

UNITED NATIONS



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**2389<sup>th</sup>** MEETING: 4 AUGUST 1982

NEW YORK

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## 2389th MEETING

Held in New York on Wednesday, 4 August 1982, at 7.15 p.m.

*President:* Mr. Noel DORR (Ireland).

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

### Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2389)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. The situation in the Middle East:
  - (a) 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);
  - (b) Letter dated 28 July 1982 from the Permanent Representatives of Egypt and France to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15316)

*The meeting was called to order at 10.10 p.m.*

1. The PRESIDENT: I should like to apologize to and thank those who have waited patiently for some time for our meeting to begin.

### Adoption of the agenda

*The agenda was adopted.*

### The situation in the Middle East:

- (a) 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);
- (b) Letter dated 28 July 1982 from the Permanent Representatives of Egypt and France to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15316)

2. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with decisions taken at previous meetings on this item [2374th, 2375th, 2377th and 2384th meetings], I invite the representatives of Lebanon and Israel to take places at the Council table; I invite the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) to take a place at the Council table; I invite the representatives of Egypt and Pakistan to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. Tuéni (Lebanon) and Mr. Blum (Israel) took places at the Council table; Mr. Terzi (Palestine Liberation Organization) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Moussa (Egypt) and Mr. Mahmood (Pakistan) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.*

3. The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Cuba and India in which they request to be invited to participate 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 those representatives 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. Roa Kouri (Cuba) and Mr. Krishnan (India) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.*

4. The PRESIDENT: Members of the Council have before them a revised text, contained in document S/15343/Rev.1, of the draft resolution submitted earlier today by Jordan and Spain.

5. Mr. de PINIÉS (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): This morning, as members of the Council are well aware, the representative of Jordan, on behalf of his country and mine, submitted a draft resolution under the symbol S/15343, which has been revised and distributed under the symbol S/15343/Rev.1. Before this meeting proceeds, I should like to propose a few minor revisions to that text in order to improve it, if possible. Since the original draft resolution is in English, I shall venture to read out in that language an additional paragraph we propose to add to the draft resolution. This additional paragraph will be paragraph 5. The present operative paragraph 5 will then become operative paragraph 6; the present paragraph 6 will become paragraph 7; and the present paragraph 7 will become paragraph 8.

6. The operative paragraph to be added reads as follows:

“5. Takes note of the decision of the Palestine Liberation Organization to move the Palestinian armed forces from Beirut.”\*

\* Quoted in English by the speaker.

7. Members will understand that because of the late hour at which we are meeting, we shall have to make a change in the last part of former operative paragraph 6, now paragraph 7, and, bearing in mind the fact that it is now 4.15 a.m. in Beirut and that here in New York it is already 10.15 p.m., request the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council on the implementation of the present resolution as soon as possible and not later than 1000 hours, eastern daylight time, on 5 August 1982.

"7. *Requests* the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council on the implementation of the present resolution as soon as possible and not later than 1000 hours, eastern daylight time, on 5 August 1982;"\*

8. In accordance with that change, the new operative paragraph 8 should be revised to read: "Decides to meet at that time, if necessary," instead of: "Decides to meet three hours from now."

"8. *Decides* to meet at that time, if necessary, in order to consider the report of the Secretary-General and, in case of failure to comply by any of the parties to the conflict . . ."

9. Those are the revisions I am proposing. In view of the lateness of the hour, I hope that these minor revisions will not cause any delay and that we will be able to proceed with the vote. If any representatives would like me to repeat the suggested revisions, I shall of course be happy to do so.

10. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Spain has orally suggested certain revisions to the draft resolution before members of the Council in document S/15343/Rev.1. At the risk of repetition, but in order to be quite clear that we are all agreed on what we are talking about, I shall take the liberty of repeating his proposed revisions.

11. The representative of Spain has proposed the addition of a new operative paragraph 5, which would read:

"5. *Takes note* of the decision of the Palestine Liberation Organization to move the Palestinian armed forces from Beirut;"

That would be inserted between the present paragraphs 4 and 5 as a new operative paragraph 5. Consequently, the present paragraph 5, 6 and 7 would be renumbered as paragraphs 6, 7 and 8.

12. Furthermore, the representative of Spain, as one of the sponsors of the draft resolution, has proposed revisions in operative paragraphs 6 and 7, now operative paragraphs 7 and 8, in order to extend somewhat the deadline for the Secretary-General's report.

\* Quoted in English by the speaker.

13. The new operative paragraph 7 would now read:

"*Requests* the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council on the implementation of the present resolution as soon as possible and not later than 1000 hours, eastern daylight time, on 5 August 1982;"

14. The new operative paragraph 8 would now read:

"*Decides* to meet at that time, if necessary, in order to consider the report of the Secretary-General and, in case of failure to comply by any of the parties to the conflict, to consider adopting effective ways and means in accordance with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations."

15. I think that I have correctly reflected the revisions proposed orally by the representative of Spain as one of the two sponsors of the draft resolution.

16. Is the Council ready to proceed to the vote on draft resolution S/15343/Rev.1, as revised by the proposals just put forward orally by the representative of Spain? If I hear no objections, I shall now put the draft resolution, as orally revised, to the vote.

*A vote was taken by show of hands.*

*In favour:* China, France, Guyana, Ireland, Japan, Jordan, Panama, Poland, Spain, Togo, Uganda, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Zaire

*Against:* None

*Abstaining:* United States of America

*By 14 votes to none, with 1 abstention, the draft resolution was adopted (resolution 517 (1982)).*

17. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the vote.

18. Mr. NISIBORI (Japan): Since this is the first time that I have spoken formally in the Council this month, I wish to congratulate you, Sir, on the assumption of the presidency. Although we are just a few days into the month, you have already amply demonstrated a keen insight into the difficult problems we are now confronting. I am confident that under your wise leadership the Council will successfully discharge its important responsibilities.

19. I am also pleased to have this opportunity to express my delegation's appreciation to Mr. Sinclair, of Guyana, who, as President for the month of July, guided the work of the Council with exemplary patience and understanding.

20. Now I should like to take this opportunity to state very briefly my Government's position on the recent

thrust into west Beirut by Israeli forces. It is the view of my Government that Israel's latest action is clearly in contempt of the various relevant United Nations resolutions demanding an immediate cease-fire and the withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanon. Furthermore, it demonstrates Israel's total disregard of my Government's profound concern for the grave developments in Lebanon. This concern has been expressed in statements by the Minister for Foreign Affairs on 6 and 30 June, as well as in an urgent appeal by my Government to Israel to comply with the relevant United Nations resolutions.

21. My Government is also deeply worried that this Israeli action will undermine efforts being made by Mr. Habib for the peaceful solution of the Lebanese question.

22. Thus, the Israeli thrust into west Beirut constitutes a serious challenge to the international community, which has been striving to achieve peace in Lebanon. It should therefore never be condoned and must be strongly condemned.

23. The Government of Japan once again urges Israel to stop such action immediately and unconditionally and to withdraw from west Beirut as soon as possible.

24. Based on this position, my delegation voted in favour of draft resolution S/15343/Rev.1, as orally revised, sponsored by Jordan and Spain.

25. Mr. LOUET (France) (*interpretation from French*): I am particularly happy to be able to extend to you, Mr. President, on behalf of my delegation, extremely warm congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Council. During this month, the Council will have need of your patience, your imagination and your sense of reality. In carrying out your delicate responsibilities, you can be fully assured of my delegation's co-operation.

26. May I ask you, Mr. President, to extend to Mr. Sinclair, the representative of Guyana, my delegation's gratitude for the authority and competence with which he carried out his functions as President last month.

27. The French Government has vigorously protested against the new military actions of Israeli troops in Beirut, actions which are designed to hinder any solution other than that which results from the use of force. These unjustifiable actions violate the rules of international law and the rights of civilian populations in wartime. In such conditions, we believe that the authority of the Council can no longer be flouted and that Israel now should be censured.

28. The Council unanimously adopted on 1 August resolution 516 (1982). Despite preparatory measures taken by the Secretary-General, to whom the French delegation would like to pay a public tribute, that

resolution was not implemented because of the thrust of Israeli forces beyond the lines reached at 1325 hours on Sunday, 1 August, and because the Israeli Government opposed the deployment of observers who had already been assembled by the Secretary-General.

29. That is why, as a warning and to appeal here to the Government of Israel for reason and respect for law, my delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution submitted to us and welcomes its adoption by the Council.

30. Mr. GERSHMAN (United States of America): Mr. President, I should like to join those who have congratulated you on your assumption of your office and particularly to emphasize our confidence in your capabilities, which you are demonstrating during these trying days. We should also like to commend the permanent representative of Guyana, who carried out his responsibilities as President of the Council last month so effectively.

31. The United States Government is gravely concerned at the tragic violence that afflicts the people of Beirut. We have repeatedly supported resolutions calling for a cease-fire. The United States Government has worked ceaselessly, especially through the President's special emissary, Mr. Philip Habib, to bring peace to the region by restoring the sovereignty and independence of the Government of Lebanon. Towards that end, we have sought the removal of all foreign forces from Lebanese territory.

32. Just last Sunday, we voted in favour of resolution 516 (1982), which called for the introduction of United Nations observers in Beirut. We continue to support this important step and we regret that there has not yet been full co-operation with the Secretary-General in the implementation of that resolution.

33. In our view, the resolution now before us has one fatal flaw: it does not explicitly and unequivocally call for the withdrawal of the PLO from Lebanon.

34. Our position is best stated in the declaration made this morning by President Reagan. He said:

"Through Governments which have direct contact with the PLO I have expressed my strong conviction that the PLO must not delay further its withdrawal from Lebanon. At the same time, I have expressed to the Government of Israel the absolute necessity of re-establishing and maintaining a strict cease-fire in place so that this matter can be promptly resolved."

35. Because the draft resolution contained in document S/15343/Rev.1, introduced by Jordan and Spain, is inconsistent with the balanced policy set forth in President Reagan's statement, we abstained in the vote.

36. Mr. WHYTE (United Kingdom): Mr. President, allow me to add the congratulations of my delegation to those already addressed to you and to say how much we admire your skill, your patience and your determination. We suspect that you may in fact have chalked up a record for the number of hours put in actually on the job at the end of day four of your presidency. We hope for all our sakes that you will not have to keep up the same striking rate for the rest of the month.

37. May I also extend our congratulations and express our admiration to Mr. Noel Sinclair and his colleagues in the delegation of Guyana, who conducted the presidency last month with such skill and efficiency and energy and determination.

38. My Government has made its view of Israel's invasion of Lebanon known to the Council on two recent occasions. The strong views which we expressed then have not changed, and there is no need for me to repeat them. But what meanwhile has been repeated is the collapse of yet another cease-fire and the resumption of the bombardment by land, sea and air of the city of Beirut. Last night, even as you, Mr. President, were delivering a statement on behalf of the members of the Council [S/15342] reaffirming the vital need for a cessation of military activities, word was coming in of the latest Israeli attacks on west Beirut.

39. My Government is appalled by these further attacks. We can in no way become inured or indifferent to the continuing terrible loss of life and the human suffering inflicted on the civilian population of Beirut. What we are witnessing is the piecemeal destruction of a large part of one of the great cities of the Middle East.

40. The bloodshed must, in our view, be brought to a stop. Council resolution 516 (1982) must be respected and implemented. We believe that the deployment of United Nations observers would be a modest but important step in helping to maintain a cease-fire. We fully support the Secretary-General and the efforts that he has already made towards the implementation of resolution 516 (1982). For those reasons, we have now voted for resolution 517 (1982). We regret that, despite all your endeavours, Mr. President, and those of other members of the Council, it did not prove possible to reach consensus. But we hope that the absence of consensus will not impair the impact of the resolution and that it will contribute towards a peaceful settlement of this bloody conflict such as all of us must profoundly wish for.

41. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Lebanon.

42. Mr. TUENI (Lebanon): I believe I have already congratulated you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency, having had the privilege of being the first person to speak to you after you became President,

at 1.15 in the morning of 1 August. However, I wish to associate myself with the remarks that have been addressed to you in the Council by the members and to say that if it were left to us we could willingly right now promise to make this a very pacific month for you, for the members here and for all those who seek peace in our part of the world.

43. I wish to address my thanks to the representative of the Soviet Union for having asked for this meeting, also at an early hour, and for his support for my country.

44. I also wish to address particular thanks to my brother the representative of Jordan and to my friend the representative of Spain for having sponsored this resolution.

45. It is now 4.30 tomorrow morning in Beirut. The latest we have heard is that we have an undeclared cease-fire. Yet people are still dying. In such apocalyptic moments, one's mind is not set on debates and I shall not engage in one.

46. Even statistics assume names. They become real persons. They become brothers, sisters, friends, colleagues, students, children you knew and saw growing. Even institutions assume a certain personality. When you see images of destruction, you cannot look at such a situation impersonally, as it were.

47. In the Council we have been discussing the fate of west Beirut. Both sides of Beirut have suffered tremendously today, and it is our hope that we shall soon be able to propose some new elements, even a draft resolution, that will be another contribution to the return of peace to my country.

48. We have another resolution. It has been a long time since resolutions were solutions in the Council. Yet we still attach great importance to resolutions here, particularly we small countries that do not have much more to go by. We think that the Council has over the past two months built, stone by stone, a framework for peace in Lebanon, and we should like to stress that we approach the present resolution and look at it precisely from this perspective. Hence, I should like to make the following remarks.

49. First, because we are dealing with a specific case, namely, the latest invasion of Beirut yesterday and today, we have accepted and are grateful for certain words in this resolution, but we wish to emphasize that they must not be understood as a set-back to what has already been established in previous resolutions. To be very explicit, the withdrawal of Israel to lines where its troops were yesterday when the Council was meeting should in no way mean that we are relinquishing what was established in resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982) concerning the total and unconditional withdrawal of Israel from all of Lebanon's territories. Secondly, when we take note

of the decision of the PLO to move its forces from Beirut, we are not underwriting a policy that limits our desire to see Lebanon again for the Lebanese and the Lebanese alone. We do not underwrite a policy that will limit our attitude to this very limited move. I am sorry for speaking in such a manner, but I want to make myself clear.

50. My Government has already made its position very explicit to the Council, to public opinion and to the world. We have taken a very clear, unequivocal attitude. I have written to the Council about it in a letter that has been distributed as an official document, and I have since had occasion to repeat it in the Council in an earlier debate.

51. The objectives of my Government are Israel's withdrawal from all of Lebanon, the withdrawal of all non-Lebanese forces and the deployment of the Lebanese army and security forces—and their deployment alone—on all of Lebanon's territory. We know that that is a very ambitious scheme. We may seek help from international or multinational forces. We are content today to have observers to assist us in this enterprise. But we are determined to see peace in Lebanon re-established within a scheme to restore Lebanon's sovereignty exclusively, not only over west Beirut, not only over our capital, but over all of Lebanon.

52. I conclude by saying that all the members of the Council—with one exception—voted in favour of this resolution. I associate myself with the hope expressed by the representative of the United Kingdom that the fact that the United States abstained in the vote will not be read as impairing the impact of this resolution. Israel must in no way read—and I do not think it will read—the United States abstention as licence given it to pursue its present acts. We want to empha-

size that point because we have been indeed, and remain, very supportive of the efforts deployed by Presidential envoy Philip Habib, who, we hope, will in the next few days succeed—with the assistance of the United Nations and within the framework now being established by the Council—in reaching a solution to the problem that will ensure the withdrawal of Israel, of the PLO and of every other foreign force on our territory.

53. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Israel.

54. Mr. BLUM (Israel): I should like to associate myself with the statement we have just heard from the representative of Lebanon, namely, that all foreign forces should remove themselves or be removed from Lebanese territory. Lebanon legitimately belongs to its own people and to its own people alone. Lebanon belongs to the Lebanese and all foreign forces should be withdrawn from Lebanese soil. This has been the objective of the Government of Israel all along and we continue to adhere to this objective.

55. As far as west Beirut is concerned, it is imperative that the terrorists leave Beirut without any further delay. It is also imperative, for the restoration of Lebanese sovereignty throughout the territory of Lebanon, that the Syrian army of occupation withdraw from Lebanese soil.

56. On behalf of Israel, I can assure the Council once again that my country has no intention whatsoever of staying in Lebanon and that, once the objectives of operation "Peace for Galilee" are attained the Israel Defence Forces will withdraw to the international boundary between our two countries.

*The meeting rose at 10.45 p.m.*

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