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2165th MEETING

Held in New York on Thursday, 30 August 1979, at 3 p.m.

President: Mr. Andrew YOUNG (United States of America)

Present: The representatives of the following States: Bangladesh, Bolivia, China, Czechoslovakia, France, Gabon, Jamaica, Kuwait, Nigeria, Norway, Portugal, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zambia.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2165)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. The situation in the Middle East:
Letters dated 24 August 1979 and 28 August 1979 from the Permanent Representative of Lebanon to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/13516 and S/13520)

The meeting was called to order at 3.40 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in the Middle East:

Letters dated 24 August 1979 and 28 August 1979 from the Permanent Representative of Lebanon to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/13516 and S/13520)

1. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decisions taken at the 2164th meeting, I invite the representative of Lebanon to take a place at the Council table; I invite the representatives of Israel and the Netherlands to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber and I invite the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization to take a place at the side of the Council chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Tuéni (Lebanon) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Blum (Israel) and Mr. van Buuren (Netherlands) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber and Mr. Abdel Rahman (Palestine Liberation Organization) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT: I wish to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Ireland and the Syrian Arab Republic in which they request that they be invited to participate in the discussion

of the item on the agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Keating (Ireland) and Mr. Mansouri (Syrian Arab Republic) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

3. The PRESIDENT: I should like first to welcome the Secretary-General back from his work abroad. I invite him to address the Council.

4. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: Having just returned to New York last evening, I wish to take this opportunity to address the Council regarding the serious situation with which we are confronted in Southern Lebanon.

5. As members know from the information made available to them yesterday morning through the Council's President, the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) has suffered an increasing number of casualties as a result of the escalation of hostilities in that area, including the tragic loss of the lives of several more members of our Force.

6. While there have been continuous outbursts of violence in this area over recent years, there has recently been an increasing intensity which demands our deepest concern and attention. As Ambassador Young rightly said yesterday:

"In recent days alone, thousands of Lebanese and Palestinian civilians have been forced to flee from their homes, and many have been killed and maimed by often indiscriminating shelling. This situation is intolerable."
[2164th meeting, para. 68.]

7. I fully understand the preoccupation of the Government of Israel with problems concerning the security of its people, especially in light of the series of violent incidents and the tragic loss of innocent civilian life that have occurred in recent times. I have not failed to speak out against such acts in the past, and I shall continue to do so. That being said, I do not believe that the policy of pre-emptive strikes on targets in Lebanon is acceptable or indeed justified by the circumstances now prevailing. The recent bombardments have been on a scale that has caused widespread reaction in world opinion, owing to the extensive loss of innocent civilian lives, the creation of a new wave of refugees and the

massive destruction of property and dislocation of normal life.

8. I should like to add that I am most grateful for the consideration given to the problem by the Council and for the statement made by you, Mr. President, on Friday last [2163rd meeting] supporting our efforts to obtain a cease-fire.

9. While, as of the moment, the cease-fire continues to be generally respected, given previous experience in the area we have no reason to be confident that it will be maintained indefinitely. I therefore earnestly appeal once again to all parties concerned to exercise the maximum restraint and to give the present cease-fire a chance to become permanently effective.

10. As members of the Council are aware, the Commander and personnel of UNIFIL have made unceasing efforts to pacify their area of operation and to carry out the mandate entrusted to them by the Council. In particular, in recent days they have made continuous efforts to achieve a cessation of the firing as well as to prevent infiltrations, incursions and encroachments upon their area of operation from any quarter. I believe that the presence of UNIFIL in the area is a vital element in maintaining the fragile balance of peace in the Middle East, and I appeal to all concerned to give their co-operation and assistance to UNIFIL in its extremely difficult task.

11. I wish, in this connexion, to note with deep regret the casualties that UNIFIL has suffered in recent weeks. In particular I wish to convey my sympathy and condolences to the Government and people of Fiji, and to the families of the victims, on the deaths of three soldiers in an ambush by armed elements.

12. The responsibility and the involvement of the United Nations in this area is well known to all members. But I am acutely aware that we should leave no stone unturned to make further efforts to pacify the situation and to secure the progressive implementation of the Security Council's resolutions. The Secretary-General has been given a particular responsibility for the implementation of these resolutions. In this context, I wish to inform the Council that I am at present considering further means of discharging this obligation, and I shall of course keep the Council informed of my conclusions.

13. Mr. KHARLAMOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (*interpretation from Russian*)): The Security Council has met previously to consider the question of the routine aggressive actions of Israel. Israel's policy has virtually become a constant subject of deliberation in the Council; that is no accident. The present foreign policy of Israel is fraught with danger for its neighbours. It is aimed at depriving the Palestinian people of their duly recognized legal rights. In this connexion, the Council has adopted a number of resolutions that I shall not enumerate since they were mentioned in some of the statements made yesterday.

14. Decisions have been taken specifically in connexion with Israel's aggressive activities against Lebanon. However, Israel not only has failed to display any intention to fulfil the many decisions of the Security Council calling for strict observance of the sovereignty and territorial integrity

of Lebanon, but has increasingly perpetrated acts of aggression. It is precisely for that reason that the Council, at the request of Lebanon, has had once again to return to the consideration of this question.

15. Members are familiar with the letters which have been sent by Lebanon. In the letters from Lebanon which have been addressed to the President of the Security Council and the Secretary-General, attention is drawn to the escalation of tension in Southern Lebanon which has been brought about by new acts of armed provocation on the part of Israel. The victims of Israel military acts in Lebanon have once again been unprotected civilians, a subject which was discussed so eloquently yesterday by the representatives of Lebanon and of the Palesine Liberation Organization. The armed forces of Israel have been systematically causing tremendous material losses to the Lebanese people and are depriving those people of any opportunity to live in peace.

16. The actions of Israel are directed not only against the Lebanese people but also against the Palestinian people who have sought refuge in Lebanese territory. The aggressive circles in Israel are trying by all means physically to destroy the Palestinians living in Lebanon, to bring about the complete destruction of the Palestinian resistance movement and to prevent the realization of the aspirations of the Palestinians for a national renaissance and the establishment of their own State.

17. It is particularly noteworthy that the armed provocations of Israel against Lebanon increased significantly after the separate treaty was signed between Israel and Egypt. Not only has the scale of the criminal armed acts of Israel increased, as a result of which the innocent population has suffered, but also the newest types of armaments have been more widely used, weapons which, as you know, are furnished to Israel not for attacks, but only for self-defence: they, in fact, are being used for attacks, for aggression, rather than for self-defence.

18. It is evident that the attacks by Israel against Lebanon could hardly have taken place if the Israeli Government, in pursuing its policy in the Middle East, had not enjoyed the political, military and material support of the United States of America. If those countries that are in a position to exert effective pressure on Israel had used the means open to them and had not merely condemned Israel for certain activities, then the Israeli aggressors would not have been in a position to be so stubbornly provocative in their refusal to bow to the decisions of the Security Council.

19. In pursuing its so-called punitive expeditions against the peaceful inhabitants of Lebanon, Israel is attempting to justify its actions by stating that it has been obliged to act in that manner because there are Palestinians on Lebanese territory. But that argument will not hold water. Who did Israel chase from the territory which it now occupies? They were the Palestinians. Where did the Palestinians flee in order to save their lives? They fled to the neighbouring countries which could give them shelter. But they cannot find peace even in those countries. It is clear to every reasonable person that the Palestinians would not find themselves in Lebanon if they had not been expelled from their homes and their land. Israel now quite probably is aiming at destroying the Palestinians on Lebanese soil. For

that reason, the Palestinians have been obliged to take steps in order to protect themselves and to protect their inalienable rights. If any person has been deprived of his home, he is entitled to make every effort to return to that home. The means that he uses can hardly be condemned by anyone if, for example, peaceful means do not bring about this result.

20. The Soviet delegation would like to state that it is resolutely against any attempts, which in fact took place at yesterday's meeting of the Council, to equate the victim of the aggression with the aggressor, attempts to make equal demands on both sides and, furthermore, attempts to lay upon the victim of the aggression more severe requirements than upon the aggressor.

21. The only question that remains is to put an end to the aggressive actions of Israel against Lebanon. In this connexion, the question raised by the Lebanese side is perfectly justified, namely, that the Council should take appropriate steps in order to protect Lebanon and the entire Middle East from the disasters which threaten them.

22. The events which are taking place at the present time in the Middle East confirm the validity of the frequent warnings issued by the Soviet Union to the effect that the policy of separate deals not only never leads to a just and durable peace—indeed it cannot—in that area, but simply constitutes a threat of further complicating the situation and encouraging Israel to undertake new military adventures which will not bring about peace or tranquillity for Israel itself: that is quite clear to everyone. That policy simply leads to an attempt to consolidate Israeli occupation of Arab land and to go on to further expansionist activities. But that would be a hopeless attempt.

23. The position of the Soviet Union on the question of a peace settlement in the Middle East is well known. I should like to remind the Council of that position. We are firmly convinced that, sooner or later, all interested parties will return to it. The Soviet Union, in accordance with the decisions of the United Nations, has always emphasized the fact that a just and durable peace in the Middle East can be achieved only if there is a comprehensive settlement of the Middle East conflict on the basis of the complete withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied in 1967, by implementing the legitimate national rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including their right to establish an independent State, and by ensuring peace and security for all countries in that area, including those that now talk about peace but in fact, by their actions, are escalating their armed aggressive attacks against neighbouring countries and the Palestinians living in those countries.

24. Mr. AASEN (Norway): Mr. President, as this is the first intervention by my delegation during your presidency, may I at the outset congratulate you on your assumption of the office of President of the Security Council for the month of August. May I also add that it is with deep regret that we have learned that you are soon to leave us. I shall not repeat the many well deserved kind words which have been addressed to you by previous speakers. I can only subscribe to them. I wish you all the best for your future.

25. May I also express the appreciation of my delegation to Ambassador Ivor Richard, who so skilfully presided over

the work of this Council during the month of July. I should like to ask the United Kingdom delegation kindly to convey to him our best wishes upon his leaving us.

26. The Norwegian Government has followed with increasing concern the deteriorating situation in Southern Lebanon. We fully support the scrupulous implementation of resolution 425 (1978) as the only means to restore peace to that troubled area and its people. For that purpose Norway has sent troops to Southern Lebanon to participate in a joint United Nations effort to break the vicious circle of violence and counter-violence. But this cannot be achieved without the active co-operation of the parties themselves. It is with deep regret we have to state that till now sufficient co-operation has not been forthcoming. On the contrary, the peace-keeping force finds itself caught in the middle of a cross-fire between parties which too easily resort to violent means. This policy has led to immense costs in terms of lives lost and human suffering among the civilian population in Southern Lebanon and also in Israel. My Government finds this situation intolerable and unacceptable.

27. We thus strongly urge the parties to refrain from the continuous use of violence. We urge them to assist UNIFIL in fulfilling its mandate. The task of UNIFIL is to restore peace and security to the area and assist in restoring Lebanese Government authority and control. My Government fully supports the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of Lebanon.

28. As we are a troop-contributing country, my Government is also concerned with the security of UNIFIL itself. May I here, on behalf of the Norwegian Government, convey to the delegation of Fiji our deeply felt sympathy with the families of the three Fijian soldiers who last week lost their lives in the cause of peace.

29. My Government would be ready to consider ideas which would enable UNIFIL to fulfil its task more effectively, *inter alia*, the idea of raising the present ceiling set for the strength of the Force. But we remain convinced that it is only through the full co-operation of the conflicting parties with the Force that we can overcome the present difficulties and make it possible for it to fulfil its mandate as agreed upon by this Council.

30. If the parties remain as unco-operative as they have been in the past, and if the situation in Southern Lebanon continues to deteriorate, we may reach the point where UNIFIL may be paralysed in its functions and the usefulness of the entire UNIFIL operation questioned.

31. This Council, which has sent UNIFIL to the area, must insist that such co-operation be forthcoming. The indiscriminate and massive shelling of Lebanese towns, villages and refugee camps must come to an end. And so must the barbarous acts of violence against innocent civilians in Israel.

32. We agree with the statement you made yesterday, Mr. President, that:

“The people of Southern Lebanon, Lebanese and Palestinian alike, and the people of Israel as well, deserve relief from the almost daily violence and fear of attack

with which they have been forced to live for far too long.”
[2164th meeting, para. 68.]

Thus we join you in once more urging all parties to show restraint and strictly to enforce a complete, immediate and lasting halt to all shelling, terrorism and other acts of violence.

33. Mr. EL-JEAAN (Kuwait): I should like first to welcome back the Secretary-General and thank him for his report. I should also like to express our condolences to the people and the Government of Fiji on the loss of the lives of brave soldiers of peace, which has been added to the list of thousands of victims killed by the Israeli policy of genocide.

34. The Security Council is meeting once more at the request of Lebanon to consider consistent and repeated violations by Israel of Council resolutions, in particular resolution 450 (1979).

35. All the facts are before the Council. The Israeli representative had the brazen impudence to assure the Council of Israel's respect for the territorial integrity, independence and sovereignty of Lebanon while Israeli armed forces are daily subjecting Lebanon to the most brutal attacks and bombardment.

36. The conduct of Israel is ominous because it clearly has certain fixed objectives which are on the way to fulfilment regardless of the relevant resolutions of the Security Council, the weight of world public opinion and the magnitude of the suffering which the policy of Mr. Begin entails.

37. Mr. Begin is conducting himself on the assumption that the Camp David agreement has given him a free hand in Lebanon and against the Palestinian people wherever they may be. His primary objective is clearly to destroy the national identity of the Palestinian people, put an end to their hopes of establishing an independent State of their own and prevent them from ever returning to their homes and properties in Palestine. A secondary objective is to destroy Lebanon, render its people homeless within its own country, occupy by proxy a considerable part of the south and impose his will throughout Lebanon. Even the traditional empire-builders never inflicted so much loss of human life and so much damage to property. A casual tour of Lebanon would show how a country that competed with Switzerland as a pleasure resort has become the abode of abject poverty, homelessness and destruction.

38. However, much more is at stake than the survival of the Palestinians or the future of Lebanon. It is the Security Council which is being put to the test. The fabric of international society is already so weak that a little more turmoil and lawlessness can drive the last nail into its coffin. How can countries come to the Council and ask it to act to stop aggression and restore international peace and security when they see the Council incapable of ensuring the safety and integrity of UNIFIL and obtaining the necessary guarantees for its freedom of movement and action?

39. The representative of Israel claims that his Government is exercising the right of self-defence. The question is: self-defence against whom? Is it against the people of Palestine, which it uprooted from its homes and drove into the wilderness? Or is it self-defence against the Lebanese peo-

ple, which is completely defenceless and subjected every day to wanton aggression and brutal murder? Or is it self-defence against UNIFIL, whose presence in Lebanon it has turned into a mirage and shadowy existence?

40. The Lebanese Government has already pledged its co-operation with UNIFIL, and so has the PLO. It is only Israel which views UNIFIL as an obstacle to the fulfilment of its designs on Lebanon and against the Palestinian people. No wonder Israel has done everything it could to thwart the Security Council's efforts to enable Lebanon to recover its territorial integrity, sovereignty and political independence within its internationally recognized boundaries and regain its effective authority in the south.

41. Israel has consistently shown contempt for the authority of the Council. It has been regularly violating the Charter of the United Nations and flouting its resolutions. Action under Chapter VII of the Charter is needed to show Israel that it has by its conduct placed itself outside the pale of law. The Council must act and act now if its authority is to be respected and if it is to fulfil its role as the primary organ for the maintenance of international peace and security. The indifference and non-action of some permanent members of the Council, in particular the United States, which is the author of resolution 425 (1978) and the one instrumental in obstructing any action-oriented resolution in the Council, cannot pass unnoticed by the Arab people. The theatrical and technicolor presentation of the representative of Israel yesterday is not convincing and cannot justify the pre-emptive, unprovoked and systematic genocide perpetrated by Israel.

42. Our main concern at the moment should be to compel Israel to stop all attacks on Lebanon. The people of Lebanon have suffered too long. The hospitals can no longer cope with the maimed and the wounded. The fields are fertile and waiting to be tilled by the peasants who were compelled to flee from their farms and cottages. Normal conditions should be restored so that the people who fled from their villages will be able to return to their homes and resume their daily lives in conditions of tranquillity and peace.

43. Mr. DE ZAVALA (Bolivia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, I will be very brief. At the outset, allow me to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month of August. You have once again demonstrated your ability, interest and competence in the exercise of these functions. At the same time, I wish to transmit to you my delegation's regret on your leaving United Nations activities as the representative of the United States of America. We have always valued your ability as a statesman, and on this occasion we extend our best wishes to you for the future.

44. I should also like to express our admiration and appreciation of the skill of your predecessor, Mr. Richard of the United Kingdom.

45. I also wish to join in your welcome to the Secretary-General to this Council after his recent travels.

46. What has happened in Southern Lebanon justifies the discouragement of my delegation and its deepest

concern, which, as we have been able to note, is shared by the representatives who spoke before me.

47. Bolivia, as one of the countries of America most affected by a war that it never sought, as a result of which it lost our coast, cannot fail to reiterate its very clear and definite position, which is fully in accord with the basic principles of our community of nations already enshrined in the Charter which indicate that the members of the Organization shall refrain from the use of force against the integrity or political independence of any State. That is why my delegation whole-heartedly supports the right of Lebanon to restore the authority of its Government and to exist with sovereignty and in freedom.

48. The decisions adopted in the past by the Council opened up a perspective of hope. It was thought that with the efforts and combined will of all sectors involved, however antagonistic their interests, and with the reaffirmation of the will to peace of the international community, it would have been possible to restore the full authority of the Government of Lebanon and that its long-suffering people would be allowed to live in peace. Unhappily, this has not been so. The fragility of the cease-fire in the zone is obvious at this time, and this endangers the capacity of UNIFIL to carry out its mandate and the very confidence that the peoples of the world have placed in the Council.

49. In the light of this, my delegation wishes to urge the parties concerned to co-operate actively and resolutely so that UNIFIL may comply with the mandate it has received from the Council.

50. We agree with and shall support any measure designed to strengthen the effectiveness of the Force, and once again we appeal to Member States that are able to do so to exercise their influence on the parties to the conflict so as to eliminate the obstacles barring the effective application of resolutions 425 (1978) and 426 (1978) and thus achieve the desired peace in the area. We are convinced, however, that the latest events in Lebanon are but the reflection and part of the complex problem of the Middle East which, as my delegation has repeatedly stated, requires an over-all and comprehensive solution.

51. In conclusion, I wish to pay our tribute of admiration to General Erskine and to his staff, both military and civilian, working with him for their selflessness and devotion, as well as to express our deepest condolences because of the casualties suffered during the mission entrusted to him.

52. Mr. CHEN Chu (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): Since the Security Council considered the question of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon last June, the situation in Southern Lebanon, far from being relaxed, has further worsened. Israel's armed incursions into Lebanon have become more frequent and wider in scale. This development cannot but arouse grave concern. In these circumstances, we find it entirely necessary and justified for the Lebanese Government to request the Council to consider this matter.

53. Over a long period, the Israeli authorities have been trying to split Lebanon and to create a State within a State in Southern Lebanon, attempting thereby to stamp out the liberation cause of the Palestinian people. In recent months, the Israeli authorities, with super-Power support and connivance, have become even more unscrupulous and have repeatedly carried out savage armed attacks on Southern Lebanon and its coastal towns, causing tremendous losses to the lives and property of the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples.

54. What is more intolerable is that, when the Security Council was in the process of considering the question of the exercise of the Palestinian people's inalienable rights, the Israeli authorities should have once again wantonly invaded Lebanon, ruthlessly bombarded Tyre and other villages and slaughtered the innocent civilians there. The Israeli authorities even truculently clamoured that they would continue to strike no matter what might happen. This is a fresh crime committed by the Israeli aggressors against the entire Arab people and an open provocation to the United Nations and the Security Council. Israel's continued obstinacy in pushing its policies of aggression and expansion will be further strongly condemned and opposed by all countries and peoples, as well as by public opinion, that uphold justice and are concerned with world peace.

55. As always, the Chinese Government and people strongly condemn Israel for its aggressive atrocities and firmly support the Palestinian and other Arab peoples in their just struggle to recover their lost territories and to retain their national rights, including the right to return to their homeland and establish their own State. We firmly support the Lebanese people in their just struggle to safeguard their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. We maintain that the Security Council should stand for justice, uphold the principles of the Charter, severely condemn Israel's barbarous crimes, adopt practical and effective measures to stop Israel's activities of aggression and expansion and give firm support to the Lebanese, Palestinian and other Arab peoples in their just struggle against Israeli aggression. The independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon must be strictly respected and brook no encroachment.

56. Mrs. MUTUKWA (Zambia): The Zambian delegation is taking the floor in this debate to express its deep and grave concern about the new escalation in the conflict in Southern Lebanon. We are equally distressed by the increasing carnage of human lives which is being inflicted by intransigent forces. The situation in Lebanon is deteriorating faster than most of us are prepared to concede or appreciate. There are new dimensions in this conflict which the Security Council should address most seriously.

57. Even more ominous has been the escalation of violence against the United Nations peace-keeping forces in the area. In the last few days we have been informed that more United Nations troops have been killed and several soldiers wounded. The so-called armed elements, who are abetted by Israel, also had the audacity to seize and abduct some

United Nations soldiers as hostages. What could be more terroristic than such actions?

58. It should be borne in mind that the United Nations forces are soldiers of peace; they are soldiers who should have no enemies. Yet, in spite of this obvious fact, they continue to be harassed almost daily and the casualty rate keeps growing. Zambia believes that such a situation does not argue well for the United Nations role, which we consider to be vital to the restoration of peace in Lebanon in particular and in the troubled region of the Middle East in general. The United Nations may have to adopt a new approach in the circumstances to reinforce the role of UNIFIL.

59. The massacre of United Nations forces has serious implications not only for the role of UNIFIL, but also for the future of the United Nations peace-keeping operations. It further has grave implications for the contributing countries and for the families of men who are killed or maimed in the service of peace. Zambians extend deep condolences to the families of all those who have been lost in the service of mankind. Zambia strongly abhors senseless loss of life anywhere on the globe.

60. The second principle which I wish to highlight in this debate relates to the need to save the lives of refugees and non-combatants, who should already be adequately protected under international law. In the context of the Lebanese situation, it should be clear to all men that Palestinians have been forced by Israel to become refugees in Lebanon and elsewhere. Refugees everywhere are victims of special political circumstances. But once people have been forced out of their homeland to become refugees, every State, including Israel, must respect their divine right to life. The States which host refugees on humanitarian grounds must also be allowed to live in peace, even with the countries from which these refugees had come.

61. No country in this world is allowed or licensed to take the law into its own hands and kill refugees under any pretext. Today, Palestinians are being hunted like animals in refugee centres in Southern Lebanon and they are being murdered in cold blood. Where does Israel want the Palestinians to live? Does it want the Palestinians to disappear from the face of the earth. If not, why are innocent refugees in the Arab world and southern Africa being hunted down like game?

62. Israel and the racist aggressors in southern Africa always justify their barbaric and cowardly attacks on refugees as "pre-emptive". How can genocide be equated with defence? Can anyone argue that the holocaust during the Second World War was pre-emptive? Please, let no one be deceived by those who harbour hallucinations. Whatever any member of this Council may say, let him not equate the plight of the oppressors with that of the oppressed. Such an approach would be a travesty of the rights of man everywhere to freedom and equality.

63. The Zambian delegation calls upon this Council to use its good offices to bring peace to war-torn Lebanon. The Council should tell Israel in no uncertain terms to stop its war of attrition in Lebanon. Israel is responsible for what is

happening in Southern Lebanon today. If it were not for Israeli policy, if Israeli rulers did not have their designs on tapping the waters of the Litani river, if they were not haunted even by Palestinian refugees, and if they wanted peace in the region, there would be peace today, at least in Southern Lebanon.

64. We call upon Israel to respect UNIFIL and to adhere to United Nations resolutions. This Council in turn must do everything possible to implement its resolutions on Lebanon. Lebanon looks to the Council to stop the bleeding in that country; this is why there have been at least ten meetings of this Council to consider the situation in Lebanon. All of us here, collectively, must act responsibly if Lebanon is to survive in peace.

65. Mr. MANSFIELD (United Kingdom): Not for the first time in recent months, the situation in Southern Lebanon has deteriorated to the point where the Lebanese Government has again felt obliged to ask for an urgent meeting of the Security Council. Unfortunately, it cannot be said that our previous efforts have led to any improvement. The cycle of violence continues, with grave implications for the peace and stability of the whole area. The casualty list, including many innocent civilians, continues to mount inexorably. The south of Lebanon is rapidly becoming a wasteland.

66. Recent events, which are in large part due to the failure of the parties in the area to co-operate with the United Nations Force which has been given the task of maintaining peace by the international community, are a matter of direct and serious concern to the Council. We must not allow the credibility of UNIFIL to be undermined. Hence our strong disquiet that repeated requests for co-operation with UNIFIL have been almost totally disregarded by armed elements, by the *de facto* forces and by the Government of Israel. In the last few days, we have seen reports of the deaths of three more soldiers from the Fiji contingent at the hands of Palestinians and the flight of many hundreds of civilians from the main population centres in the south. We strongly deplore the violence which has wrought such destruction in Southern Lebanon, and commend the efforts of the UNIFIL Commander to secure a cease-fire between all sides.

67. But the present cease-fire is fragile and my Government therefore fully endorses the Secretary-General's call for the strengthening of the cease-fire. I need not spell out the risks if the fighting resumes at its previous levels. My Government therefore urges the Palestinians to work actively with the Lebanese authorities to bring peace to Lebanon. My Government also urges the Government of Israel to use its influence to restrain the *de facto* forces. We reiterate our belief that the Government of Israel should cease to supply those forces with the military equipment which enables them to continue to frustrate the efforts of UNIFIL to fulfil its mandate.

68. We also believe that the Government of Israel should desist from taking action in Southern Lebanon. In this connexion, my Government condemns recent pre-emptive strikes by Israel—in particular, the air attacks up and down the Lebanese coast on 22 July—with their inevitably heavy

civilian losses. We are concerned at press reports suggesting that the Government of Israel intends to continue with such a policy of further pre-emptive strikes in Southern Lebanon. Such a policy will only delay the achievement of peace in the area.

69. My Government remains ready to support the efforts of the Secretary-General to secure the full implementation of the mandate given to UNIFIL and hopes that the Lebanese proposals on this matter will be considered carefully by all concerned. Meanwhile, we cannot stress too highly our admiration for the performance of the United Nations troops, who have a difficult task made harder by wanton opposition. Those parties who continue to undermine the position of UNIFIL must bear a heavy responsibility for any further increase in tension and danger in the area.

70. Finally, my Government welcomes the offer made by the Government of Ghana which will bring the force up to its full operational strength. It is to be hoped that the troops will be in position at an early date to enable the Force to function at its optimum efficiency in achieving its objectives.

71. Mr. KAISER (Bangladesh): My delegation joins our colleagues in welcoming the Secretary-General back to this table, and we thank him for his very valuable report.

72. The people and Government of Bangladesh extend their deeply-felt sympathy to the people and Government of Fiji and to the families of those valiant soldiers who made the supreme sacrifice in the cause of peace.

73. This meeting has been occasioned by practical realities obtaining in Southern Lebanon and the compelling need in the immediate instance for a clamp-down on the cycle of indiscriminate violence and destruction launched by Israel and its surrogates to consolidate the minimum target of a cease-fire effected through the efforts of the United Nations Secretariat and the Commander of UNIFIL. There is scarcely a panacea for the deep-rooted malaise that has affected Lebanon and threatens its very existence and well-being.

74. Bangladesh's position on this question is well-known and has been explicitly elaborated in this Council during the adoption of resolutions 444 (1979) and 450 (1979), which themselves are founded on the chain of resolutions adopted in 1978: resolutions 425 (1978), 426 (1978), 427 (1978) and 434 (1978). It is, therefore, clearly anti-climatic for us to record our support and unreserved endorsement for the minimal demands proposed by the representative of Lebanon yesterday.

75. It is apparent, however that this Council cannot with equanimity continue to evade its responsibility through the adoption of paper resolutions without underwriting the destruction of a nation. No one can doubt that the situation in Southern Lebanon today has reached an explosive point, threatening to engulf the entire region in conflict and disaster. It is incongruous that attempts for a so-called comprehensive peace in the Middle East should seek to silence the voice of the majority of mankind over the systematic mass and indiscriminate killing, havoc and destruction wrought inside Lebanon.

76. The facts speak for themselves. Despite numerous decisions and resolutions of the Security Council, hundreds of innocent civilians have been killed or wounded; hundreds of thousands have been dispersed in terror and uprooted from their homes and shelters; the credibility of UNIFIL has been eroded, its freedom of movement and action curtailed, the safety of its headquarters jeopardized, many of its soldiers killed or wounded, and its mandate trunated. The over-all objective of creating conditions to restore the sovereignty of Lebanon, to preserve its territorial integrity and independence and to ensure the full exercise of the Government's authority remains a distant dream, through no fault of the Lebanese Government.

77. The options before the Council are well known. The constraints for forthright action are also all too clearly perceived. The situation, however, has become untenable. Paper condemnations against Israel and the illegal forces that it sustains and fuels to buttress its buffer zone in Southern Lebanon have had no visible impact. The exercise of quiet diplomacy through persuasion and pressure upon Israel by its friends has so far proved fruitless. Israel continues to scorn with impunity any move that threatens its single-minded pursuit to decimate the Palestinian people, even if Lebanon is destroyed.

78. The Council cannot continue to evade its responsibilities at the cost of its credibility and the sacrifice of Lebanon. Short-term measures cannot stave off the inevitable. It is our belief that this Council must seriously consider renewing forthright action to implement its past resolutions with the backing of all the pressure at its disposal. Meanwhile, all measures must be taken to strengthen the position of UNIFIL in Lebanon, the safety and security of its headquarters and offices, and its capacity to undertake the tasks entrusted to it.

79. Mr. MATHIAS (Portugal): Allow me also at the outset to welcome back the Secretary-General and to thank him for his report on the matter before us, which will help and guide us in our task in this Council.

80. We have been following with the deepest concern the deterioration of the situation in Southern Lebanon. We believe the time has come to put an end to that intolerable situation. The tragedy of Lebanon has lasted far too long; we cannot accept that innocent Lebanese villagers, as well as innocent Palestinian refugees, continue to die. Nor can we go on witnessing the killing of those who are soldiers of peace, members of a force created by this very organ, who are generously contributing to the ideal of peace, far from their homes, their families and their countries. The death of innocent civilians, whatever their nationality, must be brought to an end. Violence will only arouse more violence. It must thus be strongly condemned, whatever its justification or its origin. Pre-emptive attacks in that context are entirely unacceptable. We feel that the cycle of violence with which we are confronted can only be stopped if we approach with an open mind the problems that lie beneath it.

81. My country supports all measures that will enhance the capacity of UNIFIL to implement its mandate and to strengthen the security of the area in the fulfilment of the

relevant resolutions of this Council—and, in particular, resolutions 425 (1978), 444 (1979) and 450 (1979).

82. We therefore attach the greatest importance to the suggestions presented by the representative of Lebanon in his letter of 28 August addressed to the Secretary-General [S/13519]. We believe those suggestions, as well as others brought to our attention in that spirit, deserve to be carefully considered by this Council, and that we must spare no effort to show to all the parties concerned that not only is violence not the only choice, but even that it is not a choice at all if they really mean peace.

83. Before I conclude, allow me to pay a tribute to General Erskine and to the men serving under his command in UNIFIL for the courageous way in which they have been carrying out the dangerous task assigned to them. Allow me also to present my condolences to the Government of Fiji and to the families of the three Fijian soldiers who last week sacrificed their lives to the cause of peace.

84. Mr. BLANKSON (Nigeria): It is with the greatest sorrow and the deepest concern that my delegation has been following the mind-boggling events of recent weeks in Southern Lebanon. That the cycles of mindless and indiscriminate violence have now engulfed the UNIFIL area of operation has equally aroused the deep concern and indignation of my delegation. Within the past few weeks, UNIFIL forces have sustained possibly greater casualties than in any comparable period since their emplacement in Southern Lebanon. According to published reports, the toll is 10 soldiers killed and 13 injured, some very seriously. May I join previous speakers in paying a particular tribute to the dead soldiers and express my Government's condolences to their Governments. It remains our hope that their sacrifices shall not be in vain.

85. For the civilian populations, Palestinian and Lebanese alike, the recent weeks have been no less harrowing. It has been the same nightmare of Israeli bombing raids and shelling, with the usual grisly results; the loss of hundreds of innocent lives, the destruction of property and farmlands, the tragedy of the displacement and the turning of civilians into refugees in the very land of their birth.

86. Another worrying development is that UNIFIL, which this Council has mandated to undertake its delicate but crucial mission, would now appear to be cast in the role of scapegoat by all sides. According to Reuters news agency, General Erskine has said:

“The Israelis charge that we are co-operating with the Palestinians and joint [Palestinian-leftist] forces, and in Beirut it is said that we co-operate with Israel and [militia Commander Saad] Haddad . . . if this situation persists, and we have to clash every day, with people getting killed, the day will come when States participating in the United Nations Force will say they have had enough.”

My delegation is inclined to the view that that attitude is illustrative of the determination of some interests to abort the UNIFIL mission. There is no doubt that the Security Council will respond adequately to this challenge.

87. My Government's position on the Lebanese question is, I believe, by now well known. In order to avoid doubt, however, let me reiterate its quintessence.

88. The Lebanese tragedy is inextricably linked to the over-all Palestinian question, which, in turn, continues to remain at the core of the larger Middle East crisis. Only a political solution guaranteeing unfettered freedoms and the right to self-determination for all Palestinians in the Diaspora is likely to lead to durable peace in the region. Unless this fundamental question is addressed, peace in the region will, in my delegation's view, continue to be elusive. The alternative to peace will always remain too ghastly to contemplate.

89. Nigeria is at one with all the voices that have condemned the intemperate acts perpetrated by Israeli forces and their surrogates. We also condemn acts of aggression against the territorial integrity of Lebanon in the conviction that eventually those acts will prove to be counter-productive. As we have stated many times in the past in this chamber, expressions of moral outrage and condemnation alone can never resolve the complex problems. As we have had occasion to wonder in the past, for how long will the Council fold its hands and watch helplessly while, in contemptuous defiance, Israel holds the collective conscience of the majority of mankind to ransom? For how long will the Council tolerate the dangerous situations in which the credibility of UNIFIL and its capacity to act efficiently are being eroded? The Council must act, and decisively, before it is too late.

90. We find merit in the over-all thrust of the suggestions made by the representative of Lebanon with a view to strengthening the operational capacity and effectiveness of UNIFIL. We recommend that consultations on the full implications of those suggestions be started as early as is convenient. We are also convinced that peace in Lebanon should not await the dawn of a comprehensive peace settlement in the Middle East. Something must be done, and urgently, to save Lebanon and its population. In this regard, we call for strict adherence to resolution 450 (1979) and all other relevant resolutions.

91. The least the Council should do now is to call on all parties concerned to exercise maximum restraint. The fragile cease-fire now in force must be respected and in no sense be violated by any party to the conflict.

92. Finally, as the issue at stake is human lives, our plea is, “Let the people of and in Lebanon live”. And, as always, my delegation stands ready to support all initiatives designed to bring peace to Lebanon and the Middle East.

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

94. Mr. VAN BUUREN (Netherlands): Mr. President, thank you for giving my delegation the opportunity to take part in this debate.

95. First, I should like, on behalf of the Netherlands delegation, to say that it is a source of great satisfaction to see

you in the Chair. At the same time we would express our regret that this will probably be the last occasion on which you will preside over this Council. My delegation would like to extend to you its best wishes for the future.

96. The Netherlands delegation has asked to take part in this debate on the issue because, as one of the countries which contributes to the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon, the Netherlands would like to express its deep concern at the worsening situation in Southern Lebanon that has occurred in recent weeks. This situation has made its increasingly difficult for UNIFIL to fulfil its mandate of peace keeping.

97. Yesterday, before this Council, you, Mr. President, gave the Secretary-General's report on the events in the area in the past days, including those acts of violence which took the lives of three UNIFIL soldiers and which severely wounded several others. I should like to express to the Government of Fiji the condolences of the Government of the Netherlands on the deaths of those soldiers, who died in the course of their duty.

98. The shooting and bombardments of the past days also claimed civilian lives and we feel the deepest sympathy for the bereaved families.

99. A cessation of hostilities was finally arrived at through the good offices of the Secretary-General and the UNIFIL Commander and following your appeal, Mr. President, for restraint to all parties concerned made in this Council last Friday [2163rd meeting].

100. It is clear to my Government that a recurrence of violence, no matter from what source, will again put in jeopardy the peace-keeping role of UNIFIL. Therefore, upon the instruction of the Netherlands Government, I appeal solemnly to the *de facto* forces of Major Haddad, to the armed elements and to the Israel Defence Forces.

101. The Christian militia should stop making incursions into the UNIFIL area in its attempts to expand its area of *de facto* control and to intimidate the local population in that area. The Palestine Liberation Organization should carry out its pledge to remove all its armed groups from villages and towns and to co-operate with UNIFIL in fulfilling its mandate. To Israel we address an earnest appeal to end its policy of pre-emptive strikes.

102. It is the conviction of the Netherlands Government that the task of UNIFIL cannot be carried out if a state of belligerency persists in and around its area of operation. Let me stress that the role of UNIFIL is one of peace keeping, not one of peace enforcement. It is not equipped, nor was it designed, to perform the latter task. There is no hope in adding violence to violence. I submit that the Security Council would wish to strive for the scrupulous observance of its resolution 425 (1978) by all parties concerned. In our view, there is no realistic alternative. Only in this way can peace and security in the area be ensured and the suffering of the people alleviated.

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

104. Mr. KEATING (Ireland): Mr. President, may I, in thanking you and the Council for your courtesy in affording my delegation the opportunity to participate in this debate, join in the universal flood of tributes and good wishes paid to you personally and say that I hope that, under your wise presidency, we can take at least a step in the direction of peace at this meeting of the Security Council. May I also at the outset express to the Government of Fiji and to the families of the three Fijian soldiers killed recently in Lebanon, the sincere condolences of the Irish Government and people.

105. In the debate in the Council on the situation in Southern Lebanon on 14 June of this year [2149th meeting], my country requested to speak since we felt we had a particular interest in contributing to the debate because of the involvement of an Irish contingent in the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon. This is again the reason why we have requested to speak on this occasion and any comments which we make are again made with that particular restraint which we feel involvement in a United Nations peace-keeping operation in the area imposes.

106. When speaking in this Council on 14 June last, I expressed the concern of the Government and people of Ireland at the continuing serious situation in the area, and took the opportunity to appeal to the parties involved, and more particularly to the Government of Israel, to co-operate fully with UNIFIL and to assist it actively in carrying out the mandate entrusted to it by the Security Council. My Government welcomed resolution 450 (1979), adopted that same day, which, *inter alia*, reaffirmed the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of Lebanon and the validity of the General Armistice Agreement between Israel and Lebanon, called on all parties to co-operate with the Force, and called upon Israel to cease forthwith its incursions into Lebanon and the assistance which it provided to irresponsible armed groups in the area. In our view, these continue to be prerequisites for the return of normality to the area.

107. Since the adoption of resolution 450 (1979), however, the situation has not improved but has, if anything, worsened. It is to be deeply regretted that not all the parties have been prepared to co-operate with the Force. The sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of Lebanon continue to be violated. Israel has increased the scale and frequency of its armed incursions by land, sea and air into the sovereign territory of Lebanon, incursions which have, on several occasions recently, led to serious loss of life among civilian communities, and it continues to supply large quantities of sophisticated military equipment to irresponsible armed groups operating to the north of its territory. This has greatly contributed to the cycle of violence and counter-violence, terrorism and counter-terrorism, which has escalated to such a dangerous degree in recent weeks.

108. When UNIFIL was established, my Government was happy to contribute a contingent at the request of the Secretary-General. We felt that by so doing we were contributing to the maintenance of international peace and security, which is one of the purposes of this Organization. We remain fully committed to the peace-keeping role of the

United Nations. However, we find it totally unacceptable that there should be interference with the Force from any quarter. The incursions by Israeli and *de facto* forces into the UNIFIL area, the increased harassment by the *de facto* forces and their efforts to encroach further on the UNIFIL area are a source of particular concern to my Government. The fact that UNIFIL has not been permitted to extend its authority over the whole area entrusted to it by this Council remains a fundamental obstacle to the full execution of its mandate. All this makes more difficult the task of UNIFIL in carrying out other important aspects of its duties, including the prevention of infiltration by armed personnel into its area.

109. Despite all the difficulties which UNIFIL is facing, it is still, as the Secretary-General has pointed out in his report of 8 June [S/13384], performing an indispensable function in the area. We recognize the continued efforts of this Council to ensure that UNIFIL can carry out its duties and would, of course, welcome action by the Council which may serve to improve the functioning of the Force. We feel, however, that it is not the basic structure of UNIFIL which prevents an improvement in the situation but rather the refusal by many parties for many reasons to co-operate in the maintenance of peace. We appeal to all concerned to consider the very serious consequences for the region as a whole that a further deterioration in the situation would entail, in the context of which many present concerns would pale into insignificance.

110. My country has used this occasion once again to underline our concern as a troop contributor regarding the serious situation in Southern Lebanon and the difficulties with which UNIFIL continues to be faced. It is, in our view, essential that all parties concerned, particularly Israel, co-operate with this Council and with UNIFIL if the Force is to be successful in carrying out its task in the interests of peace in the whole area.

111. The PRESIDENT: 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.

112. Mr. MANSOURI (Syrian Arab Republic): Mr. President, I thank you and the other members of the Council very much for giving me this opportunity to speak before this important august body which is entrusted with the maintenance of international peace and security. This Council has for a long time been besieged with the deteriorating situation in Southern Lebanon. We are all aware that continued Israeli intrusions and violations of Lebanese sovereignty have time and again been the purpose of this Council's meetings in the past, and today is no different.

113. The Security Council has in its resolution 450 (1979) once again called upon Israel to cease forthwith its acts of aggression against the territorial integrity, unity, sovereignty and political independence of Lebanon. Now we are faced with the same Israeli outright defiance of Council resolutions, in particular resolution 450 (1979), and the continued destruction and loss of innocent lives in Lebanon brought about by the Israeli relentless bombardment and shelling of Southern Lebanon which occurs on an almost daily basis.

114. On 27 August, *The New York Times* reported that after the Ministers' weekly meeting the Israeli Cabinet spokesman had said: "We will continue to strike. Nothing has influenced our position to change it." The strategy of conducting pre-emptive strikes against the civilian population in Southern Lebanon was confirmed as a government policy by Prime Minister Begin. This also was reported by *The New York Times* on 28 August, according to which he stated that: "We are trying to hit the terrorists at their bases prior to their actions against Israel".

115. In the light of such flagrantly aggressive statements and policy, one hardly needs any proof to reach the conclusion that Israel is defying the rules of international law, world public opinion and even Security Council resolutions. Such a policy has been condemned in international organizations and by all the nations of the world. No less a country than the United States, the protector and ally of Israel, could not support such genocide and it openly condemned it in the Council yesterday. Mr. President, in your statement, you said that:

"we condemn the policy of artillery shelling and pre-emptive attacks on Lebanese towns, villages and refugee camps which Israel and armed Lebanese groups which Israel supports have followed in recent months" [2164th meeting, para. 70].

We feel that the time has come for this Council to put an end to, and act decisively against, the terrorist policy and aggression of Israel.

116. This Council has become accustomed to the allegations, distortions and fabrications that were stated again in the Council yesterday by the representative of Israel. My Government's position with regard to the situation in Lebanon has been repeatedly stated in this Council. It was so stated as recently as 14 June [2148th meeting] and, for the sake of the record, I should like to state that the fact of the matter is that the Syrian force is under the direct command of the Lebanese Government. Because of Syria's long and close historical ties with Lebanon, it responded to the latter's call for assistance in bolstering its presence and authority in the south, where it has been and continues to be besieged by continual Israeli aggression.

117. The Syrian force is more than ready to leave Lebanon the moment the Lebanese Government indicates its desire to terminate the mission of the Arab deterrent force. If Israel stops its aggression against Lebanese territory and stops instigating armed provocations in the south by ending its criminal support of the renegade Major Haddad, then the Lebanese central Government will be in a position to impose peace and tranquillity in the south and in Lebanon as a whole.

118. Furthermore, Syria is committed to a sovereign independent Lebanon and considers the sovereignty and national independence of Lebanon to be as important as its own sovereignty, national independence and territorial integrity.

119. We strongly feel that peace in the Middle East cannot be achieved without creating the conditions for it—the total

withdrawal of Israeli forces from all occupied Arab territories and the recognition of the Palestinian people's right to exercise its self-determination and national independence in accordance with the United Nations Charter. Furthermore, failure of the Security Council to help to put an end to the bloodshed and sufferings of the people of Southern Lebanon and the Palestinians would result in a bigger tragedy that might go beyond Lebanon and the Middle East.

120. We in Syria and in the Arab world earnestly hope that a final solution to the problem of Lebanon can be achieved. We are confident that truth and justice will prevail over the expansionist and terrorist schemes of Israel.

121. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Israel has asked to speak in exercise of the right of reply. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

122. Mr. BLUM (Israel): I should like to thank all those members of the Council who have expressed their sympathy to the victims of PLO terrorism in Israel. I would be remiss in my human duty if I did not remind the Council of the plight of the Lebanese villagers and farmers in the southern part of that country—Christian, Shiite and Druze—who have been one of the prime targets of PLO terror. Despite their ordeal and suffering, they consider themselves more fortunate than their brethren in other parts of Lebanon who have been subjected to ongoing PLO terror and to the rigours of the Syrian occupation.

123. Israel wishes to reaffirm its desire to co-operate fully with UNIFIL in the implementation of its mandate in all its parts—I repeat, in all its parts. We have repeatedly sought assurances that the territory of Lebanon would no longer serve as a staging ground for the harassment of Israel and its civilian population. So far, such assurances have not been forthcoming.

124. In the course of this meeting, some statements stood out for their unusually high degree of hypocrisy. I refer to the crocodile tears shed here today by the representatives of the Soviet Union, Kuwait and Syria. I need not refer to the statement of Syria. His country's role in the destruction of Lebanon is too well known. It was in fact confirmed yesterday by the representative of Lebanon, who thanked me for accompanying my remarks before the Council with a map, which, in his words, showed the drama of his country. Equally well known are Syria's long-standing ambitions to annex Lebanon and to incorporate it within "Greater Syria".

125. The Soviet representative represents a country whose grave responsibility for the exacerbation of tension in the Middle East over the past 25 years is common knowledge. The Soviet Union has constantly fuelled the flames of hatred and belligerency in the Arab world. It has also attempted to fish in the troubled waters of Lebanon. It is Soviet-made Kalashnikov sub-machine-guns that are used by PLO terrorists in their murder raids and incursions against Israeli civilians, including women and children. It is Soviet-made Katyusha rockets in PLO use that hit peaceful Israeli villages in the northern part of my country and threaten the lives of our civilians. Under these circum-

stances, the Soviet representative could be expected to have the good grace not to inject himself into this debate. He does not have such good grace. Instead he engaged in the rewriting of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

126. He apparently believes that we are dealing here with loose-leaf binders of the Soviet encyclopedia, where pages are replaced to meet the requirements of changing political expediency. But if he has forgotten the events of 1948 in the Middle East, let him consult the statements made by Soviet representatives in this Council. He will then discover to his consternation that his predecessors in this chamber rightly branded the Arab side as the aggressor in the Arab-Israel conflict and supported the cause of the national liberation movement in Palestine, defending itself against Arab aggression. That is what Mr. Kharlamov's Foreign Minister, Mr. Gromyko, said in 1948. The national liberation movement that Mr. Gromyko was referring to was Zionism, the national liberation movement of the Jewish people. But today, with utter cynicism and disrespect for historical truth, he engages here in patent fabrications.

127. The Kuwaiti representative referred to the three Fijian casualties of UNIFIL of last week as being victims of Israel. He apparently drafted his statement before listening to the Secretary-General, who informed the Council that those Fijian soldiers, like all UNIFIL casualties in recent months, were the victims of "armed elements". "Armed elements", of course, is the United Nations euphemism for the terrorist PLO. All this did not deter the Kuwaiti representative from making his ludicrous statement here today, representing a country whose army participated actively in the dismemberment of Lebanon. How is one supposed to respond to such an obvious lack of intellectual honesty? The best course, perhaps, is simply to treat it with the contempt it deserves.

128. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Kuwait has asked to be allowed to speak in exercise of his right of reply, and I now call on him.

129. Mr. El-JEAAN (Kuwait): I should like to respond to what the Israeli representative has just said. The Israeli representative is, again, unconvincing. His diversionary tactics have robbed him of any credibility in the United Nations since he came. It is an old routine, and he should change it.

130. If the Israeli representative had been listening to the debate conducted yesterday and today and to the statements of the Secretary-General and the representatives of the countries that are contributing to UNIFIL, he would have reached the conclusion that there was a consensus in the Council that it rejected Israel's policy of genocide in Lebanon. He would also have reached the conclusion that Israel must abide by the resolutions of the Council.

131. As always, when they come to speak in this Council, Israel's representatives never address themselves to the issue. They resort to diversionary tactics, which are not acceptable in this Council.

132. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of the Soviet Union in exercise of his right of reply.

133. Mr. KHARLAMOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): I had not intended to speak in reply, but it appears that the representative of Israel is speaking here in the Council as an accuser. Everybody is guilty, including the country I represent, and the Arab countries as well; and Israel is apparently a holy country, its representative here is a holy person and speaks the holy truth. But, in fact, he speaks nothing but out-and-out lies.

134. First and foremost, if we speak about the beginning of Israel's existence over the past 30 years, the United Nations took a decision, and the Soviet Union does not deny that decision. But is Israel still in its previous boundaries? Thereafter did it not, in fact, seize a tremendous amount of territory from neighbouring Arab countries? Is it not continuing to create tension in the Middle East? And did the question before us today arise simply because the Lebanese were not a peaceful people and did not want peace?

135. What he said were pure lies. How could he speak about such things? If he had spoken here from a different position and said, "Yes, we did in fact expel the Palestinians from their homes, and now they are to a great extent scattered about, but we recognize the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to create their own State", if he had said that Israel would depart from all the occupied territories and give them an opportunity to determine their own fate, then who could have objected to such a policy? But he was silent. The cunning of Israel is seen in the fact that, relying on powerful forces that support it, Israel plans to go on attacking the Arabs, one by one, and giving them a piece here and a piece there as bait to lure them into various kinds of seeming peace agreements.

136. Israel and its policies are the cause of the tension in the Middle East, and, until Israel changes its policies and gives up the territories it has seized and recognizes the right of the Palestinian people to exist and even to create their own State, there can be no peace in the Middle East. Israel has been told this by the Arabs, and not just by the Soviet Union. The President of the Council said this yesterday, although he could have put it in stronger terms.

137. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Israel in exercise of his right of reply.

138. Mr. BLUM (Israel): I have a simple question to put to Mr. Kharlamov. When he refers to "occupied territories", is he referring to the territories occupied by the Soviet Union since the Second World War? Has he just announced to the Council that his country is willing to give up all those occupied territories?

139. I ask you, Mr. President, to be good enough to inquire of the representative of Kuwait whether his country is now willing to accept Security Council resolution 242 (1967) and to abide by its provisions.

140. Let him who comes in judgement come with clean hands.

141. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Kuwait in exercise of his right of reply.

142. Mr. EL-JEAAN (Kuwait): I want to ask the representative of Israel—who is answerable to the Security Council, the members of the Security Council are not obliged to answer to him: is Israel willing to recognize the PLO?

143. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of the Soviet Union who wishes to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

144. Mr. KHARLAMOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The representative of Israel has raised a question which has nothing to do with him. The Soviet people have something to say about the post-war settlement. To gain victory, and so that Jews might exist in Europe and other peoples live in peace, they sacrificed 20 million lives. Mr. Ambassador, don't forget that fact.

145. The PRESIDENT: The representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization has asked to speak in exercise of the right of reply. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and make his statement.

146. Mr. ABDEL RAHMAN (Palestine Liberation Organization): I should like to apologize to the members of the Council for taking the floor once again.

147. Once again the Council has been subjected to lies and distortions by the representative of the notorious terrorist Menachem Begin, who was responsible for the killing, on 9 April 1948, of 254 Palestinian children, women and men in the village of Deir Yassin, a man who was wanted by the British authorities for crimes committed during the British administration of Palestine. The ironical element in all this is that here today he declares himself a crusader, that he and his Government are concerned about the welfare of the Palestinians in Lebanon.

148. I should like to remind him through you Mr. President, that the Palestinians are also Christians, Moslems, Shiites and Druzes and are the very people of Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Nazareth, and of the two villages, Ikrit and Kafr Burum. For the information of those who are not familiar with those two villages, they were inhabited by Palestinians who were expelled from their homes in 1948. And they still live on the outskirts of their villages, not allowed to return to their homes by order of the Israeli authorities.

149. We, the Palestinian people of all faiths—Christians, Moslems, Druzes—are victims of Israeli terror against us. We are victims because we have been deprived of a basic human right: our right to live in our home in freedom and dignity. If the representative of Menachem Begin is serious about his crusade, he and his Government should allow the Palestinian people to exercise their basic rights.

150. I have one word for those who speak of violence and counter-violence: I think it is absurd to equate the violence used by the victim with the violence used by the victimizer. You cannot equate the thief with the police, the thief with the victim. We, as Palestinians, have never expelled anyone from his country. For centuries, we lived in peace in our homeland, cultivating our land and building up a culture for ourselves and our children. We would like to be afforded

the opportunity to do that once again. Thus, our struggle is basically intended and directed to create conditions under which we can live in peace, building up a national existence for ourselves and our children.

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

152. Mr. TUÉNI (Lebanon): I have nothing to add to what has been said, but I should like to address one word to the Secretary-General, who was not with us yesterday. I should like to express my country's sentiments of appreciation for all that he has been doing and for the assurances he has given us today. I also wish to say that my country's case has been better stated by each and all the members of the Council than it could be by me.

153. The PRESIDENT: There are no further speakers.

154. At the close of the 2163rd meeting, I appealed for restraint on the part of all concerned so that hostilities could be brought to an end through the efforts of the Commander of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon. It is a source of satisfaction to us all that this appeal has been heeded.

155. In my capacity as President of the Council, I appeal to all concerned to make permanent the cessation of hostilities and to implement resolution 425 (1978) in all its parts.

The meeting rose at 5.30 p.m.

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