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1861st MEETING: 8 DECEMBER 1975

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NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

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The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council*. The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

1861st MEETING

Held in New York on Monday, 8 December 1975, at 10.30 a.m.

President: Mr. Ivor RICHARD (United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, China, Costa Rica, France, Guyana, Iraq, Italy, Japan, Mauritania, Sweden, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania and United States of America.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1861)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. The situation in the Middle East:
 - (a) Letter dated 3 December 1975 from the Permanent Representative of Lebanon to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/11892);
 - (b) Letter dated 3 December 1975 from the Permanent Representative of Egypt to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/11893)

The meeting was called to order at 12.15 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in the Middle East:

- (a) Letter dated 3 December 1975 from the Permanent Representative of Lebanon to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/11892);
- (b) Letter dated 3 December 1975 from the Permanent Representative of Egypt to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/11893)

1. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decision taken at the 1859th meeting of the Security Council, under rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure I propose now, with the consent of the Council, to invite the representatives of Lebanon, Egypt and the Syrian Arab Republic to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote. In accordance

with another decision taken at the 1859th meeting, I propose now, with the consent of the Council, to invite the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) to participate in the discussion.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Ghorra (Lebanon), Mr. Abdel Meguid (Egypt), Mr. Allaf (Syrian Arab Republic) and Mr. Aql (Palestine Liberation Organization) took places at the Council table.

2. The PRESIDENT: The Council has before it, in document S/11898, a draft resolution sponsored by Guyana, Iraq, Mauritania, United Republic of Cameroon and United Republic of Tanzania.
3. Mr. JACKSON (Guyana): We shall have an opportunity in January next year to discuss fully the situation in the Middle East, including, most importantly, the Palestinian problem. Thus, even though the item now before the Council is entitled "The situation in the Middle East", my delegation will limit itself on this occasion to the specific reason which has caused this meeting to be held: the massive air attack unleashed by the forces of the Israeli Government on villages and Palestinian camps in Lebanon on 2 December 1975.
4. Before expressing the views of my delegation on this matter, however, let me welcome the representatives of the PLO, who have been appropriately invited by the Council, as representatives of a party directly concerned, to participate in this debate. The representative of the PLO in his address to the Council on 4 December [1859th meeting] brought to our deliberations a dimension and a perception which can only be beneficial to the determination of the stand of the Council on the issue before us.
5. Since there has been disagreement in the Council over the participation of the PLO in this debate, let me state the position of my delegation. I shall do so in an attempt to avoid embracing the situation by a resort to the histrionics of a political rally.

6. The PLO, as its name makes clear, is a liberation movement designed to secure the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. It is an organization whose existence is a reality, recognized by the United Nations, and accorded observer status by the General Assembly. Certain rights flow logically from that

status—rights which, in the view of my delegation, are superior, in the context of participation in Security Council debates, to those accorded to persons, whether of the Secretariat or otherwise, by rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure. The decision taken by the Council is a correct one. It is a just decision. Indeed, if it were to be given a title, it could properly be called the “uniting for justice” resolution.

7. Turning to the substantive aspects of the question before us, it is observed from a scrutiny of the records that Lebanon has, on several occasions, brought complaints to the Council concerning attacks on its territory and its population by the military forces of Israel, and the violation of its sovereignty and territorial integrity. On some of those occasions the Council deplored the failure of Israel to abide by resolutions adopted by this body; adjudged many of its military actions against Lebanon as premeditated and carefully planned; condemned Israel for such actions; declared that such armed attacks can no longer be tolerated; issued solemn warnings to Israel; and considered taking adequate and effective steps or measures in accordance with the Charter should such military actions and defiance by Israel of Security Council resolutions persist.

8. The last such occasion was in August 1973, when resolution 337 (1973) was unanimously adopted by the Council. Since then, Israel has continually carried out military acts which indiscriminately killed and maimed people in Lebanon and violated the sovereignty and territorial integrity of its territory. Many, if not all, of those attacks have been aimed with exceptional venom against the Palestinians. But none has been as brutal as the massive attack perpetrated on 2 December. Indeed, so vicious was that attack that it evoked considerable hostile reaction within Israel itself—if the press reports of that reaction are accurate.

9. But the attack has also evoked hostile reaction outside of Israel and has been roundly condemned. The Co-ordinating Committee of the Non-Aligned Countries in the United Nations (New York) issued the following Declaration on 4 December:

[The speaker read out the declaration in document S/11897.]

Guyana serves on that Committee, and therefore fully supports the terms of the Declaration.

10. The Council will soon take a decision on the complaint made by Lebanon. We can do no less than was done in the past. Indeed we should do more. It is with this in mind that my delegation has co-sponsored the draft resolution S/11898.

11. Mr. OYONO (United Republic of Cameroon) (*interpretation from French*): The delegation of the

United Republic of Cameroon would first of all like to welcome among us the representative of the PLO, which the Security Council has invited to participate fully in this debate on the Middle East situation. That historic decision of the Council should be viewed in the context of the resolutions of the twenty-ninth and thirtieth sessions of the General Assembly relating to Palestine, notably resolution 3375 (XXX) of 13 November 1975, whereby the General Assembly:

“Calls for the invitation of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the representative of the Palestinian people, to participate in all efforts, deliberations and conferences on the Middle East which are held under the auspices of the United Nations, on an equal footing with other parties, ...”.

From this standpoint, I should like to reaffirm my Government's conviction that no final and just settlement of the Middle East problem can take place without the effective participation of the PLO, widely recognized by the members of the international community as the genuine representative of the Palestinian people.

12. My delegation, which firmly supports the legitimate aspirations of that people to return to its homeland and exercise its right to self-determination without foreign interference and to assume its responsibilities in exercising sovereignty over its territory, can only be gratified to see the representative of the PLO occupying with dignity the place which lawfully belongs to his people in the United Nations.

13. It was with deep concern and alarm that my delegation learned of the news of the massive and barbarous attack launched by Israel on 2 December against Lebanon—a hospitable land for meetings, age-old crossroads of goods and ideas, and a peaceful non-aligned country—an attack which caused more than 100 civilian fatalities, numerous casualties and considerable material damage. My delegation can only energetically condemn, as it has done in the past, this armed aggression, the premeditated, blind and criminal nature of which has been eloquently described by previous speakers in this debate. We condemn this heinous and infamous act because it constitutes a flagrant violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of a State Member of the United Nations, and because it implies the adoption, implementation and systematic practice of State terrorism as a political instrument to intimidate the Arab peoples and to perpetuate the occupation of territories annexed by force.

14. Besides posing a serious threat to international peace and security and being likely to lead to a further escalation of further serious violence, the Israeli aggression, as was pointed out so pertinently by the representative of Egypt in the Security Council on 4 December [*1859th meeting*], undermines the efforts being made to reach a just and peaceful settle-

ment in the area and is doing irreparable harm to the structure of peace which the parties concerned are so arduously trying to build.

15. My delegation would like to take this opportunity to repeat its expressions of sympathy to the Government of Lebanon and the PLO and to offer its profound condolences to the families of the victims of the aggression of 2 December.

16. It is in order to reply to the criminal actions of Israel and to redress the unspeakable wrongs done to Lebanon and the Palestinian people, and also to reaffirm on this occasion the authority of the Security Council as the organ charged with the maintenance of international peace and security, that I have the honour to submit officially to the Council, on behalf of the delegations of Guyana, Iraq, Mauritania and the United Republic of Tanzania, and my own delegation, the draft resolution S/11898.

17. In the preamble of this draft, we recall in sufficiently clear terms the well-known concerns of the Council with regard to the repeated attacks by Israel against Lebanon. The dominant idea underlying these concerns is the failure by Israel to heed the resolutions of the Council calling upon it to refrain from all acts of force in the region and to respect the independence of Lebanon and take into account the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

18. Israel's recent massive air attacks against Lebanon have been premeditated in nature and are sufficiently grave on this occasion for the Council not only to be able to call on Israel immediately to cease all military attacks against Lebanon, but also for it vehemently to condemn the Israeli Government for its flagrant act of aggression in violation of the terms of the Charter of the United Nations and the relevant resolutions of the Security Council.

19. By adopting this draft resolution, the Security Council will be issuing a solemn warning to Israel that if such premeditated armed attacks are repeated, the Council will have to consider taking appropriate steps and measures to give effect to its decisions. The operative part of the draft as summed up above represents the least that can be done, in view of the gravity of the situation created in the region by the Israeli aggression, under the responsibilities conferred by the Charter on the Council in the safeguarding of international peace and security.

20. This concise draft resolution is clear and direct; it avoids lengthy commentary and, as will have been noted, does not seek to raise the wide range of problems arising from the crisis in the Middle East which the Security Council has decided to examine at an appropriate date. Nor do the sponsors of this text wish to distract the attention of the members of the Council by mentioning acts of violence in the region of which the Council has not at present been seized.

21. Finally, the draft resolution before us constitutes a strong and appropriate reply on the part of the Security Council to the aggression perpetrated by Israel on 2 December last against Lebanon, a State Member of the United Nations. The Council must unhesitatingly condemn this barbarous, premeditated, unprovoked armed attack by Israel against innocent civilian people, an attack that spared neither women nor children nor invalids; a barbarous armed attack which, in its course, indiscriminately destroyed houses, schools, hospitals and refugee camps.

22. My delegation is convinced that all men of feeling and all Governments that sincerely desire to see a just and lasting peace established in the Middle East will vote in favour on this draft resolution, now officially before the Security Council.

23. Mr. RYDBECK (Sweden): At the request of the Government of Egypt, Lebanon and the Syrian Arab Republic, the Security Council has been convened to deal with Israeli air attacks against Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon. Again we are confronted with the question of violent acts having their source in violence and leading to violence, in a spiral which can bring only increased suffering for the peoples of the Middle East. The magnitude of the Israeli air attacks illustrate how this violence is escalating. The Swedish Government looks upon this development with sorrow and with disappointment. The attacks on the Palestinian camps during which hundreds of men, women and children were killed and wounded can serve only to exacerbate the conflict and to increase hatred and exasperation.

24. A flagrant breach of the principles which form the basis of the Charter of the United Nations has been committed. The efforts to reach peaceful solutions have been made more difficult. The United Nations, therefore, has to condemn this act. But human lives are sacrificed also in Israel through acts of violence and terror. This violence is no less reprehensible. The PLO on several occasions has assumed responsibility for such acts, and it is important that we express our condemnation of these also.

25. We cannot see how this spiral of violence can be brought to an end unless the basic problems are discussed between the parties directly concerned. In this debate, all parties, the PLO as well as the Arab States and Israel, must accept the basic political realities in the area. The right of Israel to exist must not be questioned. The Palestinian people have a right to their own statehood. The basic prerequisite for development towards a peaceful solution is that the parties speak to each other. A dialogue does not in itself hold any guarantee of success, but to refuse to participate in a debate with the opponent is to invite certain failure for the efforts towards peace. This holds true both for Israel and for the representatives of the Palestinian people.

26. The escalation of violence in the Middle East cannot be seen in isolation from its general political context. The Security Council will debate these problems in January. It is our hope that Israel will find it possible to take part in these deliberations, which we hope will be conducted in a constructive spirit that takes into account the legitimate demands of all parties.

27. The Prime Minister of Sweden addressed himself to this question only a few weeks ago in the General Assembly. I quote from his statement:

"In the Middle East two peoples look at the same land as part of their national home. The result is a tragic conflict and deep suffering in the whole region. The people of Israel have lived for almost 30 years in a State which was recognized already in its infancy by many other countries, including the leading Powers. It has a right as have all other States in the area to live within recognized and secure borders. At the same time, occupied territories must be returned in accordance with United Nations resolutions. The people of Palestine have a political identity and a just claim to national self-determination. So long as they are denied that right the conflict will not be resolved."¹

This basic position of principle will guide Sweden in the coming deliberation in the Council on the Middle East question.

28. Mr. de GUIRINGAUD (France) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, I am speaking for the first time on the substance of the subject we are dealing with since you assumed the presidency of the Council. I shall not enter into the substance of my statement without congratulating you personally on your accession to this post of such great responsibility. I have no doubt that this eminent post will be further enhanced by the competence and talent of your guidance, which everyone here recognizes.

29. I should like to avail myself of this opportunity to express my gratitude to Mr. Malik of the Soviet Union for the flexible and effective manner in which he guided our debates last month, which on several occasions dealt with particularly complex problems.

30. Once again the Security Council has before it the consideration of attacks committed by Israel against Palestinian refugee camps on the territory of Lebanon. This is far from being the first debate which it devotes to matters of this nature. The latest to date took place in April 1974 [1769th meeting]. Although attacks have continued since then, the authorities in Lebanon, as we were reminded by the representative of Lebanon [1859th meeting], being aware of the fragile prospects for negotiating the settlement to the Middle East conflict, refrained from seizing the Council of this matter again.

31. Today, we have two complaints to consider, presented by Egypt and Lebanon, which bear on particularly lethal bombings, since the victims are numbered in scores, and, according to certain sources, exceed a hundred, not including the wounded. Contrary to previous situations, these bombings are not reprisals against terrorist actions waged on the territory of Israel. As avowed by the Israeli authorities themselves, these are operations of a preventive nature. At any rate, neither reprisals, nor, above all, prevention are concepts which are accepted in international relations. While we protest against all violence, whatever its origin, we must recognize that when it involves a responsible Government, which is bound to comply with the rules of the Organization, the requirements of the international community may be far more pressing.

32. Accordingly, the Government of France condemns most firmly the action which has been undertaken against Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon. We consider these operations to be inadmissible, presented as being of a preventive nature and which lead to massacres where innocent civilians are included and in particular, women and children, Palestinians as well as Lebanese. We refuse to accept that a chain reaction of violence is to be considered as inevitable. We consider that it is our duty to try to break that chain reaction.

33. Further, it is a fact that the Israeli actions of 2 December have been unanimously deplored, as is proved in the press articles which have been published even in organs which wish to evince understanding and sympathy for the Jewish State's concern for its security. These articles are known to all, and in any case to those who are primarily concerned since they are also to be found in the Israeli press.

34. But beyond these legitimate references to legal and moral criteria, the Israeli actions seem to us to be all the more reprehensible since they occur at a time when Lebanon itself is enduring an ordeal, as we all know, and thereby aggravate the sufferings of a people to which France is linked by close ties of friendship. We attach the utmost importance to respecting the security and the integrity of Lebanon. We are all aware of the praiseworthy and difficult efforts it has made to remain outside from the conflict, despite the hospitality given on its soil to numerous Palestinian refugees. We consider too, that the stability of the Lebanese State is an essential element for balance in the Middle East, and we therefore wonder how the Israeli authorities can be unaware of the very grave consequences, for this balance, of actions such as those of 2 December.

35. On the other hand, what is also at stake, as all the speakers who preceded me have emphasized, are the prospects for negotiation. These are uncertain and fragile. The evident and natural solidarity which unites the Arab States to the Palestinian people

leads them to consider any action against it as affecting themselves. Israel cannot, therefore, hope to start the negotiations it calls for if at the same time it threatens and strikes on Arab soil a branch of the Arab people.

36. Thus the peace efforts made by one and all encounter not only major obstacles because of the principal facts of the conflict, but also tragic episodes which create a nefarious tension likely to jeopardize the over-all settlement. But if one cannot avoid obstacles, it is up to us, on the other hand, to avoid a repetition of these episodes. It is regrettable that in these matters the resolutions of the Council have remained ineffectual as a series of pious hopes. While condemning Israel for its latest raids in the territory of Lebanon, we wish today firmly to warn Israel to abstain in future from actions which strike at a population, already sorely tried, jeopardize the restoration of balance of Lebanon and threatens prospects for negotiation.

37. Mr. HUANG Hua (China) (*translation from Chinese*): First of all, allow me, in the name of the Chinese delegation, to express our warm welcome to the representatives of the PLO who are participating in the debates of the Security Council. The Council has been considering the Middle East question for nearly three decades, but this is the first time that the representatives of the PLO have participated in the Security Council debate on the Middle East and Palestinian question. This is the legitimate right of the Palestinian people, which has won the support of the Third World countries and other justice-upholding countries.

38. The Chinese delegation has listened attentively to the speeches made by the representatives of Lebanon and other Arab countries as well as the speech made by the representative of the PLO. We fully support their solemn indictment against the fresh atrocities of aggression committed by the Israeli Zionists. The irrefutable fact is: On 2 December, Israel sent large number of aircraft to invade Lebanon, carrying out wanton and indiscriminate bombing raids against some villages and refugee camps in the northern and southern parts of Lebanon, killing and wounding over 200 innocent Lebanese and Palestinian civilians, many of whom were old folk, women and children, thus creating another shocking incident in cold blood. This is one more serious crime of aggression committed by the Israeli Zionists against the Arab and Palestinian people and a new debt of blood owed by the Israeli Zionists to the Arab and Palestinian people. The Chinese Government and people express great indignation at the atrocities of aggression committed by the Israeli authorities, extend our deep sympathy for all the victims and their families and give our firm support to the solemn position taken by the Lebanese Government and people, the other Arab countries and the Palestinian people in strong condemnation of the Israeli atrocities of aggression.

39. The fact that the Israeli Zionists should be so outrageous and rampant in frequently invading Lebanon is evidently neither an accident nor an isolated incident. This clearly shows that the Israeli authorities are trying to intimidate the Arab and Palestinian people by means of bloody massacre so as to facilitate the continued pursuance of their policies of aggression and expansion. The Arab and Palestinian people as well as all the justice-upholding countries and peoples have repeatedly condemned the Israeli authorities for their crimes of aggression and expansion and demanded their withdrawal from all the occupied Arab territories and the restoration of the national rights of the Palestinian people. Turning a deaf ear to all this, the Israeli authorities have instead exacerbated their atrocities of aggression. Fundamentally speaking, the Israeli Zionists dare to do so many evils in such a truculent way because they have the support and abetment of the super-Powers in different ways. Meanwhile, the situation of "no war, no peace" which the latter have deliberately created and tried hard to maintain in the Middle East for the needs of their contention for hegemony has also provided the objective conditions for Israel's continued pursuance of its policies of aggression and expansion.

40. The Chinese Government and people have always firmly supported the Arab and Palestinian peoples in their just struggles against zionism and hegemonism and for the recovery of their lost territories and the restoration of their national rights. We are resolutely opposed to Israeli aggression and the super-Power contention and expansion in the Middle East. This position of ours is firm and unshakable.

41. The Security Council should uphold justice and take a clear-cut attitude vis-à-vis the naked atrocities of aggression committed by the Israeli authorities. In the view of the Chinese delegation, the Security Council should adopt a resolution strongly condemning the atrocities of aggression committed by the Israeli authorities and demanding an immediate end to all Israeli acts of aggression; at the same time, the Council should call on the people of the world to give firm support to the Government and people of Lebanon as well as the Palestinian and other Arab peoples in their just struggle against Israeli aggression. We are convinced that the entire Arab and Palestinian people will draw due lessons from the Israeli crimes of aggression, unite even more closely and carry through to the end the just struggle against Israeli aggression and expansion.

42. The Chinese delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution submitted by the five non-aligned States—Guyana, Iraq, Mauritania, United Republic of Cameroon and United Republic of Tanzania. The Chinese delegation wishes to point out in particular that we cannot accept any amendment designed to equate the aggressor and those who commit atrocities with the victim of aggression and atrocities. For this would not only be confounding the black and

white and distorting the facts, but would be most unjust and tantamount to condoning the aggressor and the atrocities.

43. Mr. KANE (Mauritania) (*interpretation from French*): Before going into the substance of the matter before the Council, I should like to express the deep satisfaction of my delegation at seeing the representatives of the PLO seated around this table as the legitimate representatives of the Palestine people. I should like to congratulate them for their discreet but effective diplomatic action which led to recognition by the Security Council of the right already recognized to them by the General Assembly. While my delegation is rightly pleased with the decision taken by the Council, which certainly goes along with the current of history, we cannot hide our horror at the tragedy and mourning which has struck the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples.

44. Once again the world, and the Council, have been witnesses of an aggression deliberately committed by Israel against the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples, the obvious purpose of which was to defy international public opinion and the Security Council. The cruel bombings carried out by the Israeli army in Lebanon, which have caused hundreds of innocent victims, will once again be added to the long list of deliberate acts of genocide knowingly planned by Israel against the Palestinian people.

45. Five deliberate acts of aggression have been committed by Israel against Lebanon since 1967. While the Palestinians live in every country of the Middle East, particularly in the Arab States bordering Israel, why is Lebanon the favourite target of Israeli bombings? The obvious reason, which escapes no one, not even the friends of Israel, goes beyond the simplistic explanations given here and there by the representatives of Israel to justify deliberately organized aggression designed to spread disorder in Lebanon itself.

46. Lebanon, in fact, has always been a land of balanced politics, exemplary democracy and religious tolerance, a land where Jews, Christians and Moslems have lived together in harmony and mutual respect.

Such an example of stability amid religious diversity can only serve to undermine the favourite thesis of Israel, according to which it is difficult for Jews, Christians and Moslems to live side by side in the same country.

47. To justify the unjustifiable and to continue to defend that thesis which is clearly based on racism, the Government of Israel seeks to pit Palestinians against Lebanese and Christians against Moslems. It is this policy of aggression supported by great expenditures, that has led to the confusion which Lebanon is now experiencing. In the opinion of the Government of Israel, therefore, Lebanese democracy must be destroyed at all costs in order to justify the dictatorship of Zionism over the other peoples living in Palestine, including the Jews of Palestinian origin. Such an objective, where religion is used for racist purposes and for economic exploitation, may well cause additional innocent victims in Lebanon unless the Security Council takes the necessary measures to halt Israeli bombings and impose the force of international law.

48. Violence, however intensive, will in any case not sap the will of the Palestinian people to reconquer their inalienable rights. The recovery of the Palestinian homeland usurped by the Zionists will be achieved all the more rapidly since the Palestinian people—Jews, Christians and Moslems alike—enjoy the unreserved support of the international community.

49. Before concluding, I should like on behalf of my country, my Government and my delegation to express to the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples our heartfelt condolences for the cruel losses they have suffered as a result of the bombings carried out by the Israeli army in Lebanon. In the harsh ordeal they are enduring they can once again rely on the active and brotherly solidarity of the Government and people of Mauritania.

The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.

Notes

¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirtieth Session, Plenary Meetings, 2401st meeting.*