



# Security Council

PROVISIONAL

S/PV.2674  
15 April 1986

ENGLISH

## PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWO THOUSAND SIX HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-FOURTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,  
on Tuesday, 15 April 1986, at 12.20 p.m.

President: Mr. de KEMOULARIA

(France)

Members: Australia  
Bulgaria  
China  
Congo  
Denmark  
Ghana  
Madagascar  
Thailand  
Trinidad and Tobago  
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics  
United Arab Emirates  
United Kingdom of Great Britain and  
Northern Ireland  
United States of America  
Venezuela

Mr. WOOLCOTT  
Mr. GARVALOV  
Mr. LI Luye  
Mr. GAYAMA  
Mr. BIERRING  
Mr. DUMEVI  
Mr. RAKOTONDRAISOA  
Mr. KASEMSKI  
Mr. MOHAMMED  
Mr. DUBININ  
Mr. AL-SHAALI  
  
Mr. MAXEY  
Mr. WALTERS  
Mr. AGUILAR

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the Official Records of the Security Council.

Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, within one week, to the Chief, Official Records Editing Section, Department of Conference Services, room DC2-750, 2 United Nations Plaza, and incorporated in a copy of the record.

The meeting was called to order at 12.30 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

LETTER DATED 15 APRIL 1986 FROM THE CHARGE D'AFFAIRES A.I. OF THE PERMANENT MISSION OF THE LIBYAN ARAB JAMAHIRIYA TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/17991)

LETTER DATED 15 APRIL 1986 FROM THE CHARGE D'AFFAIRES A.I. OF THE PERMANENT MISSION OF BURKINA FASO TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/17992)

LETTER DATED 15 APRIL 1986 FROM THE CHARGE D'AFFAIRES A.I. OF THE PERMANENT MISSION OF THE SYRIAN ARAB REPUBLIC TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S.17993)

LETTER DATED 15 APRIL 1986 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF OMAN TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/17994)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I wish to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Algeria, Burkina Faso, Cuba, Democratic Yemen, the German Democratic Republic, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Mongolia, Oman, Poland and the Syrian Arab Republic in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Azzarouk (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) and Mr. Al-Atassi (Syrian Arab Republic) took places at the Council table; Mr. Djoudi (Algeria), Mr. Ouedraogo (Burkina Faso), Mr. Velazco San Jose (Cuba), Mr. Al-Alfi (Democratic Yemen), Mr. Huckle (German Democratic Republic), Mr. Nyamdoo (Mongolia), Mr. Al-Ansi (Oman), and Mr. Noworyta (Poland) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): The Security Council will now begin consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting today in response to the requests contained in the following documents. S/17991: letter dated 15 April 1986 from the Chargé d'Affaires ad interim of the Permanent Mission of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council; S/17992: letter dated 15 April 1986 from the Chargé d'Affaires ad interim of the Permanent Mission of Burkina Faso to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council; S/17993: letter dated 15 April 1986 from the Chargé d'Affaires ad interim of the Permanent Mission of the Syrian Arab Republic to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council; and S/17994: letter dated 15 April 1986 from the Permanent Representative of Oman to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council.

The members of the Council have before them document S/17990, containing the text of a letter dated 14 April 1986 from the Acting Permanent Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council.

The first speaker is the representative of the United Arab Emirates.

Mr. AL-SHAALI (United Arab Emirates) (interpretation from Arabic):

Mr. President, I apologize for not addressing congratulations to you at the outset, because I cannot at the same time express congratulations and condolences. Indeed, in these sad circumstances, in which Arab citizens have been the targets of a massive murderous attack by a great Power that is supposed to be the guardian of international peace and security, the least we can do is to address our condolences to their loved ones and to the Arab people.

(Mr. Al-Shaali, United  
Arab Emirates)

I do pay tribute to your diplomatic skill, Sir, and to the position of your friendly country, France. I should also like to express our sincere thanks to Ambassador Ole Bierring for the skill with which he conducted the proceedings of the Council last month.

Since the end of the last Security Council meeting, circumstances regarding the agenda item have changed. I was prepared to speak regarding this Council's responsibilities and its role in preventive diplomacy. But now the wording of the agenda item has been changed: it now concerns United States aggression against Libya.

The Security Council failed - and this over a two-week period - to arrive at a resolution that would put an end to United States aggression against Libya. What is more, in the last two days it failed to take steps to prevent the new attack. The result is this act of aggression. The Council was still discussing this question, and some members of the Council were still awaiting instructions. Thus preventive diplomacy has failed.

What can the Security Council do now? I think there will still be no result. The small countries, the militarily weak countries, will continue to pay the price of the Security Council's silence. If this situation continues, we shall all one day be forced to pay the price. We do not have a deterrent military force, and we shall be the victims of force.

I would have preferred to speak at greater length and to answer the arguments and evidence adduced, if there had been any point in doing so. But unfortunately words are no match for gunshots, logic cannot dissuade the force of arms and law cannot change the trajectory of a missile. Thus discussion in this Council has become a dialogue of the deaf.

(Mr. Al-Shaali, United  
Arab Emirates)

As I have said, arrogant power needs no legal, logical or even ethical justification. The United States of America possesses military force sufficient to annihilate Libya and in fact all the countries of the third world. We had hoped it would demonstrate enough reason and wisdom to control that force. From the outset we have been aware that the racist and political propaganda campaign waged by the Zionists against the Arabs has long-term goals, the most important of which is the creation of a rift between the Arabs and the United States in order to embroil the latter in direct military confrontation with the Arabs and thus enable Israel to realize its military ambitions.

(Mr. Al-Shaali, United Arab Emirates)

While we regret that the United States Administration has given way to the Zionist lobby, we appeal to the fraternal American people to awaken to the vengeful nature of those plans.

Political and ideological differences between States are a feature of our modern age. The United Nations Charter and other international instruments have defined peaceful appropriate means to settle those differences. However, the United States has turned its back on those peaceful means in flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter and the rules of international law and launched armed aggression against the territory of an independent State, causing innocent victims indiscriminately.

The pretexts invoked to justify that act of aggression have no basis whatsoever. We hold the United States - a permanent member of the Council - responsible for that act of aggression and for its consequences; we also hold the United Kingdom responsible, since it authorized the use of bases on its territory for the purpose of launching a military act of aggression against Libya. For our part, that act of aggression against Libya was an act of aggression against Arab territories, causing Arab victims. We condemn it in the strongest terms and we assure the fraternal country of Libya of our solidarity in defending its independence and sovereignty.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank our colleague the representative of the United Arab Emirates for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, on whom I now call.

Mr. AZZAROUK (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (interpretation from Arabic): On behalf of my country I should like at the outset to thank you, Mr. President, for having so quickly responded to the request of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to convene the Security Council. You have already had an opportunity in the Council to say that your country does not condone the use of force in international relations. Your country rejected the use of its airspace by United States aircraft, thus demonstrating France's position that is inspired by the spirit of the United Nations Charter and international law.

We also wish to thank all those States that have deplored this raid and condemned its perpetrators.

The representative of the United States yesterday morning made a lengthy statement and expounded on Article 2 (4) of the United Nations Charter, while 33 United States military aircraft - F-111s, A-6Es and A-7Es - were readying to leave their bases in the United Kingdom and United States aircraft carriers cruising along the shores of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya at a distance keeping all Libyan targets within range, thus enabling United States bombers to open fire upon receipt of instructions from Washington. These instructions were given while the United States representative was speaking in this lofty body and referring to Article 2 (4) of the United Nations Charter, which states:

"All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations."

Shall we be told today that the barbaric, savage air raid perpetrated by the United States against Libyan civilian targets was launched in conformity with the provisions of Article 2 (4)?

(Mr. Azzarouk, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

In my statement before the Council yesterday morning I again issued a warning:

"We repeat: the peace of the world is in jeopardy because of the American threats. The international community, through the Security Council, must take measures to contain the situation, within the coming few hours. The Council must stand firm in opposing and condemning all instances of the use of force, in contradiction with the norms governing international relations."

(S/PV.2673, p. 7)

The United States representative also spoke at length about Article 51 of the Charter, which refers to the right of legitimate self-defence and which asks Members to report to the Council on all measures taken by Members in the exercise of this right. Is the United States representative going to tell us today that the barbaric, savage raid was in keeping with the terms of this Article - and this in retaliation for a Libyan raid against Texas or Florida? And what of the requirement, under this Article, that Members report to the Council with regard to measures in the exercise of this right? The United States representative did not inform the Council of the foul designs of his country to use force by launching this raid, for its act was completely unjustified and unprovoked, just as were similar acts perpetrated recently against Nicaragua, when considerable sums of money and numbers of soldiers were used against Nicaragua without informing the Council, in flagrant violation of Article 51 of the Charter, which requires that the Council be immediately informed of any such measure.

Shall we once again today hear pointless, empty statements on Articles 2 (4) and 51 of the United Nations Charter? Can such statements conceal the savagery of the air strike directed against civilian targets in Benghazi and Tripoli? Will such statements once again numb us into deafness to the cries of the victims of the United States raid?



(Mr. Azarouk, Libyan Arab  
Jamahiriya)

Will such statements conceal the massive destruction of schools and houses that has led to such bloodshed? Will they conceal the damage caused to foreign missions which, just like the International Red Cross, enjoy international protection even in wartime? Finally, will such statements be able to conceal the extent of the damage and harm caused to European nationals and their property?

This barbaric and savage air raid perpetrated by 33 United States military aircraft at 2 a.m. local time, on 14 April, deserves the full condemnation of the international community. This Council must adopt a resolution firmly and unequivocally condemning international terrorism as practiced by the United States. If the Council is powerless to adopt such a resolution and to condemn United States aggression, the United States, as we said yesterday, will continue its acts of aggression with full impunity. Indeed, the President of the United States, Ronald Reagan, declared yesterday that the United States would repeat this barbaric and savage act.

Under the terms of the Charter it is the Council's responsibility to safeguard international peace and security and, today more than ever before, speedily to adopt an unambiguous resolution condemning this barbaric, savage raid and its perpetrators. The gravity of this threat to international peace and security is compounded by the fact that the raid took place with the blessing and support of certain States, first and foremost the United Kingdom, which provided the logistics and gave its support to the act of aggression.

Indeed, this barbaric raid was carefully conceived and executed with the overt co-ordination and participation of a number of European countries. There can be no doubt of the role of the United Kingdom, which is the one that supported the Reagan Administration politically and facilitated the military execution of this act of

(Mr. Azzarouk, Libyan Arab  
Jamahiriya)

aggression on Libyan civilian targets. British leaders, particularly Lord Carrington, Mrs. Thatcher, and Sir Geoffrey Howe, the Foreign Minister, all stated that the United Kingdom helped the United States in carrying out the aggression against the Jamahiriya.

I have just received a cable listing the material and human losses resulting from this barbaric United States raid. Regarding those losses, I wish to say the following:

The United States aircraft targeted residential quarters with the intention of causing casualties among civilians and foreigners. The residences of the Ambassadors of Switzerland and France were damaged, as were civilian airports, particularly the Tripoli and Benina international airports. Damage was done also to certain civilian aircraft, to houses, schools and a centre for the handicapped. There are some survivors in the residential quarters. Fragmentation bombs were used, some of which have not yet exploded, posing a continuing threat to the population of the city.

I wish here to quote the following paragraph from the communiqué adopted by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the non-aligned countries in New Delhi:

(spoke in English)

"The Ministers and heads of delegation called on the United Nations Security Council to take urgent action to condemn this act of aggression and to prevent the repetition of such acts. They also urged that the Security Council should take steps to ensure that full and prompt compensation be provided to the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya." (S/17996, p. 3)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya for his kind words addressed to my delegation.

I wish to inform the members of the Council that I have just received a letter from the representative of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic asking to be invited to take part in the discussion on the agenda item before us. In conformity with the usual practice I propose with the consent of the Council to invite that representative to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, pursuant to the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Oudovenko (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council Chamber.

Mr. WALTERS (United States of America): I should like to open by expressing to you, Sir, my congratulations on your assumption and exercise of the presidency, since I have not had the opportunity to do so previously, and to wish you every success in the conduct of that presidency. Our thanks go also to the representative of Denmark for the able and skilful way in which he conducted the debate of the Security Council during the time in which he exercised the presidency.

On 14 April, in exercise of the inherent right of self-defence recognized in Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations, United States military forces executed a series of carefully planned air strikes against terrorist-related targets in Libya. Those strikes have been completed and the United States aircraft have returned to their bases.

United States forces struck targets that were part of Libya's military infrastructure - command and control systems, intelligence communications, logistics and training facilities. Those are the sites used to carry out Libya's

(Mr. Walters, United States)

harsh policy of international terrorism, including ongoing attacks against United States citizens and installations. This necessary and proportionate action was designed to disrupt Libya's ability to carry out terrorist acts and to deter future terrorist acts by Libya. In carrying out this action, the United States took every possible precaution to avoid civilian casualties and to limit collateral damage.

(Mr. Walters, United States)

The United States took these measures of self-defence only after other repeated and protracted efforts to deter Libya from its ongoing attacks against the United States in violation of the Charter. But when quiet diplomacy, public condemnation, economic sanctions and demonstrations of military force failed to dissuade Colonel Qaddafi, this self-defence action became necessary. As stated by President Reagan on 14 April,

"Self-defence is not only our right; it is our duty. It is the purpose behind the mission undertaken tonight, a mission fully consistent with Article 51 of the United Nations Charter."

And may I now quote Colonel Qaddafi? On 24 March, Colonel Qaddafi said, "This is not the time for speaking; it is the time for confrontation and for war". On 2 March 1984, long before these incidents occurred, speaking in the People's Hall in Tripoli, he said, "We must force America to fight on 100 fronts".

The murderous violence of recent Libyan attacks makes clear why the United States had to act. There is direct, precise and irrefutable evidence that Libya bears responsibility for the bombing in West Berlin on 5 April that resulted in the deaths of Army Sergeant Kenneth Ford and a young Turkish woman and injury to 230 other people, among them 50 American military personnel. That brutal atrocity was but the latest in Colonel Qaddafi's campaign of terror. More than a week before the attack, orders were sent from Tripoli to the Libyan People's Bureau in East Berlin to carry out a terrorist attack against Americans, an attack designed to cause maximum and indiscriminate casualties. Libya's agents then planted the bomb. On 4 April, the People's Bureau alerted Tripoli that the attack would be carried out the following morning. The next day, the People's Bureau reported back to Tripoli on the "great success" of the mission.

(Mr. Walters, United States)

In the light of that reprehensible act of violence - only the latest in an ongoing pattern of attacks by Libya - and of clear evidence that Libya was planning a multitude of future attacks, the United States was compelled to exercise its right of self-defence. The United States hopes that this action will discourage Libyan terrorist acts in the future.

In addition to the evidence of direct Libyan involvement in the bombing of the West Berlin night-club, the United States also has compelling evidence of Libyan involvement in other planned attacks against the United States in recent weeks, several of which were designed to cause maximum casualties, similar to the Berlin bombing.

In late March, Turkish police arrested two people in Istanbul who claimed they were to conduct terrorist operations against the United States in Turkey on behalf of the Libyans, again designed to inflict maximum casualties.

On 25 March, my Government notified the Council, in accordance with Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations, that the United States, in the exercise of its inherent right of self-defence, had ordered its forces to respond to hostile Libyan military attacks in international waters in the Gulf of Sidra.

France expelled two members of the Libyan People's Bureau in Paris for their involvement in a planned attack on visa applicants waiting in line at the embassy on 28 March.

Six days later, France expelled two Fatah Force 17 members recruited by Libya to conduct another operation against the United States in Paris.

On 5 April, a Libyan plot to attack the United States Embassy in Beirut resulted in a near miss by a 107-millimetre rocket which exploded on launch.

At the time we acted, the Libyan People's Bureau in Vienna was in the process of plotting a terrorist operation against an unknown target on 17 April.

(Mr. Walters, United States)

We have evidence that Libya is planning widespread attacks against Americans over the next several weeks, in Europe, Africa, Latin America and the Middle East. In addition, Libya has publicly pledged to attack the United States and its citizens. As Winston Churchill once said under similar circumstances, whose dogs do they think we are, that they can kill Americans with impunity?

In sum, at issue here are Libya's unjustified use of force in attacking United States forces in the Gulf of Sidra last month in clear violation of Article 2 (4) of the Charter - that in reply to a question asked earlier - and Libya's admitted, continued policy of terrorist threats and the use of force, in violation of the said Article 2 (4) of the Charter.

That policy is directed not only against the United States, but includes repeated Libyan threats, calls for terrorist action, and acts of aggression and subversion against its neighbours, against European countries and against places as far away as Northern Ireland, the Philippines and Central America.

In a document drawn up on Monday, 14 April, the members of the European Community recognize Libyan terrorist activities and indicate the measures they plan to take to combat those activities. It is no longer a question of who is doing it: it is clear who is doing it.

In the United States statement to the Council on 14 April, we referred to the persistent course of conduct by Libya in violation of Article 2 (4) of the United Nations Charter and in flagrant violation of the most fundamental rules of international law. The scourge of Libyan terrorism is not a problem for the United States alone. It threatens all members of the civilized world community. It challenges all members of this Council to give meaning to their commitment to uphold the principles of the Charter and to act in common defence of those principles.

(Mr. Walters, United States)

Colonel Qaddafi's rhetoric and actions are not only anti-American. His support for terrorist violence is far-ranging and world-wide; his victims are of many nationalities. More than 40 so-called Libyan diplomats have been expelled from Western Europe since 1983 for involvement in criminal activities. Terrorist attacks by Libyan henchmen have ranged from the bloody outrages at Rome and Vienna airports, to the hijacking of an Egyptian airliner to Malta, to the streets of Bonn, where two Germans were wounded during an attack on an anti-Qaddafi dissident, to the murder of a British policewoman doing her duty outside the Libyan People's Bureau in London.

Closer to home, the régime of Colonel Qaddafi has repeatedly sought to subvert its African and Arab neighbours: Chad, Egypt, Tunisia and the Sudan have all felt Qaddafi's sting. The policy pursued by Libya is nothing but a consistent violation of Article 2 (4) of the Charter.

It is hypocrisy to equate the answer to terrorism with terrorism: it is equating crime with those who fight crime. It is clear that the international community as a whole suffers from Colonel Qaddafi's disrespect for accepted international norms of behaviour. He has abused diplomatic privilege for terrorist purposes; he has reneged on international agreements and has blatantly used violence against political opponents. In sum, he has made terrorism an integral part of his foreign policy. Libyan attacks are not simply the random use of violence, but concerted violence directed against the values, the interests and the democratic institutions of all freedom-loving States. They are a clear assault on international order; an assault on the Charter of the United Nations and the principles which we as members of the Council are pledged to defend. Let us not shrink from this challenge.



The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the representative of the United States for the kind words he addressed to me.

In view of the lateness of the hour, I propose, with the consent of members of the Council, to adjourn this meeting and meet again at 3 p.m.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.

