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2085th MEETING

Held in New York on Monday, 18 September 1978, at 4.30 p.m.

President: Mr. Iija HULINSKÝ (Czechoslovakia).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Bolivia, Canada, China, Czechoslovakia, France, Gabon, Germany, Federal Republic of, India, Kuwait, Mauritius, Nigeria, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Venezuela.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2085)

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/12845)

The meeting was called to order at 5.05 p.m.

Expression of thanks to the retiring President

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): As this is the first formal meeting of the Security Council in the month of September, I should like, on behalf of the members of the Council, to express to the representative of China, Ambassador Chen Chu, President for the month of August, our appreciation of the skilful manner in which he conducted the business of the Council.

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/12845)

2. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) contained in covering the period 19 March to 13 September 1978, contained in document S/12845, and a draft resolution sponsored by the United States of America, contained in document S/12848. In addition, the Council has before it two letters received from the representative of Lebanon [S/12835] and from the representative of Israel [S/12840].

3. I take it that members of the Council are ready to vote on the draft resolution contained in document S/12848.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Bolivia, Canada, France, Gabon, Germany, Federal Republic of, India, Kuwait, Mauritius, Nigeria, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Venezuela.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Czechoslovakia, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The draft resolution was adopted by 12 votes to none, with 2 abstentions.¹

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

4. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): The Secretary-General wishes to make a statement at this stage, and I call on him.

5. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: Now that the Security Council has renewed the mandate of UNIFIL for a further four months, I wish to assure the Council that my colleagues and I both here and in Lebanon will do all that we can to give effect to the decisions of the Council and to bring about as soon as possible the fulfilment of the task entrusted to UNIFIL in resolutions 425 (1978) and 426 (1978).

6. As I stated in my report, I am very much aware of the sense of frustration at the fact that six months have not proved long enough for the discharge of this task. It is important, however, not to overlook the achievement by UNIFIL of a large part of its task under extremely difficult conditions.

7. I hope very much that during the forthcoming period of the mandate we shall make substantial progress. I fully share the Council's anxiety that the presence of UNIFIL should not become the pretext for delay in achieving the Council's objectives. On the other hand, I am also convinced that the ending of UNIFIL's mandate at the present time would have had disastrous results.

8. I wish to stress again here that the full co-operation of all parties and Governments concerned is essential to the

¹ See resolution 434 (1978).

successful conclusion of this important task. Therefore I urgently appeal to the parties concerned for their co-operation in facilitating the task of UNIFIL in surmounting the remaining obstacles. I should also appreciate the help of all the members of the Council in doing whatever they can to ensure that this co-operation will be forthcoming.

9. I feel obliged to express here my concern at the financial situation with regard to UNIFIL. Owing to the fact that some Governments have made clear that they will not be paying their allotted share of the budget of UNIFIL, it is likely that we shall face a growing deficit. If this happens, those immediately affected will be the Governments that have put troops at the disposal of the United Nations for this operation. Thus a disproportionate burden would fall on the small number of States which have already assumed a heavy burden in providing the contingents for the Force. I am also concerned that budgetary problems will inevitably affect the capacity of the United Nations to provide the adequate minimum conditions for the troops in the field, especially during the hard winter months. I shall of course keep under constant review the functioning of UNIFIL and the distribution of duties among the various contingents, with a view to recommending to the Council the best arrangements for the future.

10. Let me take this opportunity once again to pay tribute to the Commander, the officers and men of UNIFIL and the civilian staff attached to the Force. They have demonstrated courage, discipline and devotion in the face of hardship and danger. Their performance has been a credit both to the United Nations and to their countries of origin.

11. Let me also express to you, Mr. President, and to the members of the Council my deep appreciation for your support and for your tireless and successful efforts to achieve agreement on the resolution that has just been adopted. I hope that this resolution will serve as a basis for speedy progress in the future.

12. I should like also to express my appreciation to the Government of Lebanon and to the Permanent Representative of Lebanon, Ambassador Tuéni, for their constant co-operation in carrying out the decisions of the Council.

13. I shall not fail to keep the Council informed of important developments in Southern Lebanon and I hope that I shall be able to report steady progress in the fulfilment of UNIFIL's mandate.

14. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): I thank the Secretary-General for his statement

15. Mr. CHOU Nan (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): In March this year, the Israeli Zionists undertook a flagrant massive invasion of Southern Lebanon. This act of aggression met with firm resistance on the part of the Lebanese Government and people and was unanimously condemned by the Palestinian and other Arab peoples as well as all the justice-upholding countries and peoples. They demanded that Israel should withdraw immediately and unconditionally all its military forces from Lebanon and

strictly respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon. However, with the connivance and support of the super-Powers, the Israeli aggressors have remained impenitent, trying by every possible means to prevent the Lebanese Government from exercising its sovereign right in Southern Lebanon. What is more, the Israeli Zionists have recently sent military aircraft on many occasions for wanton air raids on a number of Lebanese towns and territories, killing innocent civilians there in obdurate pursuit of their policies of aggression and expansion. The Chinese people express great indignation at the above crimes of aggression committed by the Israeli Zionists and sternly condemn them.

16. The Chinese Government and people have always firmly supported the Lebanese, Palestinian and other Arab peoples in their just struggle against Zionism and hegemonism, for the recovery of their lost territories and the restoration of their national rights. The Chinese delegation holds that the Security Council should uphold justice, sternly condemn Israel for its crimes of aggression and check all Israeli acts of aggression against Lebanon. Lebanon's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity must be strictly respected.

17. With regard to the question of the United Nations Force, we have always held a different position in principle. Therefore, the Chinese delegation did not participate in the vote on the draft resolution contained in document S/12848.

18. Mr. YOUNG (United States of America): Mr. President, let me take this opportunity to thank you for the skill and dedication that you have brought to the conduct of the work of the Council and the exceptional energy that you have put into that work, along with the previous President of the Council, the representative of the People's Republic of China. We have found that we are able to get much more work done in consultations through the kind of skill and private diplomacy that has, I think, brought us to this point so successfully. So I should like to take this opportunity to thank the previous President and also to welcome you as President of the Council.

19. The Council's action today in renewing the mandate of UNIFIL is a significant contribution to the maintenance of stability in the Middle East. All of us here recall the circumstances in which the Council met last March to consider the situation in Southern Lebanon. The contrast between the situation which prevailed then and that which exists today in Southern Lebanon is the best measure of UNIFIL's success.

20. The credit for that success belongs to many parties, but, in the first instance, I want to acknowledge the remarkable achievements of the Commander, the officers and the men of the contingents that comprise UNIFIL. They undertook their task under very difficult circumstances and at substantial risk. They are performing in a fashion which has reflected great credit both on their countries and on the United Nations. UNIFIL's performance has demonstrated the effectiveness with which the United Nations can mount and implement a peace-keeping operation. That in itself is sufficient to instil confidence

with respect to the future both for UNIFIL and for other present or possible peace-keeping operations.

21. Turning to that future, we must acknowledge the important task remaining to UNIFIL. In the six months available, UNIFIL has managed to fulfil part of its mandate. What remains is the most difficult part of its task: assistance to Lebanon in the restoration of its effective authority over the area. Prospects for success in this effort cannot be separated from the terrible domestic difficulties confronting Lebanon. Moreover, that success will depend both on UNIFIL's continued effectiveness and its ability to achieve freedom of movement throughout its area of operation.

22. The world has followed events and developments in Lebanon with great concern. The international community's attention to the dangers in the Lebanese tragedy has been revealed in important ways, including through the adoption of resolution 425 (1978) and the establishment of UNIFIL. We believe that the international community's sense of responsibility will remain high but we also consider it important that Lebanon's neighbours and factions within Lebanon should take into account the wider implications for the region's peace and stability if domestic tranquillity throughout all Lebanon is not soon established. We hope that all concerned quarters will take steps which are consistent with the establishment of security and law and order and with the successful implementation of UNIFIL's mandate in all its parts.

23. At the same time, Article 25 of the Charter states: "The Members of the United Nations agree to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council in accordance with the . . . Charter". My Government calls upon all concerned, in the spirit of Article 25, to take the urgent steps required to enable UNIFIL to fulfil its mandate by full deployment to Lebanon's internationally recognized borders in Southern Lebanon.

24. We also recognize that Member States can contribute to the fulfilment of UNIFIL's mandate in several ways. One can assist UNIFIL in fulfilling its mandate by encouraging the removal of obstacles in the path of complete UNIFIL deployment. One can also assist UNIFIL by helping to create conditions in Lebanon generally which encourage moderation, the relaxation of paralysing tensions and the extension of Lebanese authority throughout the country. To resolve the crisis of Lebanon, we all need to move together in parallel steps that reinforce one another and that encourage growing confidence.

25. Mr. BARTON (Canada): Mr. President, I should like first of all to join the other speakers in congratulating you and your country on the assumption of this important office and particularly on the handling of the business that has culminated in this meeting today. I think that the consultations were well orchestrated, and we are most grateful to have had the privilege of serving under you.

26. I should also like to express my appreciation to the representative of China, who was successful in keeping the Council going in a sufficiently placid manner so that I did not have to come back from my holidays.

27. Canada voted in favour of the resolution to extend the mandate of UNIFIL for four months because, in spite of the enormous difficulties with which it has been faced, the Force has made a vital contribution in facilitating the resumption of normal life for the inhabitants of most of the area in which UNIFIL is operating. It has also, by its firmness and restraint, reduced the chronic instability in Southern Lebanon with all the attendant risks that go with that instability. As the Secretary-General has said, if UNIFIL were to be removed, the result would almost certainly be a disastrous change for the worse.

28. Despite UNIFIL's success to date, serious difficulties remain. The men of UNIFIL remain subject to attack and impediment when they attempt to perform the functions assigned to them in their mandate. It is intolerable that United Nations forces should be subject to obstruction and attack in attempting to carry out their mandate. The Force has been unable to deploy fully within its entire area of operation. The full co-operation and influence of all the parties concerned are essential in creating the conditions under which that deployment can take place. We hope that there can be rapid progress in accomplishing this goal with the full co-operation of all those in the region and those who clearly have influence there.

29. The erosion of respect for peace-keeping activities evidenced by the difficulties which UNIFIL has encountered could, if unchecked, be seriously detrimental not only to the return of normal life in Southern Lebanon but also to the future ability of the United Nations to contribute elsewhere to world peace and security through the peace-keeping process.

30. We urge all Member States to support the activities of UNIFIL not only politically but also financially in order to meet the forecast expenses of the Force in the renewed mandate period. Peace-keeping operations must be conducted with due regard to economy, but, at the same time, the health and efficiency of the troops deployed is a *sine qua non* of the Force's ability to perform its duties effectively. Eighty per cent of contingent personnel are living under canvas. We fully support the requirement for urgent action to provide prefabricated buildings to house the troops during the approaching rainy season and winter.

31. As was made clear when my country accepted on a temporary basis in answer to the Secretary-General's special appeal to provide a communications unit for the opening phases of the operation, our commitment will expire on 1 October. We are happy to have been able to provide our services to assist in the establishment of UNIFIL, notwithstanding the fact that to do so seriously strained our already stretched communications capabilities.

32. I should like to express the Canadian Government's sympathy to the families of those who have been killed and to those who were wounded in the service of peace. I should also like to express our thanks to the Secretary-General and to all those in the field and in New York for carrying out a difficult task under very trying conditions. That they have done so well is a tribute to their fortitude and dedication.

33. Mr. JAIPAL (India): Mr. President, I would extend to you the formal congratulations of my delegation on your assumption of the high office of President of the Security Council during this difficult month and convey to you assurances of my delegation's co-operation and assistance. We have no doubt that, with your objectivity and diplomatic skill, you will guide the work of the Council to fruitful results.

34. We have before us two important documents, first, the report of the Secretary-General on the work of UNIFIL [S/12845] and, secondly, a letter dated 5 September [S/12835] from the representative of Lebanon, in which he gives expression to the views of his Government on the present situation there.

35. We should like first of all to compliment the Secretary-General and his band of dedicated officers for having quickly established the United Nations Force in Lebanon and for having successfully implemented the major portion of the Force's mandate. We congratulate the Force Commander and his troops as well as those countries that have generously offered their contingents for carrying out duties that are both complex and delicate. It is deplorable that there should have been some tragic incidents and casualties, which, in our view, could have been avoided if the parties concerned had shown greater understanding and respect for the duties that the Force is called upon to perform. The Security Council through the Secretary-General should insist on unconditional and unqualified respect for UNIFIL, if it is to discharge the responsibilities entrusted to it.

36. I should like to say a few words about the letter from the representative of Lebanon. My delegation has profound sympathy for the people and Government of Lebanon in their present predicament, which has been brought upon them by the stresses and strains of the conflict situation in the Middle East. One hopes that, if these external factors are removed, the process of internal reconciliation can be speeded up. For without internal reconciliation there is little prospect of re-establishing the Lebanese Government's effective authority peacefully in all the remaining areas.

37. It is in this context that we should reassess the role of the United Nations Force, which by its mandate is required to assist the Lebanese Government in reintroducing its authority effectively in areas where that authority has been usurped. The Force has not yet been successful in performing these duties, which are unprecedented because they impinge on the internal affairs of Lebanon. For example, such a role is not part of the mandate of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus, which in other respects presents certain curious similarities.

38. In Lebanon, the United Nations Force has not fully succeeded in its mission because its initial expectation that all the occupied areas would be handed over to it by Israel was not realized. According to the Secretary-General's report, contacts were maintained between Israeli and UNIFIL officials regarding the modalities for carrying out the withdrawal of Israeli troops, but no common ground was reached. In the event, the Israeli Army handed over the areas in the South to certain armed groups because Israel considered them to be legitimate representatives of the

Lebanese Army. However, the representative of Lebanon has informed us in his letter that these armed groups are no longer considered representatives of the Lebanese Army, nor are they empowered to negotiate with the United Nations or to exercise any legal command in the area.

39. Thus, we now have a new situation, one which was probably not anticipated when resolution 425 (1978) was adopted. Today, parts of Southern Lebanon remain under the control of these *de facto* armed groups which have so far refused to accept or submit to the authority of the established Government of Lebanon. There is no doubt that this has created a dilemma not only for the United Nations Force as a whole but also for the countries that have contributed their contingents. Furthermore, it has prevented the deployment of UNIFIL in the southern border area. If that had been possible, it would have enabled UNIFIL to guarantee strict respect for Lebanese territorial integrity and sovereignty. But, according to the letter from the representative of Lebanon, Israel is actively opposing the deployment of the Lebanese Army and UNIFIL in the border area. All this has complicated the role of the Force and the fulfilment of the mandate entrusted to it.

40. The Secretary-General has reminded us that UNIFIL is restricted to using force only in self-defence. Consequently, negotiations, persuasion, conciliation and so forth are the means at present employed by UNIFIL. These methods have not so far produced results, but UNIFIL has no option but to persist in them. The alternative and its far-reaching consequences are too grim to contemplate. United Nations peace-keeping forces have a tradition of not getting involved militarily in the internal affairs of Member States. We should not deviate from that well known tradition lest we jeopardize the very nature of peace-keeping. It seems to us, therefore, that UNIFIL should undertake only such tasks as it can fulfil peacefully in Lebanon. Where there is any danger of the Force going beyond well-established traditions and practices, the situation should be reviewed at once and its mandate should be redefined. We presume that this is what the representative of Lebanon has in mind when he calls in his letter for a redefinition of the Force's mandate.

41. In the light of these considerations, we think that it is wise to have extended the mandate of the Force for only another four months and to assess the situation in two months' time, as proposed in the resolution just adopted. We supported this careful and calculated approach because one cannot be too careful about the need to preserve the excellent record of the United Nations peace-keeping operations. What is urgently needed at the moment are supplementary diplomatic efforts by those countries that have the necessary will and the necessary capacity to help in the peaceful resolution of outstanding difficulties, and I am referring in particular to some members of the Council which are parties to resolution 425 (1978).

42. It is a mistake to imagine that having established the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon and having extended its mandate we have done all that we can. The efforts of the Force need, in our opinion, to be reinforced and supplemented by diplomatic persuasion and pressure.

43. Mr. RICHARD (United Kingdom): Mr. President, although the members of the Council have consulted together under your presidency this month, I have not had the occasion previously to congratulate you personally on your assumption of the office of President of the Council. This I now do willingly, while at the same time congratulating your predecessor, the representative of the People's Republic of China, for his skilful and diplomatic handling of last month's Council affairs.

44. It is customary when delivering statements during debates on the renewal of peace-keeping force mandates to express appreciation of the efficient performance of the commanders and the soldiers of the force and to thank the Secretary-General and his staff for their wise guidance of the force. While I would in no way wish to belittle the tasks facing other United Nations forces in existence today, I have no doubt that for sheer complexity and physical hardship—not to mention danger—the problems facing UNIFIL have been and are greater than any which have confronted a United Nations force since the Congo operation. It is no secret that when, last March, we agreed to set up UNIFIL, there were those who were openly sceptical about any chance of its success. There can be few now, however, who would not acknowledge the great achievements of Major-General Erskine and his men under the guidance of the Secretary-General and his staff. The cost has, however, been high, and I should here like to join the others around this table who have paid a tribute to the memory of those members of the Force who have given their lives in the cause of peace in Southern Lebanon.

45. Although the achievements have been great there remains, as the Secretary-General has pointed out, much to be done before the task entrusted to the Force is fulfilled. It is for this and for other reasons that my Government accepts the judgement of the Secretary-General and has today voted for the renewal of the Force's mandate for a further period. Like other members of the Council, I am concerned that a situation should not arise whereby further renewals of the UNIFIL mandate are regarded as automatic. We believe a further four months are necessary for the Force to fulfil its mandate. But we do note with concern that, as the Secretary-General has made clear in his report, the Force has met with interference and obstruction from armed groups receiving "support from outside". In our view there can be no excuse for this. The Force has clearly demonstrated that it is capable of restoring peace and normal life to the sorely afflicted peoples of Southern Lebanon. It must be allowed to establish full control and freedom of movement in the area covered by this mandate. To this end, we repeat that the full co-operation of all parties is an essential prerequisite for the restoration of peace and security in the area. If this is not forthcoming we face, as the Secretary-General has indeed pointed out, the sombre possibility that the co-operation already extended to the Force will be jeopardized.

46. I do not think we should let this occasion pass without making at least some mention of the extraordinary diplomatic events of the last two weeks. The dramatic contents of last night's press conference at the White House, and above all the spirit of that occasion, serve, I think, as an inspiration to all who are genuinely committed to the cause

of peace in the Middle East. May all those who have influence over events in Southern Lebanon heed and indeed follow the example that has been set by Presidents Sadat and Carter and by Prime Minister Begin.

47. Mr. LEPRETTE (France) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, the French delegation wishes cordially to congratulate you on your accession to the presidency of the Security Council. You represent in the United Nations a country with which France has traditionally friendly relations. I should like to add that your outstanding qualities and your patient efforts have made it possible for us today to reach a decision that represents an undeniable success for the Organization. We should like to express the hope that this will be true of the rest of the month during which you are to preside over the Council.

48. I would also address my thanks to the representative of China, who during the month of August presided over our consultations and the meetings of the Council with his usual authority and skill.

49. France has always clearly and unambiguously displayed its support for the United Nations operation in Lebanon. Last March, my delegation was the first to refer in the Council to the possibility of resorting to the establishment of a peace-keeping force in an attempt to put an end to a situation created by Israeli intervention in the southern part of that country. The principle of establishing a United Nations force was accepted by the Council, and my Government was one of the first officially to announce that it was prepared to make available to the United Nations a contingent from its country. At that time I had occasion to explain the reasons underlying my country's position. The historic ties—and even more the human ones—which traditionally link us with Lebanon prompted us to participate actively in an international action designed to safeguard the territorial integrity of that Member State and to ensure respect for its sovereignty and independence. In the six months that have passed since then, the French Government has frequently voiced its full support for the untiring efforts of the Secretary-General, to whom, on behalf of my Government, I wish to pay a well deserved tribute, at the same time reiterating our thanks and our complete confidence in him.

50. Does that mean that the mission entrusted to UNIFIL has been completely carried out? The task we entrusted to it under resolution 425 (1978) had a dual nature. The Force was first to confirm the withdrawal from Southern Lebanon of the Israeli armed forces; to a great extent, it has done so. However, no one can be unaware that, as is pointed out in the Secretary-General's report, the UNIFIL contingent has not been able to deploy its troops in the border zone occupied by the *de facto* Lebanese forces that are receiving active support from Israel.

51. With reference to the second part of the mandate—that is, the action designed to make it possible for the Beirut Government to recover its authority over the southern part of its territory, it is quite obvious that the results achieved so far are inadequate. All can discern quite clearly that the responsibility does not lie with the United Nations, which has used every means in its power within

the terms of the mandate we drew up, and which cannot itself carry out this important task. It is Israel's duty to give up those practices that still impede the re-establishment of Lebanese authority. It is our hope, for its part, the Lebanese Government will be able to take the necessary steps to speed up the restoration of the national administration in that particular region. As far as the United Nations is concerned, it cannot take the place of a Member State in the exercise of its sovereignty.

52. In these circumstances, while being aware of the complexity of the problem and the difficulties involved in this undertaking, the French Government believes that the time has now come to foster a greater awareness that will make possible the strengthening of the actions of those leaders of that region who consider, as many of us do, that the difficult steps made necessary by this situation will have to be taken. That is why the French delegation has suggested that, rather than simply uttering exhortations and appeals, which, though they may be justified, are sometimes disappointing in their effects, we must clearly state that time is running out. The Council's decision responds to that concern. We approved that decision and we appreciate the fact that our views were shared. But we do feel that when the new mandate expires the Force's mandate should be reconsidered and its composition revised in order to make it better balanced.

53. While deciding to renew for a further period of four months the mandate of UNIFIL, the Security Council has chosen to show quite clearly that it refuses to be bogged down in dangerous routine and automatic renewals that would in no way facilitate settlement of the substantive problems. We are certain that this choice will with the onset of winter involve practical problems for those responsible for the organization and administration of the Force, and this in itself should involve a warning to all parties. It should prompt them immediately to take measures that would produce greater stability in the region by restoring the authority of Lebanon, as laid down in the mandate given to UNIFIL.

54. This is our main concern since we are anxious to see an end to the trials and tribulations of those peoples which we hold dear and to whose common destiny we cannot remain indifferent.

55. I wish to pay a tribute to the leaders of the Force, both officers and civilians, and to the men that make up the Force, since no such action could have been undertaken without their assistance. On behalf of the French authorities as well as on my own personal behalf, I should like to salute the memory of those among them who, in the course of the last six months, have laid down their lives in the performance of their duties. I should like to reiterate to the others, in particular to their Commander, Major-General Erskine, our gratitude, our confidence and our support.

56. To the Secretary-General and his colleagues I should now like to say that we are aware of the difficulties that will be involved for them in the decision just taken by the Council. Because it has participated in the Force, my country has more than ever been in a position to appreciate the breadth and complexity of their task in planning and

organizing the Interim Force. The French Government would like to thank them for the extra effort that they will now have to make.

57. Miss LOPEZ (Venezuela) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, my delegation is particularly pleased to see you presiding over the Security Council during the month of September, and we congratulate you most warmly. We likewise congratulate the Chinese delegation which discharged that responsibility last month with great skill and efficiency.

58. When we supported the establishment of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon, we did so in the conviction that its presence would contribute to the lessening of the serious tensions prevailing in the area. Now we have voted in favour of resolution 434 (1978) which renews the mandate of the Force, after having observed the effective role that UNIFIL has played in maintaining calm in Southern Lebanon. Without its presence, in our opinion, the damage inflicted on people and property would have been even more deplorable. The presence of UNIFIL, as the Secretary-General has informed us, has made it possible in part for the inhabitants of the area where the Force has been deployed to resume their normal life. This enables us to consider that UNIFIL's role in this process has been constructive in the discharge of its first task under resolution 425 (1978).

59. The second task, the restoration of the authority of the Government of Lebanon in the area, is one of the objectives yet to be attained and is of grave concern to us. We are aware of the efforts of the Secretary-General and of the staff assisting him to contribute towards the attainment of this end, as well as of the many obstacles being encountered. In the remaining months, and in particular in the light of the most recent initiatives taken in the search for peace in the Middle East, we trust that the Secretary-General and his staff will be able to play an outstanding role in Lebanon in order to permit the discharge of the second part of the mandate given the Force under Security Council resolution 425 (1978). We have shown this confidence in supporting the renewal of the mandate of the Force for a four-month period. We hope that, in addition to these measures, we will be able to rely on the co-operation of all States in the fulfilment of the mandate given under this resolution.

60. Mr. ROLON ANAYA (Bolivia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): It is really difficult to speak as beautifully as our colleague from Venezuela has just spoken, but, according to an old Latin American saying, it is always good if there is a rose among the thorns.

61. Mr. President, at this first meeting of the Council for this month, I should like to say how pleased I am to see you presiding over the work of the Council. You have shown an indefatigable dedication, sacrificing your days of rest during the past week-end. As you have yourself pointed out more than once, Bolivia enjoys the most cordial relations with Czechoslovakia, whose valuable industrial co-operation has been increased and proved to be very significant for the development of my country in recent times.

62. I also wish to congratulate the representative of the People's Republic of China, Ambassador Chen Chu, most warmly for his efficient discharge of the duties of the presidency last month.

63. In the reliable and always reasoned information whereby the Secretary-General guides the work of the Council and which served as the basis for the draft resolution proposed by the United States and voted for by Bolivia, we are told that the problem of Lebanon can be solved only when, in its turn, the entire problem of the Middle East is settled. For the peaceful solution of that problem Latin America, including Bolivia, has made, and will continue to make, the most sustained efforts. In the context of the region as a whole, the renewal of the mandate of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon has another aspect, that of providing a dynamic factor, as in all human questions.

64. We have listened closely to all the points of view expressed by our colleagues, and we also feel the same dissatisfaction and concern lest these renewals of the mandates of United Nations forces should end up by becoming routine. We are convinced that these forces are a means and not an end in themselves, and we fully share the concern of the French delegation that no force should replace local Governments in the autonomous administration of their territories. Our mission is to assist them, not to take their place.

65. All efforts combined to achieve regional peace in accordance with the principles of international justice and the self-determination of peoples will have the firmest support of Bolivia.

66. The achievement of the noble objective of world peace is possible through the resolution of local conflicts. World peace can be achieved through regional peace. Hence, our constant concern that all factors threatening and disturbing the peace in any part of the world must be dealt with in time and decisively resolved by all means of peaceful negotiation before bloody confrontations result with loss of human lives and destruction as painful as that suffered by Lebanon, with which Bolivia once more expresses its solidarity. We also express our condolences on the loss of life suffered by the United Nations forces in another costly international tribute to peace.

67. The problem of peace, like all social and human questions, is global as well as dynamic. Peace is no longer formally broken by what can strictly be called an act of war. In our time neither peace nor war "breaks out" in a conventional manner. They are there, the one constructive, the other hateful. That is why in our time such a curious expression as "cold war" was invented to indicate that perhaps there is a strange "hot peace".

68. Just as internal injustices threaten social peace, international injustices threaten regional and/or world peace. Hence our sustained and vigilant concern that those injustices should be resolved before internal violence erupts in each society and before wars break out in every region of the world. Peace is not an unexpected act, nor is war a sudden event. Both follow a process whose timely percep-

tion is our highest responsibility in each region of the world.

69. My delegation wishes to place on record once again our appreciation of the efficient work done by the Secretary-General and all his assistants. In the case of the forces in Lebanon, Major-General Erskine has played an outstanding role. The objectivity and prudence of the Secretary-General have always facilitated the solution of problems such as this, despite the obstacles it presents, for the very reason that peace must be considered as global, covering an entire region, and that there is a dynamic process of tensions and conflicting interests.

70. Finally, I reiterate my appreciation of the efforts and of the work done by the representatives of Kuwait and of the United States.

71. Mr. VON WECHMAR (Federal Republic of Germany): It gives me great pleasure indeed to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the current month, a function which you have exercised with such excellency. It is also gratifying to note that the relations between the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany have steadily developed in many fields in recent years—a fact that was highlighted by the visit of President Husák to the Federal Republic of Germany a few months ago.

72. At the same time, I should also like to thank the President for last month, the representative of the People's Republic of China, for the efficient way in which he conducted the Council's business in August.

73. My delegation has joined with the majority in the Council in casting a positive vote regarding the extension of the mandate of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon, which my Government has supported since its inception through airlifts and supplies of equipment. We have based our vote on the Secretary-General's recommendation contained in his thoughtful and comprehensive report and also on the request of the representative of Lebanon. Our vote was motivated by the Secretary-General's assessment that, if UNIFIL were to be removed in the present circumstances, that would bring about a disastrous change for the worse.

74. It is my Government's firm hope that the present extension of UNIFIL's mandate will enable it fully to carry out its task or at least to advance its fulfilment to a point where the end of the tunnel can be seen and a substantial reduction of the Force envisaged. In this respect, we share the apprehension and concern of the Secretary-General and many Council members regarding the notion of an indefinite and almost automatic renewal of the mandate, which must be warned against and resisted. Those concerned should therefore by no means view the present extension as another reason for delaying the necessary decisions. The Security Council, the international community as a whole and also the troop-contributing countries have a right to expect not only the full co-operation of but also an active effort by all parties concerned to overcome the existing difficulties.

75. While expressing this view, we are of course aware of the fact—also stressed in the Secretary-General's report—that the situation in Southern Lebanon cannot be separated from the problems of Lebanon as a whole and that those problems are in turn closely linked to the unresolved Middle East crisis. My Government continues to believe that only a just and comprehensive settlement of the Middle East crisis will make it possible to achieve a durable peace in all the area. The inescapable connexion between the situation in Southern Lebanon and that of the Middle East as a whole should not, however, obscure the responsibility of the various parties in the area to contribute by their own efforts to creating an atmosphere in which such over-all progress would become possible. As true as it may be, therefore, that the situation in Lebanon cannot be seen in isolation from the over-all situation in the area, it is, on the other hand, equally true that that cannot serve as a pretext or an excuse for the parties involved in Southern Lebanon to withhold co-operation from UNIFIL or to compromise its mandate.

76. We completely agree with the Secretary-General's statement that the present situation confronting UNIFIL at the border of Southern Lebanon is unacceptable. The remaining *de facto* armed forces in UNIFIL's area of operation in Southern Lebanon must be expected to comply with UNIFIL's mandate, and thus with a decision of the Security Council, in the same way as other *de facto* armed forces have already been persuaded to do. Those with influence on those *de facto* armed forces should actively encourage them to co-operate with UNIFIL and to trust in its ability and determination to carry out its mandate in the best interests of all parties. Moreover, those groups—as, indeed, all others—should realize that the support they can expect for their cause will largely depend on their ability and willingness to co-operate with UNIFIL in an effort to restore Lebanese sovereignty and authority, and thus allow normal and peaceful life to be resumed.

77. The way in which UNIFIL has been approaching this goal in the past six months deserves our full admiration and gratitude. My delegation would therefore like to join the Secretary-General in paying a tribute to the Force Commander, Major-General Erskine from Ghana, his military and civilian staff, the officers and men of UNIFIL and also the military observers of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization and the United Nations Field Service staff assigned to UNIFIL for their restraint, power of persuasion and courage. Our praise also goes to the Secretary-General himself, his Under-Secretaries-General for Special Political Affairs, Mr. Guyer and Mr. Urquhart, as well as to General Siilasvuo, the Chief Co-ordinator of the United Nations Peace-keeping Missions in the Middle East, and to Mr. Saunders, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for humanitarian assistance in Lebanon, for their multiple, persistent and successful negotiation efforts. Without their diplomatic skill, their dedication and experience, the success that UNIFIL has achieved so far would not have been possible.

78. Our most deeply felt tribute is directed to the memory of those who gave their lives for the cause of peace in Southern Lebanon. Our sincere appreciation also goes to the countries which have provided the contingents of the Force.

79. I would also thank you, Mr. President, and all those within and outside the Council who have contributed to bringing about an extension of UNIFIL's mandate.

80. Mr. N'DONG (Gabon) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, I am particularly happy to see you guiding our work. The bonds of friendship which link your beautiful country, Czechoslovakia, to mine, the Republic of Gabon, your vast experience in international affairs, your brilliant personal qualities, which we have had occasion to appreciate more than once—all this, in the opinion of my delegation, constitutes sufficient reason for us to rejoice on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of September. Accordingly I congratulate you most warmly on behalf of my delegation.

81. I also wish to express my sincere gratitude to your eminent predecessor, the representative of the People's Republic of China, who last month guided the work of the Council with great tact and competence.

82. Finally, I wish to congratulate the Secretary-General on his excellent report and to pay a tribute to all the members, both civilian and military, of UNIFIL, who are fighting heart and soul to ensure that peace will be restored to Southern Lebanon.

83. My delegation voted in favour of the resolution that the Council has just adopted extending the mandate of UNIFIL for four months. We believe that if that Force were withdrawn today it would undoubtedly mean a serious aggravation of the present situation in Southern Lebanon. However, allow me to point out that UNIFIL has been in Lebanon for six months for the purpose of

“confirming the withdrawal of Israeli forces, restoring international peace and security and assisting the Government of Lebanon in ensuring the return of its effective authority in the area” [*resolution 425 (1978)*].

84. We are bound to recognize that UNIFIL is far from having achieved the objective assigned to it by the Council, not because it was intrinsically incapable of attaining that objective but because it has not received the complete co-operation from all parties and Governments concerned which it needed to enable it to continue and succeed in its endeavour. However, those who placed obstacles in the path of UNIFIL to prevent it from duly discharging its mandate must beware. They must remember that the establishment of UNIFIL and the renewal of its mandate impose a heavy financial burden on the United Nations and its Member States and that the international community is no longer prepared to commit itself in Lebanon to the kind of process that is going on in Cyprus. That means that an automatic and indefinite renewal of UNIFIL's mandate is out of the question, and those who think that they have found in the presence of UNIFIL in Lebanon a pretext to delay the fulfilment of the objectives set by the Security Council should face the facts.

85. In this regard, my delegation wishes to make an urgent appeal to all the parties involved in the settlement of the problem of Lebanon to co-operate frankly with UNIFIL so that Lebanon may recover its authority over the territory.

86. Mr. BISHARA (Kuwait): Mr. President, let me begin by expressing our warmest congratulations to you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of September. It has been a really busy month, but you have handled the business with remarkable skill and conscientiousness. You have brought to the presidency a great deal of experience. We wish you good luck and we should like to assure you of the co-operation of the delegation of Kuwait.

87. I should like also to thank the outgoing President, the representative of China, under whose presidency the Council discharged its responsibilities with efficiency. It was due to his refined skill and dedication that the Council had plain sailing in the month of August.

88. The Secretary-General has submitted a lucid and comprehensive report on the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon. The delegation of Kuwait thanks him profoundly for this report. The efforts of the Secretary-General and his dedicated staff at Headquarters as well as of those stationed in Lebanon are praiseworthy. They are working against almost impossible odds in order to fulfil the mandate of UNIFIL. But we also sympathize with these efforts, which Israel and its lackeys are determined to frustrate. The report is an indictment of Israel's intentions and its behaviour. It is clear in its language and courageous in its conclusions, which place the blame where it rightly belongs. I should like to salute the Secretary-General for his unambiguous observations contained in section V of the report.

89. The resolution just adopted by the Council falls short of our demands. Noticeably absent among its elements is a direct and clear indictment and condemnation of Israel because of the obstacles it is placing in the path of UNIFIL. There is a great distance between the observations of the Secretary-General in his report and the provisions of the resolution we have just adopted. Kuwait voted in favour of the resolution primarily because it renews the mandate of UNIFIL for another four months. We are unhappy about the absence of condemnatory elements from the resolution. The overwhelming majority of the United Nations Members expected such indicting language, but, unfortunately, those expectations were shattered on the ugly rock of reality. I should like to make it clear that our vote should be seen in the light of our wish to see the mandate renewed. Nothing encourages intransigence and defiance more than the velvet-glove treatment. Israel has been constantly accorded this special pampering treatment, which has produced more defiance with enviable impunity. In the course of our negotiations over the resolution, we were bluntly told that any criticism of Israel was taboo. Only mild references couched in the most unintelligible and ambiguous language could be tolerated. So we were told. That is exactly what encourages Israel to take the law into its hands not only in Southern Lebanon but also in all other areas of the Middle East.

90. We often speak here of the responsibility of the Council to rise to the challenge posed by Israel and to act in accordance with the Charter in invoking its relevant provisions, but such an argument is always glibly brushed aside, and inaction always triumphs.

91. Resolution 425 (1978) calls for the establishment of a United Nations interim force for Southern Lebanon for the purpose of confirming the withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon, restoring international peace and security and assisting the Government of Lebanon in ensuring the return of its effective authority in the area.

92. Have those salient points of resolution 425 (1978) been implemented? Let us identify the areas in which that resolution has not been observed.

93. There has been no restoration of international peace and security in Southern Lebanon. There is a hot war and real bloodshed. It is so because Israel, in defiance of the Council, in breach of resolution 425 (1978), in disregard of the pleas of its benefactor, has not allowed UNIFIL to be deployed in the whole area that Israel occupied last March. Instead, the area adjacent to the borders was handed over to the illegal rebels, who are nothing but servants of Israel and tools manipulated in the service of its goals. These robots controlled by the Zionists at Tel Aviv have been, at the behest of their masters, shooting at UNIFIL in line with their master's policy of undermining the Force and frustrating its efforts so as to bring it to despair. These notorious rebels could not sustain a campaign of defiance of UNIFIL but for Israel, which is underwriting their existence and managing their objectives. They are no different from any battalion of the Israeli Army. They receive their directives, operation tactics, ammunition, arms, logistics, supplies and military uniforms from Israel. The phoney argument that Israel has no control over its lackeys holds no water. The world, including Israel, knows who Haddad is and whose servant Chidiac is.

94. The truth of the matter is that Israel acted in bad faith and outsmarted and outwitted UNIFIL in handing over the area under its occupation to the illegal rebels. It did so in order to maintain its occupation of the area, but this time by means of a force which has confusing features. The army of Israel does exist in Southern Lebanon, notwithstanding Israel's argument to the contrary. The Secretary-General's report clearly establishes the responsibility of Israel for the chaotic situation in the South. He wrote:

"The fact that the Israel Defence Forces handed over control of the border area to *de facto* armed groups rather than to UNIFIL has continued to make impossible the full deployment of UNIFIL and the restoration of the authority of the Lebanese Government in the whole area of operation." [S/12845, para. 61.]

What greater indictment can there be than the judgement of the Secretary-General, whose colossal efforts are being frustrated and whose usually cool temper was so much provoked that he could not hide any longer his justified irritation?

95. Although the Government of Lebanon was grappling with an indescribable problem, it sent a battalion of its army as an advance guard to the Lebanese territory in the South. The battalion was stopped by the Israeli-controlled rebels, shelled and prevented by brute force from reaching its final destination. This battalion was stranded some miles north of the border because Israel did not want to see even

a symbol of Lebanese authority in the South, let alone the effective authority called for in resolution 425 (1978). It was not possible for the Lebanese battalion to shoot its way down to the border because the odds were impossible and the stakes too high. UNIFIL could not assist the Government of Lebanon in ensuring the return of its effective authority in the area because UNIFIL itself is a captive of this insidious Israeli trickery. The result of this turmoil in Southern Lebanon is a situation which is fraught with danger to international peace and security. There is no tranquillity, but chaos; there is no security, but confusion; there is no peace, but phoney war.

96. So what of resolution 425 (1978) has been achieved? I identified earlier the salient points of that resolution.

97. The first is the confirmation of the withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon. My delegation is not convinced that this provision has been complied with. There is an Israeli presence in Southern Lebanon and Haddad and other Majors are its manifestations. There is occupation—visible and invisible, direct and by proxy.

98. The restoration of international peace and security, as mentioned earlier, has not yet been obtained. The situation in Southern Lebanon is a far cry from what resolution 425 (1978) envisaged. There is neither peace nor security. There is a threat to world peace and the situation is so explosive and precarious that it may at any time engulf the whole area in a confrontation with the most incalculable consequences.

99. The return of effective Lebanese authority in the area has been aborted by Israeli-controlled agents, who, in a treacherous act of bravado supported by Israel, prevented the Lebanese battalion by force from reaching its planned destination. Since UNIFIL is also crippled and paralysed by this unexpected treachery of Israel, it has not been able to fulfil its duty in assisting the Lebanese Government in its quest for the return of its effective authority in Southern Lebanon.

100. The unimpeded deployment of UNIFIL in Southern Lebanon is already impeded by the Israeli-controlled puppets. The unimpeded movement of UNIFIL is in fact "overimpeded", and United Nations troop movements, which are supposed to usher in tranquillity and quiet, nowadays trigger armed confrontation owing to the insistence of Israel on preventing UNIFIL from being deployed on the internationally recognized Lebanese borders.

101. So what if resolution 425 (1978) has been achieved? Apart from UNIFIL's physical presence in Lebanon, not very much has been implemented. There has been no actual withdrawal, no restoration of international peace and security, no free and unimpeded deployment of UNIFIL and no return of Lebanese authority.

102. The responsibility lies squarely with Israel, which unabashedly challenges the United Nations as a whole and the Security Council in the full knowledge that its backer will thwart any attempt to invoke the Chapters of the Charter that call for sanctions. A slap on the wrist couched

in terse ambiguity has encouraged Israel in its continued forays of destruction into the territories of Arab States. The criticism, if any, is in no way commensurate with the prize which Israel enjoys in the face of a Council which, more often than not, shuns its responsibility with peculiar meekness.

103. The delegation of Kuwait looks forward to the discussions which will take place in two months after the submission of the Secretary-General's interim report. The resolution just adopted speaks of the Council's intention of assessing the situation and examining what further measures should be taken in order to enable UNIFIL fulfil its mandate. We welcome this occasion which will provide the Council with an opportunity to debate at length the situation in Southern Lebanon in order to identify the real criminal in that ravaged region. The major advantage of the forthcoming debate is the absence of the unwelcome ghost of renewal of the mandate. In the absence of the pressure of renewal, the Council will have ample opportunity to identify and study in depth the causes of the paralysis that afflicts UNIFIL. My delegation will strive for concrete and tangible action with militant openness.

104. In conclusion, I should like to add that the letter dated 8 September from the representative of Israel to the Secretary-General [S/12840] speaks of the withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon and refers to a United Nations document regarding confirmation of this withdrawal. As I said this morning in our consultations, my delegation is not convinced that withdrawal has taken place. UNIFIL is in no position to tell us that withdrawal has been carried out. It is kept far away from the border. It is stranded no less than eight miles from the border and is in no position to pass judgement on the withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon. There are—as we were told this morning—five points in what is called the "good fence". I do not know what is good about it, but this "good fence" no doubt provides for rather surreptitious and secret Israeli occupation of Southern Lebanon during the night, which may disappear at sunrise. Therefore, my delegation would like to place on record that it is not convinced that UNIFIL is in a position to pass judgement as to whether the Israeli troops have withdrawn.

105. Mr. HARRIMAN (Nigeria): Mr. President, I should like to congratulate you warmly on your accession to the presidency of the Council. I have no doubt whatsoever that our deliberations at this crucial time will be the richer under your wise guidance and wide experience. Your very prudent approach in handling the various issues before us, and the careful, fruitful, full and deliberate consultations you have held have made our task easier. I should also like to draw attention to the fact that relations between your country and mine have grown closer and closer and to recall this afternoon the very interesting visit of your Foreign Minister to Nigeria during the last few weeks.

106. I should also like to express the gratitude of my delegation to the Secretary-General for his succinct, lucid and frank assessment of the situation in Southern Lebanon, particularly the graphic details of the formidable obstacles in the path of the implementation of the mandate of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon under resolutions 425 (1978) and 426 (1978).

107. I also wish to congratulate the representative of the great People's Republic of China, who fulfilled his term of office as President of the Council with great skill and authority during the month of August.

108. Admittedly, there are now noticeable results on the ground to justify the action taken in the first instance by the Council in dispatching peace-keeping forces to Lebanon. Thus UNIFIL has been able to assist in the maintenance of the precarious cease-fire arranged just prior to its arrival in Southern Lebanon. Secondly, some 80,000 of an estimated total of 120,000 refugees who fled the fighting zone early in the year have been able to return to their homes, again thanks largely to the measure of quiet and stability which UNIFIL has brought to the area under its direct control.

109. With the return of peace and quiet, UNIFIL, in compliance with resolutions 425 (1978) and 426 (1978), has also devoted considerable time and energy, in close co-operation with the Lebanese Government and others concerned, to an effort to bring about the effective re-establishment of Lebanese authority in Southern Lebanon. According to the Secretary-General's report, initial attention was focused on the provision by the Government of Lebanon of administrative personnel and gendarmes in Southern Lebanon. Accordingly, by the end of July, the Lebanese Government was represented south of the Litani River by civilian administrators in Tyre, Qana, Jwaja, Tibnin and Hasbaya. We were happy to learn that Lebanese gendarmes have effectively worked in co-operation with UNIFIL at many check-points, where they assist in the inspection of persons and vehicles. In many instances they also constructively serve as interpreters and liaison officers. As a result of this healthy and growing mutual confidence existing between UNIFIL units, on the one hand, and the incoming agents of the Lebanese Government, on the other, purely civil offences and crimes which are normally reported to UNIFIL are now being handed over with confidence to the Lebanese gendarmes for investigation. We thought that things were moving in the right direction and moving very fast.

110. Had all parties to the current conflict in Southern Lebanon extended full co-operation to UNIFIL, the task given to it by the Council would have been completed well ahead of schedule and, in any event, long before the expiration of the first mandate given to it last March.

111. I recall with utter disappointment that the Council had to meet several weeks after it had adopted resolution 425 (1978) simply to reiterate an earlier demand for Israeli withdrawal from the areas which Tel Aviv was occupying in flagrant violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon. It is not necessary for my delegation to recall the genocide and destruction involved in that invasion and occupation. Israel is always dealt with in terms of gentle persuasion; there is never condemnation. If persistent international pressure had been brought to bear on the invaders, the Israelis would not have contemplated defying the will of the international community. The action of Israel, particularly during its last phase of withdrawal, has posed major problems for UNIFIL.

112. In contrast to its previous procedure of handing over evacuated areas to UNIFIL, the Israeli invading forces on 13 June formally turned over the remaining evacuated areas to Christian militia under the command of officers with allegiance, logistic and other support in the so-called security band zone, thus continuing occupation by proxy. Since this illegal transfer, the armed groups have immobilized UNIFIL, which is restrained by the traditions of United Nations peace-keeping from using force. Those militia have had no qualms about attacking both UNIFIL units and units of the Lebanese Army trying to regain sovereignty and control in the South in accordance with resolution 425 (1978). The Israeli action, which, in its mildest form, began as a thoughtless and brazen adventure against the already devastated State of Lebanon, whose people have been crying for a long time for peace and to be left alone, is an affront to the sovereignty of a Member State and an unwarranted provocation of the Security Council. In the view of my delegation, the Israelis are merely using the armed groups as a means to perpetuate their destabilizing role in Southern Lebanon, subvert the integrity of that country and create conditions that favour their continued dominance over the entire region. What they fail to realize is the fact that a strong and virile Lebanon will serve Israel's interests a lot better in terms of its security needs on its northern front than will a weak Lebanon. Lebanon has never been an aggressive State.

113. The Nigerian delegation voted for the present resolution extending the mandate of UNIFIL for another four months in the hope that UNIFIL will be able to fulfil its mandate within that period. It will continue to maintain its contingent within UNIFIL in furtherance of the objectives that led Nigeria to seek admission to the Council last year. We cannot, however, condone a situation whereby Israel contrives to surround itself by a cordon of United Nations peace-keeping forces while it proceeds virtually without any scruples with its reprehensible policies of unbridled expansion, provocative incursions and acts of aggression against its neighbours, in a lop-sided display of arrogance and brazen contempt of the entire world. As I have often repeated, peace-keeping forces of the United Nations must not become logistic support for aggression, occupation and the consolidation of occupied territories.

114. Finally, my delegation congratulates Major-General Erskine on his outstanding performance and his creditable maintenance of the morale of UNIFIL in the face of extreme provocation and danger. Some have lost their lives in this exercise, which would have been a smoother one but for the antics of Israel. May all parties concerned work expeditiously towards peace in the area, so that those men will not have lost their lives in vain.

115. Mr. KHARLAMOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): Comrade President, first I should like cordially to welcome you, the representative of the fraternal Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, to the post of President of the Security Council and to wish you every success in the discharge of your very lofty and responsible functions and also in the solution of the very difficult problems that are now yours, inherited from your predecessor in this post, the representative of China.

116. We are very gratified to see that the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic is playing an important role in international life and is an active and productive participant in the solution of the most urgent international problems in the process of strengthening European and world-wide peace. The recent visit to Czechoslovakia of a party governmental delegation of the Soviet Union headed by the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Comrade Brezhnev, has once again convincingly shown that Soviet-Czechoslovak friendship has stood the test of time and is now revealed as an important factor in the strengthening of international co-operation in the cause of peace in Europe, and not only in Europe. I should like to assure you, that you can always count on complete and constructive co-operation and support for your work from the Soviet delegation.

117. Six months have elapsed since Israel committed its blatant aggression against Lebanon, a sovereign State and, furthermore, one of the original founder Members of the United Nations. In its resolution 425 (1978), the Security Council called upon Israel immediately to cease its military action against Lebanon and withdraw forthwith its forces from all Lebanese territory and strictly observe the territorial integrity, sovereignty and political independence of Lebanon. However, subsequent events have clearly shown that Israel has thrown down the gauntlet to the United Nations, is overtly sabotaging the fulfilment of its resolutions and has not in fact ended its intervention in the internal affairs of Lebanon.

118. For some time now Israel has under various pretexts been protracting its illegal occupation of Southern Lebanon and refusing to withdraw its forces from Lebanese territory. Essentially, the aggression of Israel against Lebanon is still going on. Despite the decisions of the Security Council and the demands of the Lebanese Government, Israel has handed over control of the important border areas in Southern Lebanon not to United Nations forces but to anti-Government armed detachments that are virtually the agents of Israel. Making use of the gains it has made through aggression, Israel continues actively to interfere in the affairs of the Lebanese State and has not ceased its policy of threats and military provocation. In Israel, no attempt is made to disguise the fact that they intend to maintain under their control vast regions of Lebanese territory right up to the Israeli-Lebanese border, in that way leaving the door open for new invasion.

119. The development of events in Lebanon has borne out the correctness of the Soviet Union's evaluation of the far-reaching aims of Israel's aggression against Lebanon. Israel's actions in Lebanon represent a premeditated blow against the Arab national liberation movement to prevent the achievement of a lasting and just settlement in the Middle East. Israel's on-going aggressive actions against Lebanon are part and parcel of the general aggressive policy of Israel towards the Arab countries and peoples.

120. The facts contained in the Secretary-General's report confirm the presence of evidence attesting to the on-going gross intervention of Israel in the internal affairs of

Lebanon. The report makes it abundantly clear that responsibility for the continuing tension in Southern Lebanon is borne by Israel and by Israel alone. It must be emphasized that that responsibility is shared also by those who pursue a policy of concluding separate deals with the aggressor and who stimulate it to consolidate the results of its aggression and prevent the achievement of a comprehensive and just settlement regarding the situation in the Middle East.

121. At the same time, foundations for a comprehensive, just and lasting Middle East settlement already exist. They are enshrined in decisions of the United Nations, and the Soviet Union has consistently favoured the implementation of those decisions. They consist of the following: complete withdrawal of Israeli forces from all Arab territories occupied in 1967; the exercise by the Arab people of Palestine of its inalienable rights, including the right to self-determination and the creation of its own State; guarantees that the rights of all the States of the region involved in the conflict will be observed and that they will be allowed to exist and enjoy security. Because of its very nature, a just settlement in the Middle East is attainable only if there are collective efforts by all parties concerned within the framework of the Geneva Peace Conference.

122. As far as the separate deals policy is concerned, a policy towards which some are energetically trying to move the course of events, that will not bring a comprehensive settlement in the Middle East any closer. On the contrary, such separate deals are an attempt to hatch a conspiracy behind the back of the Arab peoples in order to frustrate a genuine Middle East settlement that would accord with the interests of lasting peace and the interests of all the peoples of that part of the world. This represents a serious peril to the national independence of the Arabs. It is also in contradiction with the broad interests of international peace. It should be recalled in this connexion that the Middle East region is directly contiguous with the boundaries of the Soviet Union and other countries belonging to the socialist community, which are by no means indifferent to the turn events will take. The Soviet Union will continue unswerving in its solidarity with the Arab peoples waging a struggle to do away with the consequences of Israeli aggression and to achieve a just and durable settlement in the Middle East.

123. The position of the Soviet Union on the question of an end to Israel's intervention in Lebanon's affairs and normalization of the situation in Lebanon was recently confirmed in the Soviet-Syrian communiqué published on 1 September on the occasion of the visit to the Soviet Union of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Syrian Arab Republic, Mr. Khaddam. In that communiqué, *inter alia*, it was emphasized that

"The parties condemned the continual intervention of Israel in the internal affairs of Lebanon. They stated that they intended to promote normalization of the situation in Lebanon on the basis of guarantees of its sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity. The parties also favoured consolidation of the legal authority of the Lebanese Government over the entire territory of the country and actions consistent with the legitimate interests of the Palestine resistance movement in Lebanon."

124. The Soviet delegation wishes to express its regret that the resolution the Security Council has adopted does not contain any fitting condemnation of Israel for its sabotaging of the decisions of the Council, its continuing aggressive actions against Lebanon and its intervention in the internal affairs of that country.

125. In view of the position of the Arab parties directly concerned in favour of the prolongation of the United Nations Force in Lebanon, the delegation of the Soviet Union has not stood in the way of the adoption of the resolution. At the same time, the Soviet delegation would like to confirm the position of the Soviet Union regarding the Force as set forth in the Council on 19 March [2074th and 2075th meetings], including the question of its financing. We should once again like to emphasize that any expenses incurred in eliminating the consequences of the armed aggression of Israel against Lebanon should be defrayed by the party responsible for the situation, and the party responsible in this case is Israel.

126. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): I thank the representative of the Soviet Union for the very kind words that he said about my country and about me personally. Our friendship with the Soviet Union and our joint struggle for peace form the cornerstone of the foreign policy of socialist Czechoslovakia.

127. Mr. FULENA (Mauritius): Mr. President, my Permanent Representative has requested me to present his apologies to you for not being able to be personally present at this meeting of the Council. On his behalf and on my own, I wish to express to you my warmest congratulations on your accession to the presidency. My delegation would also like to congratulate your predecessor on his brilliant presidency during the month of August.

128. The delegation of Mauritius voted in favour of the draft resolution contained in document S/12848 because it considers that the period decided on is a happy compromise between the parties most directly involved and because it has been determined in a spirit of co-operation. We should like to take this opportunity to congratulate the delegation of the United States for its initiative in this respect.

129. However, we note that the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon has not so far been able to fulfil to its own satisfaction the mandate given to it. This is obviously due to the many obstacles placed in its path by Israel. We regret this situation and hope that within the next four months UNIFIL will have completed its extremely delicate and difficult task.

130. We pray and hope that the territorial integrity of Lebanon, as well as the authority of its legitimate Government, will soon be established and that peace and harmony will again reign over this crossroads of cultures that is Lebanon.

131. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): There are no other speakers. Therefore, I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

132. Recent events in Lebanon and the very fact that the Security Council is once again concerned with the question of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon cannot but cause concern. The entire course of events, as is further borne out by the information to be found in the Secretary-General's report, has once again convinced us that the tragic situation now facing the people of Lebanon is the direct result of aggression and continued intervention on the part of Israel in the internal affairs of that country. It emerges from the facts presented in the report that UNIFIL has to date been unable to act effectively throughout the territory of Southern Lebanon because the Israeli authorities have not complied with resolution 425 (1978). *Inter alia*, the report also mentions that "Israeli forces handed over control of the evacuated area not to UNIFIL but to . . . [so-called] *de facto* armed groups" [S/12845, para. 17], in other words, armed groups that refuse to obey the Lebanese Government. These actions, the report goes on to emphasize, are preventing the United Nations Force from exercising "the measure of control that is required for the full discharge of its mandate" [*ibid.*, para. 45]. These, as well as numerous other actions, have simply provided us with further proof that Israel continues to interfere in the internal affairs of Lebanon and is preventing the consolidation of the legitimate authority of the Lebanese Government over the entire territory of the country and attempting to jeopardize its territorial integrity.

133. The events that have occurred in Lebanon should not, of course, be considered in isolation from the over-all situation that prevails throughout the Middle East area. The Lebanese tragedy is occurring at a time when repeated diplomatic efforts are being made to replace a comprehensive solution of the Middle East conflict through the existing machinery for holding peace talks—that is, the Geneva Peace Conference—by piecemeal separate deals. The real purpose of this policy is to disguise the fact that, until now, the necessary step towards a just solution of the Middle East problem has not been taken at all.

134. The basis for a just settlement of the Middle East problem consists, first and foremost, in the complete withdrawal of Israeli forces from all Arab territories occupied in 1967, the exercise by the Arab people of Palestine of their legitimate rights, including the right to self-determination and the creation of their own State, and guarantees of the security of all States in that area as well as their right to an independent existence. A genuinely just settlement can be achieved only if joint efforts are made by all parties concerned.

135. Despite the fact that the Arab peoples are now passing through a difficult stage in their history, history's final verdict will be to condemn those plans whose purpose is to shelve the possibility of solution for the Palestinian problem, to destroy the unity of the Arab peoples and stifle the aspiration of the Arab working masses for social progress.

136. At the same time, despite the intense difficulties and complexities of the situation in the Middle East, the Security Council can even now immediately promote the strengthening of international security in the Lebanese region by opposing the forces of aggression, which, through

the direct support and provocation of intermediaries, are trying to frustrate the process of normalization of the situation in Lebanon, undertaking action aimed against the restitution of Lebanese authority over the whole territory of Lebanon, and, in the final analysis, trying to undermine the State of Lebanon and to break the Palestinian resistance.

137. The Czechoslovak delegation, as before, did not object to the extension of the mandate of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon. A decisive factor in that decision was the position taken by the Lebanese Govern-

ment itself, which gave its consent to the deployment of the Force in its territory, as well as the position taken by other Arab countries concerned. At the same time, I should like to state that we are not in any way withdrawing the reservations expressed by the Czechoslovak delegation at Council meetings on 19 March [2074th and 2075th meetings] and 3 May [2076th meeting], when the question of UNIFIL was being discussed. For that reason, we were forced once again to abstain in the vote just taken.

The meeting rose at 7 p.m.