should like also to thank Ambassador Futscher Pereira for the exemplary manner in which he conducted our proceedings in the particularly important

and complicated discussions held by the Council last month.

54. We are met together here to examine a particularly tragic situation. Two Member States, Iraq and Iran, are involved in a military confrontation which entails grave risks not only for the region but also for the rest of the world. That situation arouses considerable feeling. The Islamic Conference has undertaken a number of efforts to promote the establishment of a climate propitious to a return to peace. France welcomes these initiatives, and particularly what is now being done by the President of that Conference, General Zia.

55. On 23 September, the nine countries of the European Community, for their part, expressed their profound concern at the conflict.

56. In the face of the persistence of the dangers, my Government itself four days ago insisted on the need for a political settlement of the dispute between the two parties.

57. Aware of its responsibilities, the Council reacted with effect from 23 September by issuing through its President an appeal to the Iranian and the Iraqi Governments.² The Secretary-General and you, Mr. President, have ceaselessly since that time made representations to the two parties so that this appeal may be heeded. I should like to congratulate you and to thank you for that. We know how tirelessly you have worked for reconciliation. Similarly, I should like on behalf of the French delegation to express our appreciation to our colleagues from Norway and Mexico, whose action has been decisive in the drafting of the resolution which we have just adopted.

58. Nevertheless, hostilities are still going on between Iraq and Iran, leaving misfortune and suffering in their wake. People are dying and the destruction is mounting. One voice must be heard above the clash of arms, and it must be that of the Security Council.

59. Without prejudging any questions of substance, the Council is in duty bound to explore and encourage all avenues which would make it possible to resolve this dispute in a peaceful way, in accordance with the principles of the Charter. This is the reason for our meeting today, and for its unanimous conclusion.

60. For its part, France, in voting for the resolution which the Council has just adopted, intends to support any initiative that may be taken by the Council to attempt to restore peace between Iraq and Iran.

61. Mr. MILLS (Jamaica): The delegation of Jamaica congratulates you most warmly, Mr. President, for the very able and effective manner in which you have been carrying out your functions as President of the Council for this month, when new and particularly difficult problems have been brought before us. We

wish to record our appreciation of your tireless efforts over the past week.

62. I also take the opportunity to pay tribute to your predecessor, Ambassador Futscher Pereira of Portugal, who so ably presided over the Council's work during the month of August.

63. We are meeting today to consider a matter which is most serious and most urgent: the conflict between Iran and Iraq. We have been aware for some time of the existence of differences between these two neighbouring countries which have now developed into open conflict. Jamaica is deeply saddened by this development, particularly since the parties, like my own country, are developing countries and are members of the non-aligned movement. Uppermost in our minds is the human tragedy involved, the loss of life and the destruction which is occurring. We are also gravely concerned over the possible widening of the conflict.

64. Like other members of the Council, Jamaica is fully aware of the very serious responsibility which resides in the Council in this situation and the need for the Council to act promptly and judiciously. My delegation understands that it is not our purpose at this stage to enter into the substantive aspects of the issue. What we must seek is a cessation of hostilities and the promotion of efforts to reach a peaceful solution to the dispute between the two countries.

65. Members of the Council have spent a considerable amount of time and effort on this issue. The Council has already launched an appeal through its President, the Secretary-General has worked strenuously in the matter and has offered his good offices and other organizations, notably the Islamic Conference, are currently and actively involved in efforts towards mediation.

66. My delegation expresses its appreciation for all these actions and the hope that the offers of mediation will be accepted and that the fullest use will be made of them. This, as my delegation sees it, is the basic objective of the draft resolution which has been adopted by the Council. We have supported it and we commend those mainly responsible for preparing it and for bringing it to the Council. We hope that both parties will heed its call for peace and for conciliation.

67. Sir Anthony PARSONS (United Kingdom): I have not yet had the opportunity to offer you my congratulations, Mr. President, on your assumption and your conduct of the presidency for this month. I do so now most warmly and most sincerely on behalf of myself and of my whole delegation. You have worked indefatigably in pursuit of the unanimity which we have just demonstrated.

68. My delegation would also wish to thank your predecessor, Ambassador Futscher Pereira of Por-

tugal, for his extremely skilful handling of the Council's business last month. I cannot in honesty say that I regret having been on holiday during the month of August, but I could wish to have been here to congratulate him in person.

69. My Government, which has for centuries been closely concerned with that region which is now known as the Middle East, is acutely sensible of the great dangers to international peace inherent in the bitter fighting which has broken out between Iraq and Iran. We profoundly deplore all armed conflict, with its inevitable toll of death, suffering, displacement of people and material damage. This particular conflict has even wider implications, not just for the parties themselves but for the stability of the whole region. It also has grim potential consequences for the present fragile state of the world's economy.

70. The world can be in no doubt of my Government's views. They have been stressed on numerous occasions by the Prime Minister of my country and the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs. Our concern was also underlined in the statement issued here on 23 September on behalf of the nine States of the European Community.

71. Irrespective of the claims and counter-claims of the parties, the clear need is for the immediate cessation of the fighting to be followed by a negotiated settlement. It is our sincere wish that the Governments of Iran and Iraq will heed the international call for a cease-fire. It is essential that all States should exercise the utmost restraint to avoid any escalation of the current perilous situation, an escalation with incalculable consequences, not only for the parties but for us all.

72. I need hardly say that my Government is ready to continue to do everything in its power to bring about a peaceful solution through the Council. We support the efforts that both you yourself, Mr. President, and our untiring Secretary-General have been making. We are encouraged by the activity of the Islamic Conference. We understand that President Zia-ul-Haq of Pakistan has completed his first visit to Tehran and is now on his way to Baghdad. Some public statements which we have heard today on the radio are not encouraging. But we should not for that reason despair. We did not expect President Zia to achieve instant success, and we urge him and the Islamic Conference as a whole to continue their efforts.

73. As regards the Council, the outside world may well feel disappointed and frustrated that we have so far been unable to act decisively. This has not been through lack of effort on the part of the Council. In previous situations of comparable complexity and danger, it has often been the case that the Council has been unable to act publicly within the first days of a conflict. I shall not bore the Council with precedents, but they exist.

74. Today we have taken our first step in public, and my delegation was glad to support the resolution just adopted unanimously. It is, of course, as I have just said, only a first step. From now on the Council must continue to consider how best it can contribute further to bringing about a cessation of hostilities and to the restoration of peace in the area.

75. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): Mr. President, first of all I should like to welcome you, the representative of Tunisia, a country friendly to the Soviet Union, to the office of President of the Council for this month and, in this regard, express my certainty that you will successfully perform the important task of conducting the proceedings of the Council.

76. At the same time, we wish to express our satisfaction with the way the representative of Portugal, Ambassador Futscher Pereira, so successfully and skilfully conducted the proceedings of the Council in August.

77. The delegation of the Soviet Union would like to stress that the conflict which has arisen between two neighbouring States, Iran and Iraq, cannot fail to cause us profound concern and alarm. The fighting between the two countries is becoming ever more fierce and bitter. This development of events is particularly distressing because it is occurring between two non-aligned States which are striving to strengthen their independence and to develop their economies, and whose peoples have much in common in their historic past, culture and customs.

78. It is the profound conviction of the delegation of the Soviet Union that disputes, differences and conflicts between Iraq and Iran are against the interests of their peoples. They lead to unjustifiable casualties and to an accumulation of further obstacles to the attainment of a peaceful settlement of controversial issues by means of talks. The current fighting between the two countries is only playing into the hands of reactionary and imperialist forces. Those forces are attempting to exploit this conflict so as to destabilize the situation and to divide the peoples of the Near and Middle East who oppose the attempts of the imperialists to consolidate their military and political presence in that area and to divert the attention of Iraq and Iran, and other countries, from the important and urgent problems of the struggle against the continuing aggression of Israel, for the implementation of their legitimate rights and for the bringing about of a just and lasting settlement in the Middle East.

79. The Soviet Union holds unswervingly to the principle that in resolving disputes arising between States, and also in resolving controversies, force should be avoided. This kind of conflict situation should be resolved exclusively by peaceful means, by means of talks on mutually acceptable terms in the light of the interests of the States and peoples involved.

That is one of the most fundamental requirements of the Charter, which obliges all States Members to resolve their international disputes by peaceful means in such a way as to avoid threatening international peace and security.

80. The delegation of the Soviet Union would like to express its conviction that both parties will display the necessary good will so as to restore good-neighbourly relations between them and bring about the resolution of their differences by peaceful means through talks. We hope that the leaders of Iran and Iraq will find ways and means of settling their conflict. Experience has shown that differences can be settled through calm, business-like negotiations, taking into account the just interests of the parties, without fighting or bloodshed.

81. The Soviet Union appeals to both parties in this conflict to display restraint and good sense. We call upon them to lay down their arms and sit down at the negotiating table. We are convinced that the early elimination of tension between Iran and Iraq would promote an improvement of the political climate in the area and would make it possible to normalize relations between the two countries and to develop those relations in a spirit of peace and co-operation.

82. With regard to the resolution just adopted by the Council, the Soviet delegation, on the basis of its position of principle which I have just set forth, voted in favour of it. At the same time, we continue to hold the view that it would have been better if the Council had had an opportunity, before the resolution was adopted, to hear the parties state their position on the substance of the matter, in accordance with their own wishes.

83. Mr. KAISER (Bangladesh): Mr. President, it is a pleasure to see you, the representative of a fellow non-aligned country, Tunisia, with which Bangladesh has traditional ties of friendship, presiding over this meeting of the Council. For the diplomatic skill and dedication that you have brought to the Council, thus enabling it to arrive at a conclusion at this meeting, we express our profound gratitude.

84. Your predecessor, Ambassador Futscher Pereira of Portugal, deserves our sincere gratitude for the efficient way in which he conducted the activities of the Council last month.

85. We have assembled here again today to discuss the armed conflict between Iran and Iraq, two Islamic and non-aligned countries. The bond of fraternal relationship that Bangladesh has with those two Islamic countries is deeply rooted in past traditions, history and religion. We have shared with them common goals and objectives both as Islamic and as non-aligned countries. We have taken a common stand on diverse social, economic and political matters in the past decades. We are grieved, therefore, to see the two

brothers suffering at each other's hands in this fratricidal conflict, which benefits neither side nor anybody else.

86. It is against this background that Bangladesh has supported all initiatives directed at halting the conflict and resolving the crisis in a mutually acceptable and peaceful manner. The Foreign Minister of Bangladesh, Mr. Muhammad Shamsul Huq, being at the United Nations, took the very early initial step of apprising some members of the Council of the gravity of this fratricidal war and impressed upon them the urgent need to bring the armed action between Iraq and Iran to an immediate end. When the appeal of the President of the Council was made, we expressed our full support for it.

87. We warmly welcomed the initiative taken at the extraordinary ministerial meeting of the Islamic group and thank the President of Pakistan and the Secretary-General of the Islamic Conference for undertaking the consequent mission.

88. Our positive response is based on our principled stand that conflicts and problems, bilateral or multi-lateral, must be resolved within the framework of the Charter of the United Nations, which enjoins upon us the utmost necessity of settling disputes through peaceful means and by abjuring the use or threat of the use of force. The President of Bangladesh expressed the following in his appeal addressed to the Presidents of Iran and of Iraq:

"We are greatly disturbed and distressed by the escalation of armed activities between Iran and Iraq, two Islamic and non-aligned countries. This conflict has already assumed a grave form resulting in serious loss of life and property. Continuation of this conflict is bound to endanger the security of the entire region and lead to most dreadful consequences, hurting not only Iraq and Iran but also the Islamic world as a whole and the non-aligned movement. In the circumstances, out of deep anguish and concern, I am addressing this earnest appeal to you to end this fratricidal conflict and agree to an immediate cessation of hostilities pending a just and honourable settlement of the dispute through peaceful negotiations."

89. In discharging the responsibilities that devolve on my country as a member of the Council, we have voted for the draft resolution just adopted, which meets the point of view of the delegation of Bangladesh. We thank our colleague the representative of Mexico for sponsoring and explaining it. We also thank Ambassador Ålgård of Norway for his efforts and support.

90. While I reserve the right to speak again at the appropriate time, I fervently appeal to the Governments and peoples of Iran and Iraq to end this fratricidal armed conflict, which brings untold sufferings

to their own peoples and will cause eventual suffering for the peoples of the entire world, particularly those of the third world. I make this appeal in this august body in the name of the brotherly people of Bangladesh and of its President.

91. Before I conclude, I want to put on record our deepest sense of appreciation to the Secretary-General for his dedication in pursuing the realization of the purposes and principles of the Charter, and to his staff for their endeavours in the difficult task that the Secretary-General is discharging.

92. Mr. LUSAKA (Zambia): Mr. President, on behalf of my delegation, and, indeed, on my own behalf, I extend to you sincere congratulations on your assumption of the presidency and guidance of the work of the Council during this month of September. You are a sensitive, skilful and competent diplomat whom we are fortunate to have as President when the Council is considering a delicate question involving two non-aligned countries. I assure you of the full co-operation of my delegation.

93. May I also take this opportunity to commend my friend and colleague Ambassador Futscher Pereira of Portugal for having presided over the deliberations of the Council last month with distinction.

94. My delegation views the war raging between Iraq and Iran with deep regret and concern. We are of course aware that it is not for us to discuss the bilateral differences between the two countries which gave rise to the current armed conflict between them. But, in the spirit of non-aligned brotherhood, my delegation wishes to appeal to the two countries immediately to come to a cease-fire, as requested by the Council in the decision it has just taken, and to initiate discussions with a view to finding a negotiated and amicable solution. Both Iraq and Iran are important non-aligned countries situated in a sensitive part of the world. Everything possible should be done to prevent further loss of life and destruction of property on both sides, and certainly the armed conflict should not be allowed to spread.

95. We are encouraged that the Secretary-General has promptly offered his good offices with a view to assisting the parties to resolve their differences. We hope that this offer will be found acceptable.

96. As a member of the Council, Zambia remains ready to do everything possible to promote a peaceful settlement in accordance with the principles of the Charter. It was against that background that my delegation voted in favour of the resolution the Council has just adopted.

97. Mr. LING Qing (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): First of all, on behalf of the Chinese delegation, I wish warmly to congratulate you, Mr. President, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council

for the current month. I believe that under your presidency the Council will make positive contributions to the smooth solution of the crisis confronting us and to the preservation of international peace and security.

98. At the same time we should like to express our congratulations to Ambassador Futscher Pereira for the exemplary discharge of his responsibilities as the President of the Council for the month of August.

99. The Chinese delegation wishes to thank the Secretary-General for his report [2247th meeting] on the development of the conflict between Iran and Iraq and his mediation efforts. Since 23 September, when the Council started informal consultations on this matter, the armed conflict between Iraq and Iran has continued to intensify, and the situation remains very serious. Iraq and Iran belong to the third world, and both have friendly relations with China. We are deeply concerned over the armed conflict between them.

100. We always maintain that differences among the third world countries can and must be settled peacefully through consultation or negotiation without resort to force. We sincerely hope that Iraq and Iran will take to heart the overriding interest of combating hegemonism and safeguarding world peace so that they will exercise restraint and seek a peaceful solution to their dispute through negotiations without letting the situation get out of hand. This would be in the fundamental interest of the Iraqi and Iranian peoples as well as that of peace and stability in the Middle East and the Gulf region.

101. Proceeding from the foregoing consideration, the Chinese delegation endorsed the statement made by the President of the Council on 23 September.² Accordingly, we voted in favour of the resolution which the Council has just adopted. We sincerely hope that the Governments of Iraq and Iran will respond positively to that resolution and act speedily in this direction. In the meantime, we also hope that the efforts undertaken by the Islamic Conference for the same purpose will achieve the results expected.

102. Mr. FLORIN (German Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): Mr. President, since this is the first time I have spoken in the Council this month, permit me most cordially to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of this important body and to wish you success.

103. I should also like to associate myself with the words of appreciation addressed by my colleagues to the representative of Portugal, who presided over the work of the Council last month.

104. As a matter of principle, the German Democratic Republic favours the peaceful settlement of disputes between States. The German Democratic Republic, which maintains good relations with Iran and Iraq, very much regrets that those two neigh-

bouring States have become involved in an armed conflict. A conflict of this kind, as it has now developed, entails the danger of being exploited by imperialistic circles in pursuit of their own selfish goals which have nothing whatsoever in common with the interests of the States of the region. In the press of the host country, for example, we find reports about calculations on the part of certain imperialistic circles the goal of which is that of direct intervention in the affairs of the Persian Gulf. The Council must not be allowed to facilitate such ambitions; it must act responsibly; it must take no step that might serve to exacerbate the existing conflict or give rise to developments that would be contrary to the interests of international peace and security.

105. As the Council knows, considerable efforts have been made to bring about a cease-fire and to prevail upon the parties to resolve the issues between them by talks. The Charter provides for a number of ways and means of peaceful settlement of disputes. The delegation of the German Democratic Republic believes that we have by no means exhausted all possible or relevant ways and means. The Council must see to it that all steps towards the restoration of peace can have their proper effect. Among such steps we would include the good offices of the Secretary-General. We hope that his efforts and those of the various bodies and organizations to which both parties to the dispute belong will be successful.

106. Mr. OUMAROU (Niger) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, permit me, first of all, to convey to you my congratulations and to express the great admiration of my delegation for the wisdom, mastery and high sense of responsibility and authority with which you have been conducting the proceedings of the Council during this month of September, the least one can say of which is that it has been anything but restful. We are especially pleased with your performance because you are the representative of a country with an already established prestige, Tunisia, with which the Niger enjoys special relations forged by our common membership of the continent of Africa, Islam and the non-aligned movement. I hope that you will find in what I have said the assurance of our constant readiness to help you in the discharge of the delicate responsibilities entrusted to you. My delegation is also happy to express its warm appreciation for the remarkable way in which Ambassador Futscher Pereira of Portugal conducted our proceedings in August.

107. The events which have been confronting us for a week now are indeed tragic and grave; they are one of the manifestations which humanity fears most in relations between nations, and which the United Nations has as its primary responsibility to discourage and prevent. They are all the more alarming because they concern two fraternal countries which should always retain their solidarity and vigilance in the face of the daily threats in their region arising from the great covetousness which the region's vast oil re-

sources arouse in various quarters in a world constantly haunted by the spectre of the energy crisis.

108. The Niger keenly deplors the fact that the use of arms has broken this tranquillity in the Gulf, when there are other ways of settling problems. The Niger's diplomacy, which has to its credit many often successful mediation efforts, still believes in the virtues of dialogue, enlightened concertation and resort to the wisdom of others. We are gratified, therefore, by the tireless efforts of the Secretary-General, whose vigilance and readiness to make himself available have never been lacking. We would also praise the responsible and constructive reaction of the Islamic Conference, whose President and Secretary-General have been valiantly grappling with the situation, in particular, by travelling to the very theatre of the operations we deplore. But we do not forget that other expressions of good will have been manifested on all continents, with the insistence that hostilities be halted and that peace be restored between the belligerents. We appreciate those manifestations of good will and wish to declare our firm support for them.

109. The Niger urgently appeals to Iraq and Iran to overcome their disagreement, to refrain from any further recourse to force and to proceed without delay to settle their dispute by peaceful means. We urge them to accept the offers of mediation that have been made, and appeal to other nations that outside the peace efforts nothing shall be done or attempted that might contribute to internationalize a conflict whose consequences are already incommensurable and tragic.

110. For all those reasons, the Niger voted in favour of the resolution we have just adopted.

111. Mr. YANGO (Philippines): Mr. President, my delegation is pleased with the manner in which you are handling the affairs of the Council at this time of crisis. You have been patient but firm in providing guidance and leadership to the other Council members. Our confidence in your diplomatic skills and experience has not been misplaced.

112. To Ambassador Futscher Pereira of Portugal goes our deepest appreciation for the manner in which he presided over the deliberations of the Council in the month of August. We congratulate him on the truly precise and elegant way in which he conducted the proceedings of this body.

113. My delegation is fully conscious of the extreme gravity of the situation between Iran and Iraq, and of the adverse effects it may have on international peace and security. We should bear in mind that in a situation such as this the Security Council has a responsibility incumbent upon it to discharge under the Charter. We would wish, therefore, to make clear for the record our strong and unqualified support for all the initiatives undertaken so far by parties with a view to

the cessation of hostilities between Iran and Iraq, and to urge the settlement of their dispute by peaceful means.

114. We are particularly mindful of and grateful for the prompt appeal made by the Secretary-General to the two parties to end armed hostilities and to begin to negotiate a settlement of their dispute. The appeals directed by the President of the Council to Iran and Iraq for the same end were cogent and specific. My delegation also welcomes all initiatives taken by any other party that will defuse the dangerous situation in the region and encourage the parties to cease all armed activity and bring their differences to the negotiating table.

115. It is in this sense that we associate our delegation with the statements made by Mexico and Norway on 26 September [2247th meeting] in introducing the item that we are now discussing. We believe that the essential elements of a cessation of hostilities and the settlement of the dispute by peaceful means should be pursued by the Council as the prime objectives of any resolution that it may adopt at this stage, and we feel that this is the minimum that we can undertake. We feel that this is a positive and constructive stand as it does not prejudice the issue, nor does it place the onus or blame on anyone. We believe that such a position accurately reflects the consensus, as well as the anxiety, of the international community and for this reason it cannot be ignored.

116. My delegation took note of the appeal made to the Council by the special emissary of the Government of Iraq, Mr. Kittani, that his Foreign Minister be given the opportunity to appear before the Council so that Iraq, as a party to the dispute, may be fully enabled to present its side of this conflict. This request by Iraq appears to us to be a reasonable one. As the urgent consideration of the item has begun and as substantive discussions of the issues in the Council may soon follow, we anticipate that the Foreign Minister of the Government of Iraq, in line with that Government's request, will be in our midst at the earliest opportunity.

117. The Government of Iran should likewise be given the same opportunity. It seems to my delegation, however, that in the meantime the Council can take such measures as would enable it to deal as expeditiously as possible with the worsening situation in the area.

118. For all the foregoing considerations the Philippines voted in favour of the resolution which the Council has just adopted.

119. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of Iraq, on whom I now call.

120. Mr. KITTANI (Iraq): Mr. President, we have great respect for you, first of all because you are one

of us and secondly because you are the President of the Council; and we do indeed have great respect for the Council. Because of this, and also because of our warm personal friendship of over 20 years, it pains my delegation that it should feel compelled to put the following on the record.

121. You know that I had asked to address the Council very briefly before the resolution was adopted. There was no objection to this, at least from the 12 delegations I personally contacted. They told me that they had no objection. Because of these facts we regret that you, in your wisdom as President of the Council, being aware of these facts, yet saw fit to go back on the understanding you gave me that you would give me that opportunity, without informing my delegation.

122. As I said earlier, I merely wanted to refer briefly to two paragraphs of the verbatim record of the last meeting of the Council. I shall do that now, and then I have something of grave importance to say which is directly related to the resolution which the Council has just adopted unanimously. I should like to bring this matter to the attention of the Council because I think it will be of interest to the members.

123. Of the two paragraphs to which I wished to refer, the first concerns something I said and which I should like to repeat. In my statement to the Council at its last meeting I said the following:

“There is one other matter I wish to bring to the attention of the Council. As the consideration of the matter in the Council proceeds, we have one request to make: if the Council is at any time going to move into substantive discussions of the conflict and perhaps consider draft resolutions that might be submitted officially to it, we would humbly request that an opportunity be given to our Government to present its case in full, through its Foreign Minister, who is willing and ready to come here when we inform him of the request of the Council or when we inform him that such substantive debate and consideration of draft resolutions is to take place”.
[2247th meeting, para. 38.]

124. Especially now that the Council has indeed embarked on substantive discussions of the matter and adopted a resolution, and for the proper conduct of the affairs of the Council, we wish to register our regret that our request was not accepted by the Council.

125. Incidentally, in reply to the representative of the Philippines, I wish to assure him and the Council and to confirm what I have told you informally, that my Minister will arrive tomorrow afternoon in order to present the case of Iraq in full to the Council.

126. The second paragraph to which I wanted to refer is in the statement of the Secretary-General. He said:

"In his message of 25 September the President of Iraq expressed his appreciation for my initiatives and emphasized Iraq's concern that international peace and security should not be threatened and that economic and oil interests of States should not be exposed to danger. In repeating the position stated in the letters from the Foreign Minister of Iraq, the President emphasized that Iraq's objective was to gain Iran's irrevocable recognition of Iraq's rights in its lands and sovereignty over its national waters. He"—that is, the President of my country—"also asked whether Iran was ready to accept a cease-fire." [*Ibid.*, para. 9.]

127. I believe there is no one in this room today—not on 25 September—who does not know that Iran has already rejected the cease-fire. The resolution is addressed to both parties, and it takes two to cease fire, and I do not believe anyone has any intention of asking one party to accept a unilateral cease-fire.

128. The matter of importance I want to bring to your attention is this: President Saddam Hussein of Iraq at this hour in Baghdad is making an important statement to the Iraqi people and to the world. We have been able to get over the telephone, in Arabic, excerpts from that speech which are of extreme importance and directly related, as I have said, to the resolution and I think the Council will be interested to know what they are. I hope you will excuse the hasty translation into English. The President said:

"Iraq is ready to stop the fighting immediately, if the other side responds to this sincere call. We are also ready to negotiate with the Iranian side directly or through a third party or any international body or organization that we respect and trust in order to arrive at a just and honourable settlement which would guarantee our rights and our sovereignty. We are not of those who are tempted by power and those who lose their sense in victory to impose illegitimate conditions on others, even if they were aggressors with evil intentions."

The President of Iraq also said the following:

"We affirm that Iraq will do all it possibly can for the success of these initiatives to arrive at a peaceful settlement of this conflict on the basis of the principles of justice which we have mentioned. We warn any foreign State which would attempt to exploit the situation in order to interfere in the affairs of the region, as the countries in the region are capable of safeguarding their security."

129. As I have said, my Foreign Minister will be here and he will be at the disposal of the Council to address it and to present the case of Iraq in full. It remains for me simply to say that my delegation and I personally are deeply grateful to you, Mr. President, to every member of this Council and to the Secretary-General for the courtesies you have shown in allowing us to participate in the work of the Council.

130. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I should like to make a brief statement to indicate that the procedure I have adopted for conducting the proceedings of the Council at this meeting is the customary procedure and that I have followed it after consultations with the members of the Council. I am convinced that the representative of Iraq, who is a friend and whose country is one with which Tunisia entertains the best of relations, will recognize the fact that at this meeting the Council has addressed itself to the major principles of the Charter relating to the establishment and restoration of peace and security in the world.

131. The substance of the problem, which is a matter of keen concern to us, will be studied at other meetings. We hope—and this is the generally held consensus—that the Iraqi Foreign Minister will participate in our proceedings and help us to enable the two parties to find a peaceful solution.

132. I shall confine myself to that statement and thank the representative of Iraq for the excellent statement he has made, which will help us in our work.

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

134. Mr. NISIBORI (Japan): Mr. President, I should like, first of all, to express my appreciation for being given the opportunity to present Japan's views on the vital issue that is now being considered. I should also like to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of September. We are convinced that under your skilful guidance the Council will fulfil its responsibilities in dealing with various compelling issues throughout the world. I wish also to extend my warm regards to Ambassador Futscher Pereira of Portugal, who, as President last month, demonstrated his diplomatic skill and wisdom.

135. The Government of Japan finds it most regrettable that a conflict involving armed activities has arisen between two Member States, Iran and Iraq. It is profoundly concerned that the conflict seems to be escalating and is resulting in the loss of life and material destruction on both sides.

136. The implications of such a situation are not, of course, confined to the bilateral relations of the two parties, but constitute a grave threat to the peace and security not only of the neighbouring countries but also of the entire international community. Furthermore, considering the political and economic significance of the region, a continued escalation of the conflict will have incalculable effects on the world political and economic situation. In this connection, we should like to stress that the safe navigation of third-country vessels through the Straits of Hormuz and adjacent waters must be assured.

137. My delegation regards as most appropriate the prompt statement made by the Secretary-General on 22 September, in which he expressed his profound concern and urged the parties to find a peaceful solution to the conflict.

138. We also believe that the statement made by you on 23 September² on behalf of the Council members reflects very well the unanimous views shared at this stage by the international community, namely: first having considered the extremely serious situation between Iran and Iraq, and having taken note of the deterioration in relations and of the escalation in armed activity leading to loss of life and heavy material damage, the members of the Council are concerned that this conflict may become increasingly serious and could pose a grave threat to international peace and security; secondly, they fully support the offer that the Secretary-General has made of his good offices; thirdly, they appeal to the Governments of Iran and Iraq to desist from all armed activity and all acts that may worsen the present situation, and to settle their dispute by peaceful means.

139. In his statement made in the general debate in the General Assembly on 23 September,³ Foreign Minister Ito of Japan expressed the hope that the dispute would be solved in accordance with the Charter and that the fighting would cease immediately. That view of the Government of Japan was similarly expressed in another statement made in Tokyo. And now, once again, I take this opportunity to reaffirm Japan's basic position on the peaceful settlement of any international dispute and to urge the parties to halt immediately the exchange of fire. We also appeal to third parties, including the major Powers, to observe the principle of non-interference and to exercise self-restraint. My delegation is very pleased that the Council has just adopted a resolution along those lines.

140. Japan also wishes to express its readiness to co-operate positively in whatever way it can in attempts to achieve the solution of the conflict. We should like to add in that connection that Japan welcomes all initiatives aimed at a peaceful solution of the conflict, including that of the Islamic Conference, and is closely following their development.

141. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): There are no further speakers on my list, and I should now like to make a statement in my capacity as representative of TUNISIA.

142. For nearly a week now the world has seen conditions of war. The idea of war, which we had all hoped had been banished for ever from our immediate concern, to be evoked only, if necessary, as a hypothetical warning, has today unfortunately become a reality. The news which reaches us from western Asia confirms in effect that the conflict which has broken out between Iraq and Iran has taken an alarming turn and degenerated into open and generalized war.

143. Tunisia, an Islamic country, regrets and deeply deplores the fact that two States Members of the United Nations, two Islamic countries, brothers and neighbours with every reason for understanding and co-operation, have reached such an extreme situation. That a military confrontation of such gravity has taken place and is continuing in that particularly sensitive region of the world merely increases our concern and disquiet.

144. We have every reason to believe that this extremely grave situation constitutes a real threat to international peace and security. We all know when and how conflicts begin; unfortunately, we do not know how they may develop.

145. On Tuesday, 23 September, the Tunisian Government expressed its concern and anxiety at the turn events have taken and made an urgent appeal to the two countries concerned.

"to cease fighting immediately, so that reason may prevail, and to have recourse to peaceful means for the settlement of all disputes between them within the framework of Islamic solidarity and of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations" [S/14195, annex].

146. It is in that spirit that my delegation has voted in favour of the draft resolution in document S/14201. I am delighted that the Council adopted that draft resolution unanimously.

147. Moreover, my delegation is pleased that the mission composed of the President of the Islamic Conference—the President of Pakistan—and the Secretary-General of the Conference has already contacted the two parties. We hope that the mission will be a complete success and reaffirm our conviction that this particularly useful action complements the action of the Council.

148. Speaking now as PRESIDENT of the Council, I may say that the Council will continue to follow the course of events closely and will await the report of the Secretary-General in accordance with paragraph 5 of the resolution just adopted in order to continue its thorough consideration of the question.

The meeting rose at 7 p.m.

NOTES

¹ Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fifth Session, Plenary Meetings, 5th meeting.

² See Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council, 1980, p. 23.

³ Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fifth Session, Plenary Meetings, 7th meeting.

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