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**2380<sup>th</sup>** MEETING: 19 JUNE 1982

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## 2380th MEETING

Held in New York on Saturday, 19 June 1982, at 7.30 p.m.

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

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

### Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2380)

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

*The meeting was called to order at 7.45 p.m.*

### Adoption of the agenda

*The agenda was adopted.*

### The situation in the Middle East:

**Letter dated 4 June 1982 from the Permanent Representative of Lebanon to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15162)**

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

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

2. **The PRESIDENT** (*interpretation from French*): Members of the Council have before them document S/15240, which contains the text of a draft resolution

introduced by France. In addition, I should like to draw the attention of Council members to documents S/15180, S/15183, S/15186, S/15187, S/15188, S/15190, S/15195, S/15197, S/15200, S/15209, S/15210, S/15211, S/15220, S/15221, S/15222, S/15223, S/15224, S/15225 and S/15226.

3. I shall now speak in my capacity as representative of FRANCE.

4. Ever since the beginning of the tragic events that have steeped Lebanon in blood in the past two weeks, the Council has, above all, been seeking ways and means to put an end to the bloodshed and to prepare the way back to the only politically satisfactory situation—that is, one in which the territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence of Lebanon are respected.

5. The Council unanimously adopted resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982), which deal in clear-cut terms with the withdrawal of Israeli forces. It adopted resolution 511 (1982), which extends the mandate of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) for two months. So far, however, the Council has not dealt specifically with the tragic situation of the civilian populations, both Lebanese and Palestinian.

6. But these are the people who have suffered. It is about them that we are constantly thinking. It is to them that we must express our concern in an active way. In particular, we must see to it that these civilian populations receive large-scale and effective aid.

7. That is why my Government has deemed it necessary to submit the draft resolution now before the Council [S/15240]. It essentially meets that two-fold concern. We feel that urgent action is required. Any delay in the tangible expression of our solidarity with the civilian populations concerned would be as incomprehensible as it would be dangerous.

8. It is true that major efforts have already been made to come to the aid of these people. However, much still remains to be done. Many obstacles remain to be overcome. We must see to it that aid is dispatched and distributed effectively. We must see to it that the organizations concerned are in a position to carry out their tasks.

9. We must therefore strive to ensure that existing obstacles are removed and that no new ones arise. My country, which has a particularly deep attachment

to Lebanon, feels directly concerned by the suffering of the populations there. That is why it regards the adoption of this draft resolution by the Council as of special importance.

10. I now resume my functions as PRESIDENT.

11. I understand that the Council is prepared to vote on the draft resolution before it. If there is no objection, I will now put to the vote the draft resolution.

*A vote was taken by a show of hands.*

*The draft resolution was adopted unanimously [resolution 512 (1982)].*

12. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I shall now call on those members of the Council who have asked to be allowed to make statements following the voting.

13. Mr. NISIBORI (Japan): The Government of Japan has been following with grave concern the serious developments taking place in Lebanon in the past few weeks. We strongly deplore Israel's invasion of Lebanon and its violation of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of Lebanon. My Government wishes to express once again its profound sympathy to the Government and people of Lebanon that are confronted with this serious situation. It also expresses its deep regret over the great number of civilian casualties, the deprivation and displacement suffered by the inhabitants and the heavy destruction of property in Lebanon.

14. The Israeli invasion has brought about the tragic displacement of reportedly as many as 600,000 inhabitants, both Lebanese and Palestinians, who are consequently in dire need of emergency assistance, such as foodstuffs, medical supplies and other basic materials. In view of this distressing situation, the Secretary-General has made an urgent appeal to the international community, requesting it to extend emergency humanitarian assistance to Lebanon [S/15194/Add.2, para. 3].

15. The Government of Japan, in response to this urgent appeal by the Secretary-General and in view of the severity of the suffering, decided yesterday to contribute \$US 1 million through the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) for the affected inhabitants of Lebanon.

16. My delegation takes this opportunity to demand once again that all the parties concerned cease hostilities at once. We also demand that Israel withdraw its forces immediately and unconditionally, in accordance with Council resolution 509 (1982). My delegation further urges that all the parties concerned, in particular the Israeli occupying forces in Lebanon, fully cooperate with the international organizations engaged in the humanitarian relief activities in Lebanon.

17. Mr. LICHENSTEIN (United States of America): My Government, in consultation with the Governments of Lebanon and Israel and with United Nations authorities, wholly supports the positive efforts now going forward in the field to provide humanitarian services to the people of Lebanon. Each day this humanitarian effort is more effective, reaching more of those needing special service. We believe that such progress will continue.

18. As an earnest of our commitment, President Reagan has appointed the Administrator of the United States Agency for International Development as his personal representative to co-ordinate all United States efforts to assist in this process. Fifteen million dollars have already been committed to the effort; we anticipate the authorization of an additional \$20 million.

19. Our principal concern remains the restoration of full Lebanese sovereignty and authority throughout Lebanon's territory.

20. As I have said, we are wholly committed to serving the human needs of the people of Lebanon. We hope and we trust that no party and no Government will exploit these fundamental humanitarian concerns for narrow political purposes.

21. In the context of those considerations and reflections, my delegation has supported the draft resolution.

22. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I call on the representative of Israel.

23. Mr. BLUM (Israel): My Government welcomes every humanitarian effort aimed at relieving and alleviating human suffering anywhere around the world. In keeping with this policy we support any genuine humanitarian effort to alleviate the plight of human beings in Lebanon, as we do with regard to suffering human beings in Afghanistan, in Kampuchea, in Chad, in Uganda, in the Falkland Islands (Malvinas), in Viet Nam and elsewhere. I note with regret that I have forgotten to add to my list Syria, Iraq and Iran.

24. We shall therefore welcome co-operation with the Secretary-General in promoting genuine humanitarian efforts in Lebanon. This is fully in keeping not only with the traditions of the people and the State which I represent, but also with the policies of the State of Israel over the years and in particular over the past two weeks, as I had occasion to inform the Council in greater detail last night [2379th meeting].

25. In this connection, I wish to make a point of clarification. Last night I quoted from a press communication released by ICRC in Geneva yesterday, 18 June [*ibid.*, para. 129]. I wish to make it clear that in referring to the 300 wounded that are receiving treatment I was speaking of the situation in the city of Sidon

and quoting from a report that had been received in Geneva from the ICRC delegates based in that city. This point of clarification I think effectively disposes of the exercises in sophistry that were carried out here following my statement by a number of speakers, and in particular by Mr. Maksoud, that living monument of truthfulness and intellectual integrity, whose absence, incidentally, from our deliberations here we all deeply regret.

26. I also wish to inform the Council that in keeping with these policies of my Government direct contact has now been established between Mr. Ya'acov Meridor, a member of the Cabinet of Israel's Government, who has been put in charge of the humanitarian efforts of my Government in Lebanon and is acting as its co-ordinator, and his opposite number in the Lebanese Government.

27. Having said this, let me also say a few words about the resolution just adopted by the Council. Mr. President, I will not hide from you and from the other members of the Council our feeling that perhaps not all the members of the Council who voted for this resolution have been motivated solely and exclusively by humanitarian considerations. I would be happy to be proved wrong, but there are too many indications to the contrary.

28. First of all, we have the sad record of the Council in the field of humanitarian efforts in general around the world. Then, of course, as I look around the table I cannot help noticing representatives from a number of countries which have excelled in their humanitarian efforts in recent years. So as not to attract replies on their part, I leave them unnamed today. If they feel they have been the targets of my remark, they will reply anyway.

29. With regard to the situation in Lebanon, the Council's bizarre attitude is even more evident. As I told the Council yesterday, over the past seven years 100,000 or so Lebanese civilians have been killed, 250,000 have been wounded and more than a million have been displaced [*ibid.*, para. 133]. May I inquire of you, Mr. President, about the humanitarian resolutions adopted by the Council over all these years with regard to the population of Lebanon.

30. So as to shorten the proceedings, I should like to draw your attention to Council resolution 436 (1978). I think it is particularly pertinent to mention that resolution because, like the resolution adopted here tonight, that resolution too was adopted under French presidency; that is, under the presidency of your predecessor, Mr. Leprette. It was adopted at the height of the Syrian excesses against the population of Beirut, which cost the lives of thousands of people. What do we have in that resolution? There is one paragraph, paragraph 2, in which the Council "calls upon all involved to allow units of the International Committee of the Red Cross into the area of conflict to evacuate the wounded and provide humanitarian assistance". That was all the Council had to say on that occasion.

Nowhere were the innuendos contained in the present resolution to be found there, and I will have to say a few words about this.

31. We do not expect any recognition for our humanitarian efforts on the part of the international community. We know the parliamentary constellation in this body and we know the personalities and the States which they represent well enough not to expect such recognition. Moreover, the humanitarian assistance that we are extending to the population of Lebanon is not based on any expectation of recognition; we do it because we consider it our human duty. But we are entitled to expect and we demand that the Council refrain from innuendos and from attempts to abuse humanitarian concerns for the purpose of political objectives—sometimes very dubious political objectives.

32. We have heard the representative of the United States of America. In contradistinction to most members of the Council, he knows what he is talking about, because his Government has been actively involved in those humanitarian efforts in co-operation with my Government. Thus it is not surprising that he is not bandying about all kinds of figures that belong in the sphere of imagination and fantasy.

33. The resolution adopted here expresses deep concern at the sufferings of the Lebanese and Palestinian civilian populations. What about the sufferings of Israel's civilian population? The Council treats the sufferings of the population of Israel over the past weeks with the same callousness and indifference as it has treated it with over all these years. Operation "Peace for Galilee" became necessary in order to alleviate the sufferings of the people of northern Galilee. And now that we are in control in southern Lebanon, we know better than before how necessary it was.

34. To give the Council just one example, yesterday we discovered a bunker in Sidon containing military equipment and ammunition for the transportation of which we shall need 500 trucks. All that equipment—peace-loving Soviet equipment—was assembled there to cause suffering, agony and misery to the civilian population of Israel. There is not one word about that civilian population in the resolution.

35. But we are dealing with a humanitarian resolution, which, surprisingly, reaffirms resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982).

36. I need not repeat my Government's position on those resolutions. I did that last night, and I did that last week. But those are not humanitarian resolutions. And the true intentions of this resolution are clearly revealed by the reference that is made to those resolutions in this allegedly humanitarian resolution.

37. Then, of course, in paragraph 3 we have the ugly innuendo. In the second part of that paragraph

the Council calls upon all the parties to the conflict not to hamper the exercise of those responsibilities and to assist in humanitarian efforts.

38. We reject this innuendo.

39. As I said before, and as I want to say again in conclusion, we shall co-operate with any genuine humanitarian effort. We shall resist, reject and foil any effort which, under the guise of humanitarian concern, attempts to advance dubious political objectives.

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

41. Mr. TUËNI (Lebanon) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, on behalf of Lebanon and all the Lebanese without exception I have the privilege of expressing the most profound gratitude to you personally, the representative of France, to the Government of France and to France, for which Lebanon has always had and continues to have feelings of confidence and historic ties of friendship.

42. We should like to thank each and every member of the Council and also those Governments that have helped us in these difficult days and that are not represented here this evening.

43. In conclusion, my Government wishes to say how much we appreciate the prompt reaction of the Secretary-General and his colleagues. Our future will depend a great deal on their efforts in the coming days.

44. As for the words of the representative of Israel, I have no comments to make on that subject.

45. Mr. OVINNIKOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): I listened very carefully to two statements made today—that of the representative of the United States and that of the representative of Israel.

46. The representative of Israel, Mr. Blum, said that not all of those that voted for the draft resolution adopted by the Council today—now resolution 512 (1982)—were guided by humanitarian considerations. I agree with him.

47. As for the delegation of the United States, although it talks a great deal about its humanitarian motives, yesterday and again today it has shown that it is guided by whatever suits it, but certainly not by humanitarian considerations.

48. Yesterday, when the Council was discussing the draft resolution that became resolution 511 (1982), the United States delegation raised objections to paragraph 2, which in fact refers precisely to the humanitarian efforts of UNIFIL. It wished to exclude that humanitarian provision from the resolution. It was

quite obvious that only its fear of being isolated prevented the United States delegation from continuing to insist that that humanitarian provision be excluded from resolution 511 (1982).

49. Today, when the draft resolution that has now become resolution 512 (1982) was submitted to us, only one delegation—the delegation of the United States—in the corridors of this building categorically objected to this exclusively humanitarian proposal and, once again, only the fear of finding itself completely isolated prompted the United States to agree to this humanitarian action by the Council.

50. I want to say one more thing. Yesterday, in his statement, Mr. Blum said that a crime is a crime is a crime [*ibid.*, para. 144]. We agree with him. But there is something else that must be recognized: that is, that Israel's aggression against Lebanon is aggression is aggression is aggression.

51. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I shall now call upon those representatives who wish to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

52. Mr. BLUM (Israel): I said in my statement that I was not going to identify those countries which I think are not motivated solely and exclusively by humanitarian considerations, so as not to attract replies on their part.

53. For some reason the representative of the Soviet Union felt that he belonged to that category. I respect his judgement.

54. My remark last night that a crime is a crime is a crime did not originate with me; I was quoting the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom. But since the representative of the Soviet Union has brought up the issue again I indeed agree: aggression is aggression is aggression—in Budapest, in Prague, in East Berlin, in Warsaw, in Kabul and elsewhere. And imperialism is imperialism is imperialism.

55. Mr. LICHENSTEIN (United States of America): I am a relative newcomer to these precincts, but I take the liberty of observing that it has been my impression that the discussions and consultations that take place both in informal settings and in the corridors of the United Nations are largely a matter of colleagues working together in good faith towards common goals. We in the delegation of the United States, at any rate, will continue so to regard the consultation process.

56. Any suggestions that the Permanent Representative of the United States made yesterday with regard to resolution 511 (1982) were made in an effort to improve that draft resolution and more finely to focus it on the problems that were then before the Council.

57. Today, as her deputy, I have attempted to make the same contribution to a well-designed and finely

targeted draft resolution, which has become the unanimously adopted resolution 512 (1982). I make no apology for our behaviour or our actions. I did, however, feel it essential to refer to them in light of the slurs of the representative of the Soviet Union.

58. Mr. OVINNIKOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The repre-

sentative of Israel has said that he agrees with my judgement with respect to who was guided by non-humanitarian concerns. I said that it was the United States that was guided by non-humanitarian concerns. I am very grateful that the representative of Israel has finally agreed with me.

*The meeting rose at 8.20 p.m.*

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