

UNITED NATIONS



SECURITY COUNCIL OFFICIAL RECORDS

THIRTY-SEVENTH YEAR

2374th MEETING: 5 JUNE 1982

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2374)	1
Adoption of the agenda	1
The situation in the Middle East: Letter dated 4 June 1982 from the Permanent Representative of Lebanon to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15162)	1

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.

2374th MEETING

Held in New York on Saturday, 5 June 1982, at 4.20 p.m.

President: Mr. Luc de La BARRE de NANTEUIL
(France).

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

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2374)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. The situation in the Middle East:
Letter dated 4 June 1982 from the Permanent
Representative of Lebanon to the United
Nations addressed to the President of the
Security Council (S/15162)

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

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in the Middle East:

Letter dated 4 June 1982 from the Permanent Repre-
sentative of Lebanon to the United Nations ad-
dressed to the President of the Security Council
(S/15162)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*):
I should like to inform members of the Council that
I have received a letter from the representative of
Lebanon in which he requests to be invited to partic-
ipate in the discussion of the item on the agenda. In
conformity 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 rule 37 of the provisional rules of proce-
dure.

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. Tuéni (Leb-
anon) took a place at the Council table.*

2. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*):
I should like to inform members of the Council that
I have received a letter [S/15166] dated 5 June from
the representative of Jordan which reads as follows:

"I have the honour to request the Security Coun-
cil to extend an invitation to the representative of

the Palestine Liberation Organization to participate
in the consideration of the item entitled 'The situa-
tion in the Middle East', in accordance with the
Council's usual practice."

3. The proposal by the representative of Jordan is
not made pursuant to rule 37 or rule 39 of the provi-
sional rules of procedure, but if approved by the Coun-
cil, the invitation to participate in the discussion would
confer on the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)
the same rights of participation as those conferred on
Member States pursuant to rule 37.

4. Does any member of the Council wish to speak
on this proposal?

5. Mrs. KIRKPATRICK (United States of America):
The United States delegation has on many occasions
explained the reason why we oppose the special
procedure that appears to give the PLO the same rights
of participation in the proceedings of the Security
Council as if it represented a State. The PLO is not
a State; it is a political movement which presents its
claims in the name of a collectivity whose members
live under various political jurisdictions. No formula
justifies this departure from the rules of procedure of
the Council. The formula proposed seems to us to seek
without basis to enhance the prestige, and indeed to
falsify the status, of those to whom it is directed.

6. We have always stressed that we have no objec-
tion to the Council's hearing the PLO representatives.
Indeed, we have no objection to the Council's hearing
the representatives of any political group with a stake
in questions discussed here. But we consider that this
can be accomplished legally only on the traditional
basis of rule 39, which empowers the Security Council
to grant hearings to persons speaking on behalf of non-
governmental entities.

7. Accordingly, we ask, Mr. President, that you put
to the vote the terms of this proposed invitation. The
United States will vote "no".

8. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*):
If no other member of the Council wishes to speak,
I shall take it that the Council is prepared to vote on
the proposal by the representative of Jordan.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: China, Guyana, Ireland, Jordan, Panama,
Poland, Spain, Togo, Uganda, Union of Soviet Social-
ist Republics, Zaire

Against: United States of America

Abstaining: France, Japan, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

The proposal was adopted by 11 votes to 1, with 3 abstentions.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Abdel Rahman (Palestine Liberation Organization) took a place at the Council table.

9. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received a letter [S/15167] dated 5 June from the representative of Jordan which reads as follows:

"I have the honour to request the Security Council to extend an invitation to Mr. Clovis Maksoud, Permanent Observer of the League of Arab States, to participate in the consideration of the item entitled 'The situation in the Middle East', in accordance with rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure."

10. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the Council decides to grant that request.

It was so decided.

11. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The Security Council is meeting today in response to a letter dated 4 June from the representative of Lebanon addressed to the President of the Security Council.

12. Members of the Council have before them document S/15168, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by Japan, document S/15161, which contains the text of a letter dated 4 June from the representative of Lebanon to the President of the Council, as well as document S/15164, which contains the text of a letter dated 4 June from the representative of Jordan to the President of the Council. Members of the Council have received copy of a letter [S/15165] dated 5 June from the representative of Cuba to the President of the Council.

13. I now call upon the Secretary-General.

14. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: As members of the Council are aware, Israeli aircraft conducted strikes in Lebanon on 4 June. These have been followed by exchanges of fire and further air strikes. Hostilities are continuing as at 1500 hours GMT on 5 June.

15. The following is based on information received so far from the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) and the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO):

16. On 4 June, the air strikes around Beirut started at 1315 hours GMT and lasted for about one hour.

Some eight raids were observed by United Nations personnel, with Israeli overflights over Beirut continuing until about 1500 hours.

17. The targets of the air strikes included a Palestinian camp near Beirut on the road to the airport, the area of the Sports Stadium adjacent to the Sabra camp and the western perimeter of Beirut airport. The overflying aircraft attracted heavy anti-aircraft fire.

18. Soon after the raids, casualties caused by the air strikes were officially estimated to be some 40 dead, but reports since then indicate that the number could be higher. There has also been heavy material damage.

19. In the south, at about 1500 hours GMT, heavy exchanges of fire commenced between positions of the armed elements (mainly the PLO and the Lebanese National Movement), on the one hand, and the Israel Defence Forces and the *de facto* forces (Christian and associated militias), on the other. As of 1500 hours GMT on 5 June, firing was still in progress. In total, some 2,000 rounds of artillery, mortar and rockets have been exchanged. Of this number, some 600 rounds can be attributed to the armed elements, some 800 rounds to the Israel Defence Forces and the *de facto* forces, while the origin of the remainder could not be identified. The exchanges of fire involved, or have affected, the following areas: on the one side, in Lebanon, Tyre and its vicinity, Nabatiyah, Chateau de Beaufort and the Kawkaba-Hasbaya area and, on the other side, Marjayoun in southern Lebanon, and the areas of Nahariya, Qiryat Shmona and Metulla in Israel. In addition, in the course of today, a total of 48 Israeli air strikes have been reported in the areas of Hasbaya, the Chateau de Beaufort, Nabatiyah, Aichiye and Arnoun.

20. While full information is not available on the casualties resulting from these exchanges in the south, the Israeli authorities have informed UNIFIL of one person killed and others injured.

21. United Nations personnel have also reported today that Israeli air strikes took place at around 0940 hours GMT in the vicinity of Beirut and Damur and between 1215 hours GMT and 1315 hours GMT east of Damur. There have also been exchanges of fire between Israeli naval vessels and positions of the armed elements south of Tyre.

22. In view of the continuing hostilities, the build-up of forces south of the border and the very real danger of further escalation, I and my colleagues have remained in close touch with the parties concerned, urging them to restore and maintain the ceasefire that had generally held since 24 July 1981. The parties would, of course, also be aware of the statement made by the President of the Council on behalf of its members last night [S/15163]. With the objective of the Council in view, I have already made an urgent appeal for a simultaneous cessation of hostilities at the

earliest possible time. I have asked all parties to adhere to my appeal by no later than 0600 hours local time tomorrow, Sunday, 6 June.

23. Mr. NISIBORI (Japan): Like the other members of the Council, my delegation is deeply concerned at the rapidly deteriorating situation in Lebanon since yesterday. We fear that the current use of force could escalate further unless the parties concerned cease all military activities. We believe, therefore, that the Council should call upon the parties concerned to cease all military activities immediately. At the same time the Council should request all Member States which are in a position to bring their influence to bear on the parties concerned to do so in order that the cessation of hostilities declared earlier by the Council can be respected.

24. It is with such an intention that my delegation wishes to introduce the draft resolution in document S/15168. This draft, in its preamble, recalls earlier resolutions of the Council, expresses the concern we all share and reaffirms the statement the President and the members of the Council issued yesterday [*ibid.*], as well as the urgent appeals which the Secretary-General made yesterday and just a few moments ago.

25. The operative paragraphs contain the urgent call and the request I mentioned earlier. They further request the Secretary-General to undertake all possible efforts to ensure the implementation of and compliance with this resolution, and to report to the Council as early as possible and not later than within 48 hours.

26. My delegation hopes that this draft resolution will be adopted unanimously by the Council, in order to utter the unified voice of the Council members to meet this grave situation.

27. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): It is my understanding that the Council is ready to vote on the draft resolution distributed under the symbol S/15168. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

The draft resolution was adopted unanimously [resolution 508 (1982)].

28. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I shall now call upon those members of the Council who wish to make statements after the vote.

29. Sir Anthony PARSONS (United Kingdom): I cannot emphasize too strongly the shock and the horror felt by my Government and by the people of Britain at the dastardly terrorist attack on the Ambassador of Israel to London, Mr. Shlomo Argov, a most distinguished and respected member of the diplomatic community. We all hope and pray for his life and for his recovery from his wounds.

30. As the Council will know, the British authorities have made arrests in connection with this appalling crime. Four men are now in custody. As a result of the preliminary inquiries, the police have discovered a list of names which includes not only that of Ambassador Argov but also that of the representative of the PLO in London.

31. This assassination attempt, however despicable, does not in any way justify the massive attacks on Lebanese towns and villages by the Israeli air force, attacks which have already inflicted major loss of life, casualties and damage to property. These actions have also led to the collapse of the precarious cease-fire which has now been in effect in south Lebanon since July 1981. It is imperative, in the interests of peace in the region and for the sake of the suffering people of Lebanon, that there be no escalation of fighting and that the cease-fire be immediately restored.

32. Therefore my delegation warmly supports the resolution which the Council has just adopted unanimously and strongly urges all concerned to comply with its terms.

33. Mr. DORR (Ireland): Like other members of the Council, Ireland is very seriously concerned about the present situation in Lebanon and along the Lebanese-Israeli border. We are concerned first at the loss of life and the casualties which have already occurred. This concern extends to each and every life lost and to each and every casualty, Lebanese, Palestinian and Israeli; but we are even more concerned at the serious danger which now exists that the conflict will become widespread.

34. The situation in the region is extremely dangerous. The cease-fire established in accordance with resolution 490 (1981), fragile though it has been, has generally held well since July 1981. If it is now broken on a large scale or rejected by any of the parties, the consequences could be literally incalculable.

35. It appears that the immediate reason advanced by Israel for the massive air raids on Lebanon was the attempt on the life of Mr. Argov, the Israeli Ambassador in London. I know Mr. Argov. He was accredited concurrently as Ambassador to Ireland. I met him on several occasions in Dublin in that capacity. On behalf of the Government of Ireland, I condemn without reservation those who made the attack on his life. I offer our deep sympathy to his family and colleagues and I express our hope for his early recovery. But we see no justification for, and no correspondence, no relation, between that outrage and the large-scale Israeli raids on the Lebanese capital.

36. According to reports, scores of people have been killed in those raids. This was an indiscriminate attempt at retribution. It was on a massive scale and it has killed many who can have had no knowledge of, and no connection, and indeed no sympathy, with

whatever group or individuals planned the attack on the Ambassador. But its most serious aspect is what it could now lead to. It appears that shelling is continuing. Where scores have already died, many more, Lebanese, Palestinian and Israeli, may yet die if conflict is allowed to escalate.

37. What needs to be done, and done with the greatest urgency, is limit escalation, halt conflict and reassert and restore the cease-fire. The resolution just adopted does that. Ireland was glad to vote for it and we call insistently on all concerned to see that it is fully observed.

38. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I now call on the representative of Lebanon.

39. Mr. TUÉNI (Lebanon): I have just learned from official sources in Beirut that a party of Israeli commandos landed approximately two hours ago on the coastal road between Sayda and Beirut and shot with machine-guns at cars and buses which were transporting civilian refugees fleeing from the south. This action is of the utmost gravity and my Government earnestly hopes that the Council is not thus confronted with yet another pre-emptive act by Israel.

40. Mr. President, within two weeks the Council is scheduled to meet again to discuss the fate of UNIFIL. The Council's meeting under your presidency acquires a very special importance, not only because of the historical relations that bind Lebanon to France but also because France has played an instrumental role in the establishment of UNIFIL and is playing an important role in enhancing its capabilities. Last week the French contingent was deployed in south Lebanon. We are gratified that with you in the Chair the cause of peace in Lebanon will be well served.

41. In my letter to you yesterday, Mr. President, I mentioned some of the attacks launched by the Israelis [S/15161]. The Council met urgently and issued a statement [S/15163] which we read as a confirmation of the cease-fire. Yet military activity has been continuing intensively. More victims have fallen and more damage has been wreaked. The total figures are rising minute by minute. Casualties are now beyond the hundreds and destruction is immeasurable.

42. Once more we come to the Council requesting it to stop the aggression against Lebanon. The wanton bombardment of positions in Lebanon by Israel cannot be explained away by anything that its spokesmen have said. Nothing that happened could justify the air raids on Beirut and its suburbs yesterday or the attacks on cities and villages in Lebanon today.

43. Drawing on the wisdom of a well-known French author, La Fontaine, it appears to us that no matter what blow the Israeli wolf receives the Lebanese lamb downstream is invariably accused of muddying the water upstream. Such logic is unacceptable to us and

has been unacceptable to the Council, and it should be unacceptable to the world community at large. To penalize Lebanon for everyone's crimes is simply murderous. In simple terms, we condemn Israel's attacks on Lebanon, which are fuelling a cycle of violence and afflicting our country, which has become the victim of everyone's revolution and everyone's war.

"The world cannot stand aside, watching in morbid fascination, as this small nation, with its creative and cultured people, slides further into the abyss of violence and chaos."

Those are not my words. Those are the words of the United States Secretary of State, Mr. Haig, on 27 May 1982. Today I am speaking for this nation, the nation that is sliding into the abyss. In fact, I am speaking from the bottom of the abyss, the abyss of violence and chaos, pictures of which were displayed yesterday and today in the media, beyond my capacity to describe.

44. The Secretary-General has just informed the Council briefly, surgically and in simple terms of what has happened in my country and I shall not burden the Council with details of the attacks. The air raids are continuing; artillery shelling from land and sea and every possible means of destruction has been used—not against military positions as has been claimed, but against civilians—and not excluding those who were rushing to take part in rescue operations or those who were fleeing death and destruction in modest cars on public roads and highways and whose bodies are still lying there with no one able to recover them. Red Cross cars, civil defence cars, orphanages, schools, hospitals, warehouses where food supplies were stockpiled—all are there to testify to the unique savagery which characterizes that aggression. Thousands of refugees—Lebanese refugees—are flooding the city of Beirut from the south, seeking shelter despite the air raids against the city itself. The chaos is also social chaos, threatening to disrupt the very fabric of society.

45. The Council has just adopted a resolution which we consider to be of historical importance. Yet we cannot fail to recall that the Council has already adopted many resolutions on Lebanon which have all been challenged and defied by Israel. We view the resolution which has just been adopted as a practical measure to stop a catastrophe, for not only is the fate of my country at stake but also that of the peace and security of the Middle East and probably international peace and security as well.

46. Mr. President, your Prime Minister visited Lebanon a week ago in dramatic circumstances and said that the world will not allow Lebanon to disappear. Can the Council meet the challenge and prove beyond doubt that it is more than a platform for rhetoric and that its executive power can still be effective? We hope

that the resolution just adopted by the Council, for which we are indeed very grateful, will stop the war on Lebanon, safeguard the lives and property of our people and of all the people in the area, maintain the integrity of our land and restore peace, security and legitimate rights for all.

47. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I call on the next speaker, the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

48. Mr. ABDEL RAHMAN (Palestine Liberation Organization): At the outset, I should like to thank you, Mr. President, for calling on me. I should also like to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency for this month. We are confident that with your wisdom and experience and under your leadership the work of the Council will be most fruitful.

49. Since its very inception, the Zionist movement has conceived of Palestine as a country without people for people without land. When they discovered that that was not true and that there was a Palestinian people, they did everything possible in order to destroy the Palestinian people. First, they expelled the Palestinians from their homes and properties in Palestine, thus transforming more than 2 million Palestinians into homeless refugees residing in host Arab countries. When the Palestinian people resisted their condition of stateless and homeless refugees, the Zionist movement and its creation, Israel, pursued them into their places of refuge, killing and destroying indiscriminately. How else can anyone explain what happened yesterday in Beirut?

50. It seems that the only purpose of the military junta in Tel Aviv, led by the trio—Sharon, Shamir and Begin—is to kill as many Palestinians as possible. What is happening today—the intensity of the air strikes, the indiscriminate killing of Palestinians residing in Lebanon—illustrate the Israeli strategy. One hundred and thirty men, women and children have been killed as twice as many have been injured. That has occurred in only two days of war by Israel against the Palestinians in Lebanon and against the Lebanese people.

51. In July last year, the Israeli air force attacked the heart of Beirut, killing over 500 people and injuring 2,000 others. This is not "an act of retaliation"; it is an act of genocide. Its only purpose is to reduce by as many as they can the number of Palestinians still in existence.

52. I do not want to burden the Council with the details of what happened yesterday and of what is still going on today. The Secretary-General has given an extensive report of those events and my colleague, the representative of Lebanon, has added to it. I do not have much to add to what they have both reported to the Council.

53. Any review of the events that led to what happened yesterday and to what is continuing shows that Israel did not need a pretext to attack Palestinian civilian concentrations. Most, if not all, of the Israeli targets have been civilian concentrations. *The New York Times*, conservative in its reporting, gave a very illustrative picture in its 5 June issue of the situation in Beirut yesterday. The PLO has declared, through its representative in London, that it had no connection whatsoever with the attempt to assassinate the Israeli Ambassador in London. None of its components had any connection with or responsibility for what happened. In fact, as has been confirmed by the representative of the United Kingdom, our representative in London was a prospective target of those who attempted to assassinate the Israeli Ambassador.

54. But let us look at this and compare what happened yesterday with what happened when an Israeli soldier, a member of the Israeli Defence Forces, attacked worshippers in Al-Aqsa Mosque, killed two people and injured 27 other Palestinians. Why did the Arab world not dispatch all its air forces to destroy the Jewish population in occupied Palestine?

55. Are we to be responsible for every Palestinian or Arab who commits an act of violence? The PLO has always upheld and continues to uphold the following position: we are opposed to any act of violence that takes place outside our occupied land or involves an innocent third party. But it is convenient for the Israelis whenever possible to implicate the PLO in any act of violence that takes place outside the occupied Palestinian territories.

56. We resist the occupation of our land because we defend our basic God-given right to live in our homeland in freedom and in dignity. That right has been upheld, at least theoretically, by every member of the international community. Why should that right be denied to us?

57. In the last four months, in its systematic acts of terrorism against the Palestinian population in the occupied territory, Israel has killed over 27 children, some of them even under six years of age, and 200 others have been injured. I have a list of their names, but I do not want to read it out. Is this a violation of the cease-fire that was arranged in July 1981 or is it not? Is the killing of Palestinian people allowed because they happen to be Palestinians, even though whenever a Jew anywhere—in the words of Menachem Begin—is hurt by a Palestinian or a non-Palestinian that constitutes for the Israelis a violation of the cease-fire? Are we less human beings than the Israelis? Is our blood less valuable than Israeli blood or Jewish blood? Why?

58. In the past the PLO has adhered to and abided by the decisions of the United Nations and its organs. We have not violated our commitment to the Security Council or the Secretary-General. On the contrary

—and I think the Secretary-General can confirm what I am going to say—there have been hundreds of violations of the cease-fire by the Israelis by crossing the Lebanese borders and terrorizing the civilian population. We feel that on this occasion the Israeli junta in Tel Aviv has committed and continues to commit an act of aggression, and that it is therefore incumbent upon it to stop this human carnage that it has started and continues to carry out.

59. Mr. OLEANDROV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The Council is meeting urgently to consider the new flagrantly aggressive action by Israel against Lebanon. This is the third time in the last six weeks that Israeli aircraft have bombarded Beirut and other populated areas of Lebanon, victimizing tens and hundreds of peaceful persons. Much material damage has resulted from the Israeli attack upon Lebanon, the cost of which is still difficult to assess. It is appropriate to recall that on 21 April, following an Israeli air attack on Beirut, the members of the Council warned against any repetition of that action or further violation of the cease-fire and emphasized the need for all parties to comply with their obligations with regard to keeping the peace.

60. However, Israel has not heeded that appeal, just as it has failed to heed all the appeals and resolutions of the Council. It has once again activated its death-dealing military machine. This time what is involved is a clear expansion of the barbaric war that Israel has for many years been waging against Lebanon and the Palestine resistance movement.

61. There is information that Israeli heavy artillery continues to carry out raids on Lebanese cities and towns and is once again concentrating on the southern border of Lebanon and carrying out attacks on Lebanon. Therefore there can be no doubt that Israel is engaged in large-scale military aggression against a sovereign Arab State, aggression that it has prepared over the course of recent months.

62. The tragic events in Lebanon once again show the truth that is obvious to all: that Israel, through its aggressive and expansionist policy, has turned Lebanon into a blood-letting area of the Middle East and bears full responsibility for the tension accumulating in that area, which harbours the danger of a new and major armed conflict.

63. The policy of international piracy of the régime in Tel Aviv reveals the daily reality for the peoples of Lebanon, Palestine and the rest of the Middle East. It is an occupation régime that has seized Arab territories. Its bombing of and raids against Lebanon, its annexation of the Golan Heights and its piratical attacks on Iraq are tangible and concrete evidence of the aggressive policy that has become the keystone of the State of Israel.

64. This policy is a clear violation of the elementary and generally recognized norms of international law,

the Charter of the United Nations and the relevant United Nations decisions. The growing threat to international peace and security that results from those actions is clear.

65. It is no secret to anyone that Israel would not be able to carry out such an aggressive and blatant policy if it did not have encouragement from and the comprehensive military, political and economic assistance of its old "strategic ally", the United States, which has been systematically covering up the ill-conceived deeds of its Israeli protégé in the United Nations, making condemnation by the Security Council impossible.

66. We feel that it is more than time to put an end to the dangerous policy carried out by Israel and its leaders in the Middle East. The Soviet Union is in favour of immediately ending the Israeli aggression against Lebanon and not allowing any further dangerous escalation of the situation in the area. In our view, the Council has not, in adopting the present resolution, met all its responsibilities with regard to the very serious situation that has come about in Lebanon and the Middle East as a whole.

67. Unfortunately, for reasons known to all, the draft did not reflect clearly enough the condemnation of Israel which it deserved because of its responsibility for this new act of open aggression against Lebanon.

68. The Soviet delegation supports the call for an immediate cease-fire and a cessation of other hostile acts on the territory of Lebanon and across the Lebanese-Israeli border. We also believe there should be a strong condemnation of Israeli aggressive policy towards Lebanon and other Arab States.

69. The Council should use all effective means available to it in accordance with the Charter to halt further Israeli aggression against that State.

70. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I should like to inform members of the Council that I have just received a letter from the representative of Israel in which he requests to be invited to participate in the Council's discussion of the item on its agenda. In conformity 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 rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

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

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

72. Mr. BLUM (Israel): Mr. President, at the outset, let me tell you how delighted we are to see a diplomat of your stature, skill, wisdom and experience presiding over our deliberations. We salute in you also a son of the great French Republic, the land of liberty, equality and fraternity.

73. I should like to take this opportunity to thank the representatives of the United Kingdom and Ireland for their expressions of sympathy in connection with the dastardly attack against Israel's Ambassador in London. This recent attempt on the life of Mr. Argov is only the climax of a long campaign of terror that has been waged against my country and against my people in Israel and throughout the world. If the Council had really wanted to address itself to the central issue that should have confronted it in this context, it certainly would not have passed over that campaign of terror, including the attempt on the life of Mr. Argov. But the Council, as such, is not aware of this campaign of terror—although some individual representatives seem to be aware of it. This is also reflected in the resolution adopted by the Council.

74. The Council may pretend that the Israeli operations of yesterday and today came out of the blue. The entire world knows otherwise. The Council may ignore Israel's restraint over the past year in the face of constant terrorist provocations. The entire world knows otherwise. The Council may ignore the fact that since July of last year there have been approximately 150 acts of terrorism instigated by the PLO, originating in Lebanon, against Israelis and Jews in Israel and elsewhere: in Athens, Vienna, Paris and London. The terrorist PLO frequently denies responsibility for its activities and even invents organizations and designations specifically for that purpose, such as "Black September", "Eagles of the Revolution", and so on, which go under different aliases but all serve the same purpose.

75. The time has surely come to confront these simple facts.

76. Well, of course, we all know that the PLO, in its cowardly fashion, hides behind civilians and deliberately establishes its emplacements and its bases within refugee camps and villages in civilian neighbourhoods. And thus when its combat centres and arms and ammunition depots are attacked, unfortunately civilian casualties also occur. We in Israel certainly regret any civilian casualty, irrespective of nationality or creed. The responsibility for any such loss of life lies squarely with the PLO cowards, who have established, in the first place, their bases of operations within such civilian neighbourhoods.

77. I do not want to refer in great detail to the statement made by the representative of Lebanon, but there are a few words which I should like to address to him.

78. The representative of Lebanon knows that a State cannot invoke in its favour benefits deriving from certain provisions of international law without being prepared at the same time also to abide by the duties flowing from international law. If Lebanon is either unwilling or unable to prevent the harbouring, training and financing of PLO terrorists openly operating from Lebanese territory with a view to harassing Israel, Israelis and Jews world-wide, then Lebanon surely must be prepared to face the risk of Israel's taking the necessary countermeasures to stop such terrorist operations. This, Mr. Tuéni, is not only a fundamental premise of international law: it is also a conclusion dictated by simple logic.

79. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): Mr. Clovis Maksoud, the Permanent Observer of the League of Arab States, to whom the Council has extended an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure, wishes to make a statement. With the consent of the Council, I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make that statement.

80. Mr. MAKSOUUD (League of Arab States): I should like to express to you, Mr. President, and through you to the other members of the Council, the League of Arab States' appreciation of the invitation to make a statement.

81. Needless to say, between your great country and the Arab people and the Arab States there are strong ties of friendship and historical association, which are reinforced by the current friendly feelings that we have for your people and your great civilization.

82. It was not our intention to make a statement at this juncture. However, it is very important at this grave hour to express our appreciation of the unanimity with which the Council has adopted this resolution. We consider this to be a step in the right direction, which will give the Council and the world community a further opportunity to defuse an escalating situation which is likely to endanger many more lives in Lebanon and among the Palestinian people.

83. We have heard repeatedly in the last few days since the attempted assassination in London of the Israeli Ambassador the official position of the PLO. We have also listened with great interest to the evidence, which further reinforces the PLO position, that has been submitted to the Council today that the representative of the PLO in London was one of the other targets of such assassinations.

84. Therefore, under no circumstances can the incident in London be associated with the PLO, which is the representative of the Palestinian people and which has always supported in this building, in the United Nations, the development of the diplomatic and political option. Of course, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, when the PLO carries out its legitimate acts of resistance to occupation it is exercising the right of all peoples throughout the

world who have been disfranchised and deprived of the exercise of their national rights. These legitimate acts of resistance are confined, by a deliberate policy on the part of the PLO, to resistance within the occupied territories.

85. It is in this context that we can adduce as a logical conclusion that Israel has been planning with premeditation to perpetuate in an escalated form the bloody haemorrhage among the Lebanese and Palestinian people in Lebanon. It has been attempting to continue the factor of destabilization in Lebanon by refusing to comply with the various Security Council resolutions that have established the legitimacy of the central Government of Lebanon's exercising its authority over all the territories of Lebanon, more particularly in the south of Lebanon.

86. Yet an ominous remark has just been made, in contempt and defiance of the international will represented in the unanimous adoption of this resolution. It provides a sort of *a priori* pretext for much greater escalation and further invasion of and aggression against Lebanon. This is already being prepared for, not only by the deployment of Israeli forces on a large scale on the borders of Lebanon, but even more by efforts to make it possible in advance for subsequent invasion and aggression against Lebanon to take place.

87. It was in this context that we heard the representative of Israel state and assert under the so-called interpretation of international law that the State of Lebanon could expect more of what it has experienced through the repeated and escalated Israeli acts of aggression.

88. It is in this context and from this point of view that we see how important the unanimously adopted resolution of the Council is. We consider that it should not only be invoked and implemented, but, through the mechanism of the United Nations and the efforts of the Security Council, mandated as it has been by this important transitional resolution, should provide a deterrent to the further escalation of aggression and the intended invasion of the sovereign State of Lebanon, which Israel has been planning.

89. That is why, on behalf of the League of Arab States, I appreciate the collective wisdom manifested today. We urge the Council to ensure that this does not become merely another resolution but that its implementation restores to Lebanon the healthy atmosphere it requires, to the United Nations the credibility that it deserves and to the Palestinians the opportunity to seek in a rational international atmosphere the exercise of their right of self-determination and the achievement of a just, lasting and comprehensive peace throughout the Middle East.

90. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I shall now speak in my capacity as the representative of FRANCE.

91. I cannot fail to mention first the suffering of all those who for so long now—and only recently once again—have had to bear the consequences of the conflict afflicting a region dear to us, whatever the country to which the victims belong and whatever the country in which the victims are struck down.

92. As of yesterday, Lebanon was once again subjected to air raids, adding to the suffering of the Lebanese, an already sorely-trying people. As of yesterday there was a further dangerous escalation in the violence both in Lebanon and elsewhere on the frontier between Lebanon and Israel.

93. This morning the French Government issued the following statement:

“Once again we are witnessing a deplorable chain of acts of violence in the Middle East. However criminal and reprehensible the attack on the Israeli Ambassador in London may have been, France can only energetically condemn the bombing of Lebanese territory by Israeli aircraft. The bombing, which produced numerous victims, including a French journalist, constitutes a new violation of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Lebanon. The French Government appeals for restraint from all the parties concerned so that peace in the region may be restored.”

94. We can only mourn the dozens of innocent victims, both in Beirut and in the southern part of the country. This is a further blow to the Lebanese Government in its efforts to establish its administration and authority throughout its territory.

95. It is to be feared that, above and beyond the suffering of the civilian population already affected, the hostilities may spread throughout the region, affecting further civilian populations. It is also to be feared that the precarious balance existing since the cease-fire of July 1981 will be jeopardized.

96. For all those reasons, the Council must quickly decide on a call for an immediate cease-fire, to be respected by all the parties concerned in order to put an end to the escalation of violence.

97. That is why the French delegation voted for the draft resolution just adopted.

98. It must be pointed out once again that it is not possible to impose by force an equitable solution to the conflict in the Middle East, in which Lebanon finds itself involved against its will. Force will not guarantee the right of Israel to live in security within secure and recognized frontiers, the right of the Palestinian people to their own land and the right of Lebanon to live in peace.

99. I now resume my function as PRESIDENT.

100. The representative of the PLO has asked to speak to make a statement in reply and I call on him.

101. Mr. ABDEL RAHMAN (Palestine Liberation Organization): The representative of the military junta in Tel Aviv described the PLO as cowardly. Who are the cowards— those who resist and who insist that they are Palestinians and want to go to Palestine, their homeland, or those who confront with machine-guns young children, school children, in the streets of every city and town in the occupied territories? Are they the Palestinian children in the streets of Nablus or the Israeli armed forces shooting at them? Who are the

cowards—the Palestinian women and children in the refugee camps of Sabra and Shatila or the Israeli heroes in their F-15s and F-16s flying over those refugee camps, killing and destroying? The most cowardly act is that committed by the Israeli authorities on the civilians of Lebanon and on the Palestinians living in Lebanon; it is not the insistence of we, the Palestinian people, that we have no intention of remaining in Lebanon and that we are struggling to return to Palestine, our homeland.

The meeting rose at 6.25 p.m.

كيفية الحصول على منشورات الأمم المتحدة

يمكن الحصول على منشورات الأمم المتحدة من المكتبات ودور التوزيع في جميع أنحاء العالم . استعلم عنها من المكتبة التي تتعامل معها
أو اكتب إلى : الأمم المتحدة ، قسم البيع في نيويورك أو في جنيف .

如何购取联合国出版物

联合国出版物在全世界各地的书店和经售处均有发售。请向书店询问或写信到纽约或日内瓦的联合国销售组。

HOW TO OBTAIN UNITED NATIONS PUBLICATIONS

United Nations publications may be obtained from bookstores and distributors throughout the world. Consult your bookstore or write to: United Nations, Sales Section, New York or Geneva.

COMMENT SE PROCURER LES PUBLICATIONS DES NATIONS UNIES

Les publications des Nations Unies sont en vente dans les librairies et les agences dépositaires du monde entier. Informez-vous auprès de votre libraire ou adressez-vous à : Nations Unies, Section des ventes, New York ou Genève.

КАК ПОЛУЧИТЬ ИЗДАНИЯ ОРГАНИЗАЦИИ ОБЪЕДИНЕННЫХ НАЦИЙ

Издания Организации Объединенных Наций можно купить в книжных магазинах и агентствах во всех районах мира. Наводите справки об изданиях в вашем книжном магазине или пишите по адресу: Организация Объединенных Наций, Секция по продаже изданий, Нью-Йорк или Женева.

COMO CONSEGUIR PUBLICACIONES DE LAS NACIONES UNIDAS

Las publicaciones de las Naciones Unidas están en venta en librerías y casas distribuidoras en todas partes del mundo. Consulte a su librero o diríjase a: Naciones Unidas, Sección de Ventas, Nueva York o Ginebra.
