



Security Council

PROVISIONAL

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ENGLISH

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWO THOUSAND SIX HUNDRED
AND SEVENTY-THIRD MEETINGHeld at Headquarters, New York,
on Monday, 14 April 1986, at 11 a.m.President: Mr. de KEMOULARIA

(France)

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

Mr. WOOLCOTT
Mr. GARVALOV
Mr. LI Luye
Mr. BALE
Mr. BIERRING
Mr. DUNEVI
Mr. RAKOTONDRAMBOA
Mr. KASEMSRI
Mr. MOHAMMED
Mr. DUBININ
Mr. AL-SHAALI

Mr. GORE-BOOTH
Mr. OKUN
Mr. AGUILAR

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The meeting was called to order at 12.10 p.m.

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): Before proceeding to the adoption of the agenda, I wish to say to my colleagues in the Council that I have noted with regret that today's edition of the Journal of the United Nations makes no reference to the present meeting of the Security Council. I am aware that our last meeting was held on Saturday and it was only late Saturday afternoon that we decided to convene a meeting this morning. It would have been desirable for the information services to have revised the text to include an announcement of this meeting in this morning's Journal. In any event, as I noted this morning, the press, of course, made no reference to today's meeting.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

LETTER DATED 12 APRIL 1986 FROM THE CHARGE D'AFFAIRES A.I. OF THE PERMANENT MISSION OF MALTA TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/17982)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): In conformity with decisions taken at the 2672nd meeting, I invite the representative of Malta to take a place at the Council table; I invite the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to take the place reserved for him at the side of the Council Chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Borg (Malta) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Azzarouk (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council Chamber.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Syrian Arab Republic, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, and with the consent of the Council,

(The President)

I propose 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-Atassi (Syrian Arab Republic) and Mr. Oudovenko (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received a letter dated 14 April 1986 from the Permanent Representative of the United Arab Emirates to the United Nations, which reads as follows:

"I have the honour to request the Security Council to extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to His Excellency Mr. Clovis Maksoud, Permanent Observer of the League of Arab States to the United Nations, in connection with the consideration of the item on the Council's agenda, entitled 'Letter dated 12 April 1986 from the Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Malta to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/17982)'."

That letter will be issued as document S/17985.

If there is no objection, I shall take it that the Council decides to invite Mr. Clovis Maksoud under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

The Security Council will now resume its consideration of the item on its agenda. Members of the Council have before them document S/17984, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by Malta.

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. AZZAROUK (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (interpretation from Arabic): It gives me great pleasure at the outset, Sir, to convey to you our best wishes on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. We have full confidence that you will guide the Council's work with your well known wisdom, statesmanship and long experience.

It is a pleasure for me also to convey our appreciation and gratitude to your predecessor, His Excellency Ambassador Ole Bierring, Permanent Representative of Denmark, for the exemplary and outstandingly skillful manner in which he successfully conducted the Council's work last month.

This Council has not yet concluded its consideration of the complaint brought to it by the Soviet Union, Malta and the group of Arab States concerning the United States act of armed aggression against the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya; that complaint remains before the Council. Today, the Council is convened once more at the request of Malta to consider new preparations for a further act of aggression against the Jamahiriya being planned by the United States of America.

At present, United States aircraft carriers and many other naval vessels are stationed off Libya's shores with the aim of committing a new act of armed aggression on the pretext of "revenge" against the Jamahiriya for acts whose perpetrators have not yet been determined. At every level, the Jamahiriya has denied any connection whatsoever with the acts which have been invoked by the United States of America as a pretext for committing aggression against the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya.

Two weeks ago the United States invoked "freedom of navigation" as a pretext for its flagrant act of armed aggression against the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya; it violated Libya's territorial waters and the sovereignty of Libya's shores when it launched missiles at civilian targets in Libyan territorial waters and on Libyan territory, in violation of the United Nations Charter and the norms of international law.

(Mr. Azzerouk, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

That blatant act of armed aggression was denounced by the international community and condemned by all those who spoke in this Council during its consideration of that act of aggression. All peace-loving forces endorsed the right of the victim of aggression to defend its sovereignty and independence.

But this Council's failure to adopt a resolution - the result of pressure brought to bear by the United States of America - has only whetted the appetite of the United States, encouraging it to pursue its aggression. Statements by United States officials over the past few days and the orders issued to the United States fleet to proceed towards Libya's shores constitute a blatant violation of the United Nations Charter and flagrant defiance of the norms of international law.

(Mr. Azzarouk, Libyan Arab
Jamahiriya)

There are no grounds for the barrage of American allegations, in which the responsibility for the acts of terrorism taking place in the world is ascribed to the Jamahiriya; there is no evidence for this. Indeed, Reagan already ascribed the responsibility for the incidents at the Rome and Vienna airports to the Jamahiriya, but it was proved, by means of categorical evidence and on the basis of statements by officials in the States concerned, that the Jamahiriya had had nothing whatsoever to do with those incidents.

The whole world knows that the people of the Jamahiriya is a small, peace-loving people that has only just emerged from the claws of colonialism and the agents of colonialism; that it is harnessing all its capabilities and energies to the task of providing a better life by means of development plans, with the definite aim of overcoming underdevelopment; that its efforts are consecrated to construction and not to terrorism or to any of the acts repeatedly and continuously referred to by the United States Administration - to the point that this barrage of American allegations has become a daily practice in the context of that Administration's pursuit of the policy of State terrorism.

We are fully aware that the United States, with its tremendous military and political capabilities and its wide information capacities, can commit aggression against us. Its adventurism might even prompt it to pursue its aggression to the point of attempting to annihilate our people. But there is one thing that the United States can never achieve: It can never defeat the people of the Jamahiriya, for it can never destroy the will of peoples that reject the policy of American diktat.

The situation is very grave; it is quickly approaching the point of explosion. For plans have already been made for an act of aggression. That is affirmed in the statements of all United States officials. Together, we are

(Mr. Azarouk, Libyan Arab
Jamahiriya)

witnessing a wide abyss into which the entire Mediterranean can be dragged. If this American attack were to take place, Libya would find itself in a state of legitimate self-defence; it would be bound to undertake the defence of its sacred rights, its security and its borders, under the provisions of Article 51 of the Charter.

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

I would recall the statement I made during the Council's consideration of the United States aggression against the territory of Libya last month. In that statement I said that since the beginning of this year the United States had not concealed its premeditated intention to thwart the legitimate rights of the Libyan Arab people, to violate that people's sovereignty and impede its independent policy by force. Every time something happens in the world, the Jamahiriya finds itself accused by the United States Administration of being responsible for those occurrences. That shows that the United States of America has a predetermined intention to brand the Jamahiriya with terrorism, to invoke this as a pretext for committing aggression against the Jamahiriya and its people.

Today, we are confronted with the same prejudiced campaign in the American media. That campaign is nurtured by American officials who are competing among themselves in giving free rein to their imagination, levelling allegations fraught with hatred against our people, our country and our leadership. The aim is to create a climate of psychological terrorism and to prepare world public opinion

(Mr. Azkarouk, Libyan Arab
Jamahiriya)

for an act of armed aggression against the sovereignty, integrity and security of my country: a Member of the International Organization, in which the Security Council has pride of place in the task of promoting credibility in regard to the provisions of the Charter for deterring the use of brute force against the rights of the Member States.

On the other hand, we see that the United States has over the past few months been exerting intense pressure on its allies in Europe, in instigating those States to impose an economic boycott on the Jamahiriya. It has now brought new pressures to bear on those allies to collaborate with it in an act of armed aggression against the Jamahiriya. A number of those allies have resisted American pressure. That is why the world was as surprised as we were by the statements by Lord Carrington and General Rogers to the effect that the United States could rely on the sympathy and support of the States members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) if it carried out an act of vengeance against the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. Those statements show that the United States has succeeded in bringing pressure to bear on the leadership of NATO. They show that in this way the scope of the aggression would be expanded to make the North Atlantic alliance, which it is claimed is a defensive alliance, an instrument and means of aggression against a State Member of the United Nations.

Repeated statements by American officials show that the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, a State Member of the United Nations, is confronting once again today a premeditated, flagrant and imminent act of armed aggression by a major Power, a permanent member of the Security Council of the United Nations, the organ that has been entrusted - I repeat: entrusted - with the task of maintaining international peace and security. The failure of the Security Council to adopt deterrent

(Mr. Azarouk, Libyan Arab
Jamahiriya)

measures concerning the United States aggression against the Jamahiriya last month has encouraged the United States to prepare for a new act of aggression and to attempt to enlist the support of States Members of the United Nations, including some permanent members of the Security Council, in order to consolidate its policy of aggression and make it the law of nations, as a substitute for the collective security system provided for in the Charter.

(Mr. Azzarouk, Libyan Arab
Jamahiriya)

The Jamahiriya affirms that the premeditated American act of aggression constitutes a threat to international peace and security in the whole area, to the peace and security of all the countries in the area. It reserves the right to take such steps as it deems necessary to protect its sovereignty and safeguard its independence in accordance with the Charter and the principles of international law.

I reserve my delegation's right to address the Council as appropriate.

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

Mr. OKUN (United States of America): Mr. President, it is a pleasure to see you, a distinguished representative of my country's oldest friend, presiding over the Council this month. My delegation feels confident that you will guide the Council's work with the same serene strength and sensitivity to the concerns of all members as have characterized your activities here at all times. At the same time, we take this opportunity to express our appreciation to and to honour Ambassador Bierring of Denmark for his work as our President last month. We wish to express our thanks to him for the skilful manner in which he conducted the Council's work during a difficult period.

The United States supports the view that it is the primary responsibility of the Council to maintain peace and security. In that connection, there is no action the Council could more usefully take than to cause those who are violating international law in general, and Article 2 (4) of the Charter in particular, to cease those violations. Let me make it clear that I am not speaking of an isolated instance of a use of force in violation of Article 2 (4), although that would be serious enough. What, unfortunately, the Council is faced with is a persistent course of conduct by a Member State, Libya, in flagrant disregard of the most

(Mr. Okun, United States)

fundamental rules of international law. Libyan armed forces are now present and in action on the territory of its neighbour, Chad. Libyan armed forces opened fire a few short weeks ago on American naval forces operating on and over international waters on the high seas.

As all of us in the Chamber know, the force prohibited by Article 2 (4) of our Charter need not be used by uniformed members of the armed forces of a country. That was established long ago and is a firm principle. It is just as much a violation of Article 2 when individuals wearing civilian clothes plant bombs in aeroplanes or in crowded cafes. The fact that such actions, which are targeted on innocent civilians, also violate other rules of law and are correctly described as terrorist acts in no way decreases the extent to which they violate Article 2 (4).

It should also be recalled that Article 2 prohibits the threat of force. In addition to using force, the Government of Libya has also threatened the use of force, not only against American citizens, but against anyone who is allied with the United States or shares our view that the conduct of the Libyan Government is the conduct of an outlaw régime, an outlaw régime that is prepared to trample on, and does trample on, the international norms that are the hallmark of a civilized international community. Specific threats have also been made against European cities, despite the protestations of innocence that we have just heard here at this table.

The latest reports from Libya to the effect that it plans to move foreign workers to its military bases, if true, indicate an intention to use civilians to shield military operations. That would be another violation of the norms of civilized conduct and a truly horrible abomination.

(Mr. Okun, United States)

It is the course of illegal conduct by the Government of Libya that must be dealt with. Any effort at preventive diplomacy must focus on ways and means of bringing to an end that consistent policy of violation of fundamental norms.

The use of force in violation of Article 2 (4) gives rise to a right of self-defence. The right of self-defence, as Article 51 makes expressly clear, is an inherent right. Nothing in the Charter of the United Nations restricts that right. There are, of course, specific procedures set forth in connection with its exercise. Specifically, Article 51 requires that

"Measures taken by Members in the exercise of this right of self-defence shall be immediately reported to the Security Council".

When the United States was forced to respond to the Libyan attacks on our aircraft and ships operating on and over international waters my Government immediately reported that fact to the Council. It is revealing that Libya's contempt for the law of the Charter extends even to that procedural requirement. Although Libya's forces are present in Chad, although Libya has already fired missiles at our planes and ships, and although Libya has used force against innocent civilians and civilian targets, the Council has received no report filed by Libya pursuant to the requirements of Article 51.

Facts are as scarce as a monsoon in the desert when it comes to Libya's treatment of the Council. What Libya does provide for the Council - unfortunately, all too often - is invective, polemics, protestations of innocence and whining arrogance. We are faced with a régime that considers itself outside the law, that considers itself unrestricted by the Charter, that considers itself unaffected by global condemnations of terrorism and considers itself, evidently, without any obligation to honour the rules of civilized conduct and human rights.

(Mr. Okun, United States)

If the Council is to face its responsibilities and seek to reduce tensions in the area which Libya feels free to threaten, it must begin with measures to bring Libya into the fold of nations, into that fold of nations for which the requirements of the Charter are imperatives. Any action by this Council must be grounded on and explicitly address the persistent illegal conduct of Libya, conduct which has caused so much suffering and heightened tension.

We do not suggest that the Council faces an easy task in grappling with the problems of a State which flouts all civilized rules. The task, however, is still essential, even though difficult. The Council will not be facing its responsibilities, nor will it ease tension, if it seeks to avoid the root cause of the problem. That root cause, I repeat, is the murderous behaviour of the Government of Libya and its agents.

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

Mr. DUBLININ (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): First of all, permit to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council and to express my conviction that your considerable professional merits and your authority will enable you successfully to conduct the proceedings of the Security Council this month.

I would also like to express my gratitude to your predecessor, the representative of Denmark, for his conduct of the Council's proceedings in March.

The Soviet delegation considers the convening of this meeting of the Security Council to consider the situation in the central Mediterranean entirely justified and timely. The Soviet Union was one of the States that took the initiative in bringing this matter before the Security Council at the end of March, when, as a

(Mr. Dubinin, USSR)

result of the provocative actions of the United States against Libya, the situation in that area reached a dangerous pitch. In the course of the series of Council meetings held at that time, we set forth our basic view of those actions of the United States of America, and I do not believe there is any need to repeat that view now.

Suffice it to say that the militaristic course of the use of force by the United States against Libya has been the subject of widespread condemnation, and an unqualified demand has been addressed to Washington that it immediately call a halt to that policy and remove its naval units from the Libyan coast. Unfortunately, we cannot help but note that today we are once again witnessing a dangerous recrudescence of the militaristic hysteria that has gripped the United States, in the form of a severe, anti-Libyan syndrome. Once again, a dirty cloud of blackmail and threats is rising from the shores of the Potomac, directed against Libya, and once again calls are issuing from Washington for the Libyan leadership to be taught a lesson by military means.

Of course, it is not merely a question of exercises in rhetoric. As one of the militaristic reflexes that are becoming all-too-common, the striking fist of the United States fleet is once again being clenched off the shores of Libya - that fleet that scarcely had time to quit those waters following the events in March. Highly placed officials in Washington - not to mention the United States media - are actually, without a trace of embarrassment, talking about the possible targets of a strike against Libyan territory. All this shows that the United States is making intensive preparations for a new act of aggression against Libya, even to the point of provoking a conflict in the region that could threaten international peace and security.

(Mr. Dubinin, USSR)

No matter how Washington tries to justify its preparations for a further military adventure, nothing can justify the use of force or the provocative disregard of the United Nations Charter and the basic norms of international law. At prior meetings of the Security Council, the Soviet Union had already warned that this policy of force against Libya was an eloquent testis to the policy of "new globalism" proclaimed by the United States Administration, which was visibly taking on an increasingly dangerous and belligerent character and posing a threat to world peace. Today, that assessment is more justified than ever.

In the circumstances, the Security Council bears a serious responsibility to avert a further escalation of events in the Mediterranean; it must prevent the situation from reaching the danger point and getting out of control. For the time being, it is still possible to divert the blow being aimed at Libya. Hence, as many Council members have repeatedly advocated preventive diplomacy must be used to its full potential. The Security Council must make undeniably clear its fundamental view of the venturistic actions of the United States, come out wholeheartedly in support of Libya's sovereignty and territorial integrity and demand unequivocally that the United States cease its policy of aggression, armed provocation and threats against Libya and withdraw its armed forces from Libyan shores. Only thus will the Council be fulfilling its bounden duty under the Charter of our Organization as the supreme body responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security.

(Mr. Dubinin, USSR)

In conclusion, the Soviet delegation wishes to stress that the current dangerous situation makes even more urgent and imperative a broader issue - the need to step up the concerted efforts of States to adopt practical measures to strengthen security in the Mediterranean.

In that regard a broad programme of actions was put forward in a recent statement by the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Mr. Gorbachev, and it has already met with a considerable response throughout the world. We would once again draw attention to the idea presented in Mr. Gorbachev's statement of convening a representative conference in which, together with the Mediterranean States and States adjacent to the area, the United States and other interested parties could take part. At such an international conference it would be possible to consider a broad array of measures designed to ease tension, ranging from confidence-building measures in the military field to the reduction of military forces and military activities and the withdrawal from the Mediterranean of nuclear-weapon-bearing vessels.

The readiness expressed by the Soviet Union immediately to enter into talks with the United States on the question of the simultaneous and mutual withdrawal of naval units of the USSR and the United States from the Mediterranean is of considerable significance. The idea behind the new Soviet proposals is very clear: the normalization of the situation in the Mediterranean, the reduction of the level of military confrontation, and the transformation of that part of the world into a zone of stable peace and good-neighbourliness. If such a programme were carried out, it would render impossible the recrudescence of a situation such as the one we are dealing with today.

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

There are no more speakers for this meeting. A number of representatives have indicated that they wish to speak, but not before tomorrow. Consequently the next meeting of the Security Council to continue consideration of the item on its agenda will take place tomorrow, Tuesday, at 11 a.m.

The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.

