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THIRTY-SEVENTH YEAR

**2384<sup>th</sup>** MEETING: 29 JULY 1982

NEW YORK

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1964-1965  
S/1965/1228

## 2384th MEETING

Held in New York on Thursday, 29 July 1982, at 12 noon

*President:* Mr. Noel G. SINCLAIR (Guyana).

*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/2384)

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 12.15 p.m.*

### 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)

1. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with decisions taken at previous meetings on this item [2374th, 2375th and 2377th 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 representative of Egypt to take the place reserved for him 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. Abdel Meguid (Egypt) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council chamber.*

2. The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Pakistan in which he requests 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 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. Mahmood (Pakistan) took a place at the side of the Council chamber.*

3. The PRESIDENT: The Council is resuming consideration of this item today in response to the request contained in the letter dated 28 July from the representatives of Egypt and France to the President of the Council [S/15316].

4. Members of the Council have before them document S/15317, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by Egypt and France.

5. I should like to draw the attention of members of the Council to the following other documents: S/15274, containing the text of a letter dated 5 July from the representative of Cuba to the President of the Council; S/15276, containing the text of a letter dated 2 July from the representative of Brazil to the Secretary-General; S/15284, containing the text of a letter dated 10 July from the representative of China to the Secretary-General; S/15288, containing the text of a letter dated 12 July from the representative of Pakistan to the Secretary-General; S/15294, containing the text of a letter dated 8 July from the representative of Seychelles to the Secretary-General; S/15297, containing the text of a letter dated 15 July from the representative of China to the Secretary-General; S/15299, containing the text of a letter dated 16 July from the representative of Jordan to the Secretary-General; S/15300, containing the text of a letter dated 16 July from the representative of Lebanon to the Secretary-General; S/15302, containing the text of a letter dated 20 July from the representative of Ethiopia to the Secretary-

General; S/15308, containing the text of a letter dated 26 July from the representative of Jordan to the President of the Council; S/15309, containing the text of a letter dated 26 July from the representative of Lebanon to the Secretary-General; S/15310, containing the text of a letter dated 26 July from the representative of Lebanon to the President of the Council; S/15312, containing the text of a letter dated 23 July from the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to the Secretary-General; and S/15318, containing the text of a letter dated 28 July from the representative of Jordan to the President of the Council.

6. The first speaker is the representative of France, upon whom I now call.

7. Mr. de La BARRE de NANTEUIL (France) (*interpretation from French*): Since 2 June, Lebanon has been subjected to an invasion that was immediately condemned by the French Government and by the international community. From the outset, that condemnation was tied to a demand for the withdrawal of Israeli forces from all Lebanese territory and for the restoration of the independence, integrity, unity and sovereignty of Lebanon.

8. In its resolutions 508 (1982), 509 (1982), 511 (1982), 512 (1982) and 513 (1982), the Council expressed similar concerns: it called for a cease-fire, for the withdrawal of Israeli troops to the internationally recognized boundaries between Israel and Lebanon and for the belligerents to protect the rights and property of civilians, in accordance with the international rules laid down at the Hague in 1907<sup>1</sup> and at Geneva in 1949.<sup>2</sup>

9. Fragile cease-fires have of course been established, but they have most often been honoured in the breach. The city of Beirut has very frequently been bombed, without any distinction being made between civilian and military targets.

10. It was to spare the civilian populations of Beirut further intolerable suffering that the President of the French Republic, on 24 June, made a solemn appeal to the combatants to observe the requirements of the cease-fire. At that time, Mr. François Mitterrand stated the need for a disengagement "between all the forces now in action in west Beirut and on its periphery and for the Lebanese army to be allowed to interpose itself, with the backing, if the legitimate Government so desires, of a force constituted under the auspices of the Security Council." On 25 June, those ideas were set forth in a draft resolution sponsored by France [S/15255/Rev.2], but in spite of a near unanimity of votes in favour, the Council was unable to adopt it [*see 2381st meeting*]. We remain convinced, however, that that *de facto* neutralization of Beirut constituted not only the most obvious way to spare many human lives, but also the first step towards a broader settlement in the interests of Lebanon and of peace in the area.

11. Since 25 June, we have unfortunately made no progress towards peace. The threat of an attack, preceded by the most lethal bombardments, continues to hang over besieged west Beirut. The French Government rejects such an eventuality with horror.

12. While paying a tribute to those who have been striving to bring about a dialogue that could lead to a loosening of the noose of fire and iron that is strangling Beirut, France believes it to be its duty to appeal once again to the Council.

13. On 2 July, the representative of Egypt and I submitted to our colleagues in the Council, through you, Mr. President, a working document designed to meet both the immediate concerns arising out of the prolongation and worsening of the siege of Beirut and the need, above and beyond those concerns, to deal with the substance of the problem: Beirut, Lebanon and the Middle East will know no peace so long as the principles from which any solution to the present crisis must be derived are not set forth and agreed upon.

14. Today, the continuation of tragic confrontation and of a situation which, if it continues, may well lead to an impasse, has led us to take one further step. France, determined to bring about the substantive debate the present crisis demands and in full agreement with Egypt, wishes to submit officially to the Council the draft resolution contained in document S/15317. I must point out in this respect that the French text before you contains a mistake in section A, paragraph 6. It should read "to ensure" rather than "to assume".

15. It will be noted that the text is the same as that issued earlier as an unofficial working document. In fact, we consider that the impetus behind the French-Egyptian approach on 2 July remains fully valid and that it can therefore help to direct the Council's thinking along positive lines.

16. I should draw attention to the fact that the organization of the draft resolution that has been submitted is based on the relationship to be established between the disengagement of forces that now confront each other in and around Beirut and the establishment of conditions of justice, security and peaceful coexistence for all the peoples and States of the region; this concerns the Palestinian and well as the Israeli and Lebanese peoples.

17. We believe that a disengagement in Beirut cannot be achieved without a recognition of the political dimension of the problems and, therefore, without an assurance of political discussions. We believe also that this political approach is the indispensable condition for the success of a disengagement that would be of benefit to all involved, and especially for Lebanon.

18. In our opinion, there is an intimate and basic relationship between sections A and C of the draft submitted to the Council.

19. In section A of our draft, we demand the immediate disengagement of the fighting forces in west Beirut, and in section B request the use of United Nations observers and a prospective United Nations force. This, of course, is only a necessary and indeed obligatory step towards the restoration of Lebanon's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity through the withdrawal of all non-Lebanese forces located in that country, unless their presence is authorized by the legitimate Lebanese Government.

20. Lebanese integration cannot be restored without the initiation of the process of a negotiated settlement to the Palestinian problem. In section C, the draft resolution submitted to the Council therefore attempts to set forth the principles that should underlie such a negotiation: the reference to resolution 242 (1967) indicates that the Council maintains its condemnation of the acquisition of territory by war and states the right of all States in the region to existence and security, as well as "their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force". The draft resolution further provides for recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, including its right to self-determination, and, consequently, for the association of the PLO in the negotiations to which the draft resolution refers. Finally, it calls for mutual and simultaneous recognition of the parties concerned.

21. It will be for the Secretary-General to make proposals to the Council so as to initiate the negotiating process, the general direction of which I have just pointed out.

22. If one is determined to respect the Charter of the United Nations, particularly Article 2, which condemns the use of force, one must be convinced that there will be no disengagement in Beirut—apart from a few fragile lulls—and that there will be no peace for the Lebanese people, the Palestinian people or the Israeli people if the settlement of the crisis with which we are dealing is not viewed in a political perspective.

23. In this connection, the Council has before it a proposal. It is not drafted perfectly. We realize, for example, that section A of our text is contingent on many things and that the formulations made several weeks ago should be amended to take account of developments and of the situation on the ground. The representative of Lebanon, among others, has proposed that certain adjustments be made precisely because of those developments. I can assure him—and other delegations which have made comments—that we are ready to accept their very interesting suggestions, provided that they do not water down our text. I say this to my Lebanese colleague all the

more willingly because our primary concern is to make it possible for the legitimate authority of the Lebanese Government in its own land to be restored. Needless to say, I have made sure of the agreement of my Egyptian colleague on all these points before stating the general direction of our thinking.

24. We know that in this part, as well as in other parts, of our text, different language has been or will be suggested by one delegation or another. We shall consider those suggestions with an open mind, as long as they do not change the meaning of a draft resolution which, we know, has been encouraged by many Middle Eastern and European countries, which reflects the hopes of peoples whose existence is threatened and which has no goal other than security, justice and peace.

25. We do not ask that the Council begin today a detailed consideration of the draft resolution we have submitted. We ask only—but to this we attach importance—that this meeting provide all Council members with the opportunity to become more keenly aware of what we consider to be the essential relationship between the search for a solution to the immediate problem of Beirut and the search for a direction on the fundamental problems whose persistence has brought about the present crisis. We ask that this meeting provide all Council members with the opportunity to become more keenly aware of the relationship between the solution of military problems and that of political problems, between the acceptance of concessions on the military level and the definition of prospects on the political level. It is the task of the Council to define the principles of a settlement. Our draft resolution and, today, our exchange of views are aimed at bringing out the fundamental elements which must be part of any settlement.

26. Thus, we should be very happy for all those who wish to speak at this meeting to express their feelings on the general direction of our draft resolution; we hope that they will be willing to support the effort which has given rise to it.

27. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Egypt. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

28. Mr. ABDEL MEGUID (Egypt): Sir, I should like to take this opportunity to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of July, at a crucial juncture of events which have a considerable bearing on international peace and security. I should like also to convey, through you, to the people and the Government of Guyana the greetings of the Egyptian people and Government and their best wishes for progress and prosperity.

29. I wish also to seize this occasion to express my delegation's appreciation to your predecessor, Mr. Luc de La Barre de Nanteuil, of France, who carried out

his mandate as President of the Council last month in an excellent manner.

30. I do not propose to add to what we all know about the Middle East problem except to reaffirm what has become a universal outcry, a unanimous stand and a world-wide consensus: that the problem of the Middle East will continue to defy settlement unless and until a just solution to the Palestinian question has been achieved.

31. The serious situation we are facing in Lebanon is a case in point. It is a situation which has arisen from the continued Israeli denial of the rights of the Palestinian people, on the one hand, and the aggression committed by Israel against the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of Lebanon, on the other.

32. Egypt, the first—or let me say the only—Arab country to recognize Israel and maintain normal relations with it, cannot be accused of unfairness to Israel, since Egypt has recognized all the rights to which Israel is entitled under the prevailing political order. And it is from this position that we rise up with all vigour against all of Israel's policies in the area. We reject totally and unconditionally the Israeli invasion of Lebanon with all its consequences. We likewise reject Israeli policies and measures against the Palestinian people and against the PLO.

33. It is inconceivable to us—as it must be to every member of the Council—that the tension-ravaged situation in Lebanon can have been dragging on for several weeks without a solution. There should be limits on how long this situation can prevail and can remain in no way conducive to advancing the cause of peace in the Middle East. We must share the conviction that peace in Lebanon can be attained only through respect for its territorial integrity, sovereignty and political independence. That can never be realized without the complete withdrawal of all Israeli forces from all Lebanese territory.

34. Aware of the gravity of this situation, a number of peace-loving countries have embarked on all-out initiatives to bring to an end this harrowing situation which seriously threatens the prospects of peace and security in the Middle East.

35. Egypt, for its part, cannot but support all efforts aimed at defusing the current situation while at the same time giving due consideration to the wider situation involving the prospects of a durable peace in the Middle East. From the standpoint of its regional responsibilities, and out of its inherent conviction that peace is indivisible, Egypt, together with France, has embarked on a new initiative to help achieve a just, lasting and comprehensive peaceful settlement not only for the extremely pressing crisis of Lebanon but for the ever-chronic Middle East problem, a settlement fulfilling the rights of all States and peoples of the

region to existence and security, to territorial integrity and sovereignty, and particularly the national legitimate rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to statehood in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. That stand is based on the fact that the Palestinian question is the core and crux of the Middle East problem and that no lasting and comprehensive solution of it could be attained without a just settlement for the Palestinian question in all its aspects. The dispersion of the Palestinians could never be an antidote for the problem unless it were done within the framework of a comprehensive settlement of their question.

36. Well-grounded instruments that could help achieve peace in the Middle East are Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). In this context, Egypt re-emphasizes the validity of these resolutions in the unrelenting work towards a comprehensive and lasting settlement of the Middle East question. The significance of these resolutions emanates from the essence of the international principles embodied therein, particularly the principles of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war, the right of all States of the region to live in peace and security within their recognized international boundaries and the resolving of disputes through peaceful means. These principles constitute a pathfinder for the achievement of a just and comprehensive peace in the Middle East. These resolutions should, however, be read within the context of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations which provide for the right of all peoples to self-determination and fundamental human rights and freedom.

37. In this context, we are gratified to note that on the 25th of this month a new development emerged when the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the PLO signed a document accepting United Nations resolutions relevant to the Palestinian question. Indeed, this marked a new turn in the long-standing position of the PLO towards Israel, a step that should be received with encouragement and support.

38. In the light of this positive initiative by Chairman Arafat, the simultaneous mutual recognition of the rights of both Israel and the Palestinian should be energetically promoted. Such a step should be enhanced by a parallel direct dialogue to be initiated between the United States and the Palestinians.

39. Both elements—mutual recognition between the two parties and Israel's recognition of the right of the Palestinians to self-determination—must be dealt with as an integral package deal. Thus, both elements should be implemented simultaneously.

40. The French-Egyptian initiative presents a set of internationally recognized principles as a ground basis for establishing a just, lasting and comprehensive peace in the Middle East. It offers a starting-point to open wide avenues for further consultations and con-

tacts between all parties concerned, with a view to achieving peace in the Middle East.

41. The joint draft resolution contained in document S/15317, which I also have the privilege to introduce to the Council, was initiated jointly by the Governments of Egypt and France. This draft resolution deals substantially with the three main elements that could well serve as a foundation for putting an end to the appalling situation in Lebanon as well as in the Middle East as a whole.

42. Under its preambular paragraph, the draft resolution, guided by the purposes and principles of the Charter, reaffirms the validity of Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) as regards a lasting and comprehensive settlement of the Middle East question. It also reaffirms Council resolutions 508 (1982), 509 (1982), 511 (1982), 512 (1982) and 513 (1982), which deal with the situation in Lebanon. It further reaffirms the right of all States to live in peace within recognized international boundaries and the principles and the obligation of all to settle disputes by peaceful means and to refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity and political independence of any State, and it calls for security for all States and justice for all peoples.

43. The operative part of the draft resolution consists of four sections.

44. Section A deals objectively with the situation in Lebanon; in it the draft resolution demands specific measures to end the hostilities in Lebanon and also the immediate withdrawal of Israeli forces engaged around Beirut to an agreed distance as a first step towards their complete withdrawal from Lebanon. It also demands the simultaneous withdrawal of Palestinian armed forces from Beirut. Section A also deals with the restoration of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of Lebanon and supports the Government of Lebanon in its efforts to reassert its exclusive control of its capital.

45. In section B, the draft resolution deals with the role of the United Nations in supervising the ceasefire and disengagement in and around Beirut by stationing United Nations military observers therein. It also requests the Secretary-General to submit a report on the prospects of the installation of a United Nations force which could take up positions beside the Lebanese interposition forces or the use of the forces already available to the United Nations in the region. Also, the Secretary-General is requested to submit a plan concerning the installation of a United Nations peace-keeping force in Lebanon. Section B also calls on all States to co-operate with the Secretary-General in this respect. In this context, we should recognize with appreciation the positive contribution of the United Nations throughout the different stages of the Middle East conflict. Indeed, the United Nations has a vital role to play in promoting this peaceful initiative.

46. In section C, the draft resolution deals with the question of Palestine; it calls for the initiation of a durable restoration of peace and security in the region within the framework of negotiations based on the principles of security and justice for all States and peoples of the Middle East in order to reaffirm the right of all States in the region to live in peace and security in accordance with Security Council resolution 242 (1967) and, equally, to reaffirm the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to self-determination, with all its implications, on the understanding that the Palestinian people shall be represented in the negotiations and, consequently, the PLO shall participate therein. It also calls for mutual and simultaneous recognition of the parties concerned, and emphasizes the necessity of pursuing political means to achieve the aforementioned objectives with the aim of recognition of and respect for the existence and security of all the States and peoples of the region.

47. In section D, the draft resolution deals with procedural matters; it requests the Secretary-General to report to the Council on the status of implementation of the draft resolution. Section D also requests the co-operation of all Member States in the implementation of the draft resolution, should it be adopted.

48. Those are the elements contained in the draft resolution which is before the Council. This text was carefully outlined in such a manner as to produce a balanced draft resolution that touches equally upon the main elements of this most intricate question before us. And here I wish to state that, like my French colleague, I have an open mind about any amendments that will ameliorate our text and be in conformity with our objective.

49. Egypt, in its endeavour for peace, has placed great importance on the contribution of the Government of the United States in establishing the peaceful foundations and principles for solving the Middle East question. We look forward to the United States, as a full partner in the peace process, intensifying its efforts with a view to reaching a just, comprehensive and lasting peace in the Middle East.

50. At this crucial juncture, we are well aware of the immense difficulties and pains that accompany the birth of peace. However, we are convinced that only through peace can the peoples and States of the Middle East enjoy security and attain progress. To this end, Egypt calls again upon all the parties in the Middle East to join in an all-out peaceful *démarche* in goodwill and sincerity. Let all the peoples of the Middle East live together in justice, peaceful coexistence, co-operation and reconciliation.

51. For a number of decades, Egypt suffered and sacrificed itself in serving the principles and purposes that it believed in. Today, Egypt is willing to exert every effort so as to spare the Palestinian, the Lebanese and the Israeli peoples further sacrifices and

hardships. To this end, let us all shoulder our responsibilities towards a peaceful settlement in Lebanon, a just solution to the Palestinian question and a lasting and comprehensive peace in the Middle East.

52. Mr. NUSEIBEH (Jordan): Mr. President, this has been an inordinately tumultuous month for international peace and security, which is the primary responsibility of the Council.

53. I have had occasion, in our closed meetings, to pay highest tribute to our President for the month of July, Mr. Noel Sinclair, of friendly Guyana, for the outstanding manner in which he has diligently striven to co-ordinate the Council's work in crisis-management. His statemanship, agility and dedication have shone the more brightly against the bleak and ever-more-darkening skies which overshadow a Middle East that is the victim of aggression.

54. This has been a continuum of gruesome and barbaric Israeli aggression begun in the early days of June, in which a mindless and heedless Israeli military robot invaded and savagely destroyed southern Lebanon, razing some of the most venerable and ancient cities, towns and villages of the renowned Phoenicians, whose inspiration and voluminous contributions included the invaluable gift of the alphabet in humanity's onward march to an elevated and civilized life.

55. Tyre, Sidon, Nabatiya and scores of villages have been destroyed by the criminal and genocidal bombardment by air, land and sea, as have all of the 14 Palestinian refugee camps which for almost 34 years sheltered the very same Palestinians who had been uprooted and dispersed by the criminal Israeli war machine and usurped of their ancestral homes and homeland in Palestine. It devolved upon our President for the month of June, Mr. de La Barre de Nanteuil, of friendly France, to handle the co-ordination of the Council's response to the brazen Israeli act of all-out aggression against the independent sovereign State of Lebanon and the Palestinian refugees who have been its guests pending their redemption and repatriation. Under his presidency, this was accomplished with great distinction and forthrightness when the Council promptly and unequivocally adopted resolutions 508 (1982), 509 (1982), 511 (1982) and 512 (1982).

56. All those resolutions categorically demanded that Israel, the aggressor—the ubiquitous aggressor against neighbouring States—withdraw all its military forces forthwith and unconditionally to the internationally recognized boundaries of Lebanon. It is almost two months since those resolutions were unanimously adopted and yet, instead of abiding by categorical Council resolutions—which every Member State must abide by according to the Charter of the United Nations—the Israeli war leadership has continued, and even enormously expanded, its savage aggression right to the heart and soul of Lebanon's capital, the

historic and ancient city of Beirut, its environs and its bread-basket, the fertile Bekaa valley.

57. By every word in the dictionary, by every provision in the Charter, by every norm of ethical imperative, the Council is duty-bound promptly to warn the aggressor that it will not tolerate continuance of the holocaust it is at present perpetrating against the Lebanese and Palestinian civilian population. The Council has the power to invoke the relevant provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter and to take effective steps commensurate with that crime against humanity to ensure total Israeli withdrawal. The Council is no doubt fully aware of the Israelis' long-standing and officially recorded designs against southern Lebanon, principally concerning seizure of the waters of the Litani for their own insatiable and burgeoning appetite; one can read about this in the late Ben-Gurion's memoirs and in the late Moshe Dayan's diaries. The Israelis are already treating the south as a territory under occupation to be followed by *de facto* annexation, as has been the case with Jerusalem, the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and the Golan Heights. The Prime Minister of Lebanon has already complained that the Israelis have established in southern Lebanon a parallel administration which has usurped the prerogatives of the legitimate Lebanese administration.

58. If I were living in a world of normalcy guided by international law, what I have stated would be the most normal response—indeed, the only response—to a genocidal act of aggression. And yet I am as fully aware as all members of the Council that international conduct has relapsed to a humiliating acquiescence in the deadly game of *realpolitik*, which throughout the century has wrought disaster after disaster upon the community of nations.

59. Hence, Jordan assesses as sincere and well-intentioned the initiative of France and Egypt that is before us today. But I feel impelled to state the following, with all due respect and commendation to the co-sponsors of the draft resolution. On 2 July, the representatives of France and Egypt presented a working paper to the parties concerned and requested those parties to suggest amendments or give their thoughts as they deemed essential. The parties concerned submitted ideas, which were incorporated in the 2 July text, and with those incorporations a text was made available to me as the would-be draft resolution, in the blue type-colour. Unfortunately, the draft resolution before us today is the original working paper of 2 July and was made available to us only today. The statement that I am about to make endorse the working paper as amended and made available to us two days ago, the text which Jordan supports. My Government's endorsement, therefore, does not refer to the original working paper but to the amended draft to which we have contributed. I do not believe that the changes are basic, but sometimes little nuance can have an impact on the overall meaning of a resolution.



60. The preamble reaffirms the Council's undaunted commitment to its own resolutions, old and new, which mandate withdrawal of the Israeli occupation forces from Arab Jerusalem, the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, the Golan Heights and, latterly, Lebanon. Resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) are explicit in demanding such withdrawal from the territories occupied in the aftermath of the 1967 war, as well as the equally unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanon.

61. It reaffirms the obligation of all States and peoples to settle their disputes by peaceful means—in accordance, of course, with Article 2 of the Charter—in such a manner that international peace and security and justice are not endangered. Hence, it is imperative to emphasize in the preamble the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force—and that principle was inserted in the preambles to both Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973); but subsequently the Israelis torpedoed the basic tenet of the principle by staking claims to substantial portions of the territories that they had occupied in 1967, an act that leaves very little room, indeed, for any meaningful self-determination, viability or existence for the Palestinian people.

62. Moreover, and in view of the ongoing and extensive confiscation and colonization of those territories—amounting to almost 40 per cent of the total area of the tiny West Bank, the Gaza Strip and the Golan Heights—the Council should reaffirm in the preamble both resolutions 465 (1980) and 478 (1980) on Jerusalem, the importance of which to the world is probably second to none.

63. If we are to achieve a just settlement, we should not allow an aggressor to reap the fruits of his aggression, nor should the Council gloss over its own resolutions on basic issues or acquiesce in newly created *faits accomplis* by omission. I fully recognize that no resolution can possibly list all the many resolutions—numbering possibly in the hundreds—adopted over the past 30 years on the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, both individually and collectively. The present draft resolution is a laudable framework and its thrust could be the basis for more elaborate and detailed efforts by all parties concerned.

64. The subject of section A of the French-Egyptian draft resolution is at present the centre-piece and focus of world attention and profound concern. It is the situation in Lebanon and involves the fate, survival and future of both the Lebanese people and the Palestinian people, who, as refugees, are guests. We are meeting today at the eleventh hour, possibly almost at the stroke of the twelfth, to shoulder our historic responsibilities fully and unequivocally, as we are obligated to do under the Charter.

65. One half to three quarters of a million Lebanese and Palestinian civilians—men, women and children—

stand in present, imminent and grave danger of suffering a real holocaust, far greater in magnitude than the devastation and barbarism which have already been inflicted by Israeli nazism in the south and which have been inflicted daily for the past seven weeks against the besieged city of Beirut. The entire Israeli war machine and people are armed to the teeth with the most lethal and destructive weaponry that the United States arsenal has so abundantly and meekly provided and continues to provide to a confessedly expansionist Israel which is now poised to launch an all-out assault on this great capital of Lebanon.

66. Massive bombardments by air, sea and land have spared hardly a single building, and civilian losses are already staggering. Representatives may have had glimpses of the victims maimed by phosphorus bombs, persons whose legs have been amputated by cluster bombs and other ghastly scenes which are shown from time to time on our television screens. The Israeli invaders may make their final assault any time. But let there be no mistake about it: the few thousand heroic Lebanese and Palestinian resistance fighters are determined to turn an invaded Beirut into a vast cemetery for the invaders. Their will is unflinching and their resolve unbreakable. They have already recorded one of the great epics of this century during the past two months, because they are fighting for a just cause against great odds in repelling arrogant and heedless aggression. They are not attacking Tel Aviv. They are not attacking any other Israeli city. They are defending Beirut, the capital of a sovereign independent State.

67. It is not for the Palestinians to leave or the Lebanese to go wandering into the wilderness of nowhere instead of staying in or returning to their homeland. It is for the Israeli army to withdraw to where it came from, and particularly those forces engaged around Beirut, as the French-Egyptian draft resolution provides in section A, operative paragraph 2, as a first step towards the complete withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanon and the simultaneous withdrawal of Palestinian armed forces to an agreed distance.

68. The major goal of section A of the draft resolution is to avert a colossal carnage of the civilian inhabitants of Beirut, which all decent and ethical people must support, and the restoration of exclusive control by Lebanon over its capital and, thereafter, throughout its entire territory within its internationally recognized boundaries—no enclaves, which are subterfuges for Israeli control from which we have been suffering for the past five years. Otherwise, the situation would revert to internal strife and conflict. There is only one Lebanon, highly advanced and articulate. It can be preserved only by its Constitution and legitimacy, not by any Israeli-imposed manipulation. Indeed, public leaders have already declared that there will be no elections for a President as long as one Israeli soldier remains on Lebanese soil. No amateurs or adventurers can play tricks with the subtleties and

nuances of Lebanon's social fabric. That could prolong the terrible ordeal which Lebanon has already been enduring for far too long.

69. Section C of the draft resolution calls for durable peace and security in the region while reaffirming the right of all States to existence and security in accordance with Council resolution 242 (1967), in all its parts—and I emphasize "in all its parts", which unfortunately does not appear in the draft resolution which is before us. It also reaffirms the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to self-determination with all its implications.

70. I should emphasize that the PLO is recognized not only by the League of Arab States—22 States—but also by the overwhelming majority of the community of nations as entitled to speak and negotiate on behalf of the Palestinian people on the question of Palestine. The two-stage negotiating teams, as proposed, are therefore incongruous, unless, for reasons beyond my comprehension, the PLO itself agrees to such a cumbersome procedure. Not only does the PLO have an unquestioned entitlement to speak for the Palestinians but, additionally, it has earned that right in the crucible of battle.

71. Paragraph 1 (c) of section C calls for the mutual and simultaneous recognition of all the States and peoples concerned. That is the crux of the entire question and is the only avenue for achieving a just, comprehensive and durable peace in the Middle East. It is astounding that this simple fact should have baffled—or seemed to have baffled—so many learned policy-makers and scholars, particularly in the United States. No people in the world should be expected unilaterally to abdicate its national and individual rights in exchange for nothing. Not only would that be putting the cart before the horse, but it would also be tantamount to highway robbery and blackmail.

72. If the Israeli leadership declares openly and almost daily that it will in no circumstances recognize the PLO or redeem Palestinian rights, except as exercised on temporary Indian reservations, why should the Palestinian people, the aggrieved party, recognize their tormentors and usurpers? It takes two to make an agreement. If one is refused recognition, then the other's claim to legitimacy will be legally null and void. Indeed, Israel was created by General Assembly resolution 181 (II) adopted in 1947, which provided for the establishment of a Jewish State alongside a Palestinian State. An ephemeral *fait accompli* would be an act of force that would be challenged continually and in full measure and cannot therefore be the basis of a just or durable peace to which we all aspire and which we seek.

73. The Egyptian-French draft resolution requests the Secretary-General, in consultation with the Council, as well as all the parties concerned, including the representatives of the Palestinian people—and every-

one knows who they are—to make proposals and perhaps set up a full-fledged mechanism or machinery under United Nations auspices to pursue by political means the aforementioned objectives. There would have to be a conference, specialized committees and many sub-committees to sort out the rights of the parties to the conflict, which are numerous and cumulative indeed. That would be the litmus test of whether or not the Israelis can hide any longer behind their oft-repeated contention that the Palestinian people and the PLO seek to destroy Israel. That is not true: it is Israel which is determined to destroy the Palestinian people, almost physically, in the kind of carnage which it is now waging in Lebanon and other parts of the Middle East, including the occupied territories, without let or hindrance and with little more than a slap on the wrist by Israel's main benefactor, the United States, which gives to every Israeli an annual gratuity of \$3,500 directly and through tax-deductible funds—this at a time when considerable segments of the American people, owing to a world-wide economic depression, need every available dollar for viable living.

74. It is not for me or anyone else to interfere in the way the United States Government arranges its dispensations or priorities. But I am certainly entitled to protest against the fact that those huge funds given to Israel are being used to buy hundreds of first-line combat planes and other weapons of mass destruction to kill, orphan, maim and systematically destroy our beloved Lebanon, the valiant Lebanese people and their valiant Palestinian refugee guests, who are not there by choice and who are not fighting to take an inch of Lebanon, but rather to go back to their homeland. That would be their day of liberation.

75. It is a sad commentary that we have yet to hear a world of public condemnation from any top-level United States official—I am not talking about possible private condemnations—of Israel's invasion of Lebanon and its accompanying genocide and devastation. A super-Power like the United States, and the great American people, whose basic goodness is widely recognized throughout the world, would certainly not wish to associate themselves with the Begin-Sharon acts of indiscriminate genocide, nor would they condone the fact that more than half a million civilian inhabitants in west Beirut and elsewhere are dying of thirst, hunger or mortal wounds for lack of medical supplies, as has been the case in Lebanon over the past three of four days. In today's *New York Times*, we read that a former Lebanese Prime Minister has sent an SOS because people have been without water, food and medical supplies for 72 hours. I wish to assure Begin and Sharon that the resistance fighters have their own supplies of food and water that can last them for a long time. It is the civilians who are the victims of this sadistic treatment.

76. I call upon the Council, perhaps through a statement by its President, to reaffirm on the most imme-

diate basis resolution 513 (1982), which calls for the restoration of the normal supply of vital facilities such as water, electricity, food and medical provisions, particularly in west Beirut. Is it too much to ask, in this latter part of the twentieth century, that ordinary civilians be given a cup of water to drink?

77. The delegation of Jordan supports the basic spirit and thrust of the French-Egyptian initiative and would be ready to endorse it, with whatever peripheral amendments are presented by members of the Council. France and Egypt deserve the highest commendation for their timely initiative, which has put the question of Palestine and the Middle East back on the right track.

78. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Lebanon.

79. M. TUÉNI (Lebanon): I know that it has been agreed that I shall make my statement at this after-

noon's meeting, but I would ask the Council's indulgence in order to make a very brief announcement.

80. As we entered this chamber this morning, at 11.25 to be precise, I received a cable from my Government stating that it had been advised by the International Committee of the Red Cross that Israeli checkpoints are as of this morning still preventing the entry into west Beirut of any food or supplies, despite all promises.

*The meeting rose at 1.25 p.m.*

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NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, *The Hague Conventions and Declarations of 1899 and 1907* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1915).

<sup>2</sup> United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 75, No. 973, p. 287.

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