



**Security Council**

PROVISIONAL

S/PV.2811  
6 May 1988

ENGLISH

MAY 9 1988

UN/SA COLLECTION

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWO THOUSAND  
EIGHT HUNDRED AND ELEVENTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,  
on Friday, 6 May 1988 at 5 p.m.

President: Mr. DJOUDI

(Algeria)

Members: Argentina  
Brazil  
China  
France  
Germany, Federal Republic of  
Italy  
Japan  
Nepal  
Senegal  
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics  
United Kingdom of Great Britain and  
Northern Ireland  
United States of America  
Yugoslavia  
Zambia

Mr. PFIRTER  
Mr. ALENCAR  
Mr. WANG Xuexian  
Mr. BLANC  
Count York von WARTENBURG  
Mr. BUCCI  
Mr. KAGAMI  
Mr. RANA  
Mr. SARRE  
Mr. SMIRNOV  
  
Sir Crispin TICKELL  
Miss BYRNE  
Mr. PEJIC  
Mr. MFULA

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The meeting was called to order at 5.25 p.m.

EXPRESSION OF THANKS TO THE RETIRING PRESIDENT

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): As this is the first meeting of the Security Council for the month of May, I should like on behalf of the Council to pay tribute to His Excellency Ambassador Peter Dingi Zuze, Permanent Representative of Zambia to the United Nations, for his service as President of the Security Council for the month of April 1988. I am sure I speak for all members of the Security Council in expressing deep appreciation to Ambassador Zuze for the great diplomatic skill and and courtesy with which he conducted the business of the Council last month.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST

LETTER DATED 5 MAY 1988 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF LEBANON TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/19861)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I should like to inform the Council that I received letters from the representatives of Israel, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Saudi Arabia, the Syrian Arab Republic and Tunisia in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance 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 Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Fakhoury (Lebanon) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Bein (Israel), Mr. Salah (Jordan), Mr. Abulhasan (Kuwait), Mr. Treiki (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya), Mr. Shihabi (Saudi Arabia), Mr. Al-Masri (Syrian Arab Republic) and Mr. Ghezal (Tunisia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I should like to inform the Council that in my capacity as President I have received a letter dated 5 May 1988 from the Permanent Representative of Algeria to the United Nations, which reads as follows:

"I have the honour to request that the Security Council extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to His Excellency Ambassador Clovis Maksoud, Permanent Observer of the League of Arab States to the United Nations, during the Council's discussion of the item presently under discussion."

That letter has been published as Security Council document S/19867. If I hear no objection I shall take it that the Security Council decides to extend an invitation to Mr. Maksoud under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting today in response to the request contained in the letter dated 5 May 1988 from the Permanent Representative of Lebanon to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/19861).

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to document S/19860, which contains the text of a letter dated 3 May 1988 from the Permanent Representative of Lebanon to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General.

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

Mr. FAKHOURY (Lebanon) (interpretation from Arabic): It is a pleasure for the delegation of Lebanon to see fraternal Algeria assuming the presidency of the Security Council for this month. It is also a pleasure to see you, Sir, representing that country, with your high academic qualifications, your well-known diplomatic experience and your Algerian wisdom, which make us confident that the presidency of the Security Council is in safe hands. Allow us to convey to you our warmest and most sincere congratulations.

It is also a pleasure for the delegation of Lebanon to extend to His Excellency the Permanent Representative of Zambia our thanks and appreciation for his exemplary presidency of the Council and his wise leadership of its deliberations last month.

For the second time in four months the Government of Lebanon has requested the convening of the Security Council to discuss another act of Israeli aggression against its territory. Like other members of the Council, you, Mr. President, have become familiar with the facts of that act of aggression that I have set forth in my letter to the Secretary-General of 3 May (S/19860).

(Mr. Fakhoury, Lebanon)

According to Israeli officials, this latest operation was carried out in the name of "law and order". From some of the facts one will see what kind of "law" and indeed what kind of "order" were implemented by that act of aggression which took on the dimension of an invasion of some areas of southern Lebanon and the western Bekaa Valley.

At 10 p.m. - Lebanese local time - on Monday, 2 May 1988, large contingents of the Israeli Army crossed Lebanon's southern international border, passing through the area which Israel continues to occupy inside Lebanese territory, an area that it calls a "security zone". Those forces penetrated more than 20 kilometres deep into Lebanese territory along two axes.

The first axis was east of the Litani River, including the Arqoub/Hasbaiya region, reaching the town of Ain Aata and Lebbaya. The Israeli forces dug in there and, with heavy artillery and helicopter gunship rockets, began the bombardment of the hills overlooking the towns and villages, in particular the villages of Ain Aata, Kfair, Ouadi Janaam, Maymis, Elhulwat and Ain Zeita.

The Israeli invasion forces were estimated to number 2,000 soldiers, supported by tanks, heavy artillery and helicopter gunships, which cleared the way for the progress of the forces by concentrated bombardment prior to their entering the villages, combing the area, raiding homes, demolishing some of them, detaining people, arresting many of them, ruining crops, and terrorizing women, old persons and children.

That invasion of the eastern axis was accompanied, on a 24-hour basis, by patrol units of the Israeli Navy along the Lebanese coast between Sidon and Tyre, as well as by flights by the Israeli Air Force over those two towns and their suburbs; and over the town of Khaldé, which is very close to the capital, Beirut. At night, the aircraft would also drop flares over those same areas. By the

(Mr. Fakhoury, Lebanon)

admission of Israeli officials, the invasion along that access brought no result whatsoever: not one single armed individual was arrested or any base destroyed.

To cover up the failure of their operation, the Israelis then resorted to dropping leaflets in which they demanded that people refrain from helping or giving refuge to any armed person, and in vain attempted to persuade the people to set up civilian committees for that purpose and to join the so-called South Lebanese Army (SLA).

Owing to the failure of that military effort, operations were turned to the second axis west of the Litani River. There the Israeli Army undertook an intensive, concentrated bombardment of the villages of Maidoun, Ain-Atini, Magdousha, and the dam on Lake Karoun; homes were destroyed, crops and orchards burnt, and many bombs fell into the lake itself. That bombardment cleared the way for the invasion along that axis. The Israeli forces pushed north towards Maidoun and laid siege to it. When faced with strong resistance by the people of Maidoun and national resistance elements, they began shelling the town and its suburbs, using more than 1,000 projectiles at the rate of about 15 a minute. The Israelis were compelled to call for reinforcements to support the main attack force of about 500 soldiers. By Israel's own admission, dozens were martyred and scores of resistance elements wounded with three Israelis killed and 17 wounded. That gives some idea of the ferocity of that Israeli hand-made battle.

The Israeli forces then entered the town of Maidoun and with Army bulldozers destroyed 40 homes. Then yesterday they turned the town over to the so-called South Lebanese Army, which in turn destroyed the remaining 30 homes. So by a vindictive act the whole town of Maidoun was destroyed, and its people - women, children and old people - are now dispersed. The people of the town of Ain-Atini were forced to evacuate following the heavy artillery bombardment, so

(Mr. Fakhoury, Lebanon)

now about 500 families in the region are homeless and material losses are estimated at billions of Lebanese pounds.

Eye-witnesses have reported that the Israeli Defence Minister, Mr. Rabin, and the commander of the northern region observed the demolition operation in the town of Maidoun from atop one of the hills overlooking it.

I do not believe I need to comment on that painful sight which, I am sure, is now in the minds of the members of the Council. Many details of the unjustified Israeli invasion have been reported in the media; indeed, pictures of that operation have been seen on television screens. What we have chosen to put before the Council are the most important and most accurate of the numerous details.

(Mr. Fakhoury, Lebanon)

Israel has claimed that its forces have indeed withdrawn from the south and from the western Bekaa Valley. The fact of the matter is that until yesterday there were still on Lebanese land and outside the so-called security zone more than 800 Israeli soldiers, complete with tanks and heavy machinery. Indeed, this leaves us with grave doubts on Israel's future intentions. We Lebanese have had bitter experiences with Israel which cannot be forgotten. An operation in which 3,000 soldiers participate, after the arrival of reinforcements to help in the Maidoun battle, supported by tanks and helicopter gunships, and which covers large areas of southern Lebanon and the western Bekaa Valley cannot be qualified as a mere incursion.

Indeed, this was an invasion in flagrant violation of the sovereignty of Lebanon, as well as its territorial waters and national airspace. That act flouted the Charter of the United Nations, international laws and norms and the Security Council resolutions on southern Lebanon.

The argument advanced by Israel to justify this invasion cannot be accepted on principle. Indeed, the facts have shown that it is without foundation. While the invasion is intrinsically serious, what is even more serious is Israel's determination to resort to a policy of aggression against Lebanon. Both the Defence Minister Rabin and the official spokesman of the Israeli army have reaffirmed that Israel has the right to do at any time whatever it wishes in any part of Lebanon in order to maintain the peace and security of Israel's northern areas.

This determination, this persistence in aggression, is a most serious extrapolation of the Israeli theory of security, which is devoid of any legality or



(Mr. Fakhoury, Lebanon)

logic. It is no longer permissible that Lebanon and its people should remain at the mercy, at the whim, of Israeli politicians and military leaders or their aggressive expansionist intentions. This Security Council is duty-bound to act, and the international community must understand the real Israel. It must put an end to its acts of aggression. It must pre-empt Israel from perpetrating and continuing this policy of violence and expansion. Israel's responsibility is undeniable; the facts and its admission show that clearly, and we place that responsibility squarely on Israel's shoulders.

We again strongly reaffirm that that Israeli aggression had no justification and that Israel is mistaken if it believes that by resorting to such acts of aggression it will divert the eyes of the world from what it is doing in the occupied Palestinian territories. It is mistaken if it believes that such acts will restore the confidence of the Israeli army - which has been broken by the stones thrown by Palestinian children - or that they will restore the trust of the Israeli people in that army.

Let Israel understand once and for all that Lebanon's sovereignty is sacred, that Lebanon's land is sacred, that the lives of the Lebanese are sacred, that the security, stability and integrity of Lebanon are sacred - all these have been committed to the trust of the Lebanese. But that trust is also the Security Council's. It has been the Council's trust ever since Lebanon signed the Charter of the United Nations as a founding Member of the Organization.

Membership of the United Nations implies rights as well as duties and obligations, and Lebanon has never once prevaricated concerning its duties and obligations. Today it rightfully demands of the Security Council to protect its sovereignty and independence and the inviolability of its territory. Israel cannot continue to enjoy the rights of membership of this Organization without fulfilling

(Mr. Fakhoury, Lebanon)

the first of its obligations. The Security Council must bring Israel to fulfil those obligations, foremost among which is to respect the Charter of the United Nations and to implement its provisions fully.

What Lebanon is demanding today before the Security Council is the following: first, immediate withdrawal of the Israeli invasion forces from all Lebanese territories; secondly, preventing Israel from repeating these acts of aggression and its practices on Lebanese territories; thirdly, condemnation of this Israeli invasion; fourthly, implementation of the provisions of the Council's resolutions, particularly resolutions 425 (1978) and 426 (1978), as well as resolution 509 (1982), calling for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israel from all Lebanese territories; fifthly, enabling the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) to implement the mission entrusted to it in keeping with resolutions 425 (1978) and 426 (1978).

The condemnation of Israel by many States - members and non-members of the Security Council - shows the absolute rejection of Israel's policy of aggression, its acts of violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon and its flouting of international laws, norms and conventions. Lebanon expresses its deep appreciation to all these States for their speedy condemnation of Israel.

We insist that the Security Council must take a strong, clear position and adopt strong pre-emptive measures to restrain Israel from taking advantage of any inaction or any delay, as it is wont to do, and continuing to perpetrate its policies of aggression against Lebanon and prevent the people of Lebanon from enjoying security, peace and stability.

Any act of aggression against the sovereignty of any State is an act of aggression against international peace and security - and this Council has been entrusted with the maintenance of international peace and security.

(Mr. Fakhoury, Lebanon)

As an indication of the fears we have concerning Israel's behaviour, we must draw the attention of the members of the Security Council to the complaints we have previously submitted, which have been produced as official documents of the United Nations, on the continuing acts of aggression against Lebanese territory and Lebanese civilians, the air raids against towns and villages, and the grave human and material losses they lead to.

We wish also to draw attention to the complaints concerning the treatment of detainees in the camps of Khiam and Marjayoun, and the fact that Israel prevents members or representatives of the International Red Cross from finding out the real conditions in which these detainees are kept. Let me draw the attention of the Council to the complaint on the deportation of Palestinians from their homeland and their illegal expulsion to Lebanon.

To all that we must add Israel's continuing interference in Lebanese internal affairs, including a declaration by the Co-ordinator of Israeli activities in southern Lebanon, Uri Lubrani, and other officials, saying that Israel is there, and that Israel has its role to play in the Lebanese arena as far as the elections of Lebanon's Presidents are concerned.

I believe that clear, unambiguous facts have been put before the Council concerning Israel's responsibility and its intent to perpetrate aggression against Lebanon, an intent that it does not bother to hide. Lebanon is convinced that this Council cannot fail to respond to the rightful Lebanese demands, just as it responded to Lebanon's request to convene this meeting of the Security Council, and that the Council will take the necessary measures to put an end to those acts of aggression and inhuman practices that Israel continues to perpetrate against Lebanon and against the Lebanese.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Arabic): I thank the representative of Lebanon for the kind words he addressed to me and to my country.

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

Mr. SALAH (Jordan) (interpretation from Arabic): Mr. President, I wish first to extend to you, on behalf of my delegation and in my own name, our warm congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month, especially as you represent a sister country. We are certain that your wide diplomatic experience, deep knowledge of international affairs, wisdom, and high personal standing, will ensure the successful guidance of the Council's deliberations for this month, so that it deals expeditiously and constructively with the matter before the Council.

I wish also to take this opportunity to express to Ambassador Zuze, the Permanent Representative of Zambia, my admiration for the great skill and competence he demonstrated in presiding over the deliberations of the Council in the previous month, which gain him still wider respect and appreciation amongst all of us.

For the second time since 15 January last, this Council has been convened to examine a fresh Israeli act of aggression against Lebanon, namely, the incursion of an Israeli force, estimated at about 2,500 Israeli soldiers, supported by tanks, artillery, and military planes, into the southern area of Lebanon, passing through the area which Israel has continued to occupy since 1982, and for which it uses the term "security zone". The forces penetrated north to the approaches of the western Bekaa, accompanied by a deployment of Israeli naval vessels along the Lebanese coast, between Sidon and Tyre, as well as flights by Israeli military planes over the invaded area.

(Mr. Salah, Jordan)

During the attack, the force carried out heavy shelling of the villages in the invaded areas prior to entering them and conducted sweeps through the hills which overlooked them. Those forces also carried out raids on houses, destroyed some of them, arrested many of the population, ruined crops, terrorized women, children and old people, and indiscriminately killed many people.

As this operation constitutes a blatant act of aggression and a new challenge to the authority of the Security Council, which represents the international community, it is no longer admissible to ignore the legitimate Lebanese demands, and the fact that the international community, as represented by this Council, remains unable to deter the aggressor and to put an end to its aggression.

This failure, as recently demonstrated by the failure of the Council when it met three and a half months ago to adopt a resolution on the Israeli aggression against southern Lebanon at that time, seems to have given Israel the green light to persist in its acts of aggression against Lebanon's sovereignty and territorial integrity, as and when it chooses to do so.

The flimsy argument used by Israel to justify its new incursion into Lebanon, that is, security reasons, is the same excuse invoked by Israel whenever it invades Lebanese territory or mounts air raids against Lebanon. This security claim is an unacceptable excuse without any reasonable foundation. Security cannot be secured through expansion, aggression, and denial of the legitimate rights of others. Quite the contrary: expansion, aggression and intransigence on the part of Israel threaten the security of the entire region.

(Mr. Salah, Jordan)

It is Israel's policies that have created its security dilemma in the first place. Israel invents excuses and then blows them out of all proportion in an attempt to justify its use of force; it claims it has no other choice. This is all in keeping with Israel's overall policy towards the entire Arab region, a policy aimed at achieving goals that are a part of Israel's broader strategies and interests.

Israel attempts to justify its disregard for the norms of international law by branding armed resistance to occupation and aggression as acts of "terrorism"; it responds to these acts with its overwhelming military machine. This is a transparent and unacceptable pretext. The most basic rules of international law provide that the protection of the civilian population of a State should be ensured within the borders of that State, and that no country may invoke such protection as an excuse for invading another country or interfering in its internal affairs.

The policy of collective punishment, as applied in the ongoing Israeli incursion against civilians in the Lebanese territory into which Israel has swept, is another dimension of the policy that has been pursued by the Israeli occupation authorities in the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and the Golan Heights since Israel occupied these territories in 1967. Indeed, it is the policy Israel is now pursuing with intensified brutality, oppression and all manner of violence against the Palestinian Arabs, languishing under occupation, as punishment for their courageous uprising aimed at achieving Palestinian national goals.

The current large-scale Israeli military thrust into Lebanon is intended to score yet another point in the context of overall Israeli strategy. While international attention is focused on the question of Palestine, the core of the Arab-Israeli conflict, Israel is seeking to extend the conflict to another area - southern Lebanon - in an attempt to divert the world's interest from the uprising

(Mr. Salah, Jordan)

of the Palestinian Arabs in the West Bank and Gaza and from its purposes, and to cover up Israel's reaction to that uprising, which has been utterly condemned and rejected by the international community. The operation, moreover, constitutes an attempt by Israel to prove that it can move and strike any time and any place it chooses, in keeping with its iron-fist and long-arm policy.

In his statement before the Council and in his letters to the Secretary-General the representative of Lebanon has given a vivid account of the brutality of the invading Israeli forces during their incursion into Lebanon. While I need not go into further detail about that, my delegation joins Lebanon in condemning this blatant act of aggression against Lebanon's sovereignty, security and territorial integrity. Lebanon is calling for an end to Israeli aggression against its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, in conformity with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and prior Security Council resolutions on the subject, including resolutions 425 (1978) and 426 (1978), adopted in the wake of the first Israeli aggression against Lebanese territory in 1978, when the the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) was established to underscore the need for the withdrawal of Israeli forces from all Lebanese territory. In addition, resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982), adopted following Israel's 1982 invasion of Lebanon, should be implemented. Those resolutions demand that Israel unconditionally withdraw all its military forces from all Lebanese territory and call for strict respect for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the State of Lebanon. There has been a call for an end to the arbitrary mistreatment of the Lebanese civilian population.

We hope that the Council will act to bring about the implementation of its relevant resolutions, which have long been in abeyance, adopt a clear, explicit resolution condemning this new Israeli aggression, put an end to repeated Israeli

(Mr. Salah, Jordan)

acts of aggression against Lebanon through the implementation of resolutions calling for the complete withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanese territory, and explore effective ways and means of ensuring this.

It is necessary that Israel renounce its policy of occupation and aggression, and its intransigent rejection of United Nations resolutions. The continued dangerous situation in southern Lebanon is a result of Israel's refusal to implement Security Council resolutions calling for the total and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanese territory, for the deployment of international forces to the internationally recognized borders, and for enabling the Lebanese Government to exercise its sovereignty and authority over the entire country.

It is therefore our view that the Security Council bears a special political and moral responsibility with respect to Lebanon. This should lead the Council effectively to meet Lebanon's legitimate demands. Since the Council is the custodian of international peace and security, that responsibility should be shouldered in this case with the adoption of a firm, decisive position on Israel's repeated acts of aggression against Lebanon. A loud, clear message should thus be sent to Israel that its policy of aggression has been rejected and that it cannot continue that policy without international interdiction, whatever pretexts it may invoke.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Arabic): I thank the representative of Jordan for the kind words he addressed to me and to my country.

The next speaker is the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.



Mr. AL-MASRI (Syrian Arab Republic) (interpretation from Arabic): We are pleased to see you, Sir, presiding over the work of the Security Council for this month. Apart from the fact that you are the representative of a fraternal country whose people distinguished themselves in the heroic struggle against colonialism and all forms of foreign hegemony and domination, you also have a valuable asset in your great experience and wisdom, which are the pledge of a successful outcome of the Council's deliberations. We congratulate you and wish you all success. I should also like to take this opportunity to convey to your predecessor, Mr. Peter Dingemans, the Ambassador of Zambia, our most cordial thanks for having presided with great wisdom and courage over the work of the Council last month.

The Security Council is meeting today once again to consider a dangerous situation that obliges it to live up to its responsibilities as the highest United Nations organ entrusted with the maintenance of international peace and security. This situation has been created by the Israeli invasion of southern Lebanon, accompanied by artillery support and intense aerial bombardment against peaceful Lebanese villages, causing the inhabitants to flee, destroying their homes, damaging crops and killing women, children and old people without discrimination. The Israeli forces then thrust deep into Lebanese territory, continuing their acts of massacre and destruction.

This barbarous invasion of Lebanese territory and this flagrant affront to the security and sovereignty of Lebanon territory has occurred less than three weeks after the blatant act of aggression against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Tunisia and the assassination of the outstanding militant leader Abu Jihad. At the same time the Zionist forces have intensified their arsenal of oppression against the inhabitants of the occupied territories. We may therefore rightly ask: How long will the international community, as represented by the

(Mr. Al-Masri, Syrian  
Arab Republic)

Council, be content to sit passively on the sidelines, powerlessly watching events, unable to live up to its responsibilities as set forth in the Charter and to put an end to the barbarity of the Zionist racist régime in occupied Palestine, which has set new records in modern history as an outlaw nation trampling civilized values underfoot, systematically perpetrating acts of aggression, murder and violations of the sovereignty and security of other States?

The 40 years of existence of that colonial racist entity have written grim pages of barbarity unique in man's history, pages strewn with crimes, with acts of piracy and terrorism and with one massacre after another - at Deir Yassin, at Kabbia, at Nakhalim, at Sabra and Shatila, to mention only those places. There has been deliberate destruction of Arab villages and towns in occupied Palestine as well as in the other occupied Arab territories, in particular the destruction of the town of Kuneitra in Syria and of entire villages on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip, and now the village of Maidoun in southern Lebanon, which has been completely flattened, with not a stone of it left standing. And that is not to mention other acts of aggression and expansion, with all their concomitant acts of destruction and killing.

In the past five months the Security Council has been greatly preoccupied by the dangerous situation prevailing in the Middle East, which is the result of those Israeli terrorist practices that have caused legitimate concern among all peace-loving peoples of the world. The Security Council must now again take effective measures against the acts of the racist entity in occupied Palestine and bring about respect for the territorial integrity and security of States, as set forth in the Charter and in international law. The new acts of terrorism in southern Lebanon are only the latest in a series of acts of terrorism, aggression and encirclement committed by the Zionist forces in their attempt to drive out the

(Mr. Al-Masri, Syrian  
Arab Republic)

inhabitants of southern Lebanon and weaken their heroic resistance to Israeli occupation.

We should recall that the Security Council met earlier this year, in January, also at the request of Lebanon, and that at that time it considered the deterioration of the situation in southern Lebanon as a result of the continued acts of aggression and barbarous repression committed by the Israeli occupation forces against the people of Lebanon and the inroads upon the sovereignty and territorial integrity of that country owing to Israel's continued occupation of a part of its territory. It is clear to all that the aim of the repression to which I have just referred is identical to the repression that is occurring today. The goal is to create a state of psychosis that will compel the inhabitants of southern Lebanon to abandon their lands and property, thereby draining the area of its population and giving a free hand to the expansionist policy of the World Jewish Congress, with Israel as its agent. These actions confirm that Zionist ambitions in southern Lebanon are aimed, inter alia, at its water resources. Everyone knows that the establishment of a so-called security zone on Lebanese soil is the concrete manifestation of those ambitions.

The Security Council bears a responsibility for bringing an end to this tragic situation. It is its duty, as the supreme United Nations organ for the maintenance of international peace and security, to adopt effective measures to compel Israel to withdraw completely and immediately from all Lebanese territory and to refrain from any act of aggression against Lebanon and against its sovereignty, territorial integrity and people.

(Mr. Al-Masri, Syrian Arab Republic)

At stake are the Council's credibility and effectiveness. The Council must demonstrate that it is equal to its mission of maintaining international peace and security. Whenever the situation requires that it take measures to put an end to Israeli aggression, it is severely put to the test. We believe the Council's responsibility goes beyond that. Its duty is not only to adopt resolutions, whatever they may be, but also to ensure that they are fully implemented and that Lebanon's sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity are respected.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Arabic): I thank the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic for his kind words addressed to my country and to me personally.

(spoke in 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.

Mr. BEIN (Israel): I congratulate you, Sir, on the assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. I also wish to thank the Ambassador of Zambia for the way in which he directed the Security Council's deliberations during the month of April.

At the outset I should like to state that the position of the Government of Israel, as it has stated on many occasions in the past, is that Israel has no territorial claims whatsoever in regard to any Lebanese territory. The present arrangements on Israel's northern border result from security constraints and are designed solely to protect, defend and ensure the security of Israel's northern population centres against repeated attacks emanating from Lebanese territory. These security arrangements will be essential only as long as there is no central Lebanese authority capable of preventing such attacks.

(Mr. Bein, Israel)

Indeed, Israel wishes to see Lebanese sovereignty in all areas of Lebanon restored by a central Government that could effectively unify the State and be responsible for security within Lebanon and on its borders.

Those who have spoken in this debate repeatedly invoke sovereignty and territorial integrity. Israel, too, respects these universal principles. But what meaning can sovereignty have if it is not coupled with responsibility and security? A Government that cannot prevent the abuse of its own sovereignty by various terrorist groups which use its territory to launch continuous murderous attacks against a neighbouring country cannot then invoke that same principle of sovereignty to prevent the legitimate exercise of self-defence.

Members of the Council, I am sure, are aware of the fact that various factions of the PLO, the Hezbollah and other terrorist groups continuously use Lebanese territory as launching grounds for cross-border attacks against Israel. Let me add that the principles of sovereignty and territorial integrity are no less important in regard to Israel than to any other State Member of the United Nations.

I have here a detailed list of the major attempts made by terrorists to infiltrate Israel during the past 12 months - by land, by air and by sea. Almost all those attempts, which had as their objective either the taking of hostages or the mass killing of Israeli civilians, were successfully intercepted and foiled by the Israel Defence Forces (IDF). In a number of cases, however, those attacks resulted in Israeli casualties.

Of late, there has been a clear escalation of such activities, emanating from Lebanon in particular.

On 4 May all IDF forces which had participated in a 48-hour operation against concentrations of terrorists who operate in southern Lebanon returned to Israel. This IDF operation was designed to clear the area of terrorist groups and prevent

(Mr. Bein, Israel)

the resurgence of a major terrorist infrastructure in southern Lebanon, such as had existed prior to 1982.

PLO factions have been behind many of the recent assaults, and have co-operated with other radical groups, including Hezbollah, in hostile operations against Israel. The extremist Iranian-backed Hezbollah, with its known record of terrorist activity, not only against Israel, has declared its goal of establishing an Islamic Republic in Lebanon. In addition, it has been active in attempting to build an infrastructure in the south of Lebanon for attacks against Israel. One example of many is the village of Maidoun, which has been mentioned here several times. Ambassador Fakhoury even talked about the people of Maidoun. Let it be known that the entire civilian population of Maidoun was evicted by the Hezbollah more than a year ago. No civilians were left there. The Hezbollah fortified the village, building bunkers and a system of trenches, and put in place dozens of armed men equipped with considerable amounts of weaponry.

Israel's operation was in line with its policy to prevent terrorist retrenchment in southern Lebanon. I should like to emphasize that during the action the utmost care was taken to avoid civilian casualties, and the IDF distributed leaflets to local villagers, impressing upon them the dangers of co-operating with the terrorists. Israel's only interest and purpose in this operation was to defend and ensure the peace and security of its towns and villages in the Galilee.

The threats to Lebanon's sovereignty and territorial integrity do not emanate from Israel. The fundamental problems in Lebanon are not caused or exacerbated by the situation in the south of that country. Rather, the prevailing situation in the south is a direct result of the wider tragedy of Lebanon.

(Mr. Bein, Israel)

Two thirds of Lebanon is today occupied by 35,000 Syrian troops. Iranian Hezbollah forces strive to derail any national reconciliation in order to export Iranian fundamentalism to Lebanon. Various factions of the PLO, when not fighting and killing each other, are making every effort to re-establish and build up their presence in Lebanon. During the past three weeks alone at least 75 people have been killed and more than 200 have been wounded in the fighting between the various armed groups in Lebanon. This is why, unfortunately, Lebanon, which was once a haven of peace, is today a haven of terror.

Any debates in this Chamber on Lebanese sovereignty and territorial integrity, and any resolutions which do not address these fundamental issues, are self-defeating and illusory.

I remember a time when it was generally assumed that Lebanon, our neighbour to the north, would be high on the list of Arab States that would one day make peace with Israel. On 17 May 1983 an agreement was, in fact, signed between Israel and Lebanon. Had this agreement been implemented in full and not abrogated by Lebanon, Israel would not have to maintain its present security arrangements on its northern border, nor would this debate be taking place.

(Mr. Bein, Israel)

Israel has no conflict with the Government and the people of Lebanon. We do, however, have a conflict with those who have subverted Lebanese legitimacy for their own aggressive ends against us, and plunged Lebanon into the tragedy which has characterized that country for more than a decade.

In the present circumstances, and as long as the current tragic situation prevails in Lebanon, we shall remain firm in our resolve to ensure a secure existence for our citizens within our borders. We continue to believe that the only feasible solution to the problems on both sides of the border with Lebanon can be found in agreed-upon and adequate security arrangements. Moreover we shall pursue all avenues to bring about direct negotiations leading to a lasting peace with Lebanon and with all our neighbours.

Mr. BLANC (France) (interpretation from French): On my own behalf and on behalf of my delegation I should like to congratulate you, Sir, on your accession and that of Algeria to the presidency of the Council for the month of May.

I would take his opportunity also to thank our colleague Ambassador Zuze, who held that office last month.

Once again the Council is called upon to discuss the situation in southern Lebanon. France wishes to assure the Lebanese authorities and the civilian population that has been dealt such a painful blow of its full solidarity with them in this ordeal. As soon as Israel's intervention was made known, the Government of France issued a statement speaking out against this new violation of Lebanon's sovereignty. The French Government is profoundly committed to respecting the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of Lebanon, and it will never stop denouncing all incursions and all acts of violence aimed against a country with which we have friendly ties, acts which further complicate efforts to arrive at a peaceful settlement in the region.



(Mr. Blanc, France)

Recent events also do damage to the authority of the United Nations, which is responsible for ensuring respect for peace and security in the region and affirming Lebanon's sovereignty. Very frequently the Government of France has declared the need for all parties concerned to respect the mandate entrusted to the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL). In this connection I recall the resolution adopted by our Council on 23 September 1986 on France's initiative, which stresses the obligation to put an end to any military presence in southern Lebanon that is not accepted by the Lebanese authorities. UNIFIL, to which I wish once again to pay tribute for what it has done, must be enabled to deploy right down to the southern border of the country.

Under these circumstances, confronted yet again with a violation of Lebanon's sovereignty and an act of defiance of the United Nations, the Government of France supports the request the Lebanese authorities have addressed to our Council. It is of the view that the Council must take a stand and most unambiguously reaffirm its determination that an end be put to all acts of violence and that Lebanon's independence be preserved.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the representative of France for his gracious words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Saudi Arabia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. SHIHABI (Saudi Arabia) (interpretation from Arabic): It is with great pleasure that I congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency for this month. You are a dear friend and a distinguished representative of Algeria, a fraternal Arab country linked to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia by the strongest national and religious bonds and the closest fraternal co-operative relations. We hope that with your guidance the Council will fully discharge its duties.

(Mr. Shihabi, Saudi Arabia)

It gives me pleasure also to express profound appreciation to your predecessor, Ambassador Zuze, the Permanent Representative of Zambia and the President of the Council last month. His patience, wisdom and far-sightedness, and the ability with which he guided the work of the Council, deserve the thanks and appreciation of us all.

It has become difficult for us to find the point of departure when we discuss the Israeli aggression against the Arabs - all the Arabs, everywhere.

The Israeli authorities have attacked Lebanese territory, the Lebanese people and the Palestinian people in Lebanon. The Israeli authorities are committing an aggression against the sovereignty of Lebanon by invading its territory, killing its men, women and children. The Israeli authorities have declared that they reserve full freedom to attack Lebanon at any time they wish, without fear or shame.

Recently the Israeli authorities committed an aggression against the sovereignty of Tunisia and attacked the integrity of a peaceful and serene country. Yesterday and today they have been threatening and menacing left and right, committing the ugliest criminal acts inside Palestine and against Palestinian people, hiding behind a screen of censorship. We wonder how the civilized world can stand by while hundreds and thousands of people are being subjected to grotesque terror at the hands of the most long-established, well-known terrorists.

Rather, we have the right to ask ourselves if we are effectively facing the real facts when we see a Member of the United Nations losing control and letting loose within and outside Lebanon, within and outside Palestine, and within and outside the region, committing all kinds of acts of aggression and terror, as well as all kinds of crimes against humanity, as though there were no laws, no considerations and no United Nations to judge the acts of Governments in our time.

(Mr. Shihabi, Saudi Arabia)

This time in Lebanon, the Zionist authorities have given no one a chance to claim that the criminal is unknown, that he is not easily recognizable, as though what happened in Tunisia recently could have been committed by anyone other than the Israeli entity. We do not have to be very knowledgeable to recognize that. Today Israel has confessed that it committed it without a qualm, thus eliminating the reasoning of those who wish to cover up its deficiencies.

(Mr. Shihabi, Saudi Arabia)

Is this a situation that one can keep silent about? Are we living in a jungle called the Middle East where an outlaw roams, hitting left and right whenever things displease it or it wants to prove its presence? Is the aggression against Lebanon an answer to the Palestinian people's revolution, over which the Israeli forces seek to score a victory to enhance their morale following their defeat before the roaring waves of Palestinians? The Palestinian people is fighting on its own soil; though armed only with a belief in its inalienable rights and with mere stones, it will surely be victorious.

As we all know, Israel is condemning itself when it resorts to terrorism, murder and destruction as a means to ensure its existence. Israel is but a handful of people surrounded by an ocean of genuine Arab people deeply rooted to their soil which is steeped in history. Israel will never be able to impose its dominion over these people, no matter what crimes it perpetrates. Do not the Israeli authorities perceive that they have steadily been losing the upper hand since 1948 and that the day is not far off when they will have lost it altogether and forever? For "Truly it is not their eyes that are blind but their hearts which are in their breasts". That is God's sacred truth.

Where is Israel heading? Where does the Zionist aggression machine go from here? Israel is committing these international crimes day after day in broad daylight, in total disregard to the consequences, which are clear to every wise man who knows the truth about what is happening in the Arab land of Palestine and outside it.

A word to those who are supporting Israel and want to do it an undeserved favour: History will prove that their unlimited support for Israel's suicidal actions is the worst prescription that can only bring the worst consequences. Their support will be the most dangerous thing they can do for zionism, because the

(Mr. Shihabi, Saudi Arabia)

Zionist authorities have failed, as proved in the past months, to comprehend reality, which is not in consonance with their dreams. No matter what Israel does, those dreams will never be realized.

We hope that the Council will deal with this aggression against Lebanon with the necessary wisdom and determination. This is part of a wide scenario of Israeli terrorist actions in the region which must be stopped before it is too late, if it is not already too late.

If there are violent acts against Israel, they originate from the usurpation of the homeland of the Palestinians, which has caused those deprived people to fight to recover their rights, whether on their own land in Palestine or as refugees in surrounding countries. Zionist aggression against them, the root cause of the aggression in the area for which Israel will bear all its consequences, will only reinforce their determination to stand and fight. Not even by force will Israel be able to suppress that determination, and so long as Israel persists in its crimes it will face surprises that will undermine all its calculations and the calculations of all those who believe them.

In conclusion, in reiterating its vigorous condemnation of the Zionist terror tactics and aggression against Lebanon. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia reaffirms its solidarity with and full support for Lebanon and its people, and with the Palestinian people, which is acting in self-defence. We hope that the Council will adopt a firm stand by which the outlaws will realize that international legitimacy is superior to force and that the lust for hegemony will in the end, God willing, be defeated by the will of a people fighting for its rights.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Arabic): I thank the representative of Saudi Arabia for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. KAGAMI (Japan): I wish to express at the outset my heartfelt congratulations to you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council. I am sure that, with the benefit of your diplomatic skills and amply demonstrated leadership, the Council's deliberations this month will be most fruitful.

I also wish to thank your predecessor, Ambassador Zuze of Zambia, for the excellent manner in which he conducted the Council's work during the month of April.

We have been following with grave concern the recent developments in southern Lebanon. My delegation deplores in the strongest possible terms this latest Israeli incursion into southern Lebanon, an action which clearly constitutes a violation of Lebanon's sovereignty and territorial integrity. The Government of Japan wishes to express its firm solidarity with Lebanon, a country with which it has long maintained friendly relations. As the victim of repeated Israeli incursions, Lebanon has our strong sympathy.

Japan denounces in particular the Israeli actions in southern Lebanon, in that they contravene the relevant Security Council resolutions, especially resolution 425 (1978), which calls for the withdrawal of Israeli forces from all Lebanese territory. Throughout the past decade the Council has repeatedly expressed its commitment to that resolution.

No party should be allowed to assume that it can ignore, whenever it chooses, the Council's call for respect of Lebanon's territorial integrity, sovereignty and political independence within its internationally recognized boundaries. I consider it extremely important, therefore, that the international community remain firm in its opposition to any and all acts that violate Lebanon's borders, that attempt to occupy or change the status of its territory against its will, or that impede the restoration of the effective sovereign authority of the Government of Lebanon throughout its own territory.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the representative of Japan in particular for the gracious words he addressed to me.

There are no further speakers on my list for this meeting.

Before adjourning the meeting, I wish to announce that at 3.30 p.m. on Monday, 9 May, the Council will take up the situation between Iran and Iraq. Immediately thereafter the Council will resume its consideration of the question of the Middle East.

The meeting rose at 7 p.m.