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#### 2383rd MEETING

#### Held in New York on Monday, 12 July 1982, at 5.30 p.m.

President: Mr. Noel G. SINCLAIR (Guyana).

*Present:* The representatives of the following States: China, France, Guyana, Ireland, Japan, Jordan, Panama, Poland, Spain, Togo, Uganda, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zaire.

#### Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2383)

1. Adoption of the agenda

2. The situation between Iran and Iraq

The meeting was called to order at 6 p.m.

#### Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

#### The situation between Iran and Iraq

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

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

2. The PRESIDENT: As was agreed in the course of the Security Council's consultations held earlier today, the Council is meeting in connection with the situation between Iran and Iraq.

3. Members of the Council have before them document S/15285, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of consultations. I should like to draw the attention of members of the Council to the following other documents: S/15219 and S/15266, which contain the text of two letters, dated 11 and 30 June respectively, from the representative of Belgium addressed to the President of the Council; S/15270, which contains the text of a letter dated 1 July, from the representative of Iran addressed to the President of the Council; and S/15279, which

contains the text of a letter dated 8 July from the representative of Iraq addressed to the President of the Council.

4. It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to a vote on the draft resolution contained in document S/15285. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote.

5. I shall now call upon those representatives who wish to speak before the voting.

6. Mr. de La BARRE de NANTEUIL (France) (*interpretation from French*): This is the first opportunity I have had, Sir, to congratulate you officially on your accession to the presidency of the Council. I am extremely gratified to see the representative of a country and a continent with which my country has ancient and friendly relations occupying the presidential chair today. Last month I was able to appreciate the onerous responsibilities your post represents for whoever holds it. Under the guidance of a diplomat of your standing and a man as cultivated and refined as you are, I am convinced that the Council will contribute to restoring peace wherever it is threatened in the world.

7. It is indeed the burning need to restore peace that must guide the Council in its work today. For two years now, in a part of the world that has already been sorely tried by warfare, a particularly lethal conflict is under way. Tens of thousands of persons have lost their lives in the battle that has pitted Iran against Iraq. These confrontations have furthermore caused the exodus of hundreds of thousands of refugees. Considerable damage, which will take years to repair, has been caused to the infrastructures of both countries. As it continues, this war, which is a constant cause of instability in that part of the world, may well take a turn for the worse if the bilateral conflict becomes a confrontation between two cultures and two religions.

8. That prospect has been a constant concern of the French Government, which has always stated its willingness to contribute to any effort designed to bring about a peaceful outcome.

9. In fact, at the meetings of the Council of Europe in Brussels on 28 and 29 June last, France and its nine partners in the European Community recalled the concerns of which I have just spoken [S/15266, annex].

10. It must be possible to settle the bilateral conflict under consideration through negotiations. If that is to be done, the legitimate rights of both parties must be recognized, in order in particular to guarantee within a recognized international framework their integrity and sovereignty against any form of external interference. In this connection, a frontier was traced between the two countries by the Algiers Agreement of 1975.<sup>1</sup> That frontier should be respected, and the negotiations to be initiated should have precisely that objective.

11. France would like to welcome the efforts at negotiation that have been initiated by the Organization of the Islamic Conference and by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. In particular, we express the hope that the Council and the Secretary-General will play a role in co-ordinating these efforts and will contribute to making them more fruitful.

12. The draft resolution before us [S/15285] is one that the Council must consider as part and parcel of its main responsibility, which is the maintenance of international peace and security.

13. It explicitly lays down the political foundations for a settlement, and everyone should be aware that this is essential for stability in the region and international equilibrium. It gives concrete expression to the idea of co-ordinating ongoing mediation efforts by entrusting this task to the Secretary-General. This initiative can create the necessary dynamic movement towards peace, which is today more necessary than ever. It clearly states the responsibility of each party.

14. For those various reasons France will vote in favour of the draft resolution.

15. Mr. SHERMAN (United States of America): Since this is the first time the United States has spoken during the month of July, I should like to express the recognition and gratitude of the United States for the work of the representative of France during his term as President of the Council during the month of June.

16. I should also like to make special note of the contribution now being made by you, Sir, and the delegation of Guyana, as President of the Council for this difficult month of July. We count on your skill, your experience and your wisdom to guide our deliberations.

17. Since the beginning of this unhappy conflict with which the Council is now dealing, the United States has held the position that a solution must be found which preserves the independence and territorial integrity of both Iraq and Iran. We have therefore been prepared to support any constructive and equitable action by the Council which works towards that end. 18. The present text [*ibid.*] meets that test. It is a balanced draft resolution and calls for a comprehensive, just and honourable settlement. It seeks negotiation of all outstanding issues between the two countries, and it does not prejudge. In supporting it, the United States hopes that both sides will agree on mutually acceptable means for working towards a settlement and will co-operate fully with the cease-fire and withdrawal arrangements to be established and the continuing mediation efforts to be co-ordinated through the Secretary-General in accordance with this draft resolution.

19. The PRESIDENT: The Council will now proceed to vote on the draft resolution in document S/15285.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

The draft resolution was adopted unanimously (resolution 514 (1982)).

20. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call upon those representatives who have asked to be allowed to make statements after the voting.

21. Mr. WHYTE (United Kingdom): Mr. President, allow me to join those others who have already expressed to you their felicitations on your assumption of your office. My country and your country do occasionally nowadays do battle on the cricket field, but manage, I think, most effectively and closely to co-operate over everything else. I assure you that our co-operation in the very difficult problems which face you this month will not be lacking.

22. I wish also to extend to the representative of France our appreciation for the distinction with which he conducted the presidency last month. He did this with such vigour and dynamism that the Permanent Representative of my delegation, who finally left his assignment on his retirement on 2 July, was kept fully stretched to the very end of his term.

23. My delegation voted in favour of the resolution just adopted. We did this because we share the concern that the Council should take action in the grave and threatening situation which now exists between Iraq and Iran. That conflict has already lasted too long, has cost too many lives and has caused too much material damage. We earnestly entreat all those concerned to implement the resolution just adopted, as well as resolution 479 (1980), in order to bring the conflict to an end and bring about a return to the paths of peaceful negotiation.

24. At the same time, my delegation, while supporting the resolution, does have some doubts about its likely efficacy at the present time. We believe that an important prerequisite for effective peace-making by the Council is that its proposals should have the support of all the parties to a dispute. There is reason to believe in the present case that one of the parties will be reluctant to accept the resolution just adopted. My delegation applauds the efforts that you, Mr. President, have made to persuade that party to accept the need to co-operate with the Council. It is a matter of regret to my delegation that in spite of the efforts you have made, that co-operation is not yet forthcoming, for without such co-operation it will be difficult for the United Nations to achieve a settlement of the dispute.

25. However, it would be wrong to despair. As is recognized in the resolution that we have adopted, the Secretary-General and his Special Representative have already been playing an important part in efforts to settle the dispute. My delegation is sure that they will continue to do so, and we hope that they will be able to obtain the co-operation of both parties so that progress can be made, taking into account the positions of both parties and, of course, the requirements of the Charter of the United Nations. We hope in particular that the Secretary-General will consider urgently the possibility of sending a representative to Teheran and to Baghdad so that he can report to the Council very soon as to what further action it might take.

26. Mr. LING Qing (China) (interpretation from Chinese): First of all, allow me in the name of the Chinese delegation to extend our warmest congratulations to you. Sir, on your assumption of the presidency for this month. I am deeply convinced that your wisdom, diplomatic experience and competence will provide positive guidance to the Council to enable it to exercise its responsibilities effectively. At the same time, I should like to express my gratitude to your predecessor, the representative of France, for the efforts he made and the competence and patience he showed while presiding over the proceedings of the Council in the extraordinary month of June.

27. The war between Iraq and Iran has lasted for almost two years. This protracted war has not only cost many lives, incurred serious financial losses and brought untold sufferings to the two peoples; it is also directly threatening the peace and security of the Gulf area and the Middle East region. The Chinese Government has also noted that, in order to end this war between two brotherly Muslim countries, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and the non-aligned countries, particularly the Islamic countries, have undertaken mediation efforts on many occasions to seek a comprehensive and just settlement of the conflict through peaceful means. Both Iraq and Iran belong to the third world. We have consistently held that no fundamental conflict of interest exists between third-world countries. Conflicts between them should and can be peacefully settled through consultation or negotiations.

28. It is our sincere hope that Iran and Iraq will bear in mind the maintenance of peace in the Middle East region and exercise restraint so as to seek an early cease-fire through negotiation and peaceful resolution of the dispute that conforms to the fundamental interests of the two peoples.

29. In view of those considerations, the Chinese delegation voted in favour of resolution 479 (1980). Based on the same considerations, the Chinese delegation has now voted in favour of resolution 514 (1982). We hope that the adoption of that resolution will contribute to the just and reasonable resolution of the conflict between the two countries through peaceful means.

30. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): First, Sir, I should like to welcome you to the post of President of the Council for this month and to wish you success in discharging the complex and responsible duties which you have thus assumed. At the same time, I should like to express my satisfaction that this post is occupied by a representative of a friendly and non-aligned country.

31. I should also like to express my delegation's gratitude to the representative of France, Mr. Luc de La Barre de Nanteuil, for the skilful and energetic way in which he guided the work of the Council in June.

32. Today's meeting of the Security Council reflects the deep alarm and concern felt by the overwhelming majority of States Members of the Organization in the light of the ongoing armed conflict between Iran and Iraq. That alarm and concern are fully shared by the Soviet Union, which cannot fail to be interested in the removal of the sources of considerable tension in areas in the immediate vicinity of its own borders as well as in all other parts of the world.

33. It is for this reason that since the armed conflict broke out between Iran and Iraq, two developing countries which maintain friendly relations with our own and share a great many of our historical and cultural values, the Soviet Union has taken a clear-cut position in favour of putting an end as soon as possible to the military action and resolving the conflict by means of negotiations.

34. As the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, Leonid Brezhnev, has frequently stated: "The Soviet Union decisively favours a peaceful settlement of this conflict and would condemn any attempt to prolong it or to pour oil on the flames of war." This fundamental position, this sincere desire to promote efforts to put an end to this tragic war, has motivated every act of the Soviet Union in connection with the Iran-Iraq conflict.

35. Our country has supported the mediating mission of the Special Representative of the Secretary-

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General and other constructive international efforts aimed at setting the parties to the conflict on the path towards a peaceful settlement.

36. The Soviet Union speaks out decisively against the attempts of the imperialist forces to warm their hands at the Iran-Iraq conflagration, to use it to increase their own military infiltration in the Near and Middle East and to cause further destabilization in that part of the world. These facts are all widely known.

37. The senseless and tragic conflict between Iran and Iraq, which has been going on now for 22 months, has led to tremendous losses and destruction. Thousands of lives have been consumed by the flames of war, and there has been costly material damage. The attention of the leaders and peoples of those countries has been diverted from the solution of the most vital problems of economic and social development, the need to combat the ongoing aggression of Israel and the plans being hatched in imperialist circles to establish their own domination in that part of the world. It is our conviction that an end to this conflict would serve the deep-rooted and long-term interests of both the Iranian and the Iraqi peoples.

38. The delegation of the Soviet Union today voted in favour of resolution 514 (1982) since we believe that this body, which in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations bears the principal responsibility for maintaining international peace and security, could play an important part in promoting a settlement of the Iranian-Iraqi conflict. Naturally, the specific aspects of such a settlement can and should be agreed upon in the course of negotiations between those immediately involved in the conflict, on the basis of the fundamental principles of the Charter and the generally recognized norms of international law, and taking due account of the legitimate interests of both parties.

39. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iraq, Mr. Sadoon Hammadi. I welcome him and invite him to make his statement.

40. Mr. HAMMADI (Iraq): Mr. President, I should like to extend to you and to the other members of the Council my profound gratitude for the opportunity to speak on this occasion.

41. The Council has acted in full conformity with its competence under the Charter of the United Nations. The decision just adopted is a timely one. It will have a constructive impact on generating a new momentum for peace. It will also reflect positively on the image of the Council as the main organ under the Charter responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security. We have no doubt that the full implications of the decision of the Council will be understood by Member States and world public opinion as an important step forward on the path towards peace. 42. Nearly two years have elapsed since the adoption of resolution 479 (1980), during which time our people have been fighting valiantly to defend their legitimate right to sovereignty, security and wellbeing and the future of generations to come. The facts have already been placed on the record of the Council and that of numerous other forums. This is indeed not the occasion for a repetition of those facts.

43. Despite Iranian allegations to the contrary, Iraq welcomed the establishment of the new régime in Iran. We have tried to establish normal relations with the Iranian régime. Notwithstanding numerous acts of Iranian hostility, which culminated in the imposition of an armed conflict, we have continued to pursue peace in the form of a just and honourable settlement.

44. I should like to recall that we offered Iran peace on 28 September 1980 [see S/14203] and declared that what we seek is to regain our legitimate national rights in our lands and waters. We have also declared our full readiness to withdraw from Iranian territories and to establish normal relations with Iran on the basis of respect for sovereignty and non-interference in internal affairs. Iran has rejected those efforts.

45. We accepted Security Council resolution 479 (1980), adopted unanimously on 28 September 1980. We also welcomed and accepted the mission of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and co-operated with him fully. The resolution, as members know, was rejected by Iran.

46. We unilaterally declared a cease-fire from 5 to 8 October 1980 in response to a request from the President of Pakistan, who was undertaking a good offices mission in his capacity as Chairman at the time of the Organization of the Islamic Conference [S/14205, para, 4]. Iran rejected that offer.

47. We welcomed the efforts of President Fidel Castro of Cuba, in his capacity as Chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, and actively sought an early settlement. Those efforts also were frustrated by Iran.

48. Unlike Iran, we participated in the Third Islamic Summit Conference of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, held in Saudi Arabia in January 1981, accepted its decision and worked actively with the Islamic Mission to achieve an honourable settlement. Iran has obstructed those efforts.

49. At the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries held at New Delhi in February 1981, Iraq promptly accepted the letter and spirit of the decision of the Conference on the modalities for settling the conflict. However, the representative of Iran intervened to reject the substance of the decision, which had been worked out through intensive consultations. 50. Last March. President Saddam Hussein suggested that the Islamic Peace Committee of the Organization of the Islamic Conference should set up a commission of inquiry to investigate the question of which side started the war. It is worth noting that this suggestion was put to us by President Sékou Touré during a visit with the Committee last year. It was accepted by Iraq in a letter dated 22 April 1981.

51. On 9 June last, the Islamic Peace Committee, in view of the Zionist aggression against Lebanon, called upon us and Iran to cease fighting immediately and to face the Zionist enemy. On 10 June, the Iraqi Revolutionary Command Council issued a statement containing the following points. First, it expressed Iraq's immediate readiness to cease fire and to put an end to all hostilities as soon as Iran accepts to do the same. Secondly, it expressed Iraq's immediate readiness to withdraw within two weeks to the international frontiers all of its military forces from all Iranian territories and cities occupied in defence of Iraqi territory and towns. Thirdly, it said that, in case a direct agreement with Iran on the issues pertaining to the conflict is not possible through the organizations mediating between the two countries. Iraq is ready to accept an arbitration decision to be rendered by an extraordinary session of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, and, should Iran refuse such arbitration. Iraq will accept any arbitration decision of the Non-Aligned Movement or of the Security Council [see S/15196, annex].

52. On 20 June, President Saddam Hussein announced a further decision of the Revolutionary Command Council which, despite the negative reaction of the Iranian régime to the foregoing statement, went further and called for the commencement and the completion of the withdrawal of Iraqi forces to the border within a maximum period of 10 days. The withdrawal operation was completed on the target date.<sup>2</sup> The Iranians, however, announced that the withdrawal was a lie and part of an imperialist plot, orchestrated in conjunction with the Israeli invasion of Lebanon.

53. In addition to all these initiatives for peace, countless bilateral endeavours with other countries were pursued.

54. Unfortunately, Iran's attitude towards these efforts for peace has been negative. It still is.

55. We shall never lose our faith in the principles of the Charter and the role of the United Nations in the peaceful settlement of disputes. We sincerely hope that the Iranians will soon respond favourably to the call of reason and put an end to their policies of prolonging the war. We should all strive for the faithful implementation of the resolution adopted by the Council today. All of us should work closely together and co-ordinate our actions through the United Nations to outline the framework for negotiations to achieve the much-desired comprehensive, just and honourable settlement of the outstanding issues of the conflict. It is only in this way that a fair and lasting settlement can be achieved, in the interest of the peace and security of our region.

The meeting rose at 6.35 p.m.

NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Joint Iranian-Iraqi Communiqué of 6 March 1975, United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 1017, No. 14903, p. 196, <sup>2</sup> See A/37/323.

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