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MEETING: 30 DECEMBER 1979

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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.

2183rd MEETING

Held in New York on Sunday, 30 December 1979, at 4 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/2183)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. Letter dated 22 December 1979 from the Permanent Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/13705)

The meeting was called to order at 4.40 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Letter dated 22 December 1979 from the Permanent Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/13705)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): In accordance with the decision taken at the 2182nd meeting, I invite the representatives of Australia, Canada, the Federal Republic of Germany and Singapore to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Anderson (Australia), Miss MacDonald (Canada), Mr. von Wechmar (Federal Republic of Germany) and Mr. Koh (Singapore) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

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

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

3. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): Members of the Council have before them document S/13711, which contains the text of a draft resolution sponsored by the United States.

4. Mr. CLARK (Nigeria): Once again the Security Council is meeting to consider the situation which has arisen in the relations between the Islamic Republic of Iran and the United States of America over the seizure and prolonged detention of persons of United States nationality as hostages in Iran. Once again we are participating in the proceedings with a great deal of sorrow and sadness. Let me make quite clear our threefold concern in the matter.

5. Our primary concern at the moment is to ensure the immediate release of the hostages. We see no justifiable cause for the taking of diplomatic agents as hostages, in violation of all principles of justice and international law. The Vienna Conventions on diplomatic and consular relations, as well as the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes against Internationally Protected Persons, including Diplomatic Agents, have duly codified the time-honoured practice of respect for the person and functions of diplomatic personnel. This practice has over the ages enabled an ambassador to walk defiantly to the competent authorities of his host country in order to present an ultimatum, even for a war, and thereafter be granted safe conduct or be allowed with due courtesy to leave for his country, safe and unharmed. Diplomatic immunities and inviolability are therefore so much a part of international law and custom that developing non-aligned countries which rely on law more than force have an abiding obligation to defend them.

6. Our second concern is that we must not lose this opportunity—or any opportunity, for that matter—to use the United Nations as a viable forum for resolving international disputes. Nigeria's concept of United Nations action as a viable alternative to unilateral action by the great Powers is demonstrably proved by our consistent adherence to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and those of non-alignment in all our international relations. Furthermore, there are so many African issues on the United Nations agenda—such as Namibia and the *apartheid* policies of South Africa—crying for redress and Security Council action that we cannot afford to undermine the instrumentality of the Council by encouraging defiance of its decisions. We therefore wish to encourage both the Islamic Republic of Iran and the United States of America to continue to use the avenues available to them in the United Nations to solve their current crisis exclusively by peaceful means.

7. Our third concern is that the issue of the hostages is being allowed to becloud the legitimate grievances of the Iranian Government and people. No nation against policies of hegemonism or domination can fail to understand the intensity of feeling of Iran against the insensitivity and excesses of their former rulers, as well as against foreign corruption and the exploitation of their natural resources, human and material. It is therefore in the interest of Iran to put the indefensible issue of the hostages behind it in order to ventilate and address itself to its paramount preoccupations. If Iran did so, Nigeria and, I presume, Iran's many other friends in the developing non-aligned countries would not hesitate to co-operate with it fully in granting it a respectable hearing in appropriate international forums.

8. We welcome the determination of the United States Government to use the Security Council and the United Nations so as to exhaust all channels of peaceful resolution of this crisis. While we appreciate its impatience and bitterness over the prolonged detention of the hostages, we wish to address, as my head of State has already done, an honest appeal to the United States Government not to resort to other measures which are euphemisms for the use of force. It must continue to concentrate its efforts on the safety and release of the hostages, which those so-called other measures cannot guarantee. In our view, great Powers have no complexes: they need not prove anything but their nobility of character and prudence.

9. As this is my last statement as Nigeria's representative on the Security Council, I should like to end on a personal note. Nigeria, throughout its history and in spite of its occasional failures and difficulties in living up to the ideal, has always aspired to be a country where the rule of law and respect for human rights prevail, where pragmatism, and not dogma, guides our national endeavours, where circumspection or consensus is a hallmark of our approach to the solution of our problems, domestic and international. If my colleagues and I have succeeded in reflecting some of these national traits in our efforts in the Council, we have you, Mr. President, and our other friends in the Council to thank for the opportunity; if we have not succeeded, it has not been because of any lack of will on our part.

10. It is because of our strongly held convictions along the foregoing lines that we wish to express our warm appreciation and gratitude to the Secretary-General for all his efforts in the current and other crises. We wish him to persist in the good-offices mission entrusted to him under resolution 457 (1979). His report of 22 December [S/13704] on developments in the situation is remarkable as much by his detailed account of his efforts as by the hope for a peaceful solution it holds out. As long as there is a glimmer of hope for success, the Secretary-General must be afforded every facility to carry out his mission. We have just been advised of his plan to leave for Iran tomorrow at the invitation of the Government of Iran, and we welcome this. We sincerely pray for the success of his visit. We hope that its outcome will make consideration of measures other than the pursuit of his good offices superfluous and unnecessary.

11. If at the end of the road there is need for another remedy, that remedy must be appropriately sanctioned by the Security Council. As the International Court of Justice

rightly urged in its Order of 15 December¹ indicating provisional measures, it is incumbent on both the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Government of the United States of America not to do anything that would aggravate the tension between the two countries. These are not harsh sentiments, in spite of the fact that the situation is pretty phenomenal. They are the assurance that international peace and security and justice will be preserved.

12. Mr. HULINSKÝ (Czechoslovakia) (*interpretation from Russian*): The Czechoslovak delegation, in voting in favour of resolution 457 (1979), was expressing support for those measures that were aimed both at the immediate release of American diplomatic staff at Teheran being held in violation of the relevant international conventions on diplomatic rights and at satisfying the just demands of Iran. The importance and force of resolution 457 (1979) reside precisely in the fact that, on the basis, in particular, of Chapter VI of the Charter, it enjoys the unanimous support of all members of the Council. The Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic for its part has, within the limits of its capabilities, actively supported all steps that have been taken on the basis of that resolution with the aim of securing, by peaceful ways and means, a just solution of the unresolved issues subsisting between the United States and Iran, to their mutual satisfaction and in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

13. When my delegation spoke in the Security Council on 1 December [2175 meeting], we emphasized that any measures that might be adopted in that respect should not be interpreted by anybody or under any circumstances as a cause for the further escalation of the conflict. On the basis of the present situation, it is our belief that the Council should continue to attempt to focus its efforts on creating conditions for valid and well-trying steps to be taken in order to eliminate the situation that has arisen. Any hasty or unwarranted step might only have a detrimental effect upon the further course of events at Teheran and also in the broader context. We continue to believe at the present stage that it is essential that the precepts of the unanimously adopted resolution 457 (1979) be observed, based as they are on Chapter VI of the Charter. Indeed, Chapter VI provides both the Security Council and the parties to the United States-Iranian dispute with sufficient means for the parties particularly concerned to utilize in a spirit of mutual understanding. The Czechoslovak delegation will assess the merits of any new draft resolution in the Council on the United States-Iranian crisis in the light of the fact that opportunities for the utilization of these means in conformity with Chapter VI of the Charter at the present time have not yet been exhausted. A spirit of responsibility and cool-headedness and further efforts to find a reasonable way out of the situation that has arisen constitute an approach that is in accordance with both the spirit and the letter of resolution 457 (1979), which urged the Governments of both Iran and the United States to exercise the utmost restraint. It is precisely by relying on resolution 457 (1979) and not on any other—and particularly not on a text that holds forth the threat of sanctions—that the Secretary-General can look forward to the success of his good-offices mission to Teheran.

¹ *United States Diplomatic and Consular Staff in Teheran, Provisional Measures, Order of 15 December 1979, I.C.J. Reports 1979, p. 7.*

14. The Czechoslovak delegation, consistent with its position, supported the urgent appeal of all members of the Council for the immediate release of all personnel of the Embassy of the United States of America being held at Teheran. At the same time, it shares the view that it would undoubtedly be useful for concerted and unanimous efforts to be continued within the framework of the Council in order to implement the purposes of resolution 457 (1979). It believes also that members of the Council should not seek to take any steps that could provide anyone with an opportunity to use them to aggravate the situation further. Only a diligent search for a peaceful resolution of any conflicts will make it possible for peace in that region to be preserved and for international security to be strengthened.

15. Mr. MUTUKWA (Zambia): Once again Zambia joins its voice to the voices of reason of all those who have appealed to Iran to release all the American personnel being held hostage in that country. We urge the Council to reiterate its previous appeals on this matter. Iran does not stand to gain anything by continuing to flout the appeals of the international community for the release of the hostages and for that country to live by the tenets of international law on this matter. The norms of international law and practice relating to the sanctity of diplomatic persons have, by and large, been observed by diverse nations and peoples from time immemorial, be they in Asia, Africa, Europe or the Americas. This principle has to be observed in all situations: in conflict, peace, or even war.

16. The Zambian delegation firmly believes that only respect for the carefully articulated principles of the Charter of the United Nations can enhance the effectiveness of the world body in the maintenance of international peace and security.

17. The present crisis, which constitutes a potential threat to international peace and security, is of grave concern to us as members of the international community and of the Security Council. The international community therefore bears the responsibility for finding a peaceful solution to the problem. My delegation deeply appreciates the continued mediation efforts by the Secretary-General in seeking to secure the release of the American hostages. We also hope and pray that the Iranian authorities will heed the pleas of many world leaders, including that of my own country's President, that the American hostages be freed.

18. The continued holding by Iran of the American diplomatic personnel is a violation of the basic tenets of international law and practice. In Zambia's view it is very important that all countries, irrespective of their size and strength, respect the decisions and authority of the Security Council, an institution whose very existence we should all recognize as being essential if world peace is to be maintained. Through the United Nations we can all collectively co-ordinate our efforts to remove the causes of war.

19. Small countries like my own have repeatedly called upon all States, including the permanent members of the Security Council, to help to enforce the decisions of the Council against all international culprits. As a front-line State in the southern African region, where conflict abounds as a result of the existence of racist minority

régimes, we are all too familiar with the lack of political will on the part of some States represented here to use the Council effectively.

20. However, be that as it may, and in the hope and expectation that in future all States will want the United Nations to be effective, we feel that it is time for all countries to respect the authority of the United Nations without equivocation and to refrain from applying double standards.

21. Let me repeat here for the sake of clarity that the Council has been unanimous in upholding the principles which Iran continues to violate. These principles of international law, relating to the inviolability of diplomatic persons and diplomatic establishments, are at stake in this case. We deplore Iran's continued disregard of the appeals for the release of the American hostages made by the Security Council, the International Court of Justice, the Secretary-General and the President of the General Assembly on several occasions since November.

22. Many of us in the Council have stressed, and we stress now, the need to resolve all crisis situations by peaceful means. We have stressed that States should refrain from threatening to use force in pursuit of their objectives. We stand firmly by these principles of international relations, without which the foundations of international peace and security would be in peril.

23. It is vital that we all bear in mind that the issue we are handling is delicate, as it is a crisis situation. In Zambia's considered view, we should not despair in the pursuit of the dictates of reason. We should not despair in the search for peaceful solutions to the problem. We should also not despair in our resolve to succeed in attaining our ultimate objectives. To do so would be to jeopardize the sanctity of institutions and the quintessence of human survival, which we in Zambia cherish.

24. In the view of the Zambian delegation, therefore, the international community has yet to exhaust diplomatic negotiations in seeking the release of the hostages. I say that without prejudice to all the preceding efforts at peaceful negotiation. As we are aware, Chapter VI of the time-tested Charter on the role of the United Nations in crisis situations provides a variety of options on how to resolve conflict situations by peaceful means. As one of those options, the Council should renew its request to the Secretary-General to consider proceeding to Iran to negotiate the release of the hostages. We are grateful that the Secretary-General has stated publicly on several occasions that he is prepared to continue using his good offices, including undertaking a trip to Teheran.

25. If the Council were to mandate the Secretary-General to proceed to Iran, it would be unfortunate, to say the least, for the Council to attach any conditions which could be tantamount to prejudging issues. For instance, it would be inappropriate to suggest that the Secretary-General proceed while, at the same time we envisage what course of action to take in the event of failure. At this stage, when the mission has not even taken place, it would be inappropriate to contemplate in a resolution the kind of action which

would be taken if Iran failed to comply. I would ask who knows whether Iran will not comply before a fresh attempt is made? To assume that Iran will not comply would be counter-productive to the proposed mission of the Secretary-General. The Secretary-General should be allowed room for flexibility in the use of his good offices.

26. In conclusion, I wish to reiterate the view that the strength of the Security Council lies in its unity of purpose, which has so far been eloquently demonstrated in all our deliberations on this issue. Those of us who have been seized of this issue behind closed doors and in open Council meetings know this for a fact. If there are any differences in approach, they are in the spirit of trying to be helpful, because we are all agreed on the objective: the safe release of the American hostages being held in Iran. Zambia will co-operate with the other members of the Council in working relentlessly for the release of the hostages and for a peaceful solution to this crisis as we enter the new year.

27. Mr. NEIL (Jamaica): Almost a month has elapsed since the Council met in response to the request of the Secretary-General to consider the problem that again confronts us today. On 4 December the Council, in a unanimous vote, adopted resolution 457 (1979), which urgently called on the Government of Iran to release immediately the personnel of the Embassy of the United States being held hostage at Teheran, and which also called on the Governments of Iran and of the United States to take steps to resolve peacefully the remaining issues between them. Since the adoption of that resolution, the International Court of Justice, on 15 December, in a unanimous decision issued an order requiring the Government of Iran to ensure that the premises of the United States diplomatic missions in Iran be restored to the possession of the United States authorities and to ensure the immediate release of the American hostages. The Court also called upon the Governments involved to ensure that no action be taken by them that might aggravate the tension between the two countries. It is not often that the international community has been able to express itself so clearly and unanimously as it has on this issue.

28. Yet up to now, after nearly two months, the United States Embassy at Teheran remains occupied by an armed group of demonstrators, and embassy personnel are held in captivity—all of this with the support of the Government of Iran. With each passing day the tension mounts, and a crisis which represents a great danger to international peace and security is prolonged.

29. The delegation of Jamaica must express its deep disappointment and dissatisfaction at the failure of the Government of Iran to respond positively to the many appeals made to it, in particular the call by the Council in resolution 457 (1979) for the immediate release of the American hostages and for the ensuring of their safe departure from Iran. We are particularly disappointed at the response to the efforts of the Secretary-General, who has patiently and with perseverance pursued his contacts with the Iranian authorities at various levels. His report indicates that the Iranian authorities appeared unwilling to make use of his good offices made available within the terms of resolution 457 (1979).

30. My Government's position on the issue before us has been made clear in a statement issued by Prime Minister Manley on 20 November and reaffirmed in our statement before the Council on 2 December [2176th meeting]. We expressed our strong disapproval of the action in Iran, which is a grave violation of international law and undermines the institutional framework through which relations between States are conducted. From the humanitarian standpoint, our concern for the safety of the hostages remains undiminished. We once more appeal to the Government of Iran to heed the voice of world opinion, to honour its obligations under international law, and to take into account the suffering and mental anguish that is being endured by the persons held in such long confinement, as well as their families. We again appeal for the immediate and unconditional release of the hostages and their safe departure from Iran.

31. We continue to assure the Government of Iran that we are aware of the intense feelings of the people of Iran with regard to the past grievances, and with regard to the acts committed by the previous régime. But a remedy for legitimate grievances should be sought in an appropriate forum and within the terms of international law. Jamaica believes that the interests of the Government and people of Iran cannot be served by taking a path of confrontation with the United Nations.

32. Jamaica's firm commitment to international co-operation and to ensuring an effective role for the United Nations in world affairs has been restated on many occasions. As a small country we regard it as vital to our interests and to our security and as an important instrument for the peaceful resolution of differences and disputes between States.

33. We are therefore pleased that the Government of the United States has sought to use the machinery of the United Nations to seek a peaceful resolution of the current problem. The Security Council, which has the primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and security, should do its utmost to satisfy this aspiration. The authority and prestige of the Council must be protected. The integrity of international law must be upheld.

34. But a lot now depends on the Government of Iran. We sincerely hope that that Government will seize the further opportunity which is offered to choose a course which will assist in bringing about a speedy end to the current crisis by co-operating in the implementation of the decisions of the Security Council, particularly through the good offices of the Secretary-General during his planned visit to Iran. Without such co-operation, and without an improvement in the situation, the Council will have to consider the adoption of specific enforcement measures provided for in the Charter to give force to its decisions.

35. Mr. PALACIOS de VIZZIO (Bolivia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Bolivia can do no less than express its disappointment that the Council must once again face a reality that is as sad as it is frustrating. Fifty members of the diplomatic staff of the United States at Teheran are still being detained as hostages in violation of the most fundamental norms of humanitarianism and international coexistence.

36. As it has made known on many occasions, my country is not precisely a supporter of condemnations and sanctions as advisable means of modifying the actions of a State or obtaining a change in its international conduct. On the contrary, my country has always promoted the utilization of negotiations, mediation, good offices and other peaceful measures recognized in the Charter as those most suited to the settlement of international disputes. Therefore, Bolivia particularly appreciates the tireless efforts the Secretary-General has made and is making, and we give him our unreserved recognition and admiration. That is why my country resolutely supports the initiative that the Secretary-General visit Iran so as personally to continue his endeavours finally to obtain the release of the hostages.

37. My delegation is convinced that all possibilities of reaching a peaceful settlement that is satisfactory to the parties to the dispute must be explored and exhausted. It has been guided by this criterion during the present crisis. Obviously, we are facing a situation that is exceedingly unusual, indeed highly exceptional, as the Secretary-General emphasized in his report of 22 December. It is a situation that doubtless requires the most serious and discerning consideration by the community of nations.

38. However, in the existing circumstances my delegation cannot but take into consideration an exceedingly deplorable fact: that the outcry of the international community of nations for nearly two months, as in particular expressed in the appeals and exhortations of the Presidents of the General Assembly and the Security Council, in resolution 457 (1979) and in the provisional measures indicated by the International Court of Justice—a unanimous, repeated and consistent outcry for the immediate release of the hostages and the complete protection of their persons—has been totally ignored by a State Member of the Organization.

39. The undebatable seriousness of this situation, which is creating a climate of real anguish and concern for international peace and security, is such that my delegation is of the opinion that, if the important mission that the Secretary-General must personally undertake in Iran does not obtain the results for which the international community is hoping within a specific reasonable period, the Security Council should meet to consider the urgent adoption of measures, including those envisaged in Chapter VII of the Charter.

40. Bolivia is a small country, a founding Member of the United Nations and a member of the non-aligned movement. As such, it firmly supports the principles of peaceful coexistence enshrined in the most relevant standards of international law: the right to self-determination, to independence, to the free choice of means and methods of development and political, economic and social progress. Above all, my country has placed its trust in the United Nations, which, day by day, represents the best answer that mankind has been able to create for the achievement of just and lasting peace on our planet.

41. Consequently, it urges the Organization to fulfil the aims for which it was created and thus effectively respond to this challenge to its authority. Otherwise, by failing to act and evincing indecisiveness, not only shall we be giving credence to the voices opposing and contradicting what the

Organization represents, but we ourselves shall be shaking the foundations of one of the most solid bulwarks that States, particularly small ones, rely on for the defence of their interests.

42. In conclusion, my delegation again urges the leaders of Iran, in accordance with the most sacred humanitarian principles, to forgo their obduracy and immediately and unconditionally release all the hostages, thereby overcoming this difficult crisis which, moreover, does nothing but indefinitely delay the possibility of the international community's considering the legitimacy of the claims of that country.

43. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): The next speaker is the representative of Japan. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

44. Mr. NISIBORI (Japan): I should like to begin by stressing my sincere gratitude to you, Mr. President, and through you to the members of the Security Council for allowing me once again to present Japan's views on the crucial issue now under deliberation. Recognizing the gravity of this issue to the international community, my delegation has requested the opportunity to speak in the hope of contributing to an early solution of the problem.

45. We deeply regret the fact that the hostages have still not been released, although it will soon be two months since the problem arose and one month since resolution 457 (1979) was unanimously adopted. We feel profound sympathy with the hostages and their families for the unimaginable stress and anguish they are being forced to endure.

46. The international community finds it absolutely intolerable that the Iranian Government has ignored the calls for the immediate and unconditional release of the hostages, as contained in the Security Council resolution and in the order of the International Court of Justice, as well as in the numerous appeals by the President of the Council, the Secretary-General, the President of the General Assembly and various regional groups.

47. In seeking a peaceful settlement of the problem, Japan fully supports resolution 457 (1979) and highly appreciates the ongoing endeavours of the Secretary-General in lending his good offices to the search for a solution. We find it regrettable that, despite these efforts, the situation has yet to be resolved. Thus we heartily welcome the Secretary-General's announcement made just a short while ago that he is leaving for Iran tomorrow. Japan strongly hopes that the Secretary-General's efforts will be fruitful and we eagerly await his report to the Council upon his return.

48. In the event that the repeated and manifold efforts exerted by the Secretary-General as well as by various relevant organs and countries do not achieve their objective within a reasonable period of time, my delegation believes that the Council should take effective and appropriate measures in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter. Let me assure you, Mr. President, that my Government would support such measures by the Council.

49. Japan earnestly hopes, above all, that the concerted efforts of the international community will result in the

immediate release of the hostages and then that, in accordance with resolution 457 (1979), the parties concerned will take steps as soon as possible to resolve peacefully the remaining issues between them to their mutual satisfaction.

50. In closing, I should like to express the hope that our endeavours will be successful in the near future and thus preclude the necessity of convening yet another substantive meeting of the Council on this issue.

51. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): The next speaker is the Secretary of State for External Affairs of Canada, Miss MacDONALD. I welcome her and invite her to take a place at the Council table in order to make her statement.

52. Miss MacDONALD (Canada): Mr. President, I thank you for this opportunity to be able to participate today in this meeting of the Security Council.

53. It is because we have respect for international law that we are able to meet here today. It is because 23 million Canadians are outraged by a violation of international law that I have asked to speak. Probably more than any other nation, Canada is aware of the enormity of feeling that the hostage situation in Iran has aroused in the American people. Perhaps more than most we are able to admire the restraint with which the United States Government has acted in the face of such strong provocation.

54. On humanitarian grounds alone, the need to act is clear; indeed it is compelling. For two months now, 50 ordinary men and women have been subjected to the grossest violation of their rights. Like all of us here I am deeply concerned for these hostages, just as I am in every instance where people anywhere in the world are deprived of their human rights.

55. That ground alone would suffice to compel this body to act. But even more is at stake. As other speakers have made amply clear, the very foundations of international law and of civilized diplomacy are called into question by the situation in Iran.

56. It is not necessary for me to rehearse the sound and compelling arguments that have already been made here. None the less, no delegation in the Council should lose sight of its responsibility before the world community, now and in the future, for the way it votes on this issue. Rarely is a turning point in world history so clear to the people in whose hands a decision lies. To ignore this stark need for communal corrective action would be to threaten the fabric of the international community and to risk a dark age of diplomatic anarchy.

57. But what the Security Council faces today is more than just a decision on a matter of humanitarian rights or of international law. Members should all be conscious that their decision may substantially affect the relevance—the very usefulness—of the United Nations as an instrument for the maintenance of world order.

58. The Council has already called upon Iran to release the hostages it holds at Teheran and has called upon both Iran and the United States to take steps to resolve the remaining differences between them. The International Court of Justice, in a unanimous decision, has also called for such release. Clearly, these actions have not sufficed to persuade Iran to live up to its international obligations.

59. The draft resolution the Council has before it [*S/13711*] allows for a final intensified effort at persuasion by the Secretary-General, further to those actions he has already taken. We pray that it will be successful. But should he fail—should Iran not respond—you are asked to agree to take further measures: to implement sanctions under the provisions of the Charter. These provisions were designed from the outset to be used in situations such as this one, where a country is in flagrant violation of the obligations it has undertaken as a member of the international community.

60. The United States in particular, but also every civilized country, has the right to expect that the Council will adopt this draft resolution. To fail to do so would be to admit the inability of the community of nations to use its institutions to maintain order in international affairs.

61. Unquestionably, the people and Government of Iran feel a deep grievance, and look for recognition of the right to redress which they so strongly feel. Accordingly, it is imperative that Iranians be made to understand that the international institutions are just as much at their service as they are at the service of the Americans.

62. By supporting the draft resolution, members of the Council will be sending a direct message to the Government of Iran that its current behaviour is totally unacceptable to the civilized world. But it should also be clear that once Iran has again made its behaviour conform to international law, it will be able to turn to the international community for a full and fair hearing of its complaints.

63. On behalf of the people of Canada, I urge the members of the Council to endorse this draft resolution. It is a powerful, positive and peaceful step that can help to resolve this intolerable situation which threatens the peace, the order and good governance of the whole world.

The meeting rose at 5.35 p.m.