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

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Monday, 9 May 1988 at 4.35 p.m.

President: Mr. DJOUDI

(Algeria)

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

Mr. DELPECH
Mr. NOGUEIRA-BATISTA
Mr. LI Luye
Mr. BLANC
Count York von WARTENBURG
Mr. BUCCI
Mr. KAGAMI
Mr. RANA
Mr. BA
Mr. BELONOGOV

Sir Crispin TICKELL
Mr. WALTERS
Mr. PEJIC
Mr. CHABALA

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The meeting was called to order at 4.35 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST

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

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): In accordance with decisions taken at the 2811th meeting, I invite the representative of Lebanon to take a place at the Council table; I invite the representatives of Israel, Jordan, Kuwait, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Saudi Arabia, the Syrian Arab Republic and Tunisia to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

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

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Bahrain, Qatar and Somalia 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. Al-Shakar (Bahrain), Mr. Al-Kawari (Qatar) and Mr. Osman (Somalia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I wish to inform the Council that, in my capacity as President, I have received a letter dated 6 May 1988 from the Permanent Representative of Algeria to the United Nations, which reads as follows:

"I have the honour to request that, in accordance with its usual practice, the Security Council extend an invitation to Mr. Zehdi Labib Terzi, Permanent Observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization to the United Nations, during its consideration of the item entitled 'The situation in the Middle East'."

That letter has been circulated as document S/19870. The proposal by Algeria was not made pursuant to rule 37 or rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council, but if approved by the Council the invitation to participate in the debate would confer on the Palestine Liberation Organization the same rights of participation as those conferred on Member States when invited to participate pursuant to rule 37.

Does any member of the Council wish to speak on this proposal?

Mr. OKUN (United States of America): The United States has consistently taken the position that under the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council the only legal basis on which the Council may grant a hearing to persons speaking on behalf of non-governmental entities is rule 39. For four decades the United States has supported a generous interpretation of rule 39 and would certainly not object had this matter been raised under that rule. We are, however, opposed to special ad hoc departures from orderly procedure. The United States consequently opposes extending to the Palestine Liberation Organization the same rights to participate in the proceedings of the Security Council as if that organization represented a Member State of the United Nations.

(Mr. Okun, United States)

We certainly believe in listening to all points of view, but not if that requires violating the rules. In particular, the United States does not agree with the recent practice of the Security Council which appears selectively to try to enhance the prestige of those who wish to speak in the Council through a departure from the rules of procedure. We consider this special practice to be without legal foundation and to constitute an abuse of the rules. For these reasons the United States requests that the terms of the proposed invitation be put to the vote. Of course, the United States will vote against the proposal.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): If no other member of the Council wishes to speak, I shall take it that the Council is ready to vote on the proposal by Algeria.

It is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Algeria, Argentina, Brazil, China, Japan, Nepal, Senegal, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Yugoslavia, Zambia

Against: United States of America

Abstaining: France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Italy, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): The result of the voting is as follows: 10 votes in favour, 1 against and 4 abstentions. The proposal has therefore been adopted.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Terzi (Palestine Liberation Organization) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council Chamber.

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

Members of the Council have before them document S/19868, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by Algeria, Argentina, Nepal, Senegal, Yugoslavia and Zambia.

(spoke in Arabic)

The first speaker is the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. MUNTASSER (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (interpretation from Arabic): The delegation of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya is very pleased, Sir, to see you, the representative of sisterly Algeria, presiding over the work of the Security Council for this month. My delegation is confident that your well-known political skill and experience will bring success to the Council's work.

I wish also to thank your predecessor, our friend the representative of Zambia, Ambassador Zuze, who skilfully guided the work of the Council last month.

The Security Council is meeting once again to consider blatant aggression against the security, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon, which is a peace-loving Member of this Organization. That aggression is being committed in disregard of all the norms of international law and the Charter of the United Nations. It is but the latest link in the chain of terrorist acts of aggression perpetrated by a racist entity against various Arab countries.

Recently, the Security Council met to consider naked aggression committed with impunity against another peaceful Arab country, located thousands of kilometres from that entity. That aggression resulted in the assassination of the Palestinian militant Khalil al-Wazir.

(Mr. Muntasser, Libyan
Arab Jamahiriya)

Earlier, that entity had launched aggression against Baghdad, destroying purely peaceful nuclear facilities under international supervision, and today it is threatening another Arab country: Saudi Arabia.

The arrogance of this racist entity and its contempt for the international community were underscored when its Minister of War, the terrorist Yitzhak Rabin, stated as his troops were forcing their way into Lebanon that they would commit aggression and do what they wanted, when they wanted, with Lebanon.

This aggression will not be the last in the series unless the aggressor is punished in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

By perpetrating these acts of aggression, the Zionist entity is attempting to divert international attention from the great Palestinian uprising which has continued for the past five months. That uprising has revealed the sham nature of the entity to a misled international community which had believed that entity to be a democratic society. The events of the past months, which were witnessed by the entire world through the television and other media, revealed to all the inherently aggressive nature of that racist entity, which is no different from nazism. As a matter of fact, it has surpassed nazism in its barbarism.

(Mr. Muntasser, Libyan
Aran Jamahiriya)

According to the Charter, the Council has a special responsibility to condemn the aggressor and to stop its aggression. My delegation strongly condemns this barbaric act of aggression against Lebanon's sovereignty and territorial integrity; it violates the United Nations Charter, international laws and norms, and resolutions of the Security Council. We ask and call on the Council to punish severely the aggressor in keeping with the provisions of the this Organization's Charter, otherwise we shall find ourselves in a society where the law of the jungle prevails and survival is for the fittest.

There is no doubt that the unlimited support given by some of the permanent members of the Security Council to the racist entity is the greatest encouragement for it to continue its aggression against Arab countries. We call upon those who shed crocodile tears for what they call "the victims of terrorism" while encouraging the racist entities in both Pretoria and Palestine to commit all sorts of terrorism against peaceful peoples, independent sovereign States, Members of this Organization, to put an end to this duplicity. When will the duplicity and political hypocrisy stop?

The delegation of the Jamahiriya expresses its full solidarity with, and complete support of, the sisterly Lebanese people in its steadfastness against the barbarism of the Zionist enemy. We support its just struggle to liberate its land and preserve its unity and territorial integrity.

My delegation affirms that there will be no stability or peace in the region without the Palestinian people's exercising all its inalienable rights, including those to self-determination, return to its home and the establishment of its own independent State on Palestinian soil, under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), its sole, legitimate representative.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Arabic): I thank the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya for the kind words be addressed to my country and to me.

Mr. DELPECH (Argentina) (interpretation from Spanish): It is a pleasure for me to be able to begin this statement by congratulating you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of this body for the month of May. Argentina and Algeria maintain strong bonds of solidarity and friendship, which have been reflected in political concurrence on a broad range of common concerns. Furthermore and in a personal capacity, I can also say with great satisfaction that your career as a diplomat, your rich international experience and your keen political tact guarantee and allow us to foresee that you will meet ably the many problems that, no doubt, this body will have before it this month.

I also wish to take this opportunity to congratulate Ambassador Peter Zuze, who throughout the month of April stood firmly and with authority at the not always wieldy helm of the Security Council. I request the delegation of Zambia to transmit those words to Ambassador Zuze.

Last Monday, 2 May, a large contingent of Israeli forces crossed the southern Lebanese border. This new invasion of Lebanon is wholly unwarranted and only makes worse the already critical situation in that country, with consequent implications for the region.

This is not the first time that the Security Council has met to analyse such a situation. A little over 10 years ago, in March 1978, this body adopted resolution 425 (1978) which, inter alia, called for the withdrawal of Israeli forces. In addition, at that time the Security Council established the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL), the main purpose of which was - and I must say that it continues to be - that of

(Mr. Delpech, Argentina)

"... confirming the withdrawal of Israeli forces, restoring international peace and security and assisting the Government of Lebanon in ensuring the return of its effective authority in the area..."

That threefold objective must be considered as an indivisible whole, and that is why today, as yesterday, it is obvious that as the Secretary-General pointed out in his statement last Tuesday, 3 May:

"... peace and security along the border between Lebanon and Israel, including the cessation of attacks across the border in both directions, can be achieved only through the full implementation of Security Council resolution 425 (1978), which calls for the withdrawal of Israel's forces from all Lebanese territory".

One of the essential principles on which the entire legal edifice of international relations rests is that of the non-use of force, a principle which is enshrined in our Organization's Charter. This principle takes on a special relevancy in this case, in which the survival as a national State of a non-aligned, peace-loving country with which the Republic of Argentina maintains close historical ties is seriously threatened.

The delegation of Argentina is firmly convinced of the need for full and thorough compliance with previous resolutions adopted by the Council, particularly resolutions 425 (1978) - from which I have quoted - 426 (1978), 508 (1982) and 509 (1982). Those resolutions contain all the elements which my Government considers to be valid for a just and lasting solution to the problem of Lebanon. In like manner and in keeping with the decisions adopted by this body on previous occasions, my delegation reiterates that it is imperative for all foreign forces to withdraw from Lebanon, so that Lebanon's sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity may ultimately be respected.

(Mr. Delpech, Argentina)

History is rich in examples of the fact that there is no substitute or alternative to a peaceful settlement of international problems. Consequently the Security Council once again has before it today the opportunity to shoulder its responsibilities and bring about the necessary preconditions for Lebanon to exercise its sovereign right freely to determine its future, without any external pressure. The Lebanese people, which has suffered so much in recent years, deserves that future of peace and prosperity which only the firm, concerted action of this Council can assure.

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

Mr. RANA (Nepal): I have the great pleasure of extending to you, Sir, our sincere felicitations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of May. You represent a country with which Nepal shares a deep commitment to the ideals of non-alignment and the principles of peace, co-operation and development. For me personally, it has been a pleasure to work closely with you both inside and outside the Council. I am sure you will guide the Council's work with wisdom and skill.

I avail myself of this opportunity to express our deep appreciation to my good friend and colleague Ambassador Peter Zuze of Zambia for the dedication and distinction with which he conducted the Council's proceedings during the month of April.

The Security Council is meeting, once again, to consider an issue which has unfortunately become all too familiar. The repeated Israeli violations of Lebanon's territorial integrity and sovereignty cannot but cause outrage. Those actions are contrary to the principles of the United Nations Charter and the norms guiding relations between States. Lebanon, a small non-aligned country, has long been the victim of a destructive civil war.

(Mr. Rana, Nepal)

The problems facing Lebanon have been further compounded by a massive Israeli invasion in 1982 and by a series of military actions since then. I do not wish at this stage to go into details of the recent Israeli invasion. They were eloquently presented with evidence by the representative of Lebanon. The Israeli authorities have repeatedly asserted that they have no territorial ambitions in Lebanon and that their military operations are limited in duration and purpose. This is belied by Israel's continued presence in southern Lebanon and its frequent incursions into other parts of the country with impunity and arrogance. As we support the right of Israel to exist in peace within secure boundaries, so also do we support the right of every other State in the region to live in peace without outside intervention or interference. Nepal unequivocally rejects the policy of safeguarding the security of one country at the expense of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of another State.

The Israeli invasion of southern Lebanon is a matter of great concern to us also because it violates once again the stated objective of the Security Council and undermines the effectiveness of the peace-keeping operations in Lebanon. Nepal fully and firmly supports Security Council resolution 425 (1978) designed to ensure strict respect for the territorial integrity, sovereignty and political independence of Lebanon within its internationally recognized boundaries. This support is demonstrated in concrete terms by our participation in the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL). I take this opportunity to appeal to all parties concerned to respect the mandate of UNIFIL, which has been doing laudable work in most trying circumstances. It is absolutely important that no party should be allowed to obstruct the Council's decisions on Lebanon and impede the mandate of UNIFIL.

The draft resolution before us addresses itself to these concerns. My delegation hopes that it will receive the unanimous support of the Security

(Mr. Rana, Nepal)

Council. Such a decision would be a step towards the implementation of other Council resolutions on Lebanon, in particular resolution 425 (1978).

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

Mr. LI Luye (China) (interpretation from Chinese): Please allow me, Sir, warmly to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. Your enthusiasm, dedication and keen sense of responsibility in the affairs of the Security Council have convinced me that under your guidance the work of the Security Council this month will proceed smoothly and achieve fruitful results. The Chinese delegation wishes to pledge its full co-operation to you so as to give expression to the traditional friendship and co-operation between our two Governments and peoples. I should also like to express my appreciation to Ambassador Zuze of Zambia for his remarkable handling of the Security Council's affairs last month.

Over 2,000 Israeli troops, supported by planes, artillery and tanks have once again invaded southern Lebanon. They have conducted house-to-house searches in the villages and carried out mopping up operations in the mountain area nearby, inflicting heavy losses in life and property upon the people in southern Lebanon. The Chinese delegation condemns Israel for its new round of invasion and its grave violation of Lebanon's territorial integrity and sovereignty.

Since its massive invasion of Lebanon in 1982, Israel has not only refused to withdraw all its troops from that country but also set up a so-called security zone in southern Lebanon. Moreover, on the ground of maintaining a secure northern border, it has launched many military attacks into southern Lebanon, breaking tranquility in the area and seriously violating the people's basic right to life. Such acts by Israel have not only undermined the security of Lebanon but also added new elements of tension to the already explosive situation in the Middle East

(Mr. Li Luye, China)

region, thus erecting new obstacles to the efforts of the international community for a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement of the Mediterranean question.

The Security Council has adopted resolutions and statements on many occasions demanding that Israel withdraw all its military forces from Lebanon and strictly respect Lebanon's sovereignty, political independence and territorial integrity. However, the Israeli authorities have turned a deaf ear to all these calls. Their recent massive invasion of Lebanon represents yet another open provocation to the international community and the authority of the Security Council. Confronted with Israel's gross violation of the principles of the United Nations Charter and the norms governing international relations, the international community should join together in voicing its condemnation. The Chinese delegation is of the view that, in order to prevent a recurrence of a similar invasion and preserve Lebanon's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, the Security Council should, through collective efforts, ensure effective implementation of all its relevant resolutions, especially the provisions of resolution 425 (1978), and demand that Israel dismantle its so-called security zone in southern Lebanon and withdraw all its military forces immediately and unconditionally, thus allowing the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) to be deployed along internationally recognized boundaries and exercise its mandate given by the Security Council.

The Chinese Government and people deeply sympathize with the Lebanese people who have suffered profoundly under Israeli aggression. I would like in this solemn forum of the Security Council to express our firm solidarity with the Lebanese Government and people and reiterate the consistent position of the Chinese Government to respect Lebanon's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. The draft resolution proposed by the non-aligned members of the Council conforms to the reasonable demand of the Lebanese Government and people and

(Mr. Li Luye, China)

reflects the common aspirations of the international community. The Chinese delegation will vote in favour of this draft resolution.

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

Mr. PEJIC (Yugoslavia): First of all, Sir, I would like to express my delegation's and my own great satisfaction at seeing you, the representative of friendly and non-aligned Algeria, presiding over the work of the Council during the month of May. Relations between our two countries, as your Foreign Minister said a couple of weeks ago in this Chamber, are indeed exceptionally close and of an exceptional nature. We in Yugoslavia view with great satisfaction the very important contribution your country is making to international relations in the search for solutions to the various problems and crises burdening our world today.

(Mr. Pejic, Yugoslavia)

As the representative of such a country and because we all know your exceptional qualities - political and diplomatic - I am sure that you will lead the work of the Council towards a successful end. Be assured that you will have our full support in this.

My appreciation and gratitude also go to the Permanent Representative of Zambia, Peter Zuze, for his outstanding and remarkable conduct of our deliberations during the past month.

This is the second time this year that the Security Council has had to consider the dangerous situation in Lebanon caused by the aggressive policy of Israel towards that small, non-aligned Arab country. Unfortunately, the persistent threats to the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Lebanon continue unabated in spite of the profound indignation of the entire international community. Such unacceptable behaviour is a constant cause of instability in Lebanon and aggravates the already complex situation in the entire region of the Middle East at a time when there is a universal desire to open a substantive process towards a peaceful and a political solution of this most dangerous problem of the world today.

For a number of years now, we have been witness to a series of aggressive Israeli acts aimed at the destabilization and destruction of Lebanon. The one we are discussing today is just another ruthless and brutal action in a series of Israeli encroachments against the territory of a sovereign country in which one whole village was destroyed and many innocent people were killed.

Unfortunately, these acts show that Israel is not yet ready to face the essence of the problem, which is the solution of the Palestinian problem in all its aspects. Such aggressive acts against Lebanon and the brutal acts towards the Palestinian population in the occupied territories - which is struggling for the realization of its legitimate human and political rights - are not the way to attain and consolidate the security of Israel itself.

(Mr. Pejic, Yugoslavia)

In this particular instance Israel is using a misconstrued threat to its own security as a pretext for aggression against the territory of a sovereign country. Particularly disturbing are the claims to an alleged right to dispose of the freedom and independence of others in the name of one's own security. History has shown time and time again that a policy based on force has never borne fruit. We are emphasizing this in the profound conviction and sincere belief that it is necessary to create conditions in which both Israel and Lebanon and other countries in the region as well as the Palestinian people could live in peace and security.

In our own view, it is the bounden duty of the Security Council, as the highest forum for safeguarding peace and security in the world, to act more resolutely and vigorously to create these conditions than it has done thus far. The first step in this direction is to ensure the compliance and implementation of Security Council resolutions 425 (1978) and 509 (1982) requesting Israel to withdraw its forces from Lebanese territory to internationally recognized borders immediately and without delay. It should be stressed also on this occasion that invasion, occupation or violation of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of another country under whatever pretext and for whatever duration are unacceptable and incompatible with the United Nations Charter and the accepted norms of international behaviour.

Yugoslavia condemns most strongly the latest act of aggression against Lebanon. We support the legitimate right of Lebanon to be the master in its own house, free from outside pressure and interference. This is the only way to re-establish the territorial integrity and sovereignty of this country in which blood is being shed. It is high time the people of Lebanon were enabled to decide on their own destiny freely and independently and to reconstruct their economy and strengthen their public institutions in order to attain their national unity and aspirations.

(Mr. Pejic, Yugoslavia)

May I also recall that on many occasions, the non-aligned countries have stressed their full support for the efforts of the Lebanese Government to re-establish its authority, peace and order on the entire Lebanese territory.

The latest tragic events in Lebanon caused by the aggressive acts of Israel cannot be viewed in isolation from the overall situation in the Middle East. Recently we have witnessed a number of attempts and efforts aimed at bringing about a political solution to the Middle East crisis. The continued deterioration of the situation in the region, however, is telling proof of the need for increased efforts by all interested parties, as well as the entire international community, to put an end to the vicious circle of sad events in the continuing tragic saga of the Middle East and to open up genuine prospects for peace and stability in the entire region. There should be no illusions, however, that this will be possible to achieve without a just solution of the question of Palestine, which is at the core of the Middle East crisis. The only way to achieve that goal is through the convening of an international conference on the Middle East under United Nations auspices and with the participation of all parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the representative of Yugoslavia for his words of esteem and consideration to my country and myself.

Mr. CHABALA (Zambia): I wish on behalf of my delegation to congratulate you, Sir, most sincerely on your accession to the presidency of the Security Council for the month of May. Your skills and unfailing courtesy do indeed deserve particular mention, for you represent a country with which my country enjoys the most cordial and friendly relations, a country which has long and consistently played a leading role towards the fulfilment of the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter. It is thus fitting that as the Security Council considers this important

(Mr. Chabala, Zambia)

item, it is doing so under your able and enlightened leadership. We wish you success in the execution of your noble task.

May I at this juncture take a moment to thank all the preceding speakers who have been so generous in their words of commendation addressed to the head of this delegation, Ambassador Peter Zuze, as well as to my country, Zambia.

The recent Israeli invasion of Lebanon is shocking to all freedom-loving and peace-loving countries and peoples the world over. It is shocking because it is barely a month since Israeli forces violated the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Tunisia and murdered in cold blood a member of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). Since 1982, Israel has repeatedly committed unwarranted acts of aggression against Lebanon, in flagrant violation of resolutions of the Security Council, in particular resolution 509 (1982), by which this Council inter alia demanded that Israel withdraw all its military forces forthwith and unconditionally to the internationally recognized boundaries of Lebanon.

Zambia believes strongly in the sanctity of international boundaries. It is a principle we embrace and cherish dearly. Thus, we strongly condemn the recent Israeli invasion of Lebanon, which constitutes a flagrant violation of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Lebanon.

(Mr. Chabala, Zambia)

Israel should be made to understand that peace and security cannot be attained through acts of intimidation and adventurism. On the contrary, these acts merely serve to exacerbate the already volatile situation in the Middle East and pose a serious threat to international peace and security. This Council cannot but demand of Israel unconditional compliance with its resolutions and decisions. The people of Lebanon need and deserve peace and stability. They need peace in order further to develop political harmony and economic prosperity. The Security Council indeed has an obligation to help them attain these goals free from external coercion and interference.

Virtually all the delegations that have spoken on this important matter before us have expressed their strong indignation and their sense of outrage at Israel's callous disregard of the norms of international conduct. And in so many words they have urged Israel to respect the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Lebanon. I wish to voice my delegation's concurrence with those appeals.

Zambia deeply sympathizes with the people and Government of Lebanon. Acts of aggression committed by Israel against Lebanon are no less harmful than those perpetrated by the racist régime of South Africa against the front-line and other neighbouring independent African States in our region. Aggression by whatever country is indeed an act of State terrorism and must be strongly condemned. We, in Zambia, hold the view that in order to prevent further acts of aggression, the perpetrators of those dangerous acts should not only be condemned but be punished accordingly in terms of the relevant provisions of the United Nations Charter.

In conclusion, I wish to express our hope that, in the interest of preserving and promoting international peace and security and, indeed, in the interest of both the peoples of Lebanon and Israel, the draft resolution before us will receive the unanimous support it deserves.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the representative of Zambia for his kind words addressed to my country and to me.

Count YORK von WARTENBURG (Federal Republic of Germany): It is with great pleasure, Sir, that my delegation has seen you assume the high office of President of the Security Council for the current month. It is with great pleasure that we ask you to accept our heartfelt congratulations. My country enjoys very friendly relations in many fields with Algeria and it is with satisfaction that we see those ties growing closer. We trust that your long experience and great skills will help you conduct the work of the Council in the weeks to come.

I also wish to request the delegation of Zambia to convey to Ambassador Zuze our appreciation for the excellent manner in which he led the Council with its heavy workload during the month of April.

Once again the Security Council is seized with the situation in southern Lebanon. Once again Lebanon has suffered from death and destruction. Once again Lebanese sovereignty and territorial integrity have been violated by the recent Israeli military action in southern Lebanon. I should like to extend our deep sympathy to Lebanon and its people, which have so often had to pay a high toll in human lives and destruction.

Individual cross-border attacks, though unacceptable in themselves, cannot justify the Israeli military action, as the 12 member States of the European Community have underlined in their statement last Friday, 6 May 1988. Peace and security can be achieved only by the full implementation of all the provisions of Security Council resolution 425 (1978), which calls in particular for the withdrawal of Israeli forces from all Lebanese territory.

Therefore, we appeal to Israel to renounce its misguided concept of the so-called security zone, and by withdrawing its forces fully from Lebanon to enable the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) to move its troops right up

(Count York von Wartenburg,
Federal Republic of Germany)

to the Israeli-Lebanese frontier, and thus to fulfil its mandate in accordance with Security Council resolution 425 (1978). This, in our view, constitutes a major prerequisite for restoring peace and international security along that border.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the representative of the Federal Republic of Germany for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. BELONOGOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): Sir, I should like first to congratulate you on your assumption of the post of President of the Security Council for the month of May. We are certain that with your outstanding professional qualities and your authority, both personal and the authority of a country that is friendly with our country, a country which you represent in such a worthy manner, you will be able successfully to carry out the responsible duties connected with guiding the work of the Security Council in resolving the acute problems that face it.

I should like to take this opportunity also to express our gratitude to your predecessor, Ambassador Peter Zuze, the representative of Zambia, for his able and professional handling of the work of the Council during the month of April.

The Soviet delegation believes that the request by the Government of Lebanon to convene the Security Council meeting is justified. The Israeli Army has again conducted a wide scale aggressive operation into Lebanon under the pretext of combating terrorists. Like previous actions of this kind, the Israeli attack has brought death and suffering to peaceful Lebanese civilians and to Palestinians that have found refuge in Lebanon. This action constitutes another sharp expansion of the war which Israel has been waging for many years against the people of Lebanon and the Palestine resistance movement.

The Israeli leaders, violating the generally recognized norms of international relations, are claiming the right openly to interfere in the internal affairs of Lebanon, to send their troops to that territory and to conduct military strikes there. Continuing to juggle with hackneyed political cliches, Tel Aviv is trying to assure the Security Council that Israel is combating what it calls terrorism, although it is clear to all that it is in fact Israel that is engaging in terrorism on Lebanese soil, and State terrorism at that.

(Mr. Belonogov, USSR)

It is worrying that this major show of military might was undertaken at close proximity to the territory of another sovereign Arab State, Syria. It is symptomatic that these recent aggressive actions that flout the norms of international law should have coincided with the fortieth anniversary of the creation of the State of Israel. But in commemorating that anniversary in such a strange manner the Israeli leaders should realize that the policy of violence sows the seeds of hatred and undermines the attempts to achieve a just settlement in the region. It would seem that 40 years would have enabled them to work out a responsible, balanced approach to the security questions of their own country, realizing that their security can only be ensured by respecting the right of their neighbours to a secure, independent development. However, we must note with regret that this has not occurred.

Only two weeks ago the Security Council took up the question of the act of Israeli aggression against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Tunisia that resulted in the assassination of a prominent Palestinian leader, Khalil al-Wazir. Having decisively condemned that act of aggression, the Security Council, in resolution 611 (1988), appealed to States Members to take measures to prevent similar acts against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all - I repeat, all - States. However, to be metaphorical, hardly had the printing ink dried than Israel unleashed another act of aggression, thus demonstrating its complete scorn for world public opinion. It thereby violated resolution 611 (1988) and flagrantly hurled a challenge at the Council.

The openly defiant nature of this incursion into Lebanon is reflected by the fact that it was conducted to the sound of shells and explosions of tear-gas grenades in the occupied territories, where the Israeli authorities have for many months now been conducting punitive raids against the mass demonstrations of

(Mr. Belonogov, USSR)

Palestinians and disregarding the appeals of the Security Council and the international community as a whole to put an end to the terror.

The Soviet Union decisively supports the territorial integrity, sovereignty and political independence of Lebanon and calls for the unconditional withdrawal of Israeli troops from the entire territory of that country, in keeping with the well-known Security Council resolutions, particularly resolutions 425 (1978) and 509 (1982). As far as the Palestinian people is concerned, there should be recognition and implementation of their right to self-determination to the same extent as it is guaranteed for the people of Israel.

On 4 May this year in Moscow, the representative of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs stated in Moscow the following:

"The Soviet Union decisively condemns Israel's criminal action in Lebanon and calls for its immediate cessation. Tel Aviv should long ago have realized the truism that armed provocation is no way for it to find peace and security. The situation in the Middle East makes it imperative to secure a comprehensive political settlement through the convening of an international conference, which is advocated virtually by the entire world community."

On the basis of that position of principle, and in the belief that the Security Council cannot - and should not - remain a mere passive bystander in the face of Israel's continuing acts of aggression, the Soviet Union will support the draft resolution of the non-aligned countries.

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

Mr. NOGUEIRA-BATISTA (Brazil) (interpretation from French): Permit me first, Sir, to convey to you the satisfaction of the delegation of Brazil at seeing you presiding over the Council for the month of May. We wish you every success in your important task.

Mr. Nogueira-Batista, Brazil

(continued in English)

I should also like to extend our thanks to the Permanent Representative of Zambia, Ambassador Zuze, for the excellent manner in which he discharged his responsibilities as our President for the month of April.

As a matter of principle, Brazil has invariably condemned the threat or use of force in relations among States and any violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States. These stand among the fundamental principles of the Charter upon which international relations should be based.

Accordingly, we deplore the recent Israeli incursions into Lebanon, a new show of force which cannot but impose a still heavier toll of suffering on the civilian population of that country, constituting as it does an additional obstacle to the complex process of internal pacification of Lebanon and exacerbating the difficult current situation in the Middle East. Hence we deem it justifiable and appropriate that the Security Council should have been convened and that it express itself on this latest act by Israel, which deserves the condemnation of the whole international community.

As we have stated on many occasions, Brazil, according to the principles I mentioned at the outset, has always deplored resort to violence and terror to settle disputes and attain objectives, whatever they may be. We also recognize the legitimate right of all States in the Middle East, including Israel, to exist within internationally recognized borders. We cannot accept, however, that the security concerns of some States be met at the expense of the security and stability of others. This mistaken perception can only lead to a vicious circle of mistrust and violence which makes more remote prospects for a comprehensive negotiated settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. In our view, the full implementation of resolution 425 (1978), and other relevant Security Council resolutions on this subject, would create the conditions for peace and security

Mr. Nogueira-Batista, Brazil

along the Lebanese-Israeli border - an extremely important goal in itself and a significant step towards peace in the Middle East.

Lebanon has been a stage where internal strife has been associated with and exacerbated by the clash of extraneous forces and interests. This tragedy has brought material and spiritual destruction to that country and torn its social fabric to the point of endangering its very existence as a State. Brazil is especially sensitive to the fate of Lebanon, with which it has maintained close ties of friendship, particularly due to the presence in Brazil an influential and industrious contingent of Lebanese and their descendants - one of the largest such communities in the world.

(Mr. Nogueira-Batista, Brazil)

We believe that all foreign forces should withdraw from Lebanon, allowing that country to undertake a process of internal reconciliation and national reconstruction, so that it may reassume its traditionally relevant role in both regional and international forums.

To conclude, may I be permitted to read out the press communiqué on this subject issued by the Ministry of Foreign Relations of Brazil on 4 May 1988:

"The Brazilian Government deplores Israel's latest military action in southern Lebanon and the acts of violence carried out against the local population. The Brazilian Government reiterates its consternation at the suffering inflicted upon the Lebanese people as well as its position on the need to respect Lebanon's internationally recognized borders, territorial integrity, sovereignty and political independence, as established in the pertinent United Nations resolutions, in particular Security Council resolution 425 (1978)."

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

Mr. BA (Senegal) (interpretation from French): Mr. President, the relations of friendship and fruitful co-operation that exist between Algeria and my country, Senegal, both bilaterally and within the United Nations, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the Organization of the Islamic Conference, are so warm and fraternal that you can be sure of my delegation's feelings of pride and solidarity at seeing you assuming in this month of May the lofty functions of President of the Security Council. I am convinced that your eminent personal qualities, together with the great prestige of your country, will enable the Council to carry out its tasks successfully.

(Mr. Ba, Senegal)

To your predecessor, Ambassador Peter Zuze of Zambia, we pay tribute and offer gratitude for the effectiveness and the distinction with which he guided the business of the Security Council during the busy month of April.

The Security Council has again met to consider the disturbing situation that continues to prevail in Southern Lebanon because of the continued occupation of Lebanese territory by Israel. Since Senegal has always spoken out, both here and in all appropriate international forums, against the violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon and against the denial of the Lebanese people of their right to build a free and united nation worthy of respect I would like to take this opportunity once again strongly to denounce the fallacious arguments put forward by Israel to justify its actions in southern Lebanon.

The many communications received from the Lebanese authorities, including the statement by Ambassador Fakhoury at the beginning of these deliberations, clearly show Israel's systematic violations of the elementary principles of international law and the intolerable practices exercised by its occupation army against civilians.

We have repeatedly stated that nothing can justify Israel's laying seige to Lebanese villages, nor the searches and demolition of houses, the humiliation of innocent civilians and the kidnapping of patriots - all of which is regularly reported to us. This irresponsible behaviour shows the determination of the Israeli authorities to try to perpetuate the fait accompli of occupation and, beyond this, to annihilate the Lebanese nation, a symbol of tolerance, harmony and coexistence between people of various origins and religious beliefs.

Having many times unanimously adopted resolutions demanding that Israel abandon its aggressive attitude, comply with international law, and respect the fundamental principles of the Charter, the Security Council has clearly expressed the unanimous, categorical refusal of the international community to tolerate the

(Mr. Ba, Senegal)

use of force and the policy of occupation and aggression as a way for any State to ensure its security.

Despite the condemnations and injunctions of the Security Council, Israel persists in defying the international community and thus prolongs the suffering of the people of Lebanon. It is the responsibility of the Security Council, the principal guarantor of international peace and security, to restore the confidence of the long-suffering and humiliated people of Lebanon, in the re-establishment of their inalienable right to independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity: in a word, peace.

This is a vital need which must be immediately met in order to enable the vibrant forces in Lebanon - which throughout these long years of ordeal have given ample proof of courage and patriotism - to devote themselves, with their well-known creative imagination, to the work of national reconciliation and to rebuilding a once flourishing economy.

It is high time that Israel heed the appeals to reason the Council has issued for many years now, and for us to act in concert to restore peace and reconciliation throughout the region through an international peace conference on the Middle East, in which all parties concerned and involved would participate, in keeping with the guidelines provided by the United Nations General Assembly.

Pending a comprehensive solution to the Middle East problem, Senegal will, as it has always done, associate itself with any initiative to restore the dignity, independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon, a friendly non-aligned country.

Like our participation some years ago, in the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL), our sponsorship of the draft resolution now before the Council is an act of solidarity with and an appeal for justice for the people of Lebanon, with

(Mr. Ba, Senegal)

which the Senegalese have for a long time shared a rich, common heritage marked by tolerance, coexistence and openness to others.

The unanimous adoption of this draft resolution will, we are sure, make a meaningful contribution to the restoration of peace and stability in the Middle East region.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the representative of Senegal for the fraternal words he addressed to my country.

Mr. BUCCI (Italy) (interpretation from French): It is with great pleasure that I join those who have spoken before me in paying tribute to your presidency, Sir. The ties between our two countries go far back in history; their current co-operation is exemplary and has certainly contributed to strengthening relations between Africa and Europe. We wish you good work and every success.

I also wish to convey to your predecessor the Permanent Representative of Zambia, Ambassador Zuze, my delegation's gratitude for the dedication and personal qualities he brought to bear during his presidency last month.

Once again the Council has been convened, following a complaint in which Lebanon has decried an "act of aggression which took on the dimension of an invasion of some areas of southern Lebanon". (S/PV.2811, p. 6)

(Mr. Bucci, Italy)

The bonds of friendship which unite my country and Lebanon prompt me to express here, in especially strong terms, our condemnation of this military operation, which has assumed unusual proportions. It constitutes a serious violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon, which must be respected.

In this Chamber, I wish above all to express our support and solidarity for the Lebanese people, which has suffered an injustice. We express our sympathy to the victims and we join the bereaved families in their mourning.

We do not feel that the security of the borders with Israel can be assured or improved through such military operations. Quite the contrary, such incursions can only inflame spirits on both sides. The history of relations between Lebanon and Israel, before and after the 1982 invasion, shows that the cycle of violence feeds above all on the injury which Arabs and Israelis inflict upon each other.

To these substantive reasons we can add others. I need not recall here, one by one, all of the resolutions which the Council has adopted on the question of Lebanon. I shall simply repeat that these international acts and instruments are aimed at establishing a climate of peace on the border between the two countries through the complete withdrawal of the Israeli forces to international borders and through the deployment of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) on that same line.

Unfortunately, a different concept of the problem of security seems to be gaining ground, a concept which seems to rely on the use of force rather than on appeasing spirits and on maintaining international vigilance.

Not only is the situation that has come about in that region in which there is no peace contrary to the resolutions of our Council, but it has produced victims, has brought about destruction and, ultimately, it is an affront to common sense.

(Mr. Bucci, Italy)

We must recognize that, if that course of action is followed, the prospects for peace cannot but become more and more distant. Moreover, it is up to the Council to reaffirm its strong support for the letter and principles of its resolutions and its own purposes.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the representative of Italy for his statement and for the words of friendship and esteem which he has addressed to my country and to me.

(continued in Arabic)

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

Mr. GHEZAL (Tunisia) (interpretation from Arabic): Mr. President, it is a source of satisfaction for the delegation of Tunisia, and for me personally, to see the distinguished representative of sisterly Algeria, a country united with mine through the bonds of friendship, solidarity and a common destiny, presiding over the Security Council for this month of May. We are aware of, and indeed appreciate, your experience and wisdom, as well as your commitment and the commitment of your friendly country to the principles and purposes of the United Nations. We are fully confident that these characteristics, as well as the fine reputation that Algeria holds in the international community as a country that abides by international law and defends the just cause of peoples, are the best guarantee of the success of your task as President of the Security Council.

It is also my pleasure to express to your predecessor, His Excellency Ambassador Zuze, Permanent Representative of Zambia, our heartfelt thanks and appreciation for the exemplary, able and wise way in which he presided over the deliberations of the Security Council during his presidency in the month of April. It was a month replete with events and very intensive activity in the Council.

(Mr. Ghezal, Tunisia)

The Security Council is meeting once again to consider a complaint on yet another act of Israeli aggression that is threatening peace and security. That act of aggression, which inevitably led to the convening of the Security Council this time, was an act perpetrated by forces of the Israeli army against the sovereignty of Lebanon, its territorial integrity and the security of the Lebanese people. Those forces penetrated southern Lebanon through the international borders on 2 May. They penetrated what they call the "security belt", and went on a considerable distance into the country, perpetrating the most heinous acts of killing, destruction and demolition.

Only a few days ago, as the Council is aware, the Foreign Minister of my country spoke before this Council putting forth Tunisia's complaint regarding the Israeli act of aggression against our sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Israeli armed elements had assassinated, on Tunisian soil, Mr. Khalil al-Wazir, one of the leaders of the Palestine Liberation Organization, on the night of 16 April last. The Security Council expressed its condemnation of that act.

The world is witness to the fact that Israel commits aggression every day against one of the Arab countries, whether near or far. Furthermore, every day and every hour, Israel has its own practices of oppression and repression, which it metes out to the defenceless Palestinian people in their own occupied land.

Israel failed, nor will it ever succeed, in putting down the uprising of the Palestinian people, the uprising of stone-throwing children in the occupied territories, those children who defeated its military machine and its might. Now Israel believes that it can put down that uprising on the soil of Tunisia or Lebanon. That uprising has undermined the morale of the Israeli army as well as its settlers. It has undermined Israel's confidence in itself. Campaigns are

(Mr. Ghezal, Tunisia)

now being organized against Tunisia and Lebanon in an attempt to improve the morale of that army and those settler forces; that was clearly shown in The New York Times on 5 May. However, just as it failed in its act of aggression against Tunisia, and in the assassination of Mr. Khalil al-Wazir, just as it could not openly claim those acts for reasons known to all of us, just so its acts of aggression against Lebanon will be of no avail, and I do not believe that will raise its morale.

(Mr. Ghezal, Tunisia)

The representative of Lebanon gave us a very clear and detailed picture of the facts surrounding the Israeli invasion of Lebanese territory. One of the most shameful aspects of the Israeli army's invasion is the fact that the aggressor refers to the operation as "operation law and order." Words and principles seem to have lost their meaning completely. If that was a "law and order" operation, what would we call an operation of aggression, of oppression, of mass vengeance, of sabotage, murder and destruction? Israel claims that the operation against Lebanon was aimed at purifying southern Lebanon of Palestinian fighters. How wrong that is! The Israeli forces encountered not one single Palestinian fighter, in spite of the fact that they penetrated deep into Lebanon. They came across no bases and no armed elements at all.

Faced with that fact, the Israeli forces turned against the town of Maidoun; the people of the town were killed and the houses were demolished in an attempt to lessen the completeness of their defeat. Did Israel thereby achieve a victory over Lebanon or the Palestinian people? The despatch of 3,000 soldiers armed to the teeth and supported by the most modern land, sea and air units to destroy one small, peaceful town is not something to be proud of - indeed, it should be a source of shame.

Has Israel then extinguished the flames of the uprising in the occupied Palestinian territories? Has it guaranteed its own security, a security that has not been guaranteed by the war it has been waging ever since 1982 in Lebanon? All the acts of Israeli aggression, the imposition of its hegemony against the Palestinian and Lebanese people, have only led to greater determination on the part of those peoples to defend their rights and dignity, just as the people of Maidoun showed their determination. Those acts have only increased the support lent by the Arab States which suffered the aggression and the Arab Palestinian peoples and strengthened their solidarity with the people of Lebanon.

(Mr. Ghezal, Tunisia)

Israel brazenly claims that it only wishes the best for Lebanon. But what of Lebanon's tribulations? Who has created them, if not Israel, which has turned that former Eden into an Inferno - the Lebanon of civilisation, of tolerance, of coexistence between religions and communities, the Lebanon of true democracy, of true openness, radiant Lebanon. Israel drove hundreds of thousands of Palestinians from their homeland into Lebanon, and now it complains because they are there. It has invaded Lebanon, sowing death and destruction in its wake; it has turned the Lebanese communities one against the other and undermined the country's unity. It has set up a puppet army to fight the central Government and now it blames the Lebanese authorities for not guaranteeing Israel's security. It has cut off a piece of Lebanese territory, calling it a "security zone," and now claims that it has no territorial ambitions in Lebanon. Where is Lebanon's security zone? Is Lebanon not worthy of a security zone, a security zone not to be used for defence against penetration by certain armed elements but against an invasion by an entire army, an invasion of its land, its airspace, of its shoreline every time the Israeli leaders so wish, even if merely to raise their army's morale?

Over the past 40 years Israel has had the opportunity to learn a lesson, if it is capable of doing so, the lesson that violence, expansion and aggression - all of which Israel has practised - will be of no avail. Such practices have not guaranteed either its security or peace in the past. The way to peace and security cannot be paved with injustice or might. Peace and security are conditional on the recognition of the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and their right to establish their own independent State on their own soil. Peace and security are conditional on respect for the security of Arab States and their territorial integrity and sovereignty; they are conditional on respect for international norms and international law.

(Mr. Ghezal, Tunisia)

I should like to read the text of a communiqué issued by Tunisia which states:

"The Tunisian Government has followed with great concern and dismay the news of the criminal aggression perpetrated in recent days by the Israeli army against the security and territorial integrity of Lebanon. At the same time Tunisia, whose soil was recently subjected to a flagrant violation from the same source, while expressing its solidarity with the people and Government of friendly Lebanon, strongly condemns this new act of aggression, which merely re-emphasizes Israel's intransigence and its disregard for United Nations resolutions and international law, as well as its determination to persist in its policy of violence and oppression. The international community is today called upon to move quickly and to adopt the necessary preemptive measures to put an end to those practices, to which Israel has repeatedly resorted whenever any possibility of a solution to the problem in the Middle East has appeared on the horizon, in order to abort all initiatives and efforts towards peace.

"There is no clearer proof of this than the series of attacks and political assassinations Israel has perpetrated in the aftermath of its shameful failure to extinguish the flames of the heroic uprising of the Palestinian people. It is that uprising that has renewed the international community's interest in the cause of the Palestinian people and has led to new initiatives to solve the problem in the Middle East."

(Mr. Ghezal, Tunisia)

The Security Council has been entrusted by the international community, under the Charter of the United Nations, with responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security; we call upon the Council to shoulder its full responsibilities and respond to Lebanon's just, legitimate demands. We call upon the Security Council to condemn this Israeli act of aggression against Lebanon's sovereignty and territorial integrity. We call upon the Security Council to guarantee respect for its own resolutions: resolutions 425 (1978), 426 (1978) and 509 (1982), and to ensure their implementation with the total, unconditional, immediate and permanent withdrawal of Israeli forces from all Lebanese territory, and to prevent Israel from repeating such acts of aggression and other practices on Lebanese soil.

We call upon the Security Council to enable the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) to carry out the tasks entrusted to it under resolutions 425 (1978) and 426 (1978).

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

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

Mr. AL-KAWARI (Qatar) (interpretation from Arabic): Allow me, Sir, to convey to you my great pleasure at seeing you presiding over the Council's deliberations. You are the representative of a brotherly country which has set the finest example of heroism and resistance to occupation. Your experience and wisdom guarantee success in the work of the Council for this month.

I wish also to thank your predecessor, the Ambassador of Zambia, for the exemplary way in which he guided the work of the Council last month.

(Mr. Al-Kawari, Qatar)

The Security Council is meeting once again to discuss further Israeli aggression against another Member of this international Organization. Israeli forces crossed international boundaries and invaded southern Lebanon; they bombarded villages, killed scores of civilians and destroyed homes; they assert that they can do this whenever they feel like it. Is not the invasion blatant aggression against the sovereignty of Lebanon, parts of which have been occupied by Israel since 1982? If so, is it not the duty of the Security Council to condemn aggression and prevent its repetition?

This is not merely aggression against Lebanon; it is aggression against international law, human values and the principles of the United Nations Charter. The inaction of the international Organization, specifically of this Council, encourages Israel to repeat its actions over and over again. Israel is not short of pretexts for doing this.

It bombarded Iraq's peaceful nuclear reactor on the pretext of security. It occupied Lebanon and reached its capital in 1982 on the pretext of Israeli security and the need to liquidate the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). It violated the sovereignty of Tunisia in 1985 and bombarded PLO headquarters; it violated Tunisian sovereignty again a few weeks ago in order to kill one of the PLO's most important leaders, Abu Jihad. Israel continues its occupation of southern Lebanon and the Syrian Golan Heights on the pretext of security. On the same pretext, it refuses to withdraw from occupied Palestinian territories and to grant the Palestinian people its right to self-determination.

This constitutes utter defiance of the rule of international law and a challenge to all human values.

(Mr. Al-Kawari, Qatar)

There are several crystal-clear facts that cannot be ignored: First, Israel practises State terrorism against the entire Arab nation. If terrorism is to be condemned and rejected when committed by individuals, it must also be condemned and rejected when committed by States using their power and technology. It is therefore the duty of the international community unequivocally to condemn this terrorism. We must ensure that such acts are not repeated. The responsibility of those who support Israel in whatever it does, whether right or wrong, is no less than that of Israel itself.

Secondly, Israel's objective in escalating its aggression in Lebanon is to divert international attention from the heroic uprising of the Palestinian people within the occupied territories and to keep public opinion from focusing on the crimes it commits against the Palestinian people. It is deluding itself: the whole world knows the truth. It has become clear to all that the Palestinian people is waging a legitimate struggle for self-determination and the establishment of its own State under the leadership of the PLO, its sole, legitimate representative. The Palestinian people is determined to pursue its revolution and is ready to sacrifice all. Nazi means will not force it to abandon its noble objective, for which it has made great sacrifices.

Thirdly, Israel wanted in this instance to boost its army's morale, which had been damaged by the courageous Palestinian resistance - especially after the entire world had witnessed on television the inhumanity of that army and its crimes against defenceless men and women, including the aged, in refugee camps in the West Bank and Gaza.

(Mr. Al-Kawari, Qatar)

My country condemns the aggression against brotherly Lebanon and calls upon the international community, as represented on the Security Council, to do everything to protect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon. We join Lebanon in asking that all measures be taken to ensure full withdrawal from all Lebanese territory and to prevent the repetition of such actions, thus implementing the principles of the Charter and the resolutions of the Security Council.

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

(continued in French)

The representative of Israel has asked to speak. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. BEIN (Israel): Some of the harsh expressions and some of the extreme words used in this Council exceed the norms that one would expect, especially within the halls of the United Nations.

I shall not take the time of the Council to respond directly to every statement made during these proceedings, but I believe we should ponder for a moment and reflect on the words used by Ambassador Al-Masri of the Syrian Arab Republic in his statement to the Council.

The Ambassador used an old anti-Semitic slander, speaking of an "expansionist policy". I am shocked that none of the members of the Council saw fit to react to this libel: "... giving a free hand to the expansionist policy of the World Jewish Congress, with Israel as its agent." (S/PV.2811, p. 28-30) Can such libel, about a plot of world Jewry, be allowed to pass in these halls with only Israel reacting to it?

It is no wonder that such a slander, so strongly espoused by the Nazi régime, is perpetrated by Syria. After all, Alois Brunner, the Nazi leader, resides in Syria under State immunity; Alois Brunner - the deputy of Adolph Eichmann - who today is still proud of the heinous crimes he committed during the Holocaust, still proud of his rôle in sending millions of Jews to their death in Nazi gas chambers.

Let me emphasize Israel's position on the matter under consideration, rather than respond directly to each baseless and unfounded accusation which has been levelled at us during these proceedings.

Israel, like every other State represented at this Council, has the utmost respect for the universal principles of sovereignty and territorial integrity. It cannot, however, allow its own sovereignty and territorial integrity - which are no less important than those of any other State - to be compromised by the actions of terrorist groups which launch attacks on its villages and farms from within a

(Mr. Bein, Israel)

neighbouring country. We regret the tragic situation in Lebanon - the loss of effective central authority - and wish to see Lebanese sovereignty restored in all areas of Lebanon by a central Government which will be responsible for security within Lebanon and on its borders.

During our two-day operation in southern Lebanon, to prevent terrorist groups from re-establishing an infrastructure from which to launch attacks on Israel, we made every effort to avoid civilian casualties. Let us remember that the village of Maidoun, which has been mentioned here several times, had no civilian population whatsoever. All its civilians were expelled by the Hezbollah over a year ago, and it was turned into a terrorist stronghold of that fundamentalist Iranian-backed group.

It behoves us to remember that the fundamental problems in Lebanon are not the result of the activity in the south of that country; rather, the prevailing situation in the south is a direct result of the turmoil in the rest of the country.

The basic issue is, rather, the fact of Lebanon's occupation today by various armed groups, each of which strives to fulfil a different agenda and none of which operates in the interest of permitting Lebanon its sovereignty or territorial integrity. Syrian troops occupy two thirds of the country. Iranian Hezbollah forces, in their desire to create an "Islamic Republic", carry on with their killing rampages in Beirut. On Friday I spoke of more than 75 people who were killed in the past three weeks and more than 200 who were wounded in the fighting among the various factions which control the city. Since then that number has tripled. Today's New York Times reports that 125 people were killed and many more wounded in Beirut in the past three days.

(Mr. Bein, Israel)

We continue to believe that the only feasible solution to the problems on both sides of the border with Lebanon can be found in agreed-on and adequate security arrangements. We look forward to the time when Lebanon regains its true sovereignty in a unified country and becomes capable of taking care of its security, in the whole country and on its borders.

Israel has no territorial claims whatsoever with regard to any Lebanese territory. The security arrangements on Israel's northern border will be essential only as long as there is no central Lebanese authority capable of preventing attacks launched from within Lebanon into Israeli territory.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Arabic): I call on the representative of Lebanon.

Mr. FAKHOURY (Lebanon) (interpretation from Arabic): The representative of Israel makes it appear that Lebanon invaded Israel and that it was Lebanon which committed an act of aggression against Israel. It seems that there exists a new Israeli theory according to which Israel, after having created what is called its zone of peace, to protect the northern part of its territory as it would like, now commits incursions into Lebanon in order to protect the security of that zone. That is a new theory and a very strange one.

Since Israel has no claims on Lebanon it should withdraw from that country and implement the relevant resolutions of this Council, beginning with resolutions 425 (1978) and 426 (1978), as well as resolution 508 (1982). It is only by doing so that Israel will prove the truth of what it says. I do not think that any of the other details contained in the statement of the Israeli representative merit a response, since they are simply attempts to distract attention from the fundamental problem.

I have already said that Lebanon's policy must be decided by Lebanon alone, and I wish to reaffirm today that Lebanon's policy will be determined by the Government of Lebanon alone.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I intend to adjourn the meeting now.

With the consent of members of the Council, the next meeting of the Security Council to continue its consideration of the item on its agenda will take place at 10.30 a.m. tomorrow, Tuesday, 10 May 1988.

The meeting rose at 6.30 p.m.