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NOTE

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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.

2175th MEETING

Held in New York on Saturday, 1 December 1979, at 9.00 p.m.

President: Mr. CHEN Chu (China).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Bangladesh, Bolivia, China, Czechoslovakia, France, Gabon, Jamaica, Kuwait, Nigeria, Norway, Portugal, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zambia.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2175)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. Letter dated 25 November 1979 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/13646)

The meeting was called to order at 9.25 p.m.

Expression of thanks to the retiring President

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): Allow me, on behalf of the members of the Council, to express to Ambassador Palacios de Vizzio, Permanent Representative of Bolivia, our deep appreciation for the successful and outstanding way in which, as President for the month of November, he presided over the Council's extremely difficult work last month.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Letter dated 25 November 1979 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/13646)

2. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): In accordance with the decision taken at the 2172nd meeting, I invite the representative of Sri Lanka to take the place reserved for him at the side of the Council chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Fernando (Sri Lanka) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council chamber.

3. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): I should also like to inform the members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Egypt and Liberia, in which they request 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 those representatives to participate in the dis-

cussion 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. Abdel Meguid (Egypt) and Mr. Tubman (Liberia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

4. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): I wish to inform the Council that the Chargé d'affaires of the Permanent Mission of Iran to the United Nations, Mr. Jamal Shemirani, officially informed the outgoing President of the Council yesterday that, on the instructions of his Government, Iran does not intend to be present at this evening's meeting.

5. I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to the following documents which are before them: document S/13648, a letter dated 26 November from the Permanent Representative of Pakistan addressed to the Secretary-General; document S/13659, a telegram dated 27 November from the Chairman of the Permanent Council of the Organization of American States addressed to the President of the Security Council; document S/13667, letter dated 30 November from the Permanent Representative of Guinea addressed to the Secretary-General; and document S/13668, a letter dated 30 November from the Permanent Representative of Ireland addressed to the Secretary-General.

6. Mr. McHENRY (United States of America): Twenty-seven days ago, 63 Americans, as well as personnel of other nationalities, were seized when an armed, disciplined group of demonstrators invaded the United States Embassy at Teheran. Eighteen of those captured have been released. At least 50 Americans remain captive.

7. As with diplomats everywhere, the individuals who were taken hostage are entitled to the protection of the Government of Iran by the most solemn commitment nations can give—the sovereign pledge of Governments by treaty and international obligation.

8. Governments of course retain the right to require that foreign diplomatic personnel leave their soil. But every standard of international behaviour, whether established by practice, by ethics, by treaty or by common humanity, supports the principle that the personnel of a diplomatic mission and diplomatic property are inviolate. Even in the darkest moments of relationships between countries, the security and well-being of diplomatic personnel have been respected.

9. Iran asks that its grievances be heard and acted upon. Yet Iran and the authorities who speak for it are violating the most basic obligation of nations. They hold hostage the very people whose job it is to facilitate communications and resolve differences, thus producing understanding and agreement among nations.

10. None of us, whatever our differences on other issues, can ignore the implications for all of us of this event.

11. Nor can the world ignore that these diplomatic representatives are being held under degrading conditions. They are threatened, kept bound, isolated, not allowed to speak, denied mail. Even their whereabouts are uncertain. All of us at this table are also diplomatic representatives of our countries, charged with the same duties and protected by the same laws and rules of conduct as those now held captive at Teheran. It is for all of us to speak up to demand their release, and to insist upon basic conditions of humanity for their care pending their release, including daily visits by impartial observers.

12. Many Members of the United Nations, including some members of the Council, have had ambassadors murdered, diplomatic personnel injured, embassy facilities destroyed. On each occasion the delicate framework of the international community was harmed, but efforts were made to heal the wounds. The situation at Teheran has a feature unlike other assaults on the diplomatic ties that bind our world. In Iran, the Government itself defends the violence which holds diplomats hostage. Such a situation is intolerable.

13. The United States insists that its diplomatic personnel be released and that its diplomatic premises be restored. These are not negotiable matters. The United States will hold the authorities in Iran fully responsible for the safety of the Americans now held captive.

14. I speak today for hostages who are endangered by the frenzy and uncertainty of events, by the inhumane conditions under which they are held, and by the threat of the authorities in Iran to compound unjust acts through trials.

15. Around the world, nations of East and West, North and South, in individual and collective statements have expressed their opposition to this violation of international law and called for the immediate release of the hostages. We express our appreciation for this overwhelming expression of international concern and support in behalf of the principles that lie at the heart of civilized international behaviour.

16. In this spirit, the United States appreciates the fact that the President of the Security Council, speaking on behalf of the members of this body, has twice urgently appealed for the release of the hostages. The President of the General Assembly has twice spoken eloquently in support of that plea. The Secretary-General has worked unceasingly to resolve this crisis. There has not been a satisfactory response to date and the hostages are still not free. We gather here to determine what more can be done.

17. None of us is deaf to the passionate voices that speak of injustice, that cry out against past wrongs and that ask

for understanding. There is not a single grievance in this situation, alleged or spoken, that could not be heard in an appropriate forum. In addition, as we have said from the beginning, the United States remains ready, upon the release of the hostages, to discuss with the Iranian authorities the differences which exist between us and to seek their resolution.

18. But no country can call for justice while at the same time denying it to the defenceless. No country can breach the most fundamental rules of the community of nations and at the same time expect that community to be helpful in the problems which it perceives for itself. In the simplest terms, no country can break and ignore the law while seeking its benefits.

19. What is it that the world can agree upon if not the protection of and respect for those whom we appoint to represent our sovereignty and resolve our differences?

20. How tragic for Iran, how tragic for the world, that the threats to peace are being driven to a new crescendo. The most powerful voices in Iran have encouraged violence in neighbouring countries and condoned bloodshed rather than condemning it. In addition, totally unfounded charges which can only inflame the situation have been made against the United States with respect to the current crisis.

21. The United States in all the years of its history has had as a fundamental principle the freedom of all people to worship as they choose. Out of this history and long association we honour and respect the leaders and the nations of Islam.

22. The principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other nations is a tenet of both the United Nations and the foreign policy of the United States and that includes, of course, respect for the territorial integrity, political independence and sovereignty of Iran. We respect the right of the people of Iran to determine their own future through institutions of their own choosing and all of us must accept their decisions.

23. The President of the United States, speaking for a unified and determined nation, has made it clear that we are seeking a peaceful resolution in this conflict and so, in this spirit and in an effort to heal the wounds of the past, the United States has turned to the Security Council and the Secretary-General. In the same spirit, the United States has begun proceedings in the International Court of Justice.

24. There is in the United States a unity of purpose, a disciplined sensitivity to the needs of peace, a determination to search out peaceful means to bring this dispute to a just conclusion and also a determination to do what must be done to protect our fellow citizens and the rule of law. That unity of purpose is shared by all Americans. But make no mistake. Beneath that discipline is a seething anger which Americans properly feel as they witness daily on television new threats and outrages against our fellow citizens.

25. The hostages must be freed.

26. Mr. ÅLGÅRD (Norway): The Norwegian Government welcomes and fully supports the Secretary-General's request for this urgent meeting of the Security Council. We share his concern over this grave situation. We want to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General for his tireless efforts to secure the release of the hostages and to defuse the crisis.

27. It is the firm view of the Norwegian Government that the hostages in Iran must be released without delay. The taking of hostages for whatever purpose, is totally unacceptable and must be rejected. The seizure of the American Embassy at Teheran and the holding of its personnel as hostages amount to flagrant violations of some of the basic rules of international law enshrined in the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations¹ of 1961 to which Iran is a party.

28. This view was clearly expressed in the statement made by the President of the Security Council on behalf of its members on 9 November [S/13616]. It was strongly reiterated on 27 November [2172nd meeting]. It is now high time that the Iranian authorities complied with these repeated appeals.

29. It is incumbent on the Council as a whole to assist constructively in the search for a peaceful solution to the problem in conformity with the principles of justice and international law. However, the Council can only proceed with its consideration of other aspects of this matter after the Government of Iran has complied with the appeals of the Council.

30. Norway pays a tribute to the President of the United States for the courageous and mature leadership he has provided for his nation at a time when it has been put to a severe test. His deep commitment to finding a peaceful solution has our full support. The United States can rely in its demand for the release of the hostages upon the support of the world community. The action by the Iranian students, condoned by the Iranian authorities, is a challenge not only to the United States, but to all of us, as we have a common stake in the inviolability of the basic principles of international law which must govern relations between nations.

31. In conclusion, I have been authorized by the Governments of the other Nordic countries, Denmark, Iceland, Finland and Sweden, to state that they join us at this meeting of the Security Council in our deep concern over the fate of the United States diplomatic personnel held hostage at Teheran in violation of international treaties and norms of international conduct respected by the community of nations throughout the ages. They too give their firm support to the action taken by the Secretary-General and to the appeals issued by the President of the Council demanding the immediate release of the hostages and their safe return to their homeland.

32. Mr. FUTSCHER PEREIRA (Portugal): I should like to begin by expressing to the Secretary-General the deepest appreciation of the Portuguese delegation for his relentless efforts in trying to find solutions to this most grave situation

which we have gathered here to examine and which has prompted him to ask for the convening of this meeting.

33. The assault on the United States Embassy at Teheran, the taking as hostages of the American diplomatic personnel and, above all, the approval of those acts by the Iranian leaders constitute, in the view of the Portuguese Government, a violation not only of the most elementary human rights, but also of the basic principles of international law, which are vital for organizations like the United Nations.

34. We are told by the Iranian leaders that the hostages have not been and are not being ill-treated. We most earnestly hope not, but the mere fact of their having been deprived of their freedom during four long weeks under degrading conditions and of their not being allowed to communicate with the outside world is in itself an inexcusable form of cruel and inhuman treatment.

35. In any country, the rule of law is the best defence of ordinary people against oppression and tyranny. Similarly, between States, international law is the only defence of the small, poor and weak countries against the rich and powerful.

36. As the United Nations organ primarily responsible for maintaining peace and security, the Security Council has the duty uncompromisingly to defend and uphold international law and the principles and procedures that allow for the peaceful solution of conflicts.

37. The system of international relations is a painstakingly built edifice of which diplomatic immunities are an essential pillar. As the Portuguese Government made clear in its statement issued on 20 November:

“The violation of diplomatic immunities represents . . . a serious breach of the norms governing relations between States, which nothing can legitimize or justify. These principles constitute the main thrust of the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations, as well the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes against Internationally Protected Persons, including Diplomatic Agents [General Assembly resolution 3166 (XXVIII)], instruments to which Iran is a party”.

38. The accepted rules of diplomatic practice and the statute of immunity that all nations of the world have agreed to grant reciprocally to each other's diplomatic personnel are indeed to the *sine qua non* both for peaceful coexistence between States and for rational discussion of existing differences. Without them, the whole process of international relations would become impossible, and we would not be able to sit around this very table.

39. It is precisely because it threatens, at an essential level, the possibility of a peaceful dialogue between States with different social and political structures, often with opposing interests or even in a situation of open conflicts, that the violation of these rules constitutes such a serious threat to peace and security.

40. If the letter recently addressed to the Secretary-General by the former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Iran

¹ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 500, p. 95.

[S/13626] is still to be taken as expressing the point of view of the Iranian leaders, it would seem that Iran wishes to see the Council analyse the responsibilities of the former ruler of that country and those of his supporters, at home and abroad, for the situation in that country today.

41. It is, of course, the right of every Member of the United Nations to bring to the attention of the Council any issue considered to fall within its competence, but my delegation thinks that we should not lose sight of a few relevant facts.

42. The first is that the writing of past history does not seem to fall within the competence of the Council. The second is that it is doubtful whether the Council is competent to pass judgement on deposed régimes. And the third, and most obvious, is that the threat to peace and security which has forced us to meet has arisen from the taking and detention of American diplomatic hostages at Teheran a month ago, and not from the events which may have led to that detention.

43. That is why, in the opinion of the Portuguese delegation, before any discussion can be held about past circumstances that may have led to the present crisis that threat must be removed—that is, those hostages should be released. Then, and only then, will the international community be able to dedicate all its attention to the issues raised by Iran in both the competent organs of the United Nations and all other appropriate international bodies.

44. States wishing to avail themselves of the United Nations machinery must abide by the fundamental rules of international law. If they fail to respect those principles and the commitments undertaken through the agreements to which they have subscribed, they lose the moral authority to level accusations at others.

45. The Portuguese delegation deeply regrets the decision of Iran not to participate in this meeting, which was adjourned a week ago precisely to allow it to be present. Nevertheless, we hope that the present leaders of Iran will heed all the appeals addressed to them for the immediate release of the diplomats who lived in Iran, relying in good faith on the protection of their hosts. That, and that only, no matter what grievances Iran might feel it has against the United States, will be in keeping with the honourable traditions of Iranian culture and with the basic principles of justice embodied in Islam.

46. Before concluding, I should like to express the personal solidarity of all members of the Portuguese delegation with our colleagues detained in Iran, who at this moment are certainly hoping that all their fellow diplomats, wherever they may be around the world, are trying their utmost to secure their release and the regaining of their freedom and their dignity.

47. Sir Anthony PARSONS (United Kingdom): It would be difficult to underestimate the gravity of a situation which has induced the Secretary-General to take the rare initiative of bringing a matter to the attention of the Security Council in accordance with Article 99 of the Charter.

48. We are all very grateful to the President of the Council for the month of November, the representative of Bolivia, and to the Secretary-General for the ceaseless and vigorous activity which they have deployed in recent weeks to bring about an early solution to the problem which confronts us.

49. In a recent statement in the House of Commons in London, my Prime Minister described the taking of the United States Embassy as an outrage to diplomatic relations everywhere. She went on to say that we would do anything we could to assist our friends the Americans in the grievous position in which they and the American hostages found themselves.

50. What has happened in Iran is not only a clear violation of international law; it has also caused much suffering to the hostages themselves and to their families. My delegation extends its warmest sympathy to them.

51. My delegation, and indeed the whole world, have been made aware through the events of the past 18 months of the deep feelings of the people of Iran towards the previous régime in that country. We have been made aware that the Iranian people believe that they have suffered major deprivations of their human rights and misappropriation of the wealth of the State. In a statement issued at Dublin on 30 November [S/13668], the Heads of State or Government and the Foreign Ministers of the nine member States of the European Community expressed their consciousness of the importance which the Iranian people attach to the changes which have taken place in their country.

52. Nevertheless, these feelings, however strongly held, in no way justify the invasion of diplomatic property and the taking and the holding of hostages. In the statement of the nine member States of the European Community to which I have referred, the point was emphasized that it was fundamental that diplomatic missions should be protected. The failure to uphold this principle and the taking of hostages to exert pressure on Governments was totally unacceptable. It was, the statement went on, the duty of all Governments to oppose energetically such a breach of international law.

53. I reiterate the call made in that statement for Iran to respect fully the rights of others and observe the established principles that govern relations between States. I urge the Iranian authorities most strongly to ensure the well-being of the hostages, to take action immediately to release them in complete safety and allow them to return to their own country. This is the burden of the appeal which your predecessor, Mr. President, issued last month on behalf of all of us in the Council. The release of the hostages is an essential pre-condition of the peaceful resolution of the remaining issues between the Governments of Iran and the United States.

54. My delegation believes that the Security Council must remain seized of this problem until a satisfactory conclusion is reached, and I would urge you, Mr. President, and the Secretary-General to continue the search for ways and means of achieving our immediate objective—the early release of the hostages and their safe return to the United States.

55. Mr. N'DONG (Gabon) (*interpretation from French*): The situation created by the state of relations between the United States and Iran is sufficiently grave to deserve thorough examination on the part of the Security Council, and the Secretary-General was not wrong to take the welcome initiative of convening the present meeting. I should like to take this occasion, therefore, to congratulate him on it, in view of the serious threat weighing upon international peace and security as a result of this situation, to which your predecessor, Mr. President, Ambassador Palacios de Vizzio, alluded.

56. In this context, my delegation wishes to say how deeply preoccupied it is by the course which events seem to be taking. Indeed, if free rein is given to passions and impulsiveness, peace, security and stability, not only in the region but throughout the whole world, will be seriously threatened. There is no need to repeat here how disastrous the consequences would be.

57. The use of force, be it military, economic, spiritual or other, leads nowhere, because it implies a total lack of respect for the human person. It is perhaps appropriate to say that the deliberate disregard of this principle underlies the present situation, which all of us deplore. Once the validity of this evident proposition is recognized, it follows that the best settlement of this dispute lies in peaceful dialogue, which alone is capable of generating respect for man as such.

58. There is no doubt that Iran at present constitutes a spiritual force that must be reckoned with, especially since that country, the cradle of an ancient civilization, draws its energy from within itself. But if this force is to be recognized for what it is, it must not defy the universally recognized principles which are the very ones that can confer upon it that mark of seriousness without which it cannot achieve the full measure of its international dimension. For, unless it wishes to live in isolation, no State can claim to be part of the great community of nations while ignoring the principles which confer that right on it, and which, moreover, are recognized by all systems, whether religious, political or philosophical.

59. Indeed, I have read in a major French daily an article by Mr. Maxime Robinson, director of studies at the *Ecole pratique des Hautes Etudes*, in which he said that

"the States of the Moslem world during the classical era, like everybody else, had necessarily to negotiate with external Powers. It has been recognized since prehistoric times that there can be no negotiation without rules to safeguard the negotiators.

"The extensive body of ideal standards that are called Moslem law scarcely deals with this problem. It speaks of the rights and obligations of believers or of the community of believers. But these were rules derived from pre-Islamic Arab customs and confirmed by Islam according to which a believer could grant safe conduct, or protection called an *amân*—to non-Moslems, real or potential enemies. Diplomatic envoys automatically enjoyed the privilege of the *amân*."

The author concludes by saying that "for the Islamic religion as well, diplomatic immunity is a sacred rule".

60. Respect for these diplomatic customs is even more fundamental for countries such as ours, which owe their very existence in the face of power politics and hegemony of all kinds to the recognition of this international law, which has brought us all together here, in spite of our differences, our all-too-often deep opposition and our respective dimensions.

61. Accordingly, despite our sympathy for the cause defended by the Iranians, we are bound to regret the fact that the diplomatic personnel of a mission, as well as its premises, should be the object of aggression and violation, because, need we recall, article 22 of the Vienna Convention of 1961 stipulates that:

"The premises of the mission shall be inviolable. The agents of the receiving State may not enter them, except with the consent of the head of the mission."

Therefore, we fully approved, and are still in agreement with, the statement of the President of the Council of 9 November, in which he urged in the strongest terms that the diplomatic personnel being held in Iran be released without delay and provided protection.

62. If our attitude is clear in terms of principles, it is just as clear in terms of the lessons to be drawn from this experience. Indeed, this experience proves quite eloquently that force does not necessarily reside in power, and that in this century of interdependence, where everything is being done with the participation of us all in this world organization to work closely together as peoples in every way possible, this should be a time not for confrontation but for harmonization, the essential condition of the "dialogue of nations" referred to by the President of the Republic of Gabon in his work of that title.

63. Rather than darken even further "a horizon heavy with tragedy", it seems to us that we must, above all, try to brighten it so that it may recover its former serenity. There can be no doubt that the two principal parties concerned—Iran and the United States—are convinced of this. It is in this context of the search for a peaceful solution, which should lead in principle to the immediate liberation of the hostages, that the delegation of Gabon will support any new initiative of the Council that is likely to end this conflict.

64. Mr. LEPRÉTE (France) (*interpretation from French*): When, at the request of the Secretary-General, the Security Council decided to meet it thus demonstrated its grave concern at the possible repercussions of the existing tension in the relations between the United States and Iran. I wish to state that my delegation shares the concern of other members of the Council at the recent developments in the situation, and that we fully associate ourselves with the efforts undertaken to put an end to this very serious crisis. In particular, we wish to express our gratitude to the Secretary-General for his activities during these past weeks. We should like to pay a tribute also to your predecessor, Mr. President, for the appeals he made and for his perseverance, skill and calmness.

65. As the Council of Ministers of the French Republic recalled following its meeting on 21 November, France views as paramount the principle of respect for the independence of States and the right of each people to determine

freely their political, economic and social choices. This has guided our actions in our relations with Iran and in our attitude with regard to the Iranian revolution. We were prepared to hear Iran express its aspirations before the international community which we represent.

66. Likewise, France recognizes the reality and significance of the Iranian revolution; this was confirmed by the President of the French Republic during his televised interview on 27 November. However, the President also emphasized the unacceptability of any violation of international law, and in particular the taking of hostages among diplomatic personnel who are covered throughout the entire world by conventions that are respected by all.

67. The fundamental principles of international law and the general rules governing relations among States, in particular those relating to diplomatic immunities, are in accordance with universal law and apply to all, in all circumstances. They have been established over the course of history precisely in order to preserve the peaceful nature of international relations, and this has been in the interest of all States and of the weaker even more than of the stronger. This is not the opinion of France alone, but of its partners in the European Community as well, as was strongly reaffirmed on 30 November by the Council of Heads of State or Government of the nine members of the European Community at its meeting at Dublin [*ibid.*]. It is also that of virtually all members of the international community.

68. Thus, while understanding the feelings of the Iranian people and believing that their complaints deserve consideration, my country once again makes an urgent appeal for the return of the hostages safe and sound to their country and their anxious families and for a solution to be found through the means provided by international law to the tragic situation that has been the cause of our meeting.

69. Mr. PALACIOS de VIZZIO (Bolivia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Allow me to express my most sincere appreciation to you, Mr. President, for the very kind words you addressed to me and my thanks for similar statements made by my colleagues of the Council. I wish also to express my gratitude to the Secretary-General for the efficient and constant co-operation that he himself and the members of the Secretariat gave me during my term as President of the Council.

70. My delegation wishes to express its profound concern at the gravity of the events that have occurred recently at Teheran with regard to relations between the United States and Iran. The repercussions of those events not only endanger international peace and security; they also constitute a serious threat to the very stability of the international system, based as it is on respect for the elementary and universally accepted principles of international law. The decision of the Secretary-General to call for an urgent meeting of the Council could not therefore have been more wise or more timely.

71. In its statement on 9 November, reiterated at its meeting of 27 November, the Council has made known its unanimous concern at the prolonged detention of American diplomatic personnel at Teheran in violation of interna-

tional conventions currently in force. The Council also appealed to the Government of Iran to release all diplomatic personnel as soon as possible and to grant them the necessary protection.

72. Similarly, on 26 November the Permanent Council of the Organization of American States, of which my country is a member, adopted a declaration which stated in its main part

“that the occupation of the United States Embassy in Iran and the detention of members of its staff as hostages constitute actions which clearly violate the principles and rules of international law and may also constitute a factor disrupting harmonious international coexistence”

and which appealed

“to the Government of Iran that, in compliance with universally recognized international law and practice, it terminate the occupation of the United States Embassy in Teheran, secure the release of all hostages and provide them with adequate security and appropriate guarantees” [S/13659].

73. Such statements eloquently demonstrate the attitude the international community has taken concerning a precise fact. The taking of hostages from among diplomatic personnel, with the apparent support of a Government, is an extremely dangerous precedent that must be avoided by all States. Otherwise, the most elementary ground rules of the international community would give way to chaos.

74. The delegation of Bolivia gave favourable consideration to the formal request by the delegation of Iran for a postponement of the Council's official deliberations on this matter, since we were firmly convinced that the presence of representatives of the Government of Iran at the highest level would have made it possible to have a positive dialogue. The exchange of views and negotiation are the most suitable, if not the only, means to arrive at the peaceful solution of disputes among States and the development of sound relations, and this is all the more true when such exchanges are supported and sponsored by one of the world's most important political organs, the Security Council.

75. For those reasons, my delegation profoundly deplores the decision of the Government of Iran not to participate in the present deliberations. Nevertheless, since it cannot be otherwise, the Council must make a suitable response to this challenge. In the opinion of my delegation, this means that in the present circumstances, it must make every possible effort to devise a scenario that will permit the initiation and development of constructive negotiations. To this end, my delegation believes that the participation and good offices of the Secretary-General are and will be of fundamental importance.

76. In the consideration of the present problem, my delegation's primary and fundamental concern is humanitarian in nature. We consider that the release of the hostages must take place promptly, nay immediately.

77. In this regard, without speaking of conditions, without speaking of any prior requirements, and with all the

respect and understanding accorded by the people and Government of Bolivia to the people of Iran—a brother people in the non-aligned movement—in the difficult and emotional moment of history they are experiencing, we wish simply to state an incontrovertible fact: were the urgent appeal of the international community to be considered favourably by the leaders of Iran, who at present hold in their hands the power of decision, the international image and negotiating position of that country would be enormously improved.

78. Mr. KAISER (Bangladesh): Bangladesh fully shares the concern expressed by the Secretary-General in his letter to the President of the Security Council that the grave situation which has arisen in relations between the United States and Iran poses a serious threat to peace and security. Since that time, the situation has further deteriorated as tensions continue to escalate. The threat to peace and stability in the region, and indeed in the whole world, is a matter which must receive the most urgent and serious attention of the Council.

79. In this context, as a member of the Council, Bangladesh deems it important to recall the statement of 9 November by the President of the Council and his strong reiteration of the unanimous appeal on behalf of all Council members on 27 November, urgently asking for the release and protection of diplomatic personnel detained in Iran since 4 November.

80. Bangladesh firmly believes that upholding the principles of the Charter of the United Nations as well as international law and conventions is a binding obligation on all Member States, and their observance and promotion are the ultimate safeguard of all nations.

81. The allegations by the Government of Iran about injustices and violations of human rights committed by the previous régime deserve to be considered in the Council on their merits. In the absence of the representative of Iran, we request the Secretary-General to get in touch with and assure the Government of Iran that Iran's case, if presented to the Council, would receive full and fair consideration. For its part, Bangladesh would do everything possible to ensure that Iran's case received fair and just consideration under international law.

82. Consistent with our unswerving commitment to the principles of the Charter and the peaceful settlement of disputes, and in conformity with the Islamic principles of tolerance, compassion and magnanimity and, above all, of peace and justice, Bangladesh believes that it is imperative that the Council should explore all avenues for a peaceful and honourable settlement of this problem. It should be our collective effort to do everything in our power to defuse the present tense situation and work with restraint towards a negotiated settlement in conformity with international law.

83. In this context, we highly commend the Secretary-General's efforts to find such a peaceful solution to this crisis. We assure him of our fullest co-operation and support in his continuing endeavours.

84. We hope that the present discussion will be objective and constructive.

85. Those were my preliminary remarks. We reserve our right to speak again at a later stage.

86. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The conflict between the United States and Iran has for some time now been a cause of concern throughout the world and has been the object of the careful attention of the members of the Security Council.

87. With regard to the question of the take-over of the United States Embassy at Teheran, the Soviet Union proceeds from its position of principle concerning the need to respect diplomatic privileges and immunities. The Soviet Union is in favour of strict compliance with the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations. That position has been explained frequently in the Security Council by the Soviet delegation. In accordance with it, the Soviet delegation, together with all the other members of the Council, supported the statement by the President of the Council regarding compliance with the principle of the inviolability of diplomatic personnel and premises, and the necessity to liberate speedily the United States diplomatic personnel detained in Iran. That position of ours is a position of principle and remains unchanged.

88. On 24 November, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, Mr. Gromyko, stated the following during a press conference at Bonn:

“We are for compliance with the relevant international convention on respect for the diplomatic immunity of representatives of the States concerned. We had already taken that position when the question was discussed in the Security Council. It is therefore known both to the Government of the United States and to the Government of Iran. We wish to express the hope that a solution to this question will be found, to the mutual satisfaction of the parties. But the parties, including the United States, must show patience and must keep calm; there should be no possibility for their emotion to overflow.”

89. The Soviet people is carefully following the historic transformations that have been taking place during the past year in Iran, a neighbour of our country. The young Iranian republic is living through difficult times as it tries to overcome the heavy legacy of the overthrown régime of the Shah. Complex political, economic, social and national problems are being solved by the people of that country, which has taken its destiny into its own hands.

90. The Soviet Union has deep sympathy for the Iranian people in its struggle for its interests, its democratic rights, and its genuine independence. The Soviet Union has consistently adhered in its relations with Iran to principles of respect for sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-interference in domestic affairs. We understand full well the wish of the Iranian people to restore justice, trodden underfoot by the previous régime. That wish should be taken into account.

91. In conclusion, the Soviet delegation deems it necessary to confirm again its position that the violation of the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations—whoever

commits the violation—constitutes an act that is contrary to international law. The Soviet Union, as a party to the Convention, deems it necessary to state this once again in the Security Council, and expresses the hope that the conflict that has arisen between the United States and Iran will be settled to the satisfaction of both parties, on the basis of respect for the Convention.

92. Proceeding from that position of principle, the Soviet delegation considers that in the present situation the Security Council must act in such a way as to make a real contribution to the speedy settlement of the conflict that has arisen between the United States and Iran.

93. Mr. LUSAKA (Zambia): The Security Council is undoubtedly considering a delicate and urgent matter. We have followed with anxiety and considerable concern the developments in the relations between the United States and Iran. We are aware of the passions and strong feelings in both countries in respect of the issues which have poisoned their relations.

94. In Zambia's view, the Secretary-General acted correctly in invoking his powers under Article 99 of the Charter. The Secretary-General's letter to the President of the Security Council clearly brings out the issues with which the Council is seized. On the one hand, we have the seizure of the United States Embassy at Teheran and the continued detention of American diplomatic personnel. On the other hand, we have the claim of the Government of Iran for redress in respect of injustices and abuses of human rights which are reported to have been committed by the previous régime in that country. This situation has given rise to tension between the United States and Iran which the Secretary-General has recognized as constituting a threat to international peace and security.

95. Zambia has always been among those in the United Nations that have consistently advocated strict respect for the rule of law in international relations. In our approach to the present item before the Council, we cannot fail to recognize that the continued occupation of the United States Embassy and detention of American diplomatic personnel in Iran is not in keeping with international law and that it violates the relevant conventions on diplomatic privileges and immunities. Guided by this and by humanitarian considerations, my Government has joined others in calling for the immediate evacuation of the United States Embassy and the release of diplomatic personnel, without prejudice to the position of Iran in respect of other matters in dispute between it and the United States.

96. My delegation hopes that this meeting of the Council will contribute to the early release of the American hostages and, it is to be hoped, to the normalization of relations between the United States and Iran. My delegation stands ready to join with other members of the Council in reiterating the earlier call made through its previous President for the release of the hostages. We also stand ready to join with others in encouraging Iran and the United States to enter into direct negotiations, under the auspices of the Secretary-General, in respect of Iran's grievances. In this regard, I wish to stress that my Government firmly subscribed to the principles of non-use of force in international relations and non-interference in the internal affairs of other States.

97. Finally, I wish to echo the appeal of the Secretary-General to the parties to exercise maximum restraint in the situation and to persevere in the search for a peaceful solution.

98. Mr. CLARK (Nigeria): When we adjourned our last meeting, on Tuesday 27 November, held under the able presidency of Mr. Palacios de Vizzio, the representative of Bolivia, my delegation was convinced that the Security Council must relentlessly continue to pursue its urgent efforts to seek a peaceful solution of the tragic crisis which has arisen between the United States of America and the Islamic Republic of Iran. We continue to be so convinced.

99. That meeting, which was convened under Article 99 of the Charter in response to the letter from the Secretary-General to the President of the Council, fully underscored the grave precedent which the underlying issues of the crisis could establish. We wish to pay a warm tribute to the Secretary-General for his most commendable initiative and efforts.

100. Once again, we meet under a climate of perplexity and fear. We are perplexed that there could be a misunderstanding of such monstrous proportions between erstwhile friends. We are perplexed that events, however deplorable, could affect any Member State's perception of its international obligations. We are afraid that rules and norms of international law which have been developed over the years are being seriously jeopardized, if not damaged. We fear that dark passions may lend credence to the impression that more can be gained from bullying or the use of force than from recourse to the methods of conciliation.

101. On 4 November we learned with dismay that the Embassy of the United States at Teheran had been invaded and that some 62 American diplomatic personnel and other locally recruited staff therein had been detained as hostages. The incident is most disturbing not because it is another case of hostages being held. It is most disturbing because it is the first time that hostages have been held for such a prolonged time with the official approval of the host country. It is indeed doubly more disturbing because the hostages are diplomatic agents duly accredited to a State Member of the United Nations, and to compound matters, the premises and establishments of a diplomatic mission have also been occupied for all this time.

102. These actions, in the view of my delegation, constitute a most serious violation of international law and practice which govern the conduct of States. Indeed, for my delegation, one of the most indestructible pillars of international relations is the inviolability of diplomatic personnel and establishments. It is for that reason that my delegation fully supported and still supports the appeal for the immediate release and protection of the hostages made in the statement issued by the President of the Security Council on 9 November and the subsequent appeal in the same vein by the Council at its last meeting on that question, as well as the other efforts by the Secretary-General and the Director-General of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization and the appeals by the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity and President Sékou Touré of the sister Republic of Guinea.

103. The authorities in Iran have determined that the previous régime had consistently committed many unpardonable acts of injustice and abused the human rights of the Iranian people with reckless abandon and impunity. For these, the people seek redress. Because of their experiences with what they have termed "the interference of successive United States Governments in their internal affairs", the Iranian people are making the extradition of the ex-Shah to Iran a pre-condition for the release of the hostages.

104. Coming from a continent which has had its fair share of presidents and heads of State who had allegedly emptied their national treasuries for personal aggrandizement and who have been driven into exile, coming from a continent where foreign Governments and interests have for too long arrogated to themselves the power to determine and influence the destinies of peoples, coming from a continent where misguided foreign interests have sought and in many instances succeeded too well in propping up régimes whose leaders colluded with them to ruin the national economies, again for personal aggrandizement, I can understand the grievances of the Iranian people. But to understand that is not to approve the methods the Iranians have selected to redress their deeply felt grievances.

105. The Security Council, which is charged with the primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and security, is now faced with the challenge of the deepening crisis in Iranian-American relations. The Council is now obliged to give effect to such measures as would meet this particular contingency.

106. Many developing countries, including mine, are concerned that, as hysteria and tensions build up, emotions rise and interests of negative influence surface, precipitate or wrong judgement or even miscalculation could have disastrous consequences not only for international peace and security but also for the lives of the hostages. In other words, the only alternative to a judicious Council line of action could be war. I have every confidence that the collective wisdom represented here will not let that happen.

107. Nigeria is and will always remain committed to the peaceful settlement of disputes among nations. As an earnest of that national commitment, the President of Nigeria, His Excellency Alhaji Shehu Shagari, has already addressed letters of concern to President Jimmy Carter of the United States and to Ayatollah Khomeini, in the prayerful hope that there will be a peaceful end to the present crisis without harm to the hostages and with full respect for international law and custom.

108. In this connexion, Nigeria has noted with interest that the United States has already lodged a complaint against the Islamic Republic of Iran before the International Court of Justice. That the International Court of Justice has already scheduled hearings on this matter to begin on 10 December is further proof of how seriously the international community would wish to assume its responsibilities. We wish to add our voice to that of the President of the Court that neither party—the United States or Iran—should do anything now to aggravate the situation further.

109. The unfortunate events in Iran and their wider implications for international peace and security arouse many

conflicts of sympathies and loyalties in our mind—on the one hand, loyalty to Iran, a third world country and a non-aligned nation whose people and mine are bound by ties of friendship and religious persuasion, a country which has lately shown understanding of Africa's concern in South Africa by refusing to export oil to South Africa and by breaking diplomatic relations with South Africa; and, on the other hand, our friendship with the United States and loyalty to the irreplaceable principles of international law and practices and to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the non-aligned movement.

110. It is therefore in full consideration of all those facts and factors that we earnestly implore the Government and the people of Iran to release the American hostages without further delay and unconditionally. We believe that their legitimate grievances will be properly addressed in suitable forums once they take the first indispensable step of heeding the appeal of the Security Council and abide by their obligations under the Vienna Convention of 1961.

111. Mr. HULINSKY (Czechoslovakia) (*interpretation from Russian*): The Czechoslovak delegation shared the view that, in the light of the initiative of the Secretary-General, which was published in his letter to the President of the Security Council, a genuine hope appeared that the Council could make a positive contribution to the peaceful resolution of the serious situation which has emerged in relations between the United States and Iran. An important element in the initiative of the Secretary-General when it was undertaken was the fact that it was based on the consent of the Governments of both those countries.

112. In the search for a peaceful solution of the situation arising out of the dangerous level of tension between the two countries, which is threatening peace and stability in that region, it is extremely important to try to maintain this basic premise upon which the initiative of Mr. Waldheim was based. Such an approach would undoubtedly, in the last analysis, contribute to a satisfactory solution of all other questions, including the serious question of the consistent compliance with universally recognized rules of international diplomatic law.

113. Basing itself on the actual state of affairs, my delegation considers that the Council should in future also make every effort to create conditions for the adoption of considered and reliable measures to do away with the situation that has been produced, a situation which, in the words of the Secretary-General, "could have disastrous consequences for the entire world" [S/13646]. Indeed, any hasty incorrect step could have a negative effect upon the further course of events and threaten peace—and not only in that part of the world.

114. The Czechoslovak delegation strictly adheres to the position that, for the development of comprehensive peaceful relations between States, it is a *sine qua non* that there should be consistent compliance with generally recognized rules of international diplomatic law in all cases and by all States. Those rules can under no circumstances be violated or bypassed, inasmuch as they have to serve the purpose for which they have been created. The basis of diplomatic law is the guarantee of the inviolability of a diplomatic mission

and its staff and their exemption from the jurisdiction of the host State. All host States must unconditionally comply in that respect with those obligations. At the same time, my delegation cannot agree that any disputes, however serious they may be, should be resolved by the threat or use of force in any shape or form.

115. In view of the serious situation that has been produced and which constitutes a threat to international peace and security, the Czechoslovak delegation is ready to support such measures in the Security Council as are designed to achieve both the speedy liberation of the diplomatic personnel at Teheran, detained in violation of the relevant international conventions, and the satisfaction of the just demands of Iran. The Charter proposes, in Chapter VI in particular, a number of peaceful measures which, in the present circumstances, could, with the assistance of the Council, be used by the parties concerned, provided they displayed maximum forbearance, a sense of compromise and mutual understanding in so doing.

116. In that connexion, my delegation wishes to emphasize that any measures that the Council may adopt in that respect should not be interpreted by anybody or under any circumstances as a cause for the further escalation of the conflict or for interference in the domestic affairs of Iran.

117. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): Now I should like to make a statement as the representative of CHINA.

118. First of all, the Chinese delegation would like to express its appreciation for the initiative taken by the Secretary-General on the relations between Iran and the United States.

119. The Chinese Government is concerned about recent events in the relations between Iran and the United States. We always hold that the internal affairs of each country should be managed by its own people and that there should be no interference in the internal affairs of other countries. But, at the same time, we hold that the principles guiding international relations and the accepted diplomatic immunities should be universally respected. We support the appeal made on behalf of the Council by last month's President for the immediate release of the detained American hostages in Iran. We sincerely hope that a reasonable and appropriate solution to these events can be found at an early date through peaceful consultation in accordance with principles of international law and diplomatic practice.

120. Now, I shall resume my capacity as PRESIDENT of the Council.

121. The next speaker is the representative of Liberia. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

122. Mr. TUBMAN (Liberia): Permit me at the outset to extend congratulations to you, Mr. President, as, most befittingly, your great country, China, assumes the presidency of the Security Council for this closing month of the final year of a tumultuous decade. I am grateful to you and the other members of the Council for affording Liberia, whose Presi-

dent, Mr. William R. Tolbert, Jr., is the current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity, the honour and high responsibility of taking part in this historic debate tonight.

123. As the Council deliberates, the eyes of the world are fixed upon it as perhaps never before. Many grave threats to world peace have claimed the Council's attention in the past and, doubtless, graver ones will do so in the future. But, tonight, the danger which the whole world faces is more than an ordinary threat to peace. What we face is nothing short of the catastrophe that the very process by which peaceful intercourse among nations is made possible and takes place may be damaged irreparably. As awareness of that has grown, it has become recognized in every country without exception that what is involved in this crisis is more than a serious dispute between two States, each with credible claims. What, even more importantly, is at stake, is the protection of the vital diplomatic process, the impairment of which would have the most far-reaching and disastrous consequences for the future of mankind.

124. The actions and decisions of the Security Council are always of great significance, but this meeting tonight has particular significance because it reaffirms the motivations that gave birth to the United Nations itself, namely, the conviction that in this modern world, when the grave issues of war or peace are in the balance, rational man ultimately has no choice but to rely not on the power of arms but on the force of reason. Thus, in response to the statesmanlike and wise request by the Secretary-General pursuant to Article 99 of the Charter, the Council has convened this meeting, which could very well be described as a town meeting of the world and for which the Council and the Secretary-General have earned the gratitude of all nations.

125. Through many centuries intercourse among States has essentially taken two forms: a state of war or a state of peace. In war nations have relied on soldiers, in peace on diplomats. But civilized man has by definition always preferred the ways of peace to those of war. Wars in fact ensued only because or when diplomacy had failed. Therefore, since diplomacy played so vital a role in the safeguarding of peace, the inviolability and protection of the diplomatic process, its persons and property have been recognized and respected since ancient times and in all cultures.

126. Since the birth of the United Nations, dedicated as it is to the prohibition of war and the preservation of peace, the role of the diplomat in international relations and consequently the protection of the diplomatic process assumed greater importance. That importance found concrete expression in at least three major international conventions: the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations, the Vienna Convention on Consular Relations² and the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes against Internationally Protected Persons, including Diplomatic Agents.

127. All of these international conventions reaffirmed the principles of customary international law, hoary with age, that diplomatic agents are to be kept free from any form of arrest or detention, that they are absolutely immune from the criminal jurisdiction of the receiving State, and that they

²United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 596, p. 261.

must be treated with due respect and protected from any attack on their person, freedom and dignity. The premises, archives and documents of diplomatic establishments are likewise inviolate under international law and States are obligated to co-operate in the prevention of crimes against diplomatic officials, premises and staff.

128. As a lawyer, I should delight in an opportunity to elaborate on the principles of international law to which I have referred. But we are not in a court of law. Moreover, the Council, speaking unanimously through its President several times in recent days, has already placed itself squarely on record in support of the cardinal principles of international law which are at stake in this crisis.

129. The appeal which Liberia therefore makes here tonight, although supported by international law and practice, is based on and offered from humanitarian considerations and a deep concern for the peace of the world. It is the earnest and abiding desire of the current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity to assist worthy endeavours in the interests of peace. Within our region of West Africa, and throughout Africa, his exertions in the cause of peace are widely known and respected. It was thus no surprise that in the early days of this crisis he addressed the following telegraphic message to the Iranian leader which, with the Council's permission, I have the honour to read:

"In the name of Allah I greet you and wish to register our appreciation for the action taken by you in the release of two Marines and one female secretary from among the hostages being held at the United States Embassy at Teheran. It was because of our deep humanitarian concern for those who are being held in confinement that we addressed an earlier message to you appealing for their release so as to avoid a heightening of tension in the world which could disturb international peace and security. We maintain the view that the holding of hostages will not redress any wrongs which may have been committed against the people of Iran in the past. Nor do we believe that the trial of diplomats in violation of all principles of international law will bring to the people of Iran the justice which they feel is their entitlement. For these reasons and our respect for the life and dignity of the human person, we again fervently appeal that as a great gesture of grace you will intercede for the release of all of the hostages regardless of race, sex or creed. Such an act, I assure you, Ayatollah, will not only be pleasing in the sight of Allah the merciful and compassionate but will also enhance the image and respect of your great country and its people. Let me reassure you that in making this appeal I do so with no intention whatsoever of interfering in the internal affairs of your country."

130. A few days later when some more hostages were released the current Chairman of the OAU sent the following message to the Iranian leader:

"In the name of Allah the merciful, I again greet you as I convey our deep appreciation for the gesture of Islamic clemency you have demonstrated in the release of the 10 other hostages from among those being held at the United States Embassy at Teheran. The joy which has come to so many from the release of the 13 hostages yesterday and

today will achieve greater proportions as the hearts of so many more would be gladdened when news is given that as a further manifestation of Islamic clemency you would have caused the release of the remaining hostages being held at Teheran. As we have mentioned in an earlier message to you, such a gesture of grace can only enhance the image and respect of your great country and people."

131. History teaches, and the whole world knows, that no people anywhere have suffered greater abuses, injustice and exploitation than have the people of Africa. In spite of that, the States and the peoples of Africa have always sought and still seek to redress their grievances by law and through a peaceful process. By legal means, and largely through a peaceful process, we Africans have within less than a generation achieved the virtually total decolonization of our continent. At this moment success seems imminent in London for the African leaders from Zimbabwe who, even while their forces approached the threshold of victory in a costly and cruel war of liberation, opted for a negotiated path to the resolution of their conflicts. But that is not to say that we Africans are satisfied with our condition in this world. We realize that the international system is in many respects—in the area of law, in economics, in respect of the basic demands of justice—far from perfect, but progress and justice are possible and we shall persevere.

132. The challenge of our era in Africa and throughout the world during this nuclear age is to improve international relations while there is still time. If so laudable and desirable a goal is ever to be achieved, there can be no doubt that safe and protected contacts among and between States are indispensable pre-conditions.

133. If, God forbid, as we are about to enter the 1980s the world is allowed to become an unsafe place for diplomats to pursue their noble calling, mankind would quickly become engulfed in a dark barbaric world too dangerous to contemplate.

134. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): I should like to inform members of the Council that I have just received a letter from the representative of Zaire in which he asks to be invited to participate in the discussion of this agenda item. 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 accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and of rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Kamanda wa Kamanda (Zaire) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council chamber.

135. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): I invite the representative of Zaire to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

136. Mr. KAMANDA wa KAMANDA (Zaire) (*interpretation from French*): First of all, Mr. President, allow me to congratulate you most sincerely on your accession to the presidency of the Security Council for the month of

December. The Republic of Zaire rejoices in seeing as President of the Council the representative of China, a country which is a great Power and which, at the same time, shares so many things and so many preoccupations with all the States of the third world; a country which has never ceased to support all the just actions and causes both of the Organization of African Unity and of the countries of the non-aligned movement.

137. I also wish to congratulate most sincerely the outgoing President, the representative of Bolivia, on the skilful and wise manner in which he guided the work of the Council and for the efforts he has made in this delicate affair.

138. This meeting of the Security Council which, under the Charter, has primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, is held at a particularly crucial moment in the development of international relations. From the north, south, east and west of the world there converge on the Council numberless appeals, all equally desperate, and all due to the troubles and turbulences of this era of transition.

139. The world certainly seeks peace and security and effective guarantees against the insecurity which menaces us from all sides and threatens the survival, progress and co-operation among nations and peoples in good faith.

140. It has not escaped the attention of any observer, of any responsible person that the situation facing the world in the wake of the taking as hostages in Iran of persons whose inviolability is covered by diplomatic immunity, guaranteed and protected by existing international instruments pertaining to the matter, carries the seeds of incalculably grave consequences which could be catastrophic for future confidence in international relations and the peace and security of all.

141. While we fully respect the independence of Iran, its sovereignty and all its rights, including the rights of its people freely to determine its future, we share the anguish and anxiety not only of the families plunged into deadly uncertainty, who for weeks have been awaiting the return of their relatives, but also of all those who are responsible throughout the world, of all those right-minded people throughout the world who are wondering what will become of relations and co-operation among States if such acts are to be accepted and tolerated.

142. We therefore appeal sincerely to those responsible in Iran fully to respect the rights of others in accordance with the traditions of their centuries old civilization and to observe internationally recognized and established principles which govern relations and co-operation among peoples and States in modern times. Those principles, like all the democratic conquests of which present generations are rightly proud, are the result of bitter and arduous efforts and struggles and belong to the heritage of values of the whole world.

143. We in the third world who continue unswervingly to strive for the democratization of international relations, for a more just and equitable system of international relations, protected from fear, arbitrary actions and the rule of force, but guaranteed by the force of law, attach the utmost

importance to this, bearing in mind the means available to us, because we are convinced that in a world without principles and laws we should be the losers. If the indispensable respect for these principles were to be challenged, our present civilization would be shattered and, with it, the already precarious order and justice which we have endeavoured to maintain in international relations. Small and medium-sized States, which are the most numerous and the most vulnerable on earth, would ultimately be the major victims of any disregard of the objective rules and principles of the Charter and of international conventions which guarantee order and justice in international relations.

144. We are convinced that those who are responsible for events in Iran will not accept such a responsibility before history. That is why we now launch a solemn and brotherly appeal to them to liberate the hostages without conditions, not to jeopardize their integrity, but to restore them safe and sound to their country in the clearly understood interests of the world in general and of Iran in particular. The victorious Iranian revolution, inspired and supported by extremely noble, respectable and respected motives, will surely emerge greater and strengthened after the liberation of the hostages, and Iran will thus resume, with head held high, its place in the community of free nations.

145. We call on the Government of the United States, despite the difficult circumstances it is experiencing, to be patient, to use every available resource of diplomacy, negotiation, law and goodwill in the patient and noble quest for a peaceful settlement of the dispute and to refrain from the use of force, in order to safeguard the international prestige of a great nation called upon to play a decisive role in international relations.

146. At the same time, we invite the Secretary-General to continue to offer his good offices and to make every effort required by the urgency and gravity of the problem to find a solution which conforms to the principles of the Charter and international law so as to protect the institutions of States and international relations against any excesses, including the excesses of adventurism.

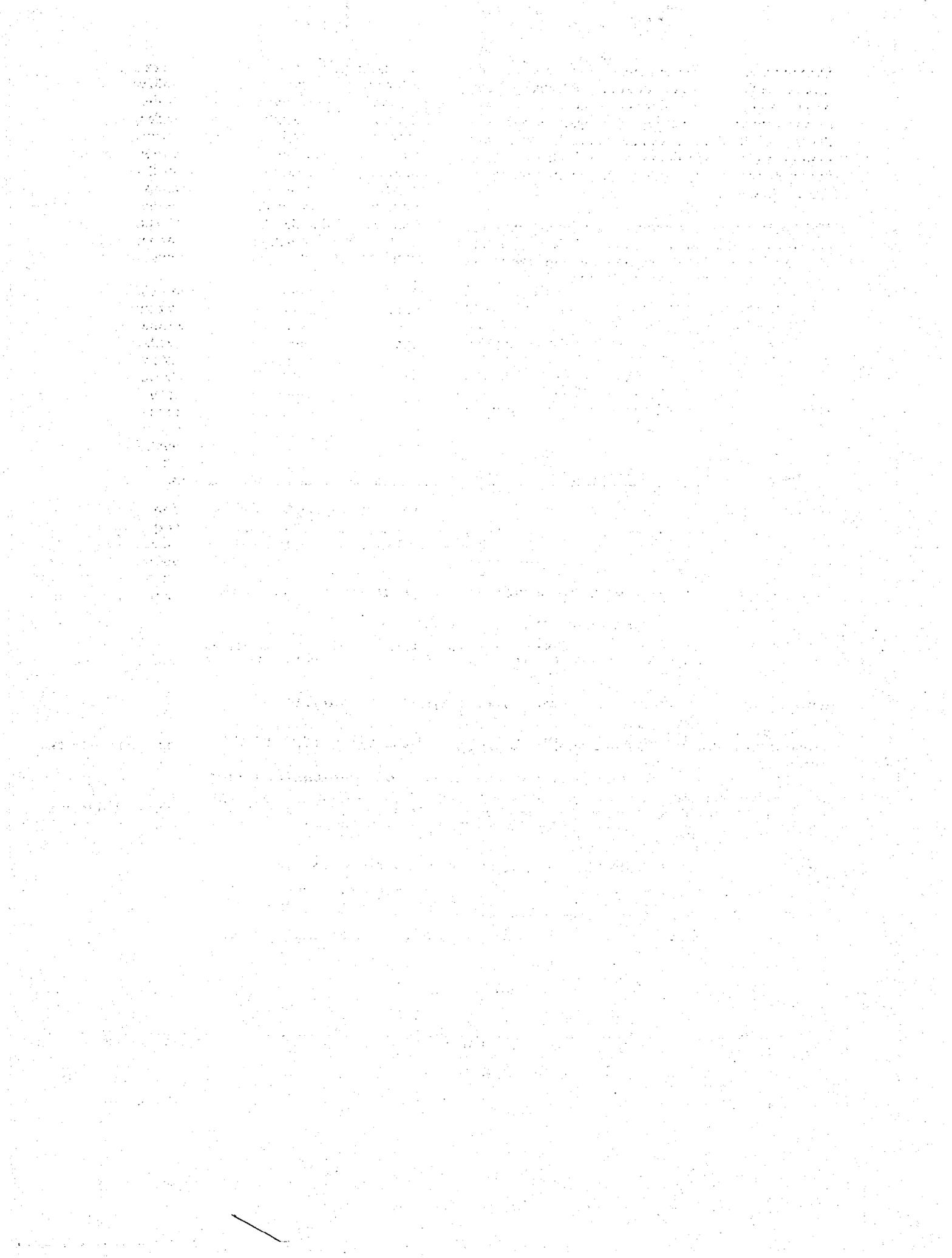
147. The Republic of Zaire is firmly opposed to the taking of hostages as well as to political assassination and the use of force in the settlement of international disputes.

148. At the present meeting, the Security Council is faced with extremely serious responsibilities in its capacity as the organ responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security. This evening the eyes of the world are on this important body of the United Nations. The Council must live up to these expectations by making a wise decision marked by firmness in the defence of principles and flexibility in their application, for human lives are at stake.

149. In these difficult hours, the Republic of Zaire wishes to express its sympathy to the people and Government of the United States and to the families concerned.

150. No State in the world will in future be protected from such acts unless the Council responds appropriately to this exceptionally disturbing problem.

The meeting rose at 11.20 p.m.



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