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2265th MEETING: 9 MARCH 1981

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2265th MEETING

Held in New York on Monday, 9 March 1981, at 4.20 p.m.

President: Mr. Peter FLORIN
(German Democratic Republic).

Present: The representatives of the following States: China, France, German Democratic Republic, Ireland, Japan, Mexico, Niger, Panama, Philippines, Spain, Tunisia, Uganda, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2265)

1. Adoption of the agenda

2. The situation in the Middle East:

Letter dated 3 March 1981 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Lebanon to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/14391)

The meeting was called to order at 4.20 p.m.

Expression of welcome to the new representative of the United States of America

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): I should like, on behalf of the Council, to welcome the new Permanent Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations, Mrs. Jeane Kirkpatrick. I congratulate her on her assumption of that office and high responsibilities and assure her of the co-operation of the members of the Council.

Expression of thanks to the retiring President

2. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): Before the consideration of the item on the agenda, I should like to pay a tribute, on behalf of the members of the Council, to Mr. Jacques Leprette, Permanent Representative of France to the United Nations, for the great skill he showed as President of the Council last month. His skill as a talented French diplomat deserves our admiration.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in the Middle East:

Letter dated 3 March 1981 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Lebanon to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/14391)

3. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): I wish to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Israel and Lebanon, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Tuéni (Lebanon), took a place at the Council table; Mr. Blum (Israel) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council chamber.

4. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): The Security Council is meeting today in response to a request by the Permanent Mission of Lebanon to the United Nations, which is contained in a letter dated 3 March 1981 addressed to the President of the Security Council which we have before us.

5. Members of the Council also have before them the following other documents: a letter dated 24 February 1981 from the representative of Lebanon to the President of the Security Council [S/14381], and a letter dated 8 March 1981 from the representative of Israel to the President of the Security Council [S/14394].

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

7. Mr. TUÉNI (Lebanon): Mr. President, since 3 March, when my delegation presented Lebanon's request for a meeting of the Security Council, you have displayed extreme patience and great wisdom. May I be allowed, while congratulating you on your assumption of the duties of President, to congratulate you as well, and thank you, for having so far conducted consultations on our complaint with such concern for the cause of peace and the prerogatives and obligations of the Council. We feel confident that, under your guidance and notwithstanding the absence of the customary pre-prepared consensus resolution, the present debate will reach a satisfactory conclusion, as we all hope.

8. Indeed, this is one of the very rare instances when my Government is not waiting for the expiration of the mandate of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) to submit its grievances and ask for action. We usually fill the gap between debates on the renewal of the mandate of the Interim Force with innumerable letters concerning the innumerable violations by Israel of past resolutions, let alone violations of the Charter, of the general principles of the law of nations, of the General Armistice Agreement between Lebanon and Israel¹ of 1949 and, last but not least, of the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of that most peace-loving country in the Middle East, Lebanon.

9. Yet, since our last debate, on 17 December 1980 [2258th meeting], a novel situation has evolved in the south, which makes it imperative for the Security Council to intervene. Regular, repeated acts of violence have developed into a state of constant, continued warfare, which is a threat to international peace and security, as well as to the safety and security of UNIFIL.

10. For although most of the recent acts of aggression by Israel fall outside the limited area of operations of UNIFIL, a pattern has evolved which imperils the safety of the 6,000 gallant soldiers of peace and which will undermine and obstruct their task and render it more frustrating and, probably, sooner or later, totally blunt it, since their now static mission is confronted by the dynamics of an ever expanding confrontation.

11. We strongly maintain that Israel finds it useful or, rather, thrives on the illusion of the utility of fuelling and stirring the dynamics of war and terrorism.

12. The Council need only review the very lengthy list of daily shellings, air strikes, overflights, sea-borne and airborne commando operations, motorized and infantry incursions, kidnappings and the blowing up of houses, of hospitals, of schools, and so on, to understand why this situation is beyond tolerance. The hundreds of casualties, the dead and injured, the children—Lebanese children—the aged and the women, the extent and nature of the destruction, the rhythm at which violence is exercised—all that is bound inevitably to prompt counter-violence. But that is no accident, for every Israeli leader, civilian or military, proclaims defiantly that it is all part and parcel of a well-pondered policy of so-called pre-emptive strikes which will continue, whatever the results.

13. But what are the results? What are the results so far? We submit that they are of three species.

14. First, there has been an escalation of military and paramilitary operations to an ever ascending level of intensity. Pre-emptive strikes produce the predictable reaction by "terrorists" of increased violence, which locks everyone concerned in a vicious circle, i. e., xo-

rably conducive to total war. Israel will thus be affirming itself not a nation obsessed with its own security, but a terrorist State, using—or rather abusing—weapons acquired for self-defence further to kill and destroy and to expand.

15. The second result has been the disruption of the fabric of civilian life in southern Lebanon through the destruction of property and the means of livelihood and development, not excluding—as was the case last week—the Evangelical School of Sidon, supported, incidentally, by American funds; a Druze religious school in Hasbaya; as well as waterworks and electrical projects benefiting from United Nations assistance. Hence, the massive exodus from the south, which is destabilizing all of Lebanon and making the restoration of peace and national unity almost impossible in a country already shattered by six years of continued war, which it has so far survived with unequalled resilience, resistance and determination.

16. The third result has been the unavoidable explosion, beyond the Lebanese borders and in the whole Middle East, of a general state of disintegration and terror. Indeed, the microcosm will soon generate a macrocosm. Lebanon has been the arena wherein were waged, often by proxy, all the wars and revolutions of the region; its crisis will inevitably spill over and, as has already been the case, its present stock of violence will be exported. Directly threatened are those who, friend and foe alike, once found it convenient to contain, or to maintain the illusion of containing, external conflicts within the structure of our internal conflicts. And whilst so much is invested in ensuring peace, security and stability on the shores of the Arabian Sea, where oil is exported through the Gulf and its Straits, the world might one day soon discover that the real security of such vital wealth and resources is in fact endangered by violence and terror imported from the shores of the Mediterranean Sea, the unavoidable historical and geopolitical route of both war and peace between East and West.

17. To this we humbly beg to add that it would be indeed a great pity to destroy the credibility of UNIFIL as a deterrent, as an already existing and functioning factor of stability, whilst those concerned with this same stability of the Middle East are running around trying to create new multinational systems of defence, at no unchallengeable cost. It may be sobering for all of us to ask why southern Lebanon with UNIFIL cannot become, in the interest of all, at least as secure as the Golan Heights with the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF).

18. We therefore come to the Council, unabashed, with a sentiment of fear and concern, yet not without hope. For, having condemned the disruption of peace-keeping from whatever source, and dissociating the policy of our legitimate Government from all acts of hostility, we refuse to accept the Security Council's being reduced to a mere forum where complaints are

aired, often with eloquence, sometimes with folly, but always to no avail. We also refuse to admit that the Organization should be content with reducing the role of the Secretary-General to the issuing of daily statements of regret and calls for restraint, while being rendered unable to act efficiently in his constant and untiring efforts to create viable solutions to otherwise insoluble crises.

19. Six weeks ago, the President of the Republic of Lebanon, in an unprecedented attitude of courage and candour but also in anguish and despair, addressed the 38 heads of State attending the third Summit Conference of the Organization of the Islamic Conference. He presented what he described as our country's unique tragedy, that of a martyr country. He said:

"I shall speak to you in particular"—said the President—"about the situation in southern Lebanon. Not that this subject overshadows other aspects of the Lebanese crisis but because it epitomizes the entire Lebanese question . . .

"The problem of southern Lebanon is not Lebanese in origin, yet Lebanon is shouldering its burdens and responsibilities alone. The sons of the south are being terrorized, displaced and killed; their houses and properties are being destroyed, their land plundered. Lebanon has appealed under every possible international and regional charter by which it is bound. We have brought complaints about Israel to the Security Council because of Israel's recurrent acts of aggression. . . .

"But we have only obtained resolutions, which Israel continues to defy. . . .

"We have also complained to international, regional and Arab conferences in which we have participated. We are constantly pursuing contacts with all friendly and sisterly States, seeking their co-operation to end the massacres, the tragedy and the chaos prevailing in the south.

"In response to our appeals, we have encountered only limited response or support, which has been insufficient to deal with the Lebanese crisis in depth and to cover all its aspects. . . .

"But now the crisis has attained such magnitude that we are made to wonder what can the United Nations, what can UNIFIL and what can the League of Arab States as well do to help us to solve our problems and protect our land and people?"

20. Having used equal frankness in his criticism of armed transgression by Palestinian groups, contrary to commitments, and of their consequences in the south, President Sarkis concludes his address by asking in unequivocal terms for the assistance of all Arab and Muslim rulers, to help

"put an end to a situation which not only breeds further death and destruction for the south but might also become the source of extreme danger to the region as a whole, far beyond the borders of Lebanon."

That was a solemn warning, which I am now laying before the Council, not unaware of its concern for peace in the Middle East and of its responsibility in solving the Middle Eastern problem, which, as we have all admitted in earlier debates, could lead to another world war.

21. To all, I want once more to repeat what has often been stated in this chamber and elsewhere, to no less responsible audiences: peace in Lebanon cannot, should not, and indeed shall not wait for the conclusion of everyone else's war and everyone's revolution as well.

22. So allow me to reiterate in the most unequivocal terms that Lebanon's will to survive is beyond all question. Rarely has a country so small and, let us admit it, so divisible and so divided, been able to endure what we have endured and to remain independent, sovereign, proud and always ready to fulfil its historical obligations.

23. Through centuries of cultural and political universality, we have come to believe that resorting to the international community is the surest way of attaining peace and freedom, provided the world Organization is willing to restrain those who, as Israel does, challenge its resolutions and utilize one country or another as a dumping pit of marginal wars and the products of war.

24. Now, what do we ask from the Council?

25. We ask that it exercise its responsibilities and prerogatives: that it should forcefully and with determination not condemn, condone, regret, deplore or call upon, but in simple, pragmatic terms initiate a mechanism for peace in my country and, more specifically, on the internationally recognized border with Israel. Such an arrangement must, once the dangers of war have been ascertained, prevent the otherwise unavoidable explosion and create the objective conditions for the success of a most difficult peace-keeping enterprise. For it was clear to the Council when UNIFIL was created that the ultimate goal, beyond the cessation of hostilities, was to put an end to the erosion of a country and a people.

26. We strongly believe that, through proper consultations and, if need be, a restrained debate, members of the Council will be able to reach the type of action-oriented resolution which has been so often heralded in the past. Indeed, the Council has reaffirmed, in resolution after resolution, since resolution 444 (1979) of 19 January 1979,

"its determination, in the event of continuing obstruction of the mandate of the Force, to examine practical ways and means in accordance with relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations to secure the full implementation of resolution 425 (1978)".

Only by exploring such "ways and means" can we reverse the trend towards a broadening confrontation and war. Then, and only then, can Lebanon, restored to health, sanity and security, become the natural partner that it should be in the creation of a just and comprehensive Middle East peace, based on the recognition of everyone's right to independence, self-determination and security.

27. Mr. OVINNIKOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): Comrade President, first of all, I wish to congratulate you, the representative of a fraternal socialist country, the German Democratic Republic, on your assumption of the important post of President of the Security Council for March and to wish you every success in the discharge of the tasks facing the Council. The great international prestige of your own country which has achieved such outstanding success in economic and social development will be of great help in this, as will your country's great political authority and the consistent struggle which it has waged against aggression and colonialism, all forms of exploitation, national and racial oppression, and for freedom and independence of the peoples, thanks to which the German Democratic Republic has won widespread recognition in the world. The delegation of the Soviet Union is convinced, Comrade President, that the success of your work in this responsible post will be furthered also by your own distinguished diplomatic qualities and your experience of fruitful work in the delegation of the German Democratic Republic in the United Nations, particularly in the Security Council, for the achievement of peace, the consolidation of international security and the development of international co-operation.

28. I should like to take this opportunity to express our gratitude to your predecessor as President of the Security Council, the representative of France, Mr. Leprette, for his able and skilful performance of his functions last month.

29. I should like also to welcome to this table the new representative of the United States of America, Mrs. Kirkpatrick. By way of offering her my experience, I should like to say that the path in this organ, the Security Council, is not always strewn with roses—even for ladies; and, when it is, we find that rose bushes are plants that have not only blooms but also thorns.

30. As has repeatedly occurred over the last year, the Security Council has been forced to meet in con-

nection with the virtually incessant acts of naked aggression committed by Israel against a sovereign State, a Member of the Organization, Lebanon.

31. On 2 March, the Israeli air force carried out totally unprovoked raids on the village of Abul-Aswad and other populated localities situated in the region of the town of Tyre in southern Lebanon. During those barbarous bombing raids of peaceful villages, 14 people were killed—largely among the civilian population—and more than 50 wounded.

32. Those air raids carried out by the Israeli air force on peaceful towns and villages of Lebanon are by no means the first aggressive raids by Israel against that country in the period of slightly more than two and a half months of this year alone. Suffice it to recall the letters of the representative of Lebanon sent to the Security Council on 30 January and 24 February [S/14354 and S/14381] which gave concrete details about the numerous acts of aggression committed by Israel against his country. Furthermore, Israeli aircraft have been carrying out daily reconnaissance flights over practically the whole territory of Lebanon. In this regard, on 18 February, the Secretary-General of the League of Arab States, Chedli Klibi, condemned those actions by Israel as "a naked violation of the sovereignty of Lebanon and a direct threat to the national security of the whole Arab world".

33. The Israeli leaders, by no means for the first time, are attempting to justify those aggressive actions against a sovereign State, a Member of the United Nations, by means of arrogant assertions to the effect that they are carrying out so-called pre-emptive strikes against the Palestinians—people who have been driven out by Israel from their homes and have found refuge and shelter on the territory of Lebanon. In this way Israel once again, as it has done time and time again in the past, is blatantly flouting the universally acknowledged norms of international law and openly violating numerous decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly designed to protect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon against Israeli encroachment.

34. The point is not that Israel, as it might seem, cannot find any way out of the vicious circle of violence, which we hear talked about sometimes. Rather, something else is true. It is not a circle at all but a phenomenon which had one clear-cut beginning, namely, the aggression of Israel against Arab countries which is continued by the exclusive fact of this aggression, the fact of the continuation of the occupation by Israel of Arab territory.

35. What Israel is doing in Lebanon is a veritable international terrorism—and terrorism exalted to the status of State policy which for that reason is an even more dangerous form of terrorism. We cannot fail to notice that, pursuing this policy of aggression against Arab

States, Israel can do this only by relying on the broad and comprehensive support of those who pay lip-service to opposition to international terrorism.

36. Israel's raids against Lebanon are just a part of the abnormal situation which was created, on the one hand, by Israeli aggression against Arab countries in 1967 and, on the other hand, by the desire of the United States to exploit this aggression for their own far-reaching goals in that area.

37. The General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the head of the Soviet State, Mr. Brezhnev, in his report to the Twenty-sixth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, made the following statement on this situation and on ways of resolving it:

"In its attempts to achieve a dominant position in the Middle East, the United States has adopted the course of the Camp David policy, a course of splitting the Arab world and the organizing of a separate deal between Israel and Egypt. American diplomacy has not succeeded in converting this separate anti-Arab deal into a broader capitulation-type agreement. But it has succeeded in something: there has been a further exacerbation of the situation in the area. A Middle East settlement has received a setback.

"Now, what is to happen next? It seems to us that it is time to move things off dead centre. It is time to return to honourable collective efforts to find a comprehensive settlement on a just and realistic basis. In the circumstances this could be done, for example, within the framework of a specially convened international conference.

"The Soviet Union is ready in a constructive spirit and from a position of good will to take part in this work. We are ready to do this together with other interested parties, with the Arabs, including, of course, the Palestine Liberation Organization, with Israel. And we are ready to embark on a search for a just solution together with the United States. We have, I would remind the Council, a certain amount of experience in this area which we acquired a few years ago. We are ready to co-operate with European States, with all those who have a sincere interest in bringing about a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

"And, of course, in all this the United Nations too can continue to play a useful role.

"As for the substance of the matter, we remain convinced that for genuine peace in the Middle East an end must be put to Israeli occupation of all the Arab territories seized in 1967. The inalienable rights of the Arab people of Palestine must be implemented up to and including the creation of their own State. We must ensure the security and sovereignty of all States of this area, including Israel. Those are the fundamental principles. The details can, of course, be the subject of negotiations."

That is the clear and distinct position of the Soviet Union with regard to ways and means of resolving the Middle East conflict.

38. And there is another thing that is absolutely clear: the current aggressive actions of Israel against Lebanon certainly do not demonstrate that the Israeli ruling circles are ready to show far-sightedness and realism in the matter of a comprehensive and just settlement of the Middle East conflict. The fresh aggressive raids of Israel against Lebanon show precisely the reverse, that is, that Israel is continuing to bank on force.

39. In this situation it is the bounden duty of the Council to bring the aggressor to reason and to react appropriately to the appeal of the Government of Lebanon. The Council should adopt a resolution condemning the acts of naked aggression by Israel against that State and clearly and unambiguously calling for a cessation of such aggression. The resolution should also oblige the Israeli authorities to observe and respect strictly the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon within the confines of its internationally recognized borders and to cease all intervention in the internal affairs of that independent State.

40. The delegation of the Soviet Union believes that it is only in this way that the Israeli aggressors can be compelled to respect the letter and spirit of the Charter of the United Nations and the many United Nations resolutions designed to normalize the situation in southern Lebanon.

41. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): The next speaker is the representative of Israel. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

42. Mr. BLUM (Israel): Mr. President, let me first of all pay my respects to you as President of the Security Council for this month. I should also like to take this opportunity to extend my compliments to the representative of France, who presided over the Council's business last month.

43. We have listened carefully to the statement made by the Permanent Representative of Lebanon. We have also heard a statement by the representative of the country which over the past quarter of a century has contributed so much to fomenting tension in our region in its attempts to destabilize it and to fish in troubled waters.

44. There is much in the presentation of the representative of Lebanon on which we would wish to comment both as regards the facts and as regards their evaluation. We prefer, however, to address ourselves to his presentation and to the matter before us in general at the appropriate time.

The meeting rose at 5 p.m.

NOTE

¹ *Official Records of the Security Council Fourth Year, Special Supplement No. 4.*

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