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2215th MEETING: 15 APRIL 1980

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2215)	1
Adoption of the agenda	1
The situation in the Middle East:	
Letter dated 10 April 1980 from the Permanent Representative of Lebanon to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/13885);	
Special report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (S/13888 and Corr.1)	1

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2215th MEETING

Held in New York on Tuesday, 15 April 1980, at 10.30 a.m.

President: Mr. Porfirio MUÑOZ LEDO (Mexico).

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/2215)

1. Adoption of the agenda

2. The situation in the Middle East:

Letter dated 10 April 1980 from the Permanent Representative of Lebanon to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/13885);

Special report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (S/13888 and Corr.1)

The meeting was called to order at 11.20 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in the Middle East:

Letter dated 10 April 1980 from the Permanent Representative of Lebanon to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/13885);

Special report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (S/13888 and Corr.1)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): In accordance with the decisions taken at previous meetings [2212th to 2214th meetings], I invite the representative of Lebanon to take a place at the Council table, and I invite the representatives of Ireland, Israel, Italy, Jordan, the Netherlands and the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Tuéni (Lebanon) took a place at the Council table and Mr. Mulloy (Ireland), Mr. Blum (Israel), Mr. La Rocca (Italy), Mr. Nuseibeh (Jordan), Mr. van Buuren (Netherlands) and Mr. Terzi (Palestine Liberation

Organization) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like to inform the members of the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Nigeria, in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Clark (Nigeria) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council chamber.

3. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to document S/13892, which contains the text of a letter dated 14 April from the representative of Israel to the President of the Security Council.

4. Mr. ÅLGÅRD (Norway): The recent events in southern Lebanon have clearly emphasized the continued volatile situation in the Middle East and reminded us once more of the urgent need to increase the efforts to produce a comprehensive solution which can bring lasting peace to the countries and peoples of that troubled area.

5. These events are of very serious concern to the Norwegian Government. We view the situation with the same seriousness as has been reflected in the reports submitted to the Council, both in writing and orally, by the Secretary-General. We also listened with attention to the statement of the representative of Lebanon [2213th meeting] describing a situation that is all too familiar to Norway as a country contributing troops to the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL). Norway is participating in UNIFIL because we consider its presence in southern Lebanon to have a vitally stabilizing effect on the situation in that area and, by extension, on the overall situation in the Middle East. But these recent developments endanger the entire peace-keeping operation.

6. We have witnessed, once again, how *de facto* forces have penetrated UNIFIL-controlled areas with a view to establishing a permanent presence

there. A further increase in the already intolerable harassment of UNIFIL personnel has similarly taken place, including the kidnapping of personnel from UNIFIL as well as from the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO). This amounts to an unacceptable affront to the United Nations and to the men who, on behalf of the world Organization, are serving the cause of peace. The General Armistice Agreement between Israel and Lebanon has also been jeopardized through these actions.

7. The recent heavy shelling of UNIFIL headquarters by the *de facto* forces has inflicted damage of great magnitude and could easily have resulted in a heavy loss of lives. In particular, we strongly condemn the deliberate shelling of the United Nations field hospital, which under international law enjoys special protection. The fact that that hospital serves the civilian population of the area as well makes the matter even more serious.

8. The tense situation already created by the *de facto* forces was further aggravated by the incursion of the Israeli Defence Forces into southern Lebanon, including UNIFIL-controlled areas. That incursion was in clear defiance of the decisions adopted by the Council. It constituted a violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the State of Lebanon.

9. The Israeli incursion took place after the attack on Kibbutz Misgav Am. The Norwegian Government has consistently condemned all acts of violence, and we also condemn that outrageous attack. That appalling act cannot, however, justify an armed incursion into southern Lebanon and UNIFIL's area of operation. We have taken note of the fact that Israel now has informed the Secretary-General that all Israeli forces have been withdrawn from southern Lebanon. While welcoming this news we must express the hope that further incursions will not take place.

10. In his statement to the Council on 13 April [2212th meeting], the Secretary-General concluded by expressing the hope that the members of the Council would consider what could be done to bring the situation under control and to make it possible to proceed with the full implementation of resolution 425 (1978) and other relevant resolutions of the Council.

11. The difficulties that UNIFIL is facing have their main origin in the fact that the Force has been unable to deploy in, and to establish control over, the entire area of its operation. The continued control of the border area by the so-called *de facto* forces and the continued harassment of UNIFIL by those forces imply a permanent threat, not only to the UNIFIL operation as such, but to the very authority of the United Nations and to peace and security in the area as a whole. It is now imperative that UNIFIL be put in a position to deploy and to establish its control in the border area, which is controlled today by the *de facto* forces.

12. In the present serious situation, I feel compelled to point to the close links that exist between Israel and the *de facto* forces. The activities of the *de facto* forces cannot be sustained without the moral, financial and logistic support of Israel. Israel therefore carries a heavy responsibility in this regard and should be urged to co-operate in facilitating the deployment of UNIFIL in the entire area up to the internationally recognized boundaries. Israel must also co-operate fully in efforts to compel the *de facto* forces to cease their harassment of UNIFIL and to refrain from any repetition of such flagrant breaches of international law and codes of conduct as we have witnessed recently. The behaviour of the *de facto* forces till now has been unacceptable and will not be tolerated any longer by the international community.

13. The recent events in southern Lebanon pose yet another challenge to UNIFIL and to the Security Council. In the atmosphere of continued armed attacks, persistent efforts to penetrate UNIFIL's area of operations and continued harassment of its personnel, it is becoming increasingly difficult for UNIFIL to operate with full effectiveness and, in particular, to prevent infiltrations through the area under its control. The *de facto* forces therefore must effectively cease their actions against UNIFIL. The Force must be granted complete and unrestricted freedom of movement throughout its entire area of operation. Unless that is granted, it is difficult to envisage how the UNIFIL operation can be continued in a meaningful way.

14. Finally, I wish to take this opportunity to pay a tribute to the Commander of UNIFIL and to his men for their continued dedication in the service of peace in southern Lebanon. Recent days have all too clearly demonstrated that their task is an extremely difficult and challenging one. In this connection, I wish to extend my heartfelt sympathy to the representative of Fiji on the most tragic death of a Fijian soldier in the line of duty.

15. Mr. FLORIN (German Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): In the last few weeks the Council has had occasion to deal repeatedly with events in the Middle East; each time it has been faced with aggressive actions by Israel.

16. In spite of resolution 425 (1978), which contains the unambiguous demand addressed to the Israeli aggressor to respect the territorial integrity, sovereignty and political independence of Lebanon and to withdraw all its military units from Lebanese soil, the Israeli troops, once again in the most flagrant violation of international law and in disregard of the relevant United Nations resolutions, have committed acts of aggression on Lebanese territory. The members of the Council are faced once again with this defiance by Israel. Israeli ruling circles are not only disregarding decisions of the United Nations and of the Council, but are also using the gang which they

are maintaining and supporting, a gang led by the so-called Major Haddad, to commit violent military acts against the posts set up by UNIFIL pursuant to a Council resolution, thus subjecting to tremendous danger the lives of United Nations soldiers who are in Lebanon to ensure peace.

17. We find the following comment in paragraph 8 of the special report of the Secretary-General:

"On 24 March personnel [of the Israeli Defence Force] at border pillar 33 fired about 40 rounds of light machine-gun and small arms over the heads of the observers when they appeared on the roof of OP Mar. On 27 March, both OPs Khiam and Mar were forcibly entered into by the *de facto* forces and occupied by them for two and one-half hours."

18. Those and all subsequent military actions, the ominous consequences of which we have read about in the Secretary-General's report, were planned as far back as the beginning of March. The aggressive actions that were actually carried out at the beginning of March against United Nations military personnel gave those troops the right to take vigorous counter-measures. Moderation and restraint on the part of the United Nations were misinterpreted in Tel Aviv. There it was thought that they could do whatever they liked in southern Lebanon, and even dictate to United Nations bodies what they could and could not do.

19. As was already stressed in the previous report of the Secretary-General [*S/13691 of 14 December 1979*], after the adoption of resolution 425 (1978), the Israeli troops did not call a halt to their active operations in the south of Lebanon, and for those operations they have been using and are continuing to use the anti-governmental units of Haddad as an instrument in the execution of their plan for the annexation of individual parts of Lebanese territory.

20. In this regard, those countries which, by their policy and financing, have been providing and continue to provide support to Israel and are thus constantly giving encouragement to the aggressor should really recall their responsibility in this matter. It has been proved that, in particular, if they wanted to, the ruling circles of the United States could compel Israel to observe international rules. But instead of that, what has been chosen is the course of separate deals which fail to solve problems and actually lead to further sufferings for the peoples of the Middle East, since those deals are being used by the aggressive forces for further adventures. The path leading from Camp David to the firing at the Irish battalion of UNIFIL is a straight line.

21. The timing of the actions mentioned in the Secretary-General's report is precisely what should draw the attention of the Council to the truth that really underlies those events, the truth from which such strenuous attempts are being made to divert our

attention. The recent aggressive actions of the Israeli military and its Haddad gang against Lebanon, the bombardment of the headquarters and other posts of UNIFIL can be viewed only as one more link in the chain of the Israeli policy aimed against a comprehensive, just and lasting solution of the Middle East conflict. Therefore, the delegation of the German Democratic Republic wishes to reiterate its view: the Middle East crisis can be resolved only if Israel is compelled to withdraw all its troops from the Arab territories occupied in 1967, if the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people are duly implemented, in particular its right to its own independent State, and if the security of all States of the region is assured. The German Democratic Republic, together with other socialist countries, has always acted in this spirit and, accordingly, in total conformity with the resolutions of the United Nations.

22. In view of the danger of the situation that has arisen and in the face of a continuing threat to the sovereignty of a Member State, we share the view that has been expressed here that urgent and effective measures must be taken by the Council to curb the unbridled aggressor.

23. We are, of course, always very distressed to learn of the death of children, whether of the Lebanese people, the Palestinian people or the people of Israel.

24. Mr. SIKAULU (Zambia): On behalf of my delegation, I wish first of all to thank the Secretary-General for his special report. We are also grateful to him for the statement he made on 13 April before the Council [*2212th meeting*].

25. Quite clearly, the situation that developed last week in Lebanon is very grave. Both in his report and in his statement the Secretary-General has provided the Council with information which makes it imperative for it to act without delay to ensure the full implementation of resolution 425 (1978) and other relevant resolutions. The representative of Lebanon, who requested these meetings last week, also lucidly and movingly described the disquieting situation in his country in his statement before the Council yesterday [*2213th meeting*].

26. Once again, the precarious situation in Lebanon has exploded. The fragile peace has been broken. Israel has invaded Lebanon, as it has repeatedly done in the past, in flagrant violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon. In collusion with indisciplined elements in Lebanon which serve its interests, Israel has launched a savage attack against UNIFIL.

27. My delegation shares the concern and preoccupation of the Government of Lebanon and of the Secretary-General. It is intolerable that Israel should continue to violate with impunity the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon. Indeed, it is revolting

that UNIFIL—the soldiers of peace—should be subjected to savage attacks, harassment and humiliation.

28. Israel should be condemned in the strongest terms for its acts of aggression against Lebanon and for the wanton and savage destruction and the attacks against UNIFIL.

29. Last Thursday and Friday, the Council considered South African acts of aggression against Zambia. The Pretoria régime was condemned by the Council for its aggression against my country and called upon to respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Zambia. There certainly is something in common between the Pretoria and Tel-Aviv régimes. They have become partners in crime and in violating the norms of international law. Lawlessness and intransigence have driven the two régimes into a military alliance with ominous consequences for international peace and security.

30. Zambia, a constant victim of South African acts of aggression, cannot fail fully to understand the grave situation in Lebanon caused by the policies and practices of Israel. We fully sympathize with and support the Government and people of Lebanon.

31. On behalf of my delegation, I wish to commend UNIFIL for exercising maximum restraint in the face of deliberate provocation from the Israeli régime and its surrogates in Lebanon. It is indeed to the credit of the Force that it has persevered in the cause of peace, operating as it does in the most difficult and hazardous circumstances.

32. My delegation was particularly sad to learn of the death of a member of UNIFIL from Fiji, as a result of Israeli aggression against Lebanon and the wanton assault on the Force. On behalf of my delegation, I wish to express our heartfelt condolences to the Secretary-General, the Commander of UNIFIL and to the Government and people of Fiji on that tragic loss.

33. In conclusion, I wish to reiterate the need for the Council to act to ensure full respect for its decisions regarding the unhappy situation in Lebanon. In the final analysis, the situation in Lebanon cannot be divorced from the general problem of the Middle East. It underscores the urgent need to find a just and comprehensive settlement which will bring conditions of peace and security to the Middle East as a whole.

34. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The next speaker is the representative of Ireland. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

35. Mr. MULLOY (Ireland): Mr. President, I should like to express my thanks to you and to the other members of the Council for their courtesy in allowing me this opportunity to explain Ireland's position

with regard to the events in southern Lebanon. I do so in the confidence that under the able presidency of Mexico, a country which has contributed so much to the elaboration of principles of international security and disarmament, we shall bring closer the day of a final settlement of the strife in Lebanon and in the Middle East as a whole.

36. I have been instructed to ask to be allowed to address the Council in view of the great concern felt by my Government about recent events involving UNIFIL, particularly in the area where the Irish contingent serving with the Force is stationed. Our comments are made, as on the two occasions last year [2149th and 2165th meetings] when we addressed the Council on this subject, with a view to being constructive and with that restraint which we feel participation in a peace-keeping force imposes. I do not intend to deal with the Middle East problem in general and its tragic consequences for all involved, except to reiterate that Ireland condemns all acts of violence in the region and has expressed sympathy to the Government of Israel on the loss of life occasioned by the raid on Misgav Am. I should also wish to take this opportunity to express the condolences of the Government of Ireland to my colleague from Fiji on the recent tragic death of a Fijian member of UNIFIL.

37. This meeting of the Council is timely, not only because it focuses on the rapid deterioration in the situation in southern Lebanon in the last few days but also because it indicates the extent to which the peace-keeping Force created by the Council has been consistently obstructed in its attempts to implement its mandate. This obstruction has had tragic consequences for the people of the region and has also placed the lives of the soldiers serving with the Force in jeopardy—adding to the already heavy toll in lives both of civilians and of soldiers of different nationalities serving with the Force.

38. My Government has in the past week expressed its serious concern at recent developments in southern Lebanon. This concern was formally expressed to the Secretary-General on 10 April and I wish now to convey it to the Council. As the Council is aware from the Secretary-General's report, *de facto* forces, which are supported by Israel, further encroached on UNIFIL positions, manned by the Irish battalion among others, and harassed and fired upon the Force. Units of the Israeli Defence Forces crossed the border into southern Lebanon in clear conflict with the mandate entrusted to UNIFIL by the Council. The Council, as members know, established UNIFIL

“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)].

That UNIFIL has been consistently obstructed in the implementation of its mandate is all too clear. What is

equally clear is the potentially disastrous consequences of such obstruction. Stability in southern Lebanon is essential to stability in the country as a whole, and this in turn is vital to peace in the Middle East.

39. Ireland has had a long and active association with the United Nations peace-keeping and observation forces. The Government of Ireland has recently confirmed its full support for the United Nations in its world peace-keeping role. It was in order to contribute in practical terms to the efforts of the Security Council to maintain international peace and security in the region and to help to preserve the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of Lebanon, that Ireland agreed to contribute troops to the United Nations peace-keeping efforts and to maintain them with UNIFIL.

40. That decision to send our troops overseas to serve with the United Nations was based on one clear understanding: that the Governments concerned accepted the establishment of the Force and would give it the necessary co-operation for it to carry out its difficult mandate. This has been the basic premise of all United Nations peace-keeping operations over the years, and Governments which respond to the call of the international community by volunteering for service with such forces are entitled to count on it as a minimum condition. It is, however, a matter of great concern to my country that the lives of soldiers serving with the United Nations, including those from Ireland, should be placed in jeopardy in circumstances such as those which we have witnessed in recent days.

41. Ireland's concern at the deterioration in this situation has been further increased by the recent actions of the *de facto* forces, which have placed the lives of Irish troops in jeopardy and have led to the wounding of two Irish soldiers—one very seriously, with the loss of an eye—and the abduction of nine soldiers. Moreover, the Israeli incursions into UNIFIL's area during these events had the effect of further increasing tension in the area. The Irish soldiers were released following negotiations on the ground and diplomatic activity by the United Nations and by others in support of the United Nations. We are grateful to all who lent their assistance to that end.

42. Last weekend, however, *de facto* forces caused extensive damage to UNIFIL headquarters and property in Naqoura as a result of sustained artillery, mortar and small arms fire. On the same day, a fight took place between UNIFIL troops and *de facto* forces at At-Tiri. This was initiated by the *de facto* forces and led to the death of a Fijian soldier. Four Irish soldiers were later abducted by the *de facto* forces.

43. We have noted Israel's assurances on several occasions that it intends to continue to co-operate

with United Nations peace-keeping forces. We know that Israel does maintain close liaison with UNIFIL, but we are concerned that these assurances should be fully translated into practical action. This concern is particularly occasioned by the fact that, first, when Israel withdrew from south Lebanon, UNIFIL was not permitted to extend its authority over the whole area entrusted to it; secondly, Israel does not deny that it has given extensive military and financial assistance to the *de facto* forces; and, thirdly, Israeli forces have themselves made incursions into UNIFIL's area, most seriously in recent days. All this makes more difficult the task of the Force in carrying out other important aspects of its duties including the prevention of infiltration by armed personnel into its area of operation.

44. My Government has made its concern about the current situation widely known in the last few days. I have no doubt that this concern is shared by the members of the Council, which has responsibility for the Force, established by it. My Government notes with appreciation the expression of concern and the efforts of the Secretary-General, under whose overall direction the Force operates, to bring about an improvement in that situation. However, as the Secretary-General pointed out in his report last December [S/13691], the mandate of UNIFIL cannot be extended indefinitely unless there is reasonable assurance that the objectives of the relevant Council resolutions will be fulfilled without undue delay. In his special report, the Secretary-General again urged all concerned to extend to UNIFIL the co-operation that would enable it to fulfil the responsibilities entrusted to it.

45. We would whole-heartedly agree with the Secretary-General that the violence of the past days, leading to casualties and to the loss of innocent civilian lives, must be deeply deplored. Likewise, we share his concern, expressed in his special report of 11 April 1980, that in the present situation

“far too much of the energy of UNIFIL is distracted by efforts to resist the harassment and violence to which it is daily exposed, while its capacity to carry out its functions is greatly reduced by the fact that it cannot operate in a vital part of its area of operation which is at present controlled by the *de facto* forces” [S/13888, para. 22].

46. It is essential that the difficulties placed in the way of the Force in its efforts to carry out the mandate of the Council be removed. If the full co-operation of all parties is not forthcoming to enable the Force to carry out its mandate effectively and without interference, then the most serious questions as to its effectiveness and value must inevitably arise.

47. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The next speaker is the representative of the Netherlands. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

48. Mr. van BUUREN (Netherlands): Mr. President, my delegation is grateful for the opportunity you have given us to make a statement. We asked to participate in this debate because the Netherlands contributes to UNIFIL. My Government is seriously disturbed by the recent grave escalation of violence in southern Lebanon. The recent events have gravely imperilled the implementation of UNIFIL's mandate of peace-keeping. The Force has been, and still is, faced with a direct challenge in the performance of the tasks with which it was entrusted by the Council in resolution 425 (1978). Some of the contingents have suffered casualties in the course of their duties. In this connection, I wish to extend our condolences to the Government of Fiji on the death of a member of its battalion on 12 April. Furthermore, we express our deeply felt regrets and concern about all the casualties UNIFIL has suffered in the recent hostilities. Equally disturbing are the losses suffered by the local civilian population. Serious material damage has been inflicted as well. In sum, my Government is particularly disturbed by the current situation of belligerency in the area, which seems to present a most serious threat to UNIFIL's execution of its tasks.

49. The facts contained in the Secretary-General's special report speak for themselves. My delegation wishes to convey my Government's deep appreciation to the Secretary-General for his tireless efforts to urge restraint on all parties, thereby enhancing the safety of UNIFIL's personnel. We are equally grateful for the influence of other parties which were in a position to exercise such influence and have done so in order to call a halt to the violence.

50. My Government is seriously concerned, as I have said, by this sequence of violence, which carries a heavy risk of further escalation. We are convinced that the security and peaceful existence to which the peoples of both Israel and Lebanon are so much entitled can best be brought about by the full implementation of UNIFIL's mandate. The Netherlands recognizes and understands the legitimate concern of Israel for the safety of its population. I wish to express here our deeply felt abhorrence of acts of terrorism against innocent civilians, such as were witnessed at Misgav Am. We reject this hideous waste of human life, particularly since a child was among the victims. Prevention of infiltrations into Israel is a task which UNIFIL performs with perseverance at great personal risk to the lives of men of various nationalities. This should be borne in mind. In the event, these efforts are severely undermined by Major Haddad's unjustifiable attempts, arms in hand, to encroach upon UNIFIL's area of operation and by the shelling of UNIFIL positions.

51. It is clear that these actions can only hamper UNIFIL's ability to carry out surveillance of movements by armed elements. It is also our belief that the activities of the *de facto* forces are detrimental to UNIFIL's co-operation with the local population in

southern Lebanon, a factor of major importance in the execution of the mandate.

52. At this juncture, we understand that the Israeli army is completing its withdrawal from southern Lebanon. While this has led to some easing of the situation, the militia of Major Haddad continues its harassment and acts of violence against UNIFIL and the local population. The shelling on Sunday of UNIFIL headquarters at Naqoura was an unacceptable act of defiance in no way related to possible self-defence.

53. The situation in the area is still very tense. Any further aggravation could only have disastrous consequences for the parties directly concerned and for general peace in the region. The Netherlands' participation in the peace-keeping operation is based on our strong belief in international order and co-operation. We perceive our participation as a contribution to the United Nations' effort to stabilize the situation in southern Lebanon, thereby helping the cause of peace in the Middle East.

54. In these circumstances, the Netherlands Government wishes to associate itself with the Secretary-General's call for restraint. Any other course would seem unrealistic at this stage and could lead to the failure of UNIFIL's operation. My Government wishes in particular to impress upon the Israeli Government the absolute necessity of calling a halt to Major Haddad's irresponsible actions. We believe that Israel is in a position to do this. We attach importance to UNTSO's becoming operational again on the internationally recognized demarcation line between Israel and Lebanon. As to UNIFIL, we would strongly urge the parties to extend their co-operation with the Force in order to allow it to enjoy the freedom of movement and communication and other facilities necessary for the performance of its tasks.

55. We feel justified by the recent events in underlining the urgent need for the extension of UNIFIL's complete control to the internationally recognized boundary of Lebanese territory. The Netherlands considers this to be essential to the task of controlling movements of armed elements. This extension is a prerequisite for the fulfilment of UNIFIL's mandate contained in resolution 425 (1978).

56. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The next speaker is the representative of Italy. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

57. Mr. LA ROCCA (Italy): Mr. President, I should like to thank you and, through you, the other members of the Council for inviting me to participate in this most important debate. It is with particular pleasure that my delegation welcomes your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of April. You represent a country with which mine is linked by

long-standing and very close ties of friendship and co-operation. We are confident that your well-known diplomatic skill, sagacity and experience will greatly contribute to bringing to a positive conclusion the debate on the delicate issues of which the Council is currently seized. We wish you the best of luck in your important task.

58. I should like also to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Ambassador Mills of Jamaica, for the most skilful and efficient way in which he conducted the Council's proceedings during the month of March.

59. My Government has instructed me to participate in this debate to stress once more the importance Italy attaches to the preservation of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and national unity of Lebanon. My Government has actively tried to contribute to the solution of the difficult internal and external problems currently afflicting that country and therefore welcomed the adoption of resolution 425 (1978), which established UNIFIL and which clearly defined the ultimate goal of its mandate as the re-establishment of the full sovereignty of Lebanon over the southern part of its territory. It is for that reason that one year ago we decided to participate in the Force, and we feel compelled today to join other speakers in expressing deep concern for the most serious events occurring in southern Lebanon and threatening both the territorial integrity of that country and the safety of UNIFIL.

60. UNIFIL has been constantly confronted with very serious risks in the implementation of its peace-keeping mission. The persistent harassment of which it has been the object, in particular on the part of the so-called *de facto* forces of Major Haddad, has been a source of great concern to us. However, the level of hostile activities directed against the Force has increased in the last days to a point at which it is no longer just a matter of concern. The casualties suffered by the Irish and the Fijian contingents, for which we express our deep sympathy to the two Governments and to the families of the men who were killed or wounded, have been accompanied by extensive damage to UNIFIL headquarters and the destruction of the helicopter unit provided by my country, which has paralysed an essential service of the Force. The position of UNIFIL has clearly become untenable unless firm action is promptly taken by the Council to promote a normalization of the situation in the area.

61. My Government considers it imperative that Israel not only refrain from direct encroachment on the territorial integrity of Lebanon but also discontinue its support to the *de facto* forces which operate in the southern part of that country, thus making it possible for UNIFIL to complete its task as defined by the Council. We believe that it is time for Israel to realize that the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon are essential conditions for stability in the whole region and that it is in the interest

of all countries in the area, including Israel, to ensure those conditions rather than to hamper them. We therefore hope that the Israeli Government will in the future show greater co-operation in defusing the confrontation prevailing in southern Lebanon and in ensuring the implementation of resolution 425 (1978), with particular regard to the deployment of UNIFIL in all its area of operation.

62. In the light of the events of the last two days, we also consider it urgent that the same co-operation be shown in regard to the Secretary-General's efforts to ensure adequate protection for UNIFIL headquarters in Naqoura.

63. In considering the events of the past week one cannot ignore the tragic act of violence against Israeli civilians which considerably influenced the development of those events. I should like to make it clear that my Government is in no way willing to condone such acts, by whatever side they are committed, and in that regard I wish to stress particularly that the taking of hostages among innocent children and their random killing meet with our unqualified condemnation. Such acts only result in harming the cause on behalf of which they are performed.

64. Those events point once again, in our view, to the urgent need for a just and comprehensive settlement of the Middle East conflict to be negotiated among all the parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization. It is difficult for us to accept that this escalation of violence may be considered a justification for repeated and often extremely serious encroachments on the territorial integrity of an independent State Member of this Organization. We can see no valid excuse for acts which recurrently add fuel to an already explosive situation and which frustrate the efforts of the Lebanese Government to re-establish both national unity and normal conditions of life in the country. Nor can we see a justification for the support given in southern Lebanon to forces which, as I said, deliberately obstruct the implementation by UNIFIL of its peace-keeping mandate and increasingly imperil the lives of its members without even ensuring—as the tragic events of last week sadly show—effective protection against outside infiltrations.

65. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The next speaker is the representative of Nigeria, whom I invite to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

66. Mr. CLARK (Nigeria): Mr. President, I should like to thank you for having given me the opportunity to address the Council. I did not expect to be accorded this honour so soon after my appearance in the Council last Friday. Even though the subjects of the Council's last debate and of its present agenda item are not identical, there is a fearsome similarity between aspects of each which cannot be overlooked.

67. My Government is deeply concerned that the authority of the United Nations, and particularly of the Security Council, should so often be challenged by Member States, which should look to it for justice. The case involving UNIFIL is an exceptionally troubling one. That a United Nations peace-keeping operation should face such a test of will, such hostility and humiliation, is a problem that goes beyond the bilateral disputes that traditionally characterize the preoccupations of the Council. The present case concerning UNIFIL pits the Council itself against a party to a dispute. It threatens one of the major purposes of the United Nations, namely, peace-keeping.

68. When my Government agreed to contribute to UNIFIL, it was with the clear understanding that UNIFIL would enjoy the acceptance, if not the approval, of all the parties to the Lebanese tragedy. We went to the area hoping to do some good. We felt that we had a duty to contribute to the efforts of the Council to assist the Government of Lebanon, a country with which my country has traditionally maintained most cordial and friendly relations, in ensuring the return of its effective authority throughout southern Lebanon. We have so far agreed to stay on even when the risk to the life and morale of our forces has been high; when the financial obligations owed us have not always been honoured; and when parties to the conflict have not taken advantage of measures likely to bring about its resolution.

69. My Government earnestly believes that UNIFIL has a role to play in preserving the precarious and brittle conditions for peace, in Lebanon specifically and in the Middle East in general. We sincerely believe that UNIFIL has succeeded in arresting the situation and preventing its worsening. That record should be built upon and not destroyed.

70. The special report of the Secretary-General indicates a situation with grave implications for the continued existence of UNIFIL. The situation is all the more grave because it also affects the operations of UNTSO, which, in large measure, guarantee that the General Armistice Agreement between Israel and Lebanon is honoured.

71. My Government strongly condemns the harassment, torture and violence to which UNIFIL personnel are daily exposed at the hands of Major Haddad's illegal forces. We also deplore the fact that the Israeli Government aids and abets those untoward activities and the misconduct on the part of Major Haddad's illegal forces. Israeli collusion with, and support for, those forces was recently compounded by the incursion into and occupation of parts of southern Lebanon by Israeli forces, in violation of UNIFIL's mandate.

72. The Secretary-General's report to the Council last Sunday [2212th meeting] underlines the grave

situation which has been developing for several weeks. That anyone could be so lawless and irresponsible as to cut all outgoing telephone lines from UNIFIL headquarters and to mount well-planned and co-ordinated attacks on United Nations property and personnel engaged in peace-keeping operations, as was reportedly done on 12 April, is incomprehensible to my Government. That United Nations peace-keeping personnel could be held hostage at a time when the taking of hostages, even for a justifiable reason, has become a cruel anathema is certainly an unspeakable outrage.

73. We wish to take this opportunity to pay a tribute to the sense of mission and restraint of UNIFIL's officers and men. We mourn the dead Fijian soldier, whose country's sacrifices typify the noblest ideals of the United Nations and the indispensable services which Member States, particularly the third world ones, can render to international peace and security. We condole with the Irish and other Governments for the casualties which their contingents have suffered.

74. We also wish to take this opportunity to repudiate any allegations or insinuations to the effect that the tragic events at Misgav Am on the night of 6 to 7 April could be attributed to any slackness or connivance on the part of UNIFIL forces. The Nigerian UNIFIL contingent is made up of men proud of their professional calling and of their commitment to their United Nations peace-keeping mission. In spite of obvious provocation and harassment, they will never be party to any incident outside their mandate.

75. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I wish to inform the members of the Council that I have just received a letter from the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic in which he requests to be invited to participate in the consideration of the item on the agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the debate, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Mansouri (Syrian Arab Republic) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council chamber.

76. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I invite the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

77. Mr. MANSOURI (Syrian Arab Republic): Mr. President, allow me at the outset to thank you and the other members of the Council for giving me an opportunity to express my Government's point of view on the issue before the Council.

78. As everyone around this Council table is well aware, the Council has been seized for over two years of the question of Israeli aggression against Lebanon. In March 1978, the Council adopted resolution 425 (1978), which called for "strict respect for the territorial integrity, sovereignty and political independence of Lebanon within its internationally recognized boundaries". The resolution also called upon Israel: "immediately to cease its military action" against Lebanon. But nothing has changed since, and what the Council is debating now is another flagrant act of aggression committed openly by the Israeli authorities in outright defiance of the numerous Council resolutions which have been adopted since March 1978.

79. In his special report and through his statements to the Council during the last two days, the Secretary-General expressed clearly his fear of a dangerously escalating level of tension in and adjacent to the area of operation of UNIFIL. The report also explained in detail the movement of the Israeli Defence Forces into southern Lebanon, including the area of deployment of UNIFIL, and the violent harassment by the so-called *de facto* forces.

80. In the light of such flagrant aggression against Lebanon in general, and UNIFIL and UNTSO forces in particular, we hardly need any proof to reach the conclusion that Israel is defying not only the rules of international law and world public opinion, but even the authority of the Security Council itself, which established UNIFIL to help the Government of Lebanon maintain peace and regain its authority and sovereignty over southern Lebanon. The Israeli actions—whether directly or indirectly through their proxy, the so-called *de facto* forces—are a challenge to the Council and it is high time that the members of the Council assumed their responsibility and took the necessary action to face this challenge.

81. The Council, during this debate, has heard the Israeli representative claim his country's support for the national sovereignty, territorial integrity and unity of Lebanon within its internationally recognized boundaries. One wonders how that claim can be true, when all the evidence indicates clearly that the Israeli flagrant violation of and aggression against southern Lebanon have also included attacks on the soldiers of the United Nations, who come from different parts of the world to serve the cause of peace. In addition the Israeli authorities' creation of and support for the so-called *de facto* forces of the renegade and outlaw Haddad are a further violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon.

82. None other than the pro-Israel correspondent of *The New York Times* provided us with the clearest evidence and an example of how Israel treats our Palestinian and other Arab brethren in the occupied territories while the deadline for their so-called autonomy is approaching. Reporting from the occupied

West Bank on the assault by Israeli soldiers on a small teachers' college run by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, the correspondent of *The New York Times* wrote on 11 April:

"... After an army patrol had passed, firing shots into the air, the students retreated to the walled campus, with many taking refuge in their dormitories. The Israeli soldiers swarmed through the gate and over the walls, . . . firing tear gas into the rooms, breaking down doors and beating and hauling students to waiting vehicles.

" . . .

"In the vehicles on the way to prison, . . . [students] were forced at knife-point . . . to say: 'Palestinians lost their land; we have no right to the land.'

" . . . When the students [in the prison] requested water, . . . 'Some of the soldiers drank water in front of [them] and poured the rest on the ground.'

"Eighteen of the 41 were released yesterday, the military spokesman said, and Arab doctors at the hospital reported that all those released had injuries requiring treatment. Six were still hospitalized today. The Israeli spokesman said that three had been seriously hurt."

83. To conclude my statement I can find no better comment on this as well as other armed assaults on innocent civilians than the implications of an Israeli journalist's comment reported in yesterday's edition of *The New York Times*. The Israeli journalist said:

"A soldier who has to fire on civilians, on women and children—something breaks inside him. He is not the same person any more. It has poisoned us, this occupation."

So, something breaks inside that soldier who fires on civilians, on women and children. Moreover, the occupation is poisoning the society to which that soldier belongs.

84. In this context, it is worth mentioning that the Government of that society vows never to relinquish its occupation of the Palestinian and other occupied Arab lands, and that it will strengthen its existing settlements and implant new ones; and carry on, with unprecedented arrogance and intransigence and in defiance of the whole world, its systematic policy of invasion, occupation and creeping annexation of Arab territories.

85. Furthermore, if the occupation is poisoning the occupiers and if something breaks inside the soldiers firing on women and children, then is it not primitive and naive to ask: if that is how the occupiers, the

invaders, the expansionists feel, then how must those civilian men, women and children under occupation feel? Is there any law in the world that might deprive them of their right to defend by all possible means the attainment of their basic human and national rights?

86. The answer is once again left to the logic and conscience of the Council, as well as of the international community, in whose maturity, justice and fairness we still believe. We are sure that the Palestinians will leave Lebanon as soon as they can establish their own State in their own homeland. Then, and only then, can peace prevail in the area.

87. We should like to welcome the statement of the Lebanese representative [2213th meeting], in which he expressed the willingness of his Government to send its army to the south to share responsibility with UNIFIL.

88. Finally, I should like to express our thanks to the Secretary-General for his report and to join with previous speakers in expressing our condolences to the people and Governments of those brave soldiers for peace who lost their lives or suffered injuries during the performance of their duties.

The meeting rose at 12.35 p.m.