

UNITED NATIONS



SECURITY COUNCIL
OFFICIAL RECORDS

FEB 10 1980

OFFICIAL RECORDS SECTION

THIRTY-FIFTH YEAR

2254th MEETING: 29 OCTOBER 1980

NEW YORK

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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.

The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council*. The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

2254th MEETING

Held in New York on Wednesday, 29 October 1980, at 10.30 a.m.

President: Mr. Oleg A. TROYANOVSKY
(Union of Soviet Socialist Republics).

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/2254)

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

The meeting was called to order at 11.25 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation between Iran and Iraq

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): In accordance with previous decisions [2247th, 2248th and 2250th meetings], I invite the representatives of Iran and Iraq to take places at the Council table and I invite the representatives of Cuba and Japan to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Ardakani (Iran) and Mr. Kittani (Iraq) took places at the Council table and Mr. Roa Kouri (Cuba) and Mr. Nisibori (Japan) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): Members of the Council have before them document S/14236, which contains the text of a letter dated 27 October 1980 from the representative of Iraq to the Secretary-General.

3. Mr. LEPRETTE (France) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, since I have not yet had occasion to do so, I should like first of all to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of October. I welcome you not only as a seasoned diplomat whose knowledge and experience are a guarantee that you will guide our work

effectively but also as the representative of a great country, with which my own maintains continued relations of co-operation.

4. I should also like to convey to your predecessor, the representative of Tunisia, Mr. Taïeb Slim, our gratitude for his untiring efforts last month and the competence with which he performed the delicate task entrusted to him.

5. The conflict between Iraq and Iran, which little more than a month ago assumed the dramatic character we witness today, is quite rightly a cause of profound concern to the international community. It pits against each other two States which are deeply attached to the religious and cultural values of Islam, two States which have already achieved a remarkable level of development, two States which share the same passion for independence. It is causing loss of human life and overwhelming material damage and threatens to jeopardize the efforts of those two nations to achieve progress. It is taking place in one of the large regions of the world where balance is vital for the peace of the world. I should like to add that France is all the more strongly affected by this in that it has feelings of profound sympathy and friendship for those two peoples, the heirs to great influential ancient civilizations.

6. The conflict that is under way is very serious for the two countries that are at once its protagonists and its victims. It is also serious for the neighbouring countries, which could at any time be dragged into it. And it is serious for the rest of the world, which in one way or another is affected by it.

7. It is therefore important that peace be restored as soon as possible and each and every State must make the necessary efforts to secure that result. In this connection, France welcomes the steps taken by the Islamic countries as well as by those of the non-aligned movement. My country has given and will continue to give its support to them. Similarly, we have supported the appeals made in the Council and the initiatives taken by the President of the Council and the Secretary-General, to whom my Government wishes to pay tribute.

8. But it is also incumbent upon the international community as a whole to assume its responsibilities, and first and foremost upon the Security Council to

discharge the obligations entrusted to it under Article 24 of the Charter. The initiatives of third parties cannot, in fact, exonerate the Council. The two parties have, moreover, accepted the framework of the United Nations, of which they are Members. They now sit in the Council, to which they have come to plead their cause.

9. Having heard them, we do not presume to pronounce on all the aspects of a complex situation whose roots go back several hundred years. In the juridical undergrowth of treaties signed and not ratified, of agreements denounced as soon as they were concluded, of arrangements accepted but never applied, let us beware of taking hasty decisions. With respect to the mutual grievances hurled at each other by the two belligerents, let us avoid taking sides. We should only be adding to the complexities and dangers of that conflict.

10. However, it is our duty to ask ourselves the following question: what has led the two States to confront each other militarily? In the answer to that question we shall perhaps find the thread that will lead to peace being brought back to the region.

11. Does not that dispute, and subsequently that conflict, originate in a problem of security—security for both States, for their citizens, for their communications, for their futures? The representatives of Iraq and Iran appear to agree on one point: the anguish created in those States by the idea each has of the threat to which its security is exposed. In order to ensure “definitively” that security, one of the protagonists has placed its hopes in weapons. But, as for the other, has it always refrained from using weapons against its neighbour? Once again, that is not for the Council to decide.

12. It is, however, on that point that we must concentrate our thoughts before we seek a solution. Iraq has a right to security for its territory, its communications and its inhabitants. Of course, it has the right to choose its own form of government. Iran has the same rights.

13. Both countries should be able to devote their resources, their efforts and their ingenuity to their economic and social development free from the threat of war and war itself. War is, in fact, the mother of the greatest calamities and could not bring security. Undoubtedly, a victory through force of arms could bring about what is known as the cessation of hostilities, but real peace will not return if hostility remains in the hearts of men.

14. We must therefore go back to the principles of international law, to those of the Charter and those of good-neighbourliness, and we must do so with the object of promoting the definitive restoration of security to both Iraq and Iran. As we all know, those principles are the following:

—Non-interference in the affairs of other States. Despite our respect for the two parties to the dispute, it seems to us that this principle has far too often been disregarded. That is, perhaps, the main root cause of the drama that is unfolding before our very eyes.

—Respect for the sovereign equality, political independence and territorial integrity of States. Without respect for such principles, the international community would crumble into anarchy.

—Non-acquisition of territory by force. The Iraqi leaders have declared that their country has no territorial ambitions and that it is ready to negotiate. We take note of that position.

—Lastly, the peaceful settlement of disputes, the cardinal rule of the Charter.

15. How, then, should we proceed? It is obvious that it is through negotiation and not through force that we can find a political solution to the crisis. That is, in any event, the objective that we should set ourselves.

16. In that perspective it is important first of all to avoid anything likely to widen the conflict. On the contrary, it is desirable to circumscribe it as closely as possible. This implies first and foremost that other States or other areas should not be involved. Secondly, it is indispensable that freedom of navigation in the waters of the Gulf is not infringed and that maritime traffic continues peacefully. That is fundamental to the interests of the international community. France, which noted the declarations made on the subject in both Baghdad and Tehran, is pleased that this principle has been recognized by both sides.

17. It is also desirable immediately to ensure that third parties do not suffer as a result of the conflict. I have in mind the problem of foreign workers caught unawares in the combat zone and vessels that are immobilized. The necessary humanitarian solutions to those problems should be found without delay. My Government approves of the suggestions that have been put forward to ensure the safety of crews and permit the departure of vessels.

18. Now that those elements have been put together, we must lead the conflict towards the goal established by the Charter, namely a peaceful settlement. In that connection, it is important that weapons be silenced and that the fighting cease. Only a cease-fire is likely to permit the necessary negotiations to be embarked on. But if negotiations are to begin on a sound basis, they must include commitments on withdrawal within the framework of an overall settlement of the cause of the dispute—namely, the delimitation of frontiers, navigational arrangements and the necessary assurances concerning mutual non-interference.

19. Those are the bases that France, for its part, has consistently proposed whenever a dispute over sov-

ereignty has led to the occupation of territories. In fact, only within the framework of a global settlement based on those principles will it be possible to take into consideration the legitimate concerns of the parties in conformity with the Charter.

20. It is therefore my Government's view that the Council could most usefully work towards an impartial search for peace in the region by inviting the parties to the conflict to embark on that course.

21. Mr. MILLS (Jamaica): Mr. President, let me begin by expressing my delegation's deep appreciation of the manner in which you have been conducting the work of the Council during the current month. You have displayed the wisdom and calmness that we have come to know so well and that have been a real asset to the Council in its work.

22. I should like also to thank Ambassador Slim of Tunisia for his very dedicated service to the Council as President during the month of September. It proved to be a very difficult month, and I should like to assure him of my delegation's very special appreciation of his efforts.

23. As we meet today, the war that broke out over a month ago between Iran and Iraq continues. We receive daily the distressing reports of death and destruction which are the inevitable consequences of armed conflict. All of this serves to demonstrate once again that war is unacceptable as a means of solving disputes between States. Moreover, it tends to increase the dimensions of the problem.

24. It is clear that the deep-seated differences which have existed between Iran and Iraq have been greatly aggravated by the conflict. Those differences were aired in statements made before the Council by the Foreign Minister of Iraq [2250th and 2251st meetings] and the Prime Minister of Iran [2251st meeting]. My delegation listened with interest to their presentations, and we can understand the strength of feeling behind them. We recognize that the grievances, expressed with deep conviction in each case, are rooted particularly in the recent history of relations between the two countries.

25. Disputes involving the question of boundaries, the issue of territorial integrity and external interference are very serious matters in inter-State relations. A solution to such disputes invariably requires patience, perseverance and a commitment to the negotiating process. My delegation deeply regrets that in the case before us this path was not followed and that instead the two neighbouring States of Iran and Iraq have become embroiled in armed conflict. This conflict has resulted in the loss of many lives and in great economic dislocation which can have the most far-reaching effects on the global economy. It constitutes a real danger to international peace and security. In particular, it poses a grave threat to an area of the world which already is beset by serious difficulties.

26. Jamaica is fully aware of the fact that the Security Council must play the major role towards putting an end to this conflict. As the international organ entrusted with the responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, the Council has a duty to use its influence and its authority under the Charter to bring the hostilities to an end and to promote the peace-making process. In this respect, two initiatives have already been taken. An appeal was issued by the President of the Council on behalf of the Council on 23 September¹ and resolution 479 (1980), calling for an end to the use of force, was unanimously adopted by the Council on 28 September.

27. Although the objectives of those two initiatives have not yet been achieved, we are not discouraged. In addition, the Secretary-General has made repeated efforts to assist the two parties towards finding means of resolving their differences and to diminish the impact of the war on non-military personnel and the flow of commerce. Others have lent their services to these efforts, and my delegation fully acknowledges the initiatives of the Islamic Conference, the Chairman of the non-aligned movement and others who have made similar contributions.

28. The Council must identify further lines of action by way of practical measures designed to achieve the desired objectives. My delegation is encouraged by the willingness of the parties concerned to co-operate with the Council and to recognize its crucial role and responsibility in this matter. Already the Council has provided a forum for the clarification of the issues and the positions of the two sides. These are good foundations on which the Council can build towards promoting conciliation and peace.

29. It is necessary, then, to identify the basic requirements for dealing with the issue at the present time. These must include efforts to put an end to the fighting, appropriate arrangements for the withdrawal of troops and the establishment of some mechanism for promoting a long-term settlement of the differences between the two countries by peaceful negotiations, and particularly those differences relating to their common borders.

30. In the view of my delegation, these are the immediate and long-term objectives we must seek to fulfil. It will not be easy to achieve these goals in the face of the competing claims and conditions. However, whatever may be the precise form and substance of the Council's action in this crisis, it must be clear that such action is to be guided by the relevant principles of the Charter. These constitute fundamental rules in international relations from which we cannot depart; they provide the basis for the maintenance of peaceful relations among States and for stability in the international system.

31. The sovereignty of each State must be respected. There should be no interference in the internal affairs

of any State by another, by overt or covert means. Strict adherence to this principle is a basic necessity for the ensuring of harmony and good will among States. Similarly, the principle of non-use of force in international relations and the obligation of States to settle their disputes by peaceful means must be emphasized.

32. We feel that the acceptance and application of these principles should be the basis for peace between Iran and Iraq. A peace conference, under appropriate auspices, involving both parties, may be envisaged for this purpose. If the Council is able to facilitate the process of peace-making, it will be up to the parties to work out the terms of a just and honourable settlement. Jamaica is hopeful that the two sides will recognize that, as developing and non-aligned nations, they have common interests that far outweigh the differences which separate them. On this basis, my delegation appeals once more for a cessation of the conflict and a commitment to the use of peaceful means to settle the dispute.

33. Mr. LUSAKA (Zambia): Mr. President, let me begin by extending my delegation's congratulations to you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of October. We are confident that you will steer the deliberations of the Council with the maximum dedication that has characterized your country's commitment to the work of the Council. In the same vein, I also wish to pay tribute to your predecessor, Ambassador Slim of Tunisia, who presided over the work of the Council last month with great skill and tenacity.

34. On 28 September 1980, the Council adopted resolution 479 (1980) in which, *inter alia*, it called upon Iran and Iraq to refrain immediately from any further use of force and to settle their dispute by peaceful means and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law. My delegation voted in favour of resolution 479 (1980), conscious of the responsibility of the Council for the maintenance of international peace and security and because of our deep concern for the tragic loss of life and destruction of property resulting from the armed conflict between the two countries, both of which maintain cordial relations with my own country, Zambia.

35. We deeply regret that the armed conflict is still raging and that precious lives continue to be lost. Similarly, we deeply regret the immense devastation to which the economic infrastructures of the two non-aligned and developing countries continue to be exposed.

36. Together with other members of the Council, we have been relentless in our efforts to secure an end to the armed conflict. At every point we have supported the Secretary-General in his bold and imaginative initiatives in this regard. It is our sincere hope that the Council will now reinforce the efforts of the Secretary-General.

37. Numerous activities behind the scenes led to a formal meeting of the Council on 17 October [*ibid.*], during which the positions of the parties to the armed conflict were articulated in detail at the highest possible level. My delegation was certainly encouraged by the willingness of both Iran and Iraq to come and air their grievances against each other before the Council.

38. It is quite obvious that both sides feel very strongly on the points of dispute and conflict between them. This fact makes it all the more imperative that the Council and others in a position to do so should spare no efforts to assist Iraq and Iran in finding a peaceful settlement. There is urgent need for a concerted and determined effort by the international community as a whole, characterized by genuine good will, to bring about an end to the armed conflict and to promote a durable solution compatible with the principles of justice, international law and the Charter.

39. No nation should exploit the conflict between Iran and Iraq for its own purposes. We not only should do everything possible to put an end to this conflict, but must also prevent it from widening through the involvement of other States. The area concerned is a sensitive one; any escalation of the conflict and polarization of positions would further complicate the search for a solution and would, in turn, have grave consequences for international peace and security. The big Powers, above all, should continue to exercise maximum restraint in this conflict.

40. Mr. President, I wish, in conclusion, to assure you of the continued co-operation of my delegation in the efforts of the Council to find a solution to the delicate and intricate matter before us. Our position will remain one of complete objectivity, rooted in our abiding faith in the purposes and principles of the United Nations and our commitment to the norms of international law.

41. Mr. LING Qing (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): Mr. President, in the name of the Chinese delegation, I wish to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the current month and also to express our admiration to Ambassador Slim for the outstanding contributions he made as President last month.

42. We have heard with great attention the important statements made by the Prime Minister of Iran and the Foreign Minister of Iraq setting forth their respective positions.

43. The armed conflict between Iran and Iraq has continued for more than a month. In spite of resolution 479 (1980), hostilities have not ceased but have continued to expand, thus inflicting greater and greater loss of life and property on the peoples of both countries. This development poses a grave threat also to the peace and stability of the Gulf region and the Middle

East as a whole. Hence, it cannot but cause serious concern and anxiety on the part of the peoples of all countries.

44. The Secretary-General has, during this period, worked energetically in the spirit of the Council resolution to promote a peaceful settlement of the conflict. Not long ago, the Secretary-General again appealed to both sides for a local cease-fire to permit the safe departure of foreign merchant ships stranded in the area of conflict. In the meantime, the Islamic Conference and some non-aligned countries have also been engaged in their own mediation missions through various channels to promote a peaceful solution. The Chinese delegation highly appreciates and supports all these efforts.

45. Iran and Iraq are both developing nations. As such, they need to devote all their efforts to building and developing their respective countries without getting embroiled in a destructive war. It is our consistent view that all disputes among third world countries should be settled peacefully through consultation or negotiations. Iran and Iraq are Members of the United Nations, whose Charter lays great stress on the peaceful settlement of international disputes without resort to the use of force. The continuing conflict has played havoc with the economic life of both countries, and it will take them a long time to recover from the staggering losses. This cannot but distress all their true friends. We have every reason to believe that, with patience, all the disputes between them, historical or current, can be resolved through consultation. It is our sincere hope that Iran and Iraq will exercise restraint and stop fighting as soon as possible before the situation gets out of control and that they will strictly abide by the provisions cited in resolution 479 (1980) and other relevant principles and clauses of the Charter, as well as the accepted norms of international relations, and promptly seek a peaceful settlement of their disputes through negotiations. This will not only conform to the fundamental interests of the peoples of Iran and Iraq but will also be conducive to the peace and stability of the Gulf region and the Middle East as a whole.

46. Meanwhile, it should be pointed out that the ambitious hegemonists, with a covetous eye on this strategically important region, are seeking every opening to step up their infiltration and expansion there. The continuation and escalation of the conflict can only provide the hegemonists with such an opportunity, with all the disastrous consequences for the people of this region. This calls for high vigilance on the part of the international community.

47. It is our understanding that both Iran and Iraq wish the Security Council to take measures that could lead to a peaceful settlement of their dispute. We deem it incumbent on the Security Council, which bears primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and security, to make further efforts to

help to find a fair and reasonable formula acceptable to both sides, thereby contributing to an early peaceful settlement.

48. Mr. OUMAROU (Niger) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, the gravity of the events which are of concern to us now do not prevent me from expressing my delegation's great esteem for you and for the exceptional qualities which you have constantly demonstrated since the beginning of this particularly busy month. We also salute in you the representative of a great and prestigious country, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which maintains with my own country satisfactory relations based on friendship and mutual respect.

49. We find ourselves once again meeting to discuss the war between Iraq and Iran, which is still going on. But in spite of everything that has been said and repeated contradictorily in this very place by the two parties to the conflict, the Niger does not believe that it is appropriate or constructive at the present stage of our work to attempt to determine who is right or wrong in this affair. Indeed, whatever the present validity or lack of validity of the Algiers agreement of 1975,² it did in a way set up an arrangement between Iraq and Iran in which it would be imprudent to interfere.

50. On the other hand, it does not constitute interference to determine that the arrangement has been disrupted, that disputes have occurred and that destructive violence has already done too much damage. That is what concerns and distresses us today, particularly us in the Niger, who maintain excellent relations with the parties because of our common membership in the third world, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the non-aligned movement. Now since it is impossible to restore what has been destroyed and lost it is our imperative duty to save lives, to provide the opportunities for a new arrangement which will tomorrow be the stronger and more harmonious for having experienced discord and stood the test.

51. The news which reaches us from the front is already immeasurably serious and tragic. To the disastrous, useless loss of resources, for which the whole world will sooner or later have to foot the bill, must be added each day new loss of life which no man of conscience can accept. Hence our renewed appeal for an immediate cease-fire, without any pre-conditions, a cease-fire which will lead to the immediate opening of negotiations. Those negotiations should deal not with an assessment of the results of this war, which should never have broken out, but directly with the substance of the dispute which has led to this state of affairs. We are certain that these negotiations will be particularly fruitful and equitable in that they now have the benefit of universal attention and of the concerted good will of the entire world.

52. The President, Government and people of the Niger for their part have already several times shown

readiness to co-operate in the quest for peace and, when the time comes, we shall certainly make a well-intentioned and active contribution. Moreover, it was to hasten the advent of that phase of peace that president Seyni Kountché from the outset implored the two parties to refrain from any further use of force and then encouraged and firmly supported the meritorious and praiseworthy efforts of President Zia-ul-Haq of the Islamic Conference and those of the Palestine Liberation Organization and the non-aligned movement. Almost every day he inquires about the efforts of the Secretary-General and the Security Council, and he has recently reasserted the readiness of the Niger to associate itself in any new peace initiative.

53. For the time being, my country believes that the Council, having fortunately succeeded by means of patience and persuasion in prevailing upon the two parties to share its concerns, must now urgently find a platform for bringing the belligerents face to face so that, for example, the cease-fire that has been called for would take effect on the day and at the time of the first meeting. This platform includes the following elements: the oft-repeated intention of Iraq not to seek the acquisition of Iranian territory by force; Iran's deep-seated and legitimate attachment to the integrity of its national territory; the concern for secure borders, expressed in different terms but firmly on both sides; the responsible wish of the two countries to foster coexistence between them once more, while at the same time striving to do nothing that, over the long term, could transform their conflict into a world catastrophe; and the ever more confident recourse of Iraq and Iran to the arbitration of the United Nations and the Security Council. And in this particular case the Secretary-General can play a particularly important role behind the scenes.

54. There remain to be resolved, not least, certain discords which are few in number but very acute. And that is the area for the political will which we think neither Iraq nor Iran ought to refuse to display *vis-à-vis* the international community, after so many days of fratricidal warfare which is of daily concern to the entire world. Let us hope, therefore, that they will be able to overcome the highly emotional phase of the present crisis and constructively undertake to rebuild their life as neighbours in concord and religious respect for the relevant principles of the Charter.

55. Mr. SLIM (Tunisia) (*interpretation from French*): Allow me first of all, Mr. President, to extend to you my congratulations on the occasion of your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month of October. I am happy to see the representative of a great country, with which Tunisia maintains friendly relations, invested with the lofty functions of that office. Your personal talent, your lengthy diplomatic experience, as well as your dedication to the principles of the Charter, have proved extremely useful to the Council in this particularly delicate period in international relations.

56. Allow me also to express to you my most sincere gratitude for the very kind words which at the appropriate time you addressed to the President of the Council for the month of September. Since I have thus far not had an opportunity to thank you publicly, I am most happy to do so today.

57. I should also like to extend my gratitude to the other Members of the Council both for their words of praise about me and for their marked spirit of co-operation.

58. For over a month now war has once more been raging in the Middle East. It is an open and widespread war between two fraternal, neighbouring countries, both Members of the United Nations, both members of the non-aligned movement and of the Islamic Conference. It is a war which has brought about too great a loss of human life and too much material damage, a war which endangers peace and stability in a particularly sensitive region of the world and which carries the seeds of a still vaster conflagration of unforeseeable consequences for international peace and security.

59. In spite of the determined and unremitting action taken by the Council since the outbreak of hostilities, despite the unflagging efforts of the Secretary-General, the praiseworthy attempts at mediation by regional bodies such as the Islamic Conference, or by the non-aligned movement, in spite of all these co-ordinated and convergent undertakings, the situation between Iraq and Iran on the spot, far from improving, has not ceased to deteriorate. Attacks against the civilian population are continuing and being intensified, the bombing of schools and hospitals is continuing, the destruction of industrial centres is increasing and the security of navigation and of international trade is jeopardized.

60. Those are the horrors of war with all their retinue of sorrow and despair—a fratricidal war, which, in the last analysis, can profit neither party but which undoubtedly exposes the whole region to dangers, the consequences of which are unforeseeable.

61. In this connection, we are obliged to note a certain mobilization, if not concentration, of forces in the region by third parties. My delegation sincerely trusts that it does not detect therein the commencement of the involvement of third States. It is happy to note that the great Powers, conscious of their responsibilities, should thus far have given proof of sufficient wisdom not to intervene directly in the conflict. However, my delegation is concerned: it is concerned as are all the other members of the Council which feel the weight of responsibility incumbent upon them in the face of the dangerous evolution of the situation.

62. Have we the right here in the Council to allow the economic stability of the world and its security to depend on such a fragile balance? Can we allow

international peace and security to depend on a unilateral action and even of an act of desperation?

63. Tunisia, which, since the outbreak of hostilities, has publicly expressed its emotion and concern, remains especially worried. On the occasion of the Muslim holiday of Id Al-Adha on 19 October, President Habib Bourguiba reiterated the expression of his profound concern and urged the two countries, in a message that he addressed to the Presidents of Iraq and Iran:

“to spare no effort to bring about the cessation of the fighting that rages between brothers and to put an end to the resulting blood bath in order that dialogue may replace the killing and the conflict be settled by peaceful means”.

64. Tunisia, which has always had faith in United Nations action and which has always supported the decisions of the Council aimed at restoring peace and security whenever they have been endangered, considers it the duty of the Council to pronounce on the following: first, on the need to put an end to hostilities and the use of arms; next, on the need to settle the conflict on the basis of justice and law and, to that end, to re-examine the causes that are at the root of the present situation in order to create the necessary conditions to promote the launching of a process of negotiation which, as we see it, is the sole course capable of enabling the two parties to prove the legitimacy of their claims and to overcome the phase of blind confrontation.

65. While the Council has no right to turn itself into a tribunal or court of justice or to presume to define the responsibilities of either of the parties in the conflict or in the creation of the extremely serious situation that we are witnessing; while it is not up to us, solely on the basis of the information that we possess, to pronounce in all impartiality and equity on the degree of responsibility of a State which formally denounces a treaty as compared to the State which is supposed to have denounced it by its deeds; while it is not for us yet to determine with precision whether the crossing of frontiers by regular troops stems from a concerted plan or is the result of attitudes of provocation, it is, however, our obligation to recall here the principles which we must all as Members of the United Nations adhere to and which should govern our international relations. It is for us to recall that the Charter imposes on us the obligation of respecting the sovereignty, the political independence and the territorial integrity of States and of refraining from any interference in the internal affairs of other States. In addition it stipulates in its provisions the non-recourse to the threat or use of force and the non-acquisition of territory by force. Lastly, it establishes that the settlement of disputes should be achieved through peaceful means.

66. That confers on the Security Council the responsibility and the duty to continue its consideration of the

situation that prevails between two Member States with a view to finding appropriate solutions likely to help the two parties to put an end to their conflict, in accordance with the spirit and the letter of the Charter.

67. My delegation is happy to note that, thanks to the efforts undertaken by the Secretary-General and by the Security Council since the outbreak of hostilities, contacts have now been officially established with the Governments of the two countries at war. That the representatives of both Iran and Iraq should come before the Council to explain the respective theses of their Governments is in itself something positive, regardless of the positions that may be taken and statements that may be made publicly in such circumstances. We, for our part, wish to see in this the confirmation of the primary role of the Organization in the settlement of the conflict. Equally we want to see in this an attempt to resort to the confrontation of speeches rather than the language of weapons. The Council must therefore adopt the responsible and consistent attitude that is desirable to promote and encourage such an approach.

68. Indeed, my delegation considers it of primary importance that the contacts thus established should be maintained and strengthened through the Secretary-General, whose offer of good offices is still valid, or through the Islamic Conference, the non-aligned movement or any other third party. I should like to explain, in this connection, that, in our endeavours to find a solution likely to put an end to the crisis between the two neighbours, we have maintained continued contacts with the two parties to the dispute.

69. In the opinion of my delegation, the situation requires that the Council should remain vigilant and that it should be ready, if necessary, to set up the machinery required to make it possible to separate the two belligerents, while creating conditions propitious for the establishment of a direct dialogue or a dialogue in the presence of a mediator that would lead to a solution of the dispute.

70. In our search for any solution, we must ensure that any delimitation of boundaries would leave no room for subsequent confrontation. We must ensure that all the legitimate claims of the two parties are met, in keeping with justice and the need for peaceful coexistence between the two brother countries. Any honourable solution of the conflict should be just and well-balanced while opening the path to co-operation between the two countries. All seeds of disagreement should be eliminated once and for all in order that the Iranian and Iraqi peoples may meet without rancour or desire for revenge.

71. The Secretary-General, whose help was requested by all the members of the Council, as well as by the two parties to the dispute, and to whom I wish to pay tribute for the talent, perseverance and spirit of initiative that he has displayed, should, in our

view, explore in greater depth all possibilities of defining action by the Council to separate the two belligerents.

72. It is in that direction that all our efforts should converge; it is equally along that course in the long run that we may find conditions likely to ensure the restoration of confidence and calm for the two parties in the dispute and for the countries in the region as a whole. In so doing, we would be fully assuming our responsibilities under the Charter which governs our work and contributing to the safeguarding of international peace and security.

73. Mr. FUTSCHER PEREIRA (Portugal): Mr. President, as this is the first time my delegation is speaking in the Council this month, I should like to congratulate you on the very able way in which you have been conducting our work. As in the past, your experience, wisdom and remarkable diplomatic skills, which we all deeply admire, have proved invaluable in guiding the Council during the difficult challenges it has been facing.

74. I should like also to pay tribute to your predecessor, my friend Ambassador Slim of Tunisia, for the effectiveness and dedication he displayed during his arduous term of office last month.

75. During the general debate at the present session of the General Assembly, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Portugal³ expressed the concern with which my Government viewed two countries, both non-aligned and sharing the same religion, fighting each other in open warfare. Before that, my delegation had already addressed the matter when resolution 479 (1980) was adopted unanimously by the Council [2248th meeting]. At that time, we appealed to the parties to stop the fighting and to initiate discussions on their differences with a view to solving them through peaceful means, thus stopping the unnecessary suffering being inflicted upon their populations.

76. Unfortunately, the Council's decision, even though it expressed the will of the international community, went unheeded. All the appeals and efforts that have been made by the Secretary-General, the Islamic Conference, the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries and several respected world leaders—to all of which my Government pays tribute—have so far had no result.

77. In this respect, my delegation wishes to acknowledge and say how grateful we are for the efforts made by the Secretary-General to alleviate some of the indirect effects of the war on refugees and foreign workers, on the ships trapped in the Shatt Al-Arab and on Iranian officials—who have now been released by the Iraqi authorities—which in some cases have already produced positive results.

78. It must be understood by both parties that the efforts made by the world community reflect the very

serious concern felt by all responsible Governments at the continuance of this tragic conflict. The Security Council, guided by its duty under the Charter to maintain peace and security, has tried through the means at its disposal to fulfil its obligation. But, parallel to this obligation, every Member State has the duty, which was freely accepted when it signed the Charter, to recognize the authority of the Council and to abide by its decisions.

79. Security Council resolution 479 (1980), which was adopted unanimously, was the first step on what was recognized to be a very difficult path. It was and still is an appeal to calm, moderation and rationality. Irrespective of the claims and counter-claims, both parties are duty bound to explore all possible avenues that might stop the bloodshed and destruction.

80. The principles governing relations between sovereign States have evolved through history and are now clearly enshrined in the Charter. It is imperative that these principles be respected by all countries and in all circumstances. It should not be necessary to repeat that the law is the only protection of the weak and that those who by disrespecting it help to undermine the rule of law may later regret its demise.

81. Only a just and fair settlement of the conflict between Iran and Iraq will bring lasting peace to the area. This solution will have to take into account the basic principles of the Charter, especially those concerning the obligation to settle disputes by peaceful means, non-interference in the internal affairs of other States and the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force.

82. It is the duty of the Security Council and the international community to go on trying to impress upon the parties that only through strict adherence to the principles that should govern relations between States can international peace and harmony be maintained.

83. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): I shall now speak as the representative of the UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS.

84. The delegation of the Soviet Union listened with close attention to the statements made recently in the Council by the Prime Minister of Iran, and the Foreign Minister of Iraq. We welcome the fact that the sides decided to be represented here at such a high level. This testifies to the significance which they attach to the work of the Security Council.

85. The statements of the representatives of Iran and Iraq revealed their positions with regard to the military conflict that has arisen between those neighbouring non-aligned States, which, to our profound regret, has been going on for more than a month now. It is quite obvious that the continuance of this military conflict, the difficulties in bringing it to an immediate

end and also the threat of a further expansion of hostilities could lead to extremely dangerous consequences for the cause of international peace and security. This cannot fail to arouse the alarm of all true friends of the Iraqi and Iranian peoples.

86. These events have caused feelings of profound concern in the Soviet Union, a country bordering on Iran and in the immediate vicinity of Iraq which maintains comprehensive friendly relations with those States and is linked to them by relevant treaties.

87. The attitude of the Soviet Union has always been one of attention to and concern for the needs and fundamental interests of the countries of the Middle and Near East. This can be shown by a multiplicity of examples. I would mention in particular that in January this year the United States and certain other countries introduced a proposal in the Council [S/13735] concerning an embargo on trade with Iran. At that time it was precisely the Soviet Union which prevented this and, at a time of extreme difficulty for Iran, took a position favourable to that country.

88. We are also very much concerned by the fact that this tragic conflict between two countries that are both friendly to us is occurring precisely at a time when each of the two peoples is going through a very difficult period in its development and is faced by major social, economic and other problems. It is clear that neither Iraq nor Iran stands to gain anything from mutual destruction and bloodshed and the disruption of each other's economy. After all, peaceful inhabitants, including women, children and old persons, are perishing in the flames of war. Thousands of persons have been left homeless. Considerable material damage has been done to major industrial enterprises, airports, roads, bridges and so on.

89. From the very outset, the Soviet Union's position on the Iran-Iraq conflict has been clear cut and consistent. The Soviet delegation would like once again to stress with the utmost clarity that the Soviet Union favours an early political settlement of the conflict, primarily through efforts made by both sides to seek solutions to the problems between them.

90. It is clear that at the present time war and the use of force cannot and must not be a means of resolving disputes between States. Iran and Iraq must settle at the conference table the controversial issues between them. In that regard, it is our view that it is extremely important for the sides to achieve immediate agreement on at least those questions that can be settled right now, so that a settlement of other issues on which they find it impossible to come to an agreement today may be reached subsequently, when it will probably be easier to resolve those issues.

91. In confirming the Soviet Union's position of principle on non-intervention in the conflict between Iraq and Iran, the Soviet delegation would like to stress

that our country vigorously opposes the attempts of other Powers to intervene in the affairs of States of the Persian Gulf area, using the Iran-Iraq conflict for that purpose.

92. It is difficult to believe that it was simply a tragic misunderstanding which pitted two peoples against each other at a time so difficult for both of them. Imperialists and reactionary forces have been very anxious to use for their own purposes each of the belligerents and to re-establish their domination over Iran. There are forces at work, in the conditions of continuing hostilities, that are striving further to destabilize the situation in the Middle and Near East—a situation that was already alive with tension—and to create in that way a pretext for firmly strengthening control over that region's oil and other natural resources.

93. The President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, stated the following:

“the Persian Gulf region, like any other region of the world, is the sphere of vital interest of the States that are in the region, and not of some others; and no one has the right to meddle from outside in their affairs, to appear in the role of their guardians or self-styled ‘guards of order’.

“It is only with this in view that the problems of that region can be settled justly, in the interest of peaceful co-operation of States, whether in the political or the economic sphere.”

94. The delegation of the Soviet Union believes that the Security Council, which under the Charter bears the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, should play its proper role in promoting a settlement of the Iran-Iraq conflict. Of course, the Council should base its work towards that end on the principles of the Charter, and primarily the three principles listed in the following order in Article 2: the obligation of all States Members to settle their international disputes by peaceful means; their obligation to refrain in their international relations from the use of force; and their obligation not to intervene in the domestic affairs of States. In our view, the implementation of those principles and purposes will be assisted by the parallel efforts being undertaken within the framework of the non-aligned countries to settle the conflict.

The meeting rose at 12.35 p.m.

NOTES

¹ See *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council, 1980*, p. 23.

² See United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 1017, No. 14903.

³ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fifth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 31st meeting.

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