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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.

Documents of the Security Council (symbol S/ . . .) are normally published in quarterly *Supplements* of the *Official Records of the Security Council*. The date of the document indicates the supplement in which it appears or in which information about it is given.

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.

2258th MEETING

Held in New York on Wednesday, 17 December 1980, at 12 noon.

President: Mr. Donald F. McHENRY
(United States of America).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Bangladesh, China, France, German Democratic Republic, Jamaica, Mexico, Niger, Norway, Philippines, Portugal, Tunisia, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zambia.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2258)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. The situation in the Middle East:
Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (S/14295)

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

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in the Middle East:

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (S/14295)

1. The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Israel and Lebanon in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the agenda. In accordance 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 rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Tuéni (Lebanon) took a place at the Council table and Mr. Blum (Israel) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT: Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) for the period from 13 June to 11 December 1980, contained in document S/14295. The Council also has before it the text of a draft resolution contained in document S/14298, which was drawn up in the course of consultations among the members of the

Council. I should also like to draw the attention of members to document S/14296, which contains the text of a letter dated 15 December from the representative of Lebanon to the Secretary-General.

3. It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote now on the draft resolution which is before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Bangladesh, France, Jamaica, Mexico, Niger, Norway, Philippines, Portugal, Tunisia, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zambia.

Against: None.

Abstaining: German Democratic Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The draft resolution was adopted by 12 votes to none, with 2 abstentions (resolution 483 (1980)).

One member (China) did not participate in the voting.

4. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the Secretary-General.

5. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: I have taken note of the resolution just adopted by the Council and its decision to extend the mandate of UNIFIL for a further period of six months, until 19 June 1981.

6. Despite the impediments which have prevented UNIFIL from fully implementing the mandate entrusted to it by the Council, the Force is unquestionably performing an indispensable service to peace, not only in south Lebanon but in regard to the Middle East situation in general.

7. My report describes in detail the obstacles that we face. It states clearly that the present situation is anything but satisfactory; it emphasizes that the present trend of inadequate co-operation and lack of progress must be reversed.

8. On my side, I shall of course make every effort to ensure implementation of the resolution just adopted. However, it is evident that the efforts of

the United Nations must receive the full co-operation of all the parties concerned. I reiterate this point, for it is essential that such co-operation be extended if real progress is to be achieved.

9. The developments recorded in detail in my report and events which have occurred since then in the UNIFIL area of operation indicate a level of armed activity which is inconsistent both with the resolutions of the Council and with the assurances that have, from time to time, been given to the Force.

10. I hope that all the parties concerned will soon come to recognize that the fulfilment of the objectives of the UNIFIL mandate is, in the long term, in their own best interests. In this connection, I would also hope that members of the Council, especially those in a position to bring their influence to bear, will continue to make every effort to help the Force attain the objectives for which it was established.

11. May I take this opportunity to thank the Lebanese Government once again for the co-operation it has extended to the Force. We are very much aware of its concerns and shall remain sensitive to them in our efforts to fulfil the objectives set by the Council.

12. I should also like to reiterate my deep appreciation to the troop-contributing countries for their steadfast support and understanding.

13. May I conclude by paying a tribute to the Commander of the Force, Major-General Erskine, to the officers and men of UNIFIL and to their civilian colleagues. Once again, they have carried out their tasks with courage, dedication and discipline in a situation that is, all too often, not only difficult and demanding, but dangerous. The United Nations is greatly in their debt.

14. The PRESIDENT: The first speaker on my list is the representative of Lebanon, and I now call on him.

15. Mr. TUÉNI (Lebanon): This meeting of the Council coincides with the conclusion of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly. Many, many statements, particularly on the Middle East, have been made but very little has been accomplished in practical terms.

16. Yet, this has been a session rich in symbols and lessons, and I beg to point to one, in particular, which is directly related to our agenda. Before the Assembly acted on the resolution concerning peace in the Middle East [resolution 35/207], a separate recorded vote was requested on the paragraph about Lebanon. The result was, as we all know, 144 votes in support of Lebanon, with no votes against and no abstentions. The resolution later received only 101 votes.

17. It was no accident that the paragraph on Lebanon was exactly the same as paragraph 1 of resolution 425

(1978)—the resolution establishing UNIFIL—which says:

“Calls for strict respect for the territorial integrity, sovereignty and political independence of Lebanon within its internationally recognized boundaries”.

18. The vote of the Assembly is more than a message. It is a clear and imperative mandate. It is also a vote of confidence in what was structured by and has happened since resolution 425 (1978). It is equally, we like to believe, a vote of confidence in Lebanon, in its determination to remain sovereign and independent, seeking respect for its territorial integrity within its internationally guaranteed boundaries.

19. Now, there was a further message in yesterday's vote by the Assembly, which concerned an implicit distinction between the fate of Lebanon and the solution of the Middle East question. A distinction—a distinction, I say, but not a divorce—between peace in Lebanon, for which there was absolute unanimity, and peace in the Middle East, over which there are still some differences. Hence, our repeated insistence that peace in Lebanon cannot, should not and indeed, we hope, will not have to wait for the settlement of everyone else's problems and the attainment of the comprehensive peace for which we all yearn.

20. These are not empty words. And we dare hope that the Council is fully conscious of its ability—the ability which it alone has as the executive of the international Organization—to meet the challenge and help Lebanon to recover its total sovereignty and to enjoy once again the peace that its people has merited through long years of tragedy and resistance.

21. May I also add that it is illusory to imagine that one can hope to reach a settlement of the Middle East question while the war in Lebanon is allowed to continue. Having now reached the stage it has reached, the war in Lebanon, which at one time might have appeared convenient to some, is now a danger to each and all.

22. The arguments in support of this thesis are innumerable and I shall not burden this debate with another long speech. I want only to quote, as an independent testimony, one of your most distinguished predecessors, Mr. President, Governor William Scranton, who recently wrote the following in No. 24 of *Dialogue*, the Trilateral Commission's quarterly, its special issue on the Middle East:

“Take the case of Lebanon, not that it is the only problem in the region, of course, but when Lebanon is in turmoil, the Middle East pot boils.”

23. This is the first meeting of the Council on Lebanon over which you, Mr. President, have personally presided. But you have visited my country and toured the Middle East. You have come not to vanquish but

to see, to understand and to help. Your quiet, perceptive, matter-of-fact wisdom has been a great contribution to previous and sometimes agonizing debates, where your firmness was always welcome, since it was the product of a unique blend of the intellectual honesty of the scholar and the pragmatic and gentle authority of the committed diplomat.

24. May I, Mr. President, at this juncture, say how much we wish, and still hope, that you may remain in the Council for much longer, if this is not an improper wish, where those who can speak and act for American responsibility, as you have, are needed beyond what can be admitted or confessed.

25. May I now say that our ambition would have been, if conditions had permitted, to see the resolution just voted not as the product of a compromise but as the expression of what you, Sir, personally, albeit unavowedly, would have wanted the Council to be able to do at this particular time.

26. But let us now go into more practical matters.

27. The question is clear to all of us and was made clearer by the superb report of the Secretary-General [S/14295] and by his remarks this afternoon. I shall not elaborate, therefore, on the report, but I shall merely express, over and above my country's appreciation, the regret that procedural considerations should have prevented the Council from endorsing it fully.

28. Equally clear is the position of my Government, which was made explicit in my letter to the Secretary-General of 15 December [S/14296].

29. We have spared the Council the usual exercise, so futile because so repetitious, of condemning, deploring, regretting and the like. Instead, two things are of paramount importance for us.

30. The first is that UNIFIL, whose officers and men are serving peace so gallantly against tremendous odds, must become sufficiently credible as a force to be able to safeguard its own safety and security, to deter hostile acts and, finally, to implement fully its mandate, which should culminate in the establishment of an area of peace and security and the total restoration of Lebanese sovereignty and authority.

31. The second is that UNIFIL's success in peace-keeping, which depends on the mutual agreement of all the parties concerned, must not be allowed to depend on actions and reactions in the field, but that a political and diplomatic action must now be developed, moving from the previous pattern of interventions and negotiations into a systematic, clearly articulated and strongly structured action to identify the problems, specify solutions and conciliate and co-ordinate all the efforts made in the service of peace.

32. In this perspective, it is of the utmost significance to us that efforts to reactivate the Israel-Lebanon

Mixed Armistice Commission (ILMAC) should now be, at last, under way, because we have always viewed the General Armistice Agreement as the centrepiece of an eventual comprehensive settlement of the Palestinian question, as is clearly spelled out in the text of the Agreement itself.

33. In our view, the resolution just adopted should be interpreted in this light.

34. It may, of course, become just another resolution to be added to the impressive collection of resolutions on south Lebanon—another impossible dream. In such a case, my Government is determined to seek no further renewal and to let everybody, ourselves included, carry their own historical responsibilities. We would not even object to putting an early end to the present mandate, say at mid-term, if it were reported to the Council that no substantial progress was being made or that the mandate, in its present form, was not realistically implementable.

35. Yet our hope is that this resolution will be a new beginning: the beginning of an era of peace which will render UNIFIL, within an immediate time-frame, really, seriously and sincerely "interim", which is what it was meant to be, whatever the outcome—failure or success.

36. In conclusion, allow me to reiterate to you, Mr. President, my thanks for your patience and guidance and, through you, to all the members of the Council, and to the troop-contributing countries the gratitude of my Government and my people for their support, confidence and sacrifice.

37. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker on my list is the representative of Israel. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

38. Mr. BLUM (Israel): Mr. President, at the outset permit me to convey to you, as the representative of the United States, my compliments on your assumption of the Presidency of the Council for the month of December. We are confident that your manifest ability and diplomatic skill will stand us all in good stead.

39. Our two countries and peoples share a common heritage and are dedicated to the advancement of the same goals and values. Despite the tremendous disparity between our two nations in terms of physical size and military and economic power, we stand together in the struggle for the preservation of the fundamental human freedoms in our world, for the equality and dignity of man, for social justice, for the equality of all nations, great and small, for the peaceful settlement of international disputes and for peace among nations.

40. I also wish to take this opportunity to express my appreciation to Sir Anthony Parsons, the representative of the United Kingdom, who so ably presided over the Council's business last month.

41. Once again the Council has renewed the mandate of UNIFIL.

42. The Council has on its record the position of Israel with respect to the complex issues which arise in this context, especially as regards UNIFIL's threefold mandate as laid down in Security Council resolution 425 (1978). Since this is the case, I can be very brief.

43. First, the tragic reality prevailing in Lebanon must be recognized. Lebanon is an occupied country. The occupation is twofold. Syria keeps approximately one third of its army, amounting to some 27,000 troops, in Lebanon. The terrorist PLO has over 15,000 armed men in the country, of whom over 2,000 are located south of the River Litani. Of these, approximately 1,500 are in the so-called Tyre pocket and about 700 are located in some 40 nests and pockets tolerated within the UNIFIL area of operation. As long as these non-Lebanese elements can operate within or from Lebanon there will be no real progress towards the return of the effective authority of the Government of Lebanon throughout the length and breadth of that country.

44. Secondly, the situation in Lebanon, particularly in the south, is of direct concern to Israel. Since the PLO continues to use—or rather abuse—Lebanese territory to initiate and launch attacks against Israel and its civilian population, it is the elementary duty of the Government of Israel to protect its citizens against such PLO activities, especially in the light of the inability of the Government of Lebanon to prevent them.

45. Thirdly, the situation in the south of Lebanon cannot be detached from the situation in the country as a whole. In his report, the Secretary-General comments that the situation in south Lebanon cannot be insulated from other extremely complex developments. The Secretary-General made this point even more explicitly in his report of 12 January 1979 when he observed that the situation in the south "cannot be divorced from the situation in the rest of the country" [S/13026, para. 37]. The Secretary-General went on to note that that factor plays an important role in determining the attitude of various factions in the area, "an attitude which is strongly influenced by their perception and interpretation of developments in Lebanon and in the region as a whole" [*ibid.*].

46. Without wishing to elaborate on the subject, let me suggest *en passant* that these comments are particularly pertinent when one comes to examine the positions taken by the local Lebanese villagers in the south, Muslim, Christian and Druze alike.

47. I should like to reaffirm Israel's position of principle with regard to Lebanon. As indicated once again in our vote in the General Assembly yesterday evening,¹ Israel continues to support the indepen-

dence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and unity of Lebanon within its internationally recognized boundaries. Israel wants peace in and with Lebanon. Israel has no territorial claims on Lebanon.

48. In this connection, I find myself in accord with the representative of Lebanon that the restoration of peace in Lebanon and the solution of all its problems must not be made contingent on the attainment of an overall solution of the Arab-Israel conflict and should not await that overall solution of the conflict. Regrettably, it is precisely those forces that have been working against peace in the Middle East in general that have also undermined the sovereignty of Lebanon and are impeding the restoration of its national independence.

49. It was in the spirit of seeking peace with Lebanon that Israel representatives met with Lebanese representatives on 1 December at Naqoura, under the chairmanship of the Chief of Staff of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO). As the Secretary-General indicated in his latest report, the Israel representatives at that meeting recalled that the General Armistice Agreement was brought to an end by the Government of Lebanon by its declarations and actions in 1967, and that as a result ILMAC, established under that Agreement, has also ceased to exist. However, with the desire to improve the existing situation, Israel certainly welcomes direct meetings with representatives of Lebanon.

50. Before concluding, I should like to take this opportunity of paying a tribute to the Commander of UNIFIL, Major-General Erskine, and his staff, as well as to the officers and men serving with UNIFIL. They carry out their duties in circumstances which are often arduous and trying. I should also like to express again Israel's appreciation to countries contributing contingents to UNIFIL in the service of international peace.

51. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): Mr. President, first of all I should like to welcome you in your responsible post of President of the Council and to wish you every success in your work. I should also like to express my gratitude to your predecessor in the post of President, Ambassador Parsons of the United Kingdom, for the very successful way in which he guided the work of the Council in November.

52. Hardly a week passes without alarming news reaching us from southern Lebanon about the ongoing explosive situation that prevails in that area, the deterioration of which harbours within itself a serious threat to peace and security for the peoples of the Middle East and has a detrimental effect on the international situation as a whole.

53. The reasons for such a situation can be found in the aggressive policies which Israel systematically

practises, both towards Lebanon and towards the Palestinians who have found refuge in the territory of Lebanon. In stubbornly pursuing the policy of confirming its military presence in southern Lebanon and perpetuating its virtual occupation of part of Lebanese territory, Israel regularly subjects the densely populated regions of southern Lebanon to massed artillery fire and bombardment. In the last six months alone, Israeli troops have frequently infiltrated Lebanese territory, strengthened their presence in the enclave that is controlled by Haddad's separatists and attacked various targets in Lebanon. At the same time, the separatist detachments have continued their attempts to encroach upon the area that is controlled by United Nations forces in Lebanon have added to their four already existing positions in that area a fifth one, and have not ceased their provocations against the personnel of the United Nations forces and the local population.

54. Israel's armed provocations, which have grown more frequent since August, and the provocations of the anti-Government separatist detachments that are in Israel's pay have led to an abrupt exacerbation of the situation in southern Lebanon. Massed artillery fire was launched against many regions of Lebanese territory, including regions where units of the United Nations forces were deployed.

55. There can be no doubt that the activities of Haddad's anti-governmental formations—which can only be regarded as Israel's direct agents—are aimed at satisfying the expansionist designs of Tel Aviv and will lead to the virtual annexation of part of Lebanese territory.

56. As is abundantly clear from the numerous letters from the representative of Lebanon to the Secretary-General and the President of the Security Council, Israel's provocations and those of its minions continue to the present day. In this connection, the situation in southern Lebanon and throughout the Middle East region is becoming ever more heated, bringing increasing privations to the Lebanese people and to the Palestinian refugees.

57. All these aggressive actions by Israel can be regarded only as gross violations of Lebanon's sovereignty and of the fundamental principles of the Charter, which Israel undertook to respect when it became a Member of our Organization. These provocations give further proof of the stubborn reluctance of the Israeli leaders to heed the opinion of the international community. The reason for this is that Tel Aviv expects to enjoy total impunity in view of the position of the United States, which has not allowed the Council to take any effective steps against the virtually uninterrupted Israeli aggression.

58. As has frequently been pointed out before in the Council, after the signing of the separate treaty with Egypt which untied the hands of the ag-

gressor, Israel considerably stepped up its armed pressure on Lebanon and further increased its provocations against the Palestinians located in that country. There can be no doubt that the present escalation of tension in Lebanon is one of the direct results of the Camp David collusion between the United States, Egypt and Israel.

59. The Soviet delegation considers that the resolution just adopted by the Council is a weak one since it contains no condemnation of the aggressive actions of Israel and the Haddad separatists that are acting on its orders.

60. The Soviet delegation would like to stress that, in connection with our consideration of the mandate of the United Nations forces in Lebanon, the Council should have adopted a resolution which clearly and unambiguously required Israel strictly to respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon within the confines of its internationally recognized boundaries and also to put an end to any intervention carried out directly or through the Haddad separatists in its pay in the internal affairs of this independent Member State.

61. One may quite legitimately wonder how long the Council intends to acquiesce in a situation where one of the Member States grossly and blatantly violates the spirit and the letter of the Charter and cynically flouts the resolutions of the Council aimed at bringing about the normalization of the situation in southern Lebanon. Has the Council no means that would permit it to force the Israeli aggressors to respect the opinion and wishes of the international community?

62. It is a matter of regret that recently there has been frequent evidence of a determined effort to alter the nature and orientation of the United Nations forces' mandate and to vest inappropriate functions in those forces. An attempt is being made to ignore the undisputed fact that resolution 425 (1978) pursuant to which those forces were set up, quite clearly and unambiguously defined their purpose as that of first and foremost confirming the withdrawal of Israeli forces from all Lebanese territory.

63. In this connection, the Soviet delegation feels it essential once again to emphasize that it is inadmissible to use United Nations forces in southern Lebanon for purposes that go beyond eliminating the consequences of Israeli aggression in that country.

64. The delegation of the Soviet Union abstained in the vote on the draft resolution and considers it necessary to confirm its position of principle regarding the United Nations forces in Lebanon, including the question of control of these forces by the Council, the principles underlying the selection of the national contingents and the methods of financing the forces.

65. Mr. FLORIN (German Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): Mr. President, permit

me first of all to congratulate you on assuming the Presidency of the Council for the month of December and to wish you every success in that responsible task. At the same time, the delegation of the German Democratic Republic would like to express its satisfaction and also its gratitude to the President of the Council for the month of November, the deeply respected representative of the United Kingdom, Sir Anthony Parsons.

66. In resolution 425 (1978), the Council unambiguously demanded that Israel, the aggressor, should respect the territorial integrity, sovereignty and political independence of Lebanon and completely evacuate Lebanese territory. On 24 April last, the Council adopted resolution 467 (1980) and once again condemned Israel for violating the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon.

67. Today it can be seen that the situation has not changed for the better, but rather has deteriorated. The Secretary-General's report indicates that Israeli strong points have been set up directly on Lebanese territory, which represents an obvious violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon, a State Member of the United Nations. The Government of Lebanon has frequently had occasion to protest against these arbitrary acts on the part of Israel and has drawn the attention of the Council to them.

68. The aims and intentions of the ruling circles in Israel have remained unchanged for many years now. The targets are to detach the southern part of Lebanon from the Lebanese State and destroy the Palestinian refugee camps in order to sap that people's will to attain freedom. The most recent Israeli acts of aggression and the further arming of the Haddad bands in the pay of Israel leave no doubt about Israel's resolve to ignore the fundamental rights of the Arab people of Palestine and the Lebanese people.

69. The disquieting behaviour of imperialist elements of the United States imperialists in the Middle and Near East and their policy aimed at generally exacerbating the international situation are regarded by Israel as creating the most auspicious climate for the escalation of its own aggressive action against the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples. As in the past, Israel, the aggressor, is given economic and military support by the United States. The responsibility of those in imperialist circles that have given Israel direct assistance or have resisted any condemnation of its aggressive acts is indisputable. At its thirty-fifth session, the General Assembly made its own weighty comment on this subject.

70. The German Democratic Republic, together with other socialist States and peace-loving countries, has consistently favoured a just and durable political settlement to the Middle East conflict. It is essential that Israeli troops be withdrawn from all the Arab territories occupied in 1967, that the Arab people of

Palestine enjoy their right to self-determination, including the right to create their own independent State, and that the sovereignty and security of all States in the region, including Lebanon and Israel, be guaranteed.

71. There can be no doubt that the military forces that are acting on behalf of the United Nations are subject to the decisions of the Security Council alone. The resolution which has just been adopted has a number of defects. It provides no decisive measures which would be likely to put an end to Israel's machinations and those of the Haddad bands. The delegation of the German Democratic Republic abstained in the vote since we continue to have reservations about the way in which the mandate of the United Nations forces in Lebanon is formulated, and also about its composition and financing.

72. Mr. LEPRETTE (France) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, since my delegation has not yet had occasion to do so, permit me first of all to congratulate you on the assumption of the Presidency of the Council for the month of December. I am pleased to see you, the representative of a great and friendly nation with which France has a close relationship, occupying that position. Your diplomatic experience, your knowledge of the United Nations and the success you have had throughout your career among us are a sure guarantee of the assurance and the effectiveness with which you will conduct our work.

73. I also wish to thank your predecessor, the representative of the United Kingdom, Sir Anthony Parsons, for the exemplary manner in which he directed our debates last month.

74. In joining in the decision just taken by the Council to renew for six months the mandate of UNIFIL, my delegation wishes to emphasize the importance it attaches to the mission of the Force in Lebanon. At the same time, we wish to stress that the objectives established for the Force in resolution 425 (1978) continue to be fundamental. They are, it will be recalled, of three kinds: to confirm the withdrawal of the Israeli forces; to restore international peace and security; and to assist the Lebanese Government to ensure the restoration of its effective authority in the region.

75. Now, as is noted by the Secretary-General in his report, UNIFIL has not been able fully to accomplish its task despite the intensive and praiseworthy efforts which have been made at all levels.

76. In that connection, we find the events mentioned by the Secretary-General in his observations profoundly reprehensible. Referring to armed elements, he says that two positions were recently set up in the UNIFIL area, and this has led to serious incidents with UNIFIL troops, that the *de facto* forces have continued to resist further deployment of UNIFIL in

the enclave held by them, that they have added a fifth position to the four that they have already established inside that area, that the Israeli forces have themselves stepped up their activities, that they have among other things established encroachments along the international border and increased their presence within the enclave.

77. We fully support the recommendations of the Secretary-General in paragraph 68 of his report. It is absolutely essential for all the parties to co-operate fully with the Force in the attainment of the objectives of its mandate. In this spirit, we appeal urgently to all the parties concerned scrupulously to respect the cease-fire called for by the Council, to avoid all acts likely to provoke violent reactions and to make resolute efforts to bring about the consolidation of the UNIFIL area.

78. I reaffirm in this connection that my country regards the territorial integrity, sovereignty and political independence of Lebanon as of vital importance. The significance of the unanimous vote last night in the plenary meeting of the General Assembly¹ should escape no one.

79. My delegation welcomes the efforts made by the Secretary-General to reactivate ILMAC, which led to the preparatory meeting on 1 December. That is a positive development which deserves to be pursued and which we strongly encourage.

80. The Force has been given a mandate to assist the Lebanese Government to restore its effective authority in the area. We appreciate that Government's desire to increase its military as well as civilian presence in the area and we welcome the pursuit of that effort.

81. In conclusion, I wish, on behalf of my delegation, to congratulate and to thank General Erskine for the remarkable way in which he has discharged his responsibilities as Commander of the Force since the beginning of its mission and to offer our best wishes in the pursuit of his career. Our congratulations and best wishes at the end of the year are also addressed to all the officers and all the members of the Force.

82. Mr. SLIM (Tunisia) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, during the month of December it is our privilege to have you guiding our deliberations. In assuming the Presidency of the Council, you have once again given us the opportunity to witness your great talents and further to appreciate the diplomatic tact and know-how we have come to expect of you and which you have always coupled with a sense of effectiveness and responsibility.

83. In addressing to you its sincere congratulations, my delegation is pleased to assure you of its complete co-operation in order to assist you in bringing to a happy conclusion the mission which has been conferred

upon you and which, it would appear, is the most noble, since it relates to the maintenance of peace in the world. My delegation is all the more pleased to do so, since you represent a great country with which Tunisia has always had the best relations of friendship and co-operation. I should like most sincerely to wish you all the success you deserve.

84. I should also like to say how much we appreciate and are grateful for the remarkable, exemplary and typically British manner in which the representative of the United Kingdom, Sir Anthony Parsons, guided our work during the month of November.

85. Once again the situation in the Middle East is on the Council's agenda; once again we are called upon to express our anxiety and concern over a situation which knows no respite and which is becoming increasingly dangerous; and once again we are faced with the same difficulties and the same obstacles, namely, the obstinacy of one of the parties concerned in pursuing a policy of hegemony and arrogant defiance of the international community.

86. In its resolution 425 (1978), the Council entrusted to UNIFIL a very clear mandate and specific objectives: essentially, they are to confirm the withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanon, to restore international peace and security and to assist the Lebanese Government in ensuring the restoration of its effective authority in the area.

87. We must note today that UNIFIL has not been able completely to fulfil its mandate. According to the Secretary-General's report, it has been prevented from making progress towards the full implementation of the objectives set out in resolution 425 (1978).

88. The difficulties the Force has met in implementing its mandate have indeed emerged from all sides. In total impunity Israel has established positions along the international frontier, increased its presence in the enclave, violated the air space and the territorial waters of a sovereign State and multiplied its attacks against targets inside Lebanon. The *de facto* forces, supported and supplied by Israel, as is stressed by the Secretary-General, are opposing the deployment of UNIFIL, restricting its freedom of movement and that of its personnel, reducing its observer capacity, and directly attacking UNIFIL personnel and the local population of the area.

89. The facts are clear and intolerable, the responsibilities obvious and acknowledged. Indeed, in paragraph 62 of his report the Secretary-General states that the Israeli authorities have not extended to the Force the degree of co-operation it requires, while, in paragraph 60, he indicates that the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization has renewed its assurances of co-operation with the Force, and he welcomes the positive collaboration of the Lebanese Government. In this connection we cannot but join

the Secretary-General in welcoming, in our turn, that spirit of co-operation and the efforts the Government of Lebanon is continuing to make, despite its limited means, to facilitate the task of UNIFIL.

90. Our commitment to the principles contained in the Charter, as well as our explicit responsibility with regard to peace-keeping, dictate that we must refuse to accept the prevailing *status quo* as constituting an irreversible *fait accompli*. Israel must understand, once and for all, that it must withdraw from Lebanon completely and unconditionally and end its direct or indirect activities inside Lebanon's international borders. Only thus will that country, to which we are all committed, regain its unity, its sovereignty and its political independence.

91. The Council, in its wisdom, has just adopted a resolution renewing the mandate of UNIFIL for the coming six months. It has taken an important step towards a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement of the problem of the Middle East, which cannot be divorced from the situation prevailing in southern Lebanon. We hope that the Force will be able fully to carry out the task entrusted to it by the Council with a view, precisely, to allowing Lebanon definitively to recover its effective authority in the area.

92. In this connection I wish to express through you, Mr. President, my delegation's thanks to the Secretary-General for the excellent report he has submitted to us and the tireless efforts he is making together with the Council. Those words of thanks are also addressed to the countries that are directly contributing to this important peace-keeping operation as well as to the staff of UNIFIL and UNTSO.

93. Mr. AASEN (Norway): Mr. President, it gives my delegation satisfaction to see you presiding over the work of the Council. Your vast diplomatic experience and skill assure us that the presidency is in the best of hands.

94. I should also like to pay a tribute to the representative of the United Kingdom, Sir Anthony Parsons, for the tactful and competent manner in which he guided the Council's work last month.

95. Norway, as a troop-contributor to UNIFIL, notes with particular concern and regret that once more the Secretary-General has had to report to the Council that, despite strenuous efforts at all levels, UNIFIL has been prevented from making further progress towards implementing fully the objectives of resolution 425 (1978).

96. We compliment the Secretary-General for his sustained efforts, but, like the Force itself, he is dependent on the co-operation of the parties, and such co-operation has not been forthcoming. On the contrary, the report before us shows clearly that there is a lack of co-operation on the part of all the parties

directly involved. That goes for the armed elements under the PLO, the *de facto* forces of Major Haddad and for Israel.

97. Norway joined UNIFIL, convinced that the Force would perform, as the Secretary-General says in paragraph 66 of his report, "an indispensable service to peace, not only in southern Lebanon, but with regard to the Middle East situation in general".

98. We also thought—and still think—that it would be in the best interests of all the parties involved for them to extend their full co-operation to UNIFIL. We would thus on this occasion renew our appeal to them to act accordingly. The dangerous situation which would arise if the Force were to be withdrawn could benefit no one and would have disastrous consequences, in particular for the entire region.

99. Norway therefore supports the renewal of the mandate of UNIFIL and is ready to continue its participation in the Force. It is our hope that practical ways and means can be found to implement fully UNIFIL's mandate in its entire area of operation up to the internationally recognized borders of Lebanon. Respect for the territorial integrity and national sovereignty of Lebanon is a prerequisite for the restoration of Lebanese control over its territory. Thus all armed incursions across its borders have to cease forthwith.

100. My Government has not failed to take note of the fact that the Chief of Staff of UNTSO—in accordance with the expressed will of the Council—has continued his efforts towards the reactivation of ILMAC, and that a meeting between senior Israeli and Lebanese officers took place under his chairmanship on 1 December. We hope that this development—among the few positive features of the report before us—can result in further meetings and gradually meet the objectives laid down in resolution 467 (1980).

101. I would fail in my duty if I did not draw the attention of the members of the Council to the regrettable fact that the financing of this important peace-keeping operation leaves much to be desired. This increases the burden of those countries which are troop-contributors. Once more I want to stress that Norway regards it to be the collective responsibility of the international community to contribute to peace-keeping operations of this kind.

102. In conclusion, let me express once more our deep appreciation to the Secretary-General, to the Commander of UNIFIL, Major-General Erskine, and his staff, both civilian and military, and to all the officers and men of UNIFIL, for the competent and brave way in which they are discharging their duties in a complex situation. Their contribution to peace is in accordance with the fundamental purpose of the United Nations.

103. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Lebanon, who has asked to exercise his right of reply.

104. Mr. TUENI (Lebanon): When I asked to exercise my right to reply I had not, of course, heard the statements of the representatives who have since taken the floor and I think they have answered fully. I have no desire whatsoever to engage in polemics or to play into the hands of the representative of Israel by broadening the scope of this debate beyond what is on the agenda. However, I cannot resist the temptation of reading to him and to the Council a description by Disraeli of one of his adversaries in a debate: "a sophisticated rhetorician inebriated with the exuberance of his own verbosity and gifted with an egotistical imagination that can at all times command an interminable and inconsistent series of arguments to malign his opponents and glorify himself".

105. I should like to stress three points.

106. First, the condition *sine qua non* for the implementation of any resolution adopted by the Council is the withdrawal of Israel. There is no better testimony of Israel's intention not to withdraw than the statement that we have listened to today and the pronouncements by Israel about its right to carry out a policy of pre-emptive strikes inside my country.

107. Secondly, the presence in my country of Syrian troops as an Arab deterrent force and of the Palestinians is not on the agenda. It is a legitimate decision of the Arab community, to which we belong, and what happens between us and the Syrians and the Palestinians is our concern—and our concern alone. I think my country has displayed sufficient attachment to the principles of sovereignty and independence for us not to need any lessons from anybody on this particular point.

108. Thirdly, I would emphasize that UNIFIL—which we are all supporting, and in which so many people from so many countries are investing human sacrifices and shedding their blood—can succeed only if the Israeli Government is prepared to cease its aggressive, expansionist policy and to allow the cycle of violence to be broken once and for all.

109. The PRESIDENT: I shall now make a statement in my capacity as representative of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

110. We meet today to consider the seventh renewal of the mandate of UNIFIL. Once again, the Secretary-General has observed in his report that, despite strenuous efforts, the Force has been unable to make further progress towards implementing resolution 425 (1978). On behalf of the United States, I wish to comment specifically on the commendable efforts of the Secretary-General to work towards fulfilling the intention of the Council that UNIFIL be in fact an interim Force.

111. The meeting convened by the Chief of Staff of UNTSO on 1 December is an important step in that direction. It is, however, with regret that we read in paragraphs 60, 61 and 49 of the Secretary-General's report that there has been a "definite hardening of position" towards UNIFIL on the part of certain Palestinian groups and increasing harassment during the past six months by Major Haddad, and that border encroachments by the Israeli forces appear to be designed "to create a new defensive line forward of the armistice demarcation line".

112. Once again, the United States urges all the parties to co-operate in the spirit and the letter of resolution 425 (1978) in which UNIFIL was charged with the critical task of restoring international peace and security in its area of operation and with assisting the Government of Lebanon to ensure the return of its effective authority in south Lebanon.

113. The United States is particularly concerned that the mobility of the Force, including the Observer Group, should in no way be threatened. In our view, any impeding of the ability of the Force to move at will would be a grave limitation on its effectiveness.

114. Finally, we wish to record our admiration for the tireless efforts of the Security Council and of the Secretary-General, of Mr. Urquhart and his staff, and of General Erskine and his officers and men. Their determination and professionalism has ensured important achievements for UNIFIL. The Force, above all, has provided a measure of comfort to the people of south Lebanon, while at the same time ensuring that local clashes do not escalate into regional confrontation.

115. The deployment of Lebanese army forces in areas maintained by UNIFIL has contributed to the hope shared by all members of the Council and by the people of Lebanon that the Lebanese Government will be able to reassert its authority in the south so that there may be an end to the disruption and suffering there.

116. Members of the Council, I close, you will note, without dignifying by a response the comments made by my colleagues from the German Democratic Republic and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The meeting rose at 1.20 p.m.

NOTE

¹ Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fifth Session, Plenary Meetings, 98th meeting.

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