



SECURITY COUNCIL OFFICIAL RECORDS

TWENTY-FOURTH YEAR

1500th MEETING: 14 AUGUST 1969

NEW YORK

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NOTE

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FIFTEEN HUNDREDTH MEETING

Held in New York on Thursday, 14 August 1969, at 4 p.m.

President: Mr. J. DE PINIES (Spain).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Algeria, China, Colombia, Finland, France, Hungary, Nepal, Pakistan, Paraguay, Senegal, Spain, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America and Zambia.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1500)

1. Adoption of the agenda.
2. The situation in the Middle East:
Letter dated 12 August 1969 from the Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of Lebanon addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/9385).
3. The situation in the Middle East:
Letter dated 12 August 1969 from the Permanent Representative of Israel addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/9387).

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in the Middle East

Letter dated 12 August 1969 from the Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of Lebanon addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/9385)

The situation in the Middle East

Letter dated 12 August 1969 from the Permanent Representative of Israel addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/9387)

1. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): In accordance with the previous decision of the Council, I shall now invite the representatives of Lebanon and Israel to take places at the Council table.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. E. Ghorra (Lebanon) and Mr. Y. Tekoah (Israel) took places at the Council table.

2. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): Before the Council begins its discussion on the item before us this afternoon, I should like, as President, to appeal to the members of the Council and the representatives who have been invited to participate in our deliberations to try to adhere as closely as possible to the agenda which has been

adopted. I should also like to point out that, in my capacity as President of this body, I definitely cannot allow direct or indirect attacks to be levelled against its authority and dignity. This is one of the principal organs of the United Nations, on which Member States have conferred primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security; moreover, they have agreed that in carrying out its duties, the Security Council acts on their behalf.

3. The Council will now continue its consideration of the item on the agenda.

4. Mr. YOST (United States of America): Once again, in a pattern that is now tragically familiar, this Council has met to consider charges of acts of violence and counter-violence in the Middle East—this time along the frontier between Israel and Lebanon.

5. I am sure that every member of the Council regrets, as my Government does, the events that have led to the convening of this meeting. It is not alone the death and suffering inflicted in such incidents that must arouse our concern, but the far greater tragedy that they portend—if, as we have reason to fear, the accumulation of them should gradually undermine the hope we all cherish for a lasting peace in the Middle East.

6. As members of the Council well know, my Government has been engaged for many months, both here in the United Nations four-Power talks and elsewhere, in strenuous diplomatic efforts to support Ambassador Jarring in his task of promoting agreement on a peaceful settlement in accordance with the Council's unanimous resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967. These efforts are continuing and will continue. We look forward hopefully in this connexion to the expected presence here at the United Nations in September of the Foreign Ministers of the parties and of the four Powers.

7. I need hardly stress how important it is that a favourable atmosphere be created and maintained as an integral part of this crucial diplomatic effort for peace in the Middle East. To such an atmosphere we, the Security Council, must make our essential contribution; and above all, the parties must make theirs.

8. It is in the light of that overriding necessity that my delegation views the specific incidents on the Israel-Lebanon border which it is now the Council's task to consider.

9. Our task is, unfortunately, not made easier by the fact that we have no impartial report on the facts of the events

complained of. No United Nations observers watch the Israel-Lebanon border, and thus the reports on which we must rely are primarily those of the parties themselves—which, as is common in such cases, do not agree in all particulars.

10. To supply this deficiency, I would venture to suggest that the Governments of Israel and Lebanon consider the possibility of stationing United Nations Truce Supervision Organization Observers along the Israel-Lebanon border. This step would not only provide a means of obtaining impartial reports on events in that area; it might also help to prevent some of the incidents and misunderstandings that have led to the present situation. In this way it would, I believe, serve the interests of the parties as well as of this Council.

11. Even in the absence of such impartial reports, however, it is clear from the statements of the parties themselves that violence has been resorted to in recent days from both sides of the Israel-Lebanon cease-fire line. From the Lebanese side a series of cross-border raids, mining incidents, and other commando-type attacks has been carried out, apparently by irregular forces. These have been answered from Israel's side by an air attack in considerable strength, presumably planned by the Government and executed by the regular armed forces of Israel. There have been civilian casualties on both sides, including several civilian fatalities in the Lebanese area attacked by Israel.

12. This is by now a familiar story—tragically familiar. The dangerous spiral of violence and counter-violence in the Middle East has gone through one more cycle, leaving behind it new death and suffering, new bitterness and disillusion, new burdens on those whose task is to make peace.

13. The attitude of my Government in this situation is well known. As representatives of the United States have stated in the Security Council and elsewhere on so many occasions, we oppose all resort to violence, from whatever source, contrary to the cease-fire resolutions of this Council. In the present instance, whatever the precise facts and whatever justification is advanced for Israel's assault upon the territory and people of Lebanon, we cannot condone this act which flagrantly violates the cease-fire and which, in addition, has struck both the armed and the unarmed, the guilty and the innocent alike. Similarly, while acknowledging Lebanon's difficulties in controlling the actions of irregular forces within its boundaries, we cannot condone the attacks from that side of the line, nor can we completely exonerate the Lebanese Government from responsibility for them. In our view, this incident cannot fairly be compared to the Beirut Airport incident of December 1968, when Lebanon was attacked in response to an earlier incident which had taken place outside the area and for which no responsibility could be attached to the Lebanese Government.

14. On a larger scale, our attitude towards this incident is applicable to the situation now prevailing along the entire cease-fire line from Lebanon to Suez. As we all know, acts of violence, of attack and retaliation, have by now become a common occurrence in every sector of the cease-fire line.

15. Let me emphasize once again that this general deterioration of the cease-fire cannot fail to make still more difficult the supreme objective which this Council has long since proclaimed for the Middle East: a just and lasting peace. In responsible realism the fact must be faced that these recurrent incidents of violence not only inflict death and suffering on many people, but also further darken the atmosphere in which the diplomacy of peace, pursuant to this Council's unanimous mandate, must be pursued.

16. The overriding question, therefore, is: How can this ominous trend be reversed? How can the atmosphere be improved? Clearly, as I said at the outset, it can be done only by a process to which both the Security Council and, above all, the parties themselves must contribute.

17. The Security Council's contribution can best be made not by attempting the inevitably contentious business of apportioning degrees of guilt or of responsibility among the parties, but rather by resolutely insisting on the main necessity: that the integrity of the cease-fire be restored, that all violence in the area be stopped, and that all concerned carry out their obligations to that end.

18. And the essential contribution of the parties on both sides is clearly and simply, in the spirit of their Charter obligations and their own highest interests, to heed and comply promptly with such a call from this Council.

19. In this way all concerned can and must establish the indispensable atmosphere in which the search for peace, which is the supreme need for all the nations and peoples of the Middle East, can go forward with new hope of success.

20. Mr. M'BENGUE (Senegal) (*translated from French*): We have already had more than one occasion here to condemn the bombing of civilian population centres. Today we are again meeting to consider the situation created as a result of the air attack launched on 11 August by the Israeli air force against civilian villages in southern Lebanon. According to the information supplied by the Lebanese authorities, that attack left four dead and three wounded among the civilian population.

21. My delegation cannot but deplore most strongly this action committed at the very time when efforts are being made to try to reduce the tension in the Middle East and at last achieve a final solution of this painful problem.

22. We know that Lebanon is a country firmly attached to peace and one which has always shown moderation in this conflict rending the Middle East. I must state here that my Government is opposed to any use of violence for the settlement of international problems and particularly to any acts of reprisal. It has always asked and still asks with the same insistence that weapons be set aside so that the efforts currently under way may be successful. My Government considers that this is in the interests of all the parties involved in the Middle East. We particularly condemn the bombing of civilian populations. We have already said this here and we say it again.

23. Mr. TARDOS (Hungary): Again we have witnessed another act of aggression committed by Israeli armed forces

against the civilian population of Arab territories under the well-known slogans of "self-defence", "retaliation", "deterrence". This latest attack, on villages in southern Lebanon, by the Israeli Air Force, using napalm bombs, rockets and machine-guns, claimed innocent lives and caused considerable damage.

24. Not long ago members of the Council were engaged in examining another unprovoked attack by Israel on the International Airport at Beirut, which resulted in a multi-million-dollar loss in, and damage to, civilian properties and installations. There is no need to repeat that there have been more than numerous attacks by Israeli forces against Arab territories since the cease-fire. The Council is well aware of them, and it has adopted several resolutions condemning those aggressive actions.

25. It is surprising, even ironic, however, that in spite of those facts and because of Israel's stubborn defiance of resolutions of the Security Council, Israel never fails to emphasize the responsibilities of the Arab countries to comply with the provisions of the cease-fire. Such an argument can be seen again in document S/9387, as well as in the dramatic statement made yesterday [1499th meeting] by the representative of Israel.

26. But questions do arise, as usual. Whose actions may be said to have been taken in self-defence: those of the oppressed, or those of the oppressor? Who is keeping foreign territories occupied, forcing the indigenous population to flee or surrender? Who has been rejecting even the idea of a political solution of the Middle East problem and, at the same time, demanding the rights of the conqueror in the area? And, finally, a very important question: does Israel consider itself committed to the same cease-fire to which it says Lebanon is committed?

27. Just a few weeks ago, the Council examined the complaint of Zambia concerning the Portuguese military intrusion into Zambian territory. Among the arguments of the representative of the intruder was also a reference to "self-defence". We can only regretfully notice that for certain Powers this expression has become a cover-up for

pure and simple aggression and has lost all the noble meaning it used to have. My delegation is of the firm opinion that the right of self-defence belongs solely to those who are fighting for their freedom and independence, who sacrifice their homes, their welfare, and even their lives, for the liberation of their fatherland from foreign occupation and oppression.

28. In Hungary many people of the Jewish belief have ranked among the heroes of the resistance against nazi barbarism; but they are among the first to dissociate themselves from the aggressive and belligerent policy of the present Israeli ruling circles. The representative of Israel cannot avoid condemnation of this policy by any dramatic and sinister reference to them.

29. As has been stated several times by my delegation in this Council, the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic stands for a political solution of the Middle East problem, including withdrawal of Israeli military forces from the occupied Arab territories. We are convinced, and history proves it, that the policy of force does not pay in the long run. The policy of force and deterrence which Israel applies in the Middle East will only lead to disaster—above all, for Israel itself—and at the same time it seriously endangers world peace and security.

30. Therefore, my delegation calls upon the Security Council unanimously to condemn Israel for its continuous aggressive policy and practice, the latest example of which is the present premeditated military attack on Lebanese civilian targets. The Council is expected to force the Government of Israel by effective measures to abide without delay by Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967, and 262 (1968) of 31 December 1968, as well as other relevant resolutions in this regard.

31. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): If no other representative wishes to speak at this time, I shall adjourn this meeting and reconvene the Council tomorrow, Friday, at 10.30 a.m.

The meeting rose at 5 p.m.

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