



# SECURITY COUNCIL OFFICIAL RECORDS

THIRTY-THIRD YEAR

**2075<sup>th</sup>** MEETING: 19 MARCH 1978

NEW YORK

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## 2075th MEETING

Held in New York on Sunday, 19 March 1978, at 8.30 p.m.

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

*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/2075)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. The situation in the Middle East:
  - Letter dated 17 March 1978 from the Permanent Representative of Lebanon to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/12606);
  - Letter dated 17 March 1978 from the Permanent Representative of Israel to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/12607);
  - Report of the Secretary-General on the implementation of Security Council resolution 425 (1978) (S/12611)

*The meeting was called to order at 9.35 p.m.*

### Adoption of the agenda

*The agenda was adopted.*

### The situation in the Middle East:

- Letter dated 17 March 1978 from the Permanent Representative of Lebanon to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/12606);
- Letter dated 17 March 1978 from the Permanent Representative of Israel to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/12607);
- Report of the Secretary-General on the implementation of Security Council resolution 425 (1978) (S/12611)

1. The PRESIDENT: I invite those representatives who, with the consent of the Council, have been participating in this debate so far to resume the places reserved for them at the Council table or at the side of the Council chamber.

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. Tuéni (Lebanon), Mr. Herzog (Israel) and Mr. Terzi (Palestine Liberation*

*Organization) took places at the Council table and Mr. Abdel Meguid (Egypt), Mr. Al-Sahhaf (Iraq), Mr. Nuseibeh (Jordan), Mr. Kikhia (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya), Mr. Puntsagnorov (Mongolia), Mr. Akhund (Pakistan), Mr. Al-Obaidly (Qatar), Mr. Medani (Sudan), Mr. Al-Hussamy (Syrian Arab Republic), Mr. Cu Dinh Ba (Viet Nam) and Mr. Al-Haddad (Yemen) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.*

2. The PRESIDENT: Members of the Council have before them in document S/12611 the report of the Secretary-General on the implementation of Security Council resolution 425 (1978) and the text of a draft resolution in document S/12612.

3. In my capacity as representative of the UNITED KINGDOM, I should now like to introduce the draft resolution formally to the Council. It is a simple draft resolution in two paragraphs.

*[The speaker read out the draft resolution.]*

I think the text is self-explanatory and certainly does not require any elaboration from me.

4. No one—neither a member of the Council nor otherwise—has asked to be allowed to make a statement before the Council moves to the voting procedure. There are, however, a number of delegations that have asked to be allowed to make explanations of vote before the vote. I take it that the Council is now ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution contained in document S/12612. I shall therefore now call on those representatives who wish to explain their vote.

5. Mr. LAI Ya-li (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): In our statement made at the Security Council meeting this morning, the Chinese delegation stated the position of the Chinese Government on the dispatch of the United Nations force, and we are not going to repeat it here. Basing ourselves on our consistent position, we will not participate in the voting on the draft resolution submitted by the United Kingdom, contained in document S/12612. We of course cannot undertake to pay any expenses for sending the interim force.

6. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The view of the Soviet delegation on the report of the Secretary-General is, naturally, determined by the position taken by us at this

morning's Council meeting; accordingly, we feel there is no need to repeat our views on the various aspects of the operation of the United Nations force. We would only stress once again that due account should be given to our stated views, both from the viewpoint of protecting the victims of aggression and from that of observing the principles of the Charter that determine the procedures for the use of United Nations peace-keeping forces to maintain international peace and security. In addition, the report contains a number of provisions relating to the arrangements for the establishment and the functioning of the United Nations force. The Soviet delegation has made reservations on similar provisions on several occasions in the past.

7. Hence the Soviet delegation cannot support the draft resolution which would approve the report of the Secretary-General. However, in view of the request made by the Government of Lebanon, the Soviet delegation will not impede adoption of the draft resolution; we shall abstain from voting on it.

8. The Soviet delegation proceeds from the premise that the Secretary-General, following the practice established in the past in this connexion, will obtain Security Council consent in respect of such specific matters relating to the operations as, for example, the choice of the countries which will provide contingents to the force.

9. As for the aspects of the report that relate to the financing of this peace-keeping operation, the Soviet delegation feels it necessary to stress once again that the costs to be incurred in connexion with the consequences of Israeli aggression against Lebanon, including the cost of dispatching troops to Southern Lebanon, should be defrayed by the aggressor—Israel.

10. The PRESIDENT: I now put the draft resolution contained in document S/12612 to the vote.

*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.<sup>1</sup>*

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

11. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives wishing to speak in explanation of vote after the vote.

12. Mr. HULINSKÝ (Czechoslovakia) (*interpretation from Russian*): For the reasons stated by the Czechoslovak

delegation in its explanation of vote on resolution 425 (1978) [2074th meeting], we abstained from voting on that resolution. For the same reasons, my delegation was unable to vote in favour of the draft resolution in document S/12612.

13. The report of the Secretary-General on the implementation of resolution 425 (1978) contains certain provisions which my delegation could not support. In particular, it does not take account of Israel's responsibility, as the aggressor, and its material responsibility deriving from the decision to establish a United Nations peace-keeping force in Lebanon. Furthermore, the force would be given certain specific functions, such as police duties.

14. However, in determining its attitude towards draft resolution S/12612, the Czechoslovak delegation took into account the request made by the Government of Lebanon—a country with which Czechoslovakia has long-standing ties of co-operation and friendship—and therefore abstained from voting on the draft.

15. Mr. BISHARA (Kuwait): First, I wish to thank the Secretary-General and his staff sincerely and profoundly for preparing the report so speedily in the present difficult circumstances.

16. My delegation voted for the approval of the report with a view to ensuring the speediest dispatch of United Nations forces in order to secure the cessation of hostilities and the withdrawal of Israeli forces. It is the understanding of the Government of Kuwait that the deployment of United Nations forces will promote the restoration of Lebanese sovereignty and that the presence of those forces is conditional on the agreement and consent of the Government of Lebanon. It is also the understanding of the delegation of Kuwait that the deployment of these forces will enhance the chances for the attainment by the people of Palestine of their national rights.

17. Finally, Mr. President, I should like to express our profound thanks to you personally for the brilliant manner in which you conducted the proceedings of the Council in these difficult circumstances.

18. Mr. LEONARD (United States of America): I should like first of all to make two technical but not unimportant points.

19. First, it is the understanding of my delegation that the Secretary-General may act under the authority of paragraph 1 a of General Assembly resolution 32/214 to make such commitments as are required to expedite initiation of the mission authorized by resolution 425 (1978), bearing in mind also the provisions of paragraph 3 of resolution 32/214.

20. Secondly, my delegation wishes to draw particular attention to paragraph 11 of the report of the Secretary-General which provides, *inter alia*, that the costs of the Force shall be considered as expenses of the Organization to be borne by Members in accordance with Article 17, paragraph 2, of the Charter.

<sup>1</sup> See resolution 426 (1978).

21. In approving the Secretary-General's report on the United Nations Force in Lebanon, the Council has today demonstrated that it can act effectively and rapidly to fulfil its responsibilities for the maintenance of international peace. The United States warmly welcomes the action just taken. We recognize that establishment of the interim force and endorsement of its terms of reference are only the first steps in the difficult task ahead. Restoring peace and security and assisting the Government of Lebanon to return its effective authority to the area will require the support and co-operation of all concerned. The Force must, in addition, have the confidence and backing of this Council at all times.

22. The Secretary-General has greatly assisted the Council by the rapid preparation of his report on the implementation of resolution 425 (1978). We are certain that he will now move equally swiftly to ensure that the resolution which we just adopted will be promptly put into effect.

23. To assist the Secretary-General at this critical juncture. I am authorized to state that the United States, if requested by the Secretary-General, is prepared to assist in airlifting national contingents to the area of conflict so that they can be introduced as quickly as possible.

24. I wish again to express my delegation's firm support for the Council's action, which we view as another in a series of steps towards a comprehensive, just and peaceful settlement in the Middle East.

25. Mr. LEPRETTE (France) (*interpretation from French*): The delegation of France shares the view that the Secretary-General can and must act in this matter in accordance with paragraph 1 a of General Assembly resolution 32/214.

26. Moreover, the French delegation stresses the significance of paragraph 11 of the Secretary-General's report, which lays down the conditions for the financing of the costs of the Force by the Members of the Organization.

27. Finally, Mr. President, my delegation wishes to associate itself with the members of the Council who have paid a highly deserved tribute to you for the outstanding manner in which you have guided our work throughout these meetings.

28. The PRESIDENT: The Secretary-General wishes to make a statement, and I now call on him.

29. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: Now that the Council has approved my report on the implementation of resolution 425 (1978), I shall proceed to put into effect the plan of action outlined in paragraph 9 of that document. I shall instruct Lieutenant-General Siilasvuo, Chief Co-ordinator of the United Nations Peace-keeping Missions in the Middle East, immediately to initiate meetings on the withdrawal of Israeli forces and the establishment of a United Nations area of operation.

30. As I informed the Council this morning, following its adoption of resolution 425 (1978), I have instructed Major-General Erskine, the Chief of Staff of the United

Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO), to deploy UNTSO observers with a view to confirming the cessation of military action in the area.

31. In order to provide for an immediate presence of the new Force in the area, I have instructed General Siilasvuo to co-ordinate with the Commanders of the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF) and the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) the temporary transfer of reinforced companies from the Austrian contingent in UNDOF and the Swedish contingent in UNEF to serve, temporarily, as the advance guard of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL). I have contacted the Governments concerned with a view to having their agreement to the proposed temporary transfer.

32. I have today made initial contacts with a number of Governments with a view to ascertaining their willingness to provide contingents for the new Force. I hope to be able to consult the Council on this matter in the very near future.

33. As we are about to engage in this new operation, I feel obliged to point out the extreme complexity and difficulty of the task confronting the United Nations Force in Southern Lebanon. It will have to ensure the peaceful character of the area of operation and, to that end, control movement into and out of the zone. It will have to co-operate with the Lebanese authorities, including the army and police, in the process of restoring Lebanese sovereignty.

34. A number of basic prerequisites have not yet been clarified. These include the modalities of the withdrawal of Israeli forces from Southern Lebanon. I shall do my best to clarify these and other matters both here at Headquarters and through the contacts that I have instructed General Siilasvuo to initiate in the area.

35. The nature of United Nations peace-keeping operations, as ordered by the Security Council, requires the full co-operation of all those concerned for their effectiveness. I take this opportunity to appeal once again for such co-operation. These operations also require the full and constant support of the Council itself. This will certainly be particularly true of the operation on which we have just embarked. I shall, of course, keep the Council fully informed of developments relating to the Force and shall not hesitate to seek its support whenever necessary.

36. Mr. BARTON (Canada): First, I should like to join others in paying a tribute to the Secretary-General and his staff for their good work in submitting the excellent report which has been the subject of our work this evening. Secondly, I should like to acknowledge the important contribution of the Lebanese Government. This must have been a very difficult and painful task for it. Finally, I should like to pay due homage to you, Mr. President, as others have done, for your wonderful work here in guiding the Council during these recent very difficult days.

37. The Secretary-General has just amplified his report with some explanatory comments, which I must say I found very helpful. It may be recalled that in my statement yesterday [2073rd meeting] I drew attention to the

importance we attached to the mandate of the Force and to its being allowed to fulfil its functions. The comments that the Secretary-General has just made reassure me in this respect; I think that they will ensure that the Force Commander will have the comprehensive and adequate directions that he needs in order to be able fully to carry out his responsibilities as envisaged in the resolution.

38. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Lebanon has asked to be allowed to speak, and I now call on him.

39. Mr. TUÉNI (Lebanon): This has been a very long day, but I did not want it to end without my addressing to the Secretary-General my heartiest thanks for his personal concern, for the tremendous efforts deployed by him personally and by his assistants and other staff, and also for the challenging task of peace-keeping that he has accepted. I thank him in particular for having stated expressly here that the Lebanese army and police forces would be called upon to perform their roles.

40. I want to make one point clear for the record. The word "parties" is used in the report of the Secretary-General. This is of course his report, and we all wish him to retain the fullest freedom of movement. There are indeed parties to the initial phase, namely, the withdrawal phase, which we hope will be carried out immediately. Once the withdrawal has been completed, however, it is our understanding that on Lebanese territory there is only one party concerned, namely, the Lebanese Government, its authority and its forces, the Lebanese Army and the Lebanese local authorities.

41. I wish once again to thank the Secretary-General and you, Mr. President. As I said, like the Secretary-General we all view this as a challenge. My Government considers that responsibilities have been placed before it which it has, in the past, been criticized for not having exercised. I hope that we shall prove that independence is for us more than an empty word.

42. The PRESIDENT: There are no more speakers, I am delighted to note, but I should like to say one or two words in my capacity as representative of the UNITED KINGDOM.

43. No one approaches the end of this debate with greater relief than I. The Security Council has met every day, sometimes twice a day, since a week ago last Monday, and while the office of the presidency of the Council affords its temporary occupant a unique opportunity of listening to and evaluating many different styles of diplomatic oratory, it is a somewhat restricting position.

44. There are many who criticize the United Nations. There are many who criticize the Security Council, asserting that it falls short of discharging its responsibilities for securing as best it can in an imperfect world international peace and security. I do not think those criticisms can be justified this week-end. I think the Council has acted swiftly to adopt two resolutions designed to bring about a cessation of hostilities in Lebanon, to maintain the cease-fire and to bring about a resumption of the authority of the Government of Lebanon. It is the confident expectation of the Council that those resolutions will be fully implemented by all parties and that all parties will co-operate fully with the Secretary-General and the Commander of the new Force to that end.

45. The Council has not been able to achieve these resolutions alone. The speed and the efficiency of the Secretary-General and his staff in producing the report command our admiration. The patience and the anxiety of those who have borne the burden of the negotiations have brought us successfully to this end. Finally, there are all those members of the Secretariat, particularly the staff of the Security Council, without whose devotion and ability we not only could not have produced these resolutions but could not have functioned at all. On behalf of the Council, I should like to thank them and everyone else who has assisted in our work very much indeed.

*The meeting rose at 10.05 p.m.*

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