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#### NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

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

The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council*. The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

## 2395th MEETING

Held in New York on Friday, 17 September 1982, at 6 p.m.

*President:* Mr. Masahiro NISIBORI (Japan).

*Present:* The representatives of the following States: China, France, Guyana, Ireland, Japan, Jordan, Panama, Poland, Spain, Togo, Uganda, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zaire.

### Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2395)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. The situation in the Middle East:
  - (a) Letter dated 4 June 1982 from the Permanent Representative of Lebanon to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15162);
  - (b) Letter dated 28 July 1982 from the Permanent Representatives of Egypt and France to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15316);
  - (c) Letter dated 16 September 1982 from the Permanent Representative of Lebanon to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15392)

*The meeting was called to order at 6.35 p.m.*

### Adoption of the agenda

*The agenda was adopted.*

#### The situation in the Middle East:

- (a) Letter dated 4 June 1982 from the Permanent Representative of Lebanon to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15162);
- (b) Letter dated 28 July 1982 from the Permanent Representatives of Egypt and France to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15316);
- (c) Letter dated 16 September 1982 from the Permanent Representative of Lebanon to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15392)

1. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with decisions taken at previous meetings [2374th, 2375th, 2377th, 2385th, 2389th and 2394th meetings], I invite the representative of Lebanon to take a place at the Council table. I am informed that the representative of

Israel has asked to be excused today for the observance of his holiday. I invite the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) to take a place at the Council table; I invite the representatives of Cuba, Egypt, India, Kuwait, Pakistan and the Syrian Arab Republic 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; Mr. Terzi (Palestine Liberation Organization) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Roa Kouri (Cuba), Mr. Abdel Meguid (Egypt), Mr. Krishnan (India), Mr. Abulhassan (Kuwait), Mr. Mahmood (Pakistan) and Mr. El-Fattal (Syrian Arab Republic) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.*

2. The PRESIDENT: Members of the Council have before them document S/15394/Rev.1, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by the representative of Jordan. They also have before them document S/15396, which contains the text of a letter dated 17 September from the representative of Tunisia to the President of the Council.

3. Mr. NUSEIBEH (Jordan): We are meeting this evening in the dark shadow of the traumatic events that have engulfed the celebrated capital of Lebanon, the city of Beirut, which has fallen victim to Israeli occupation. In fact, it is at present living under curfew. I propose to submit a revised draft resolution [S/15394/Rev.1] that I hope will give some solace to the agony of the inhabitants of the capital of Lebanon. I do hope that the draft resolution will meet with the consensus endorsement of members of the Council and that steps will be taken to see to it that the objectives and purposes of this draft are carried out.

4. I should now like to read out the revised draft resolution.

*"The Security Council,*

*"Having considered the report of the Secretary-General of 15 September 1982 [S/15382/Add.1],*

*"Condemning the murder of Bashir Gemayel, the constitutionally elected President-elect of Lebanon, and every effort to disrupt by violence the restoration of a strong, stable government in Lebanon,*

*"Having listened to the statement by the Permanent Representative of Lebanon [2394th meeting],*

*"Taking note of the determination of Lebanon to ensure the withdrawal of all non-Lebanese forces from Lebanon,*

*"1. Reaffirms its resolutions 508 (1982), 509 (1982) and 516 (1982) in all their components;*

*"2. Condemns the recent Israeli incursions into Beirut in violation of the cease-fire agreements and of Security Council resolutions;*

*"3. Demands an immediate return to the positions occupied by Israel before 15 September 1982, as a first step towards the full implementation of Security Council resolutions;*

*"4. Calls again for the strict respect of the sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and political independence of Lebanon under the sole and exclusive authority of the Government of Lebanon through the Lebanese Army throughout Lebanon;*

*"5. Reaffirms its resolutions 512 (1982) and 513 (1982), which call for respect for the rights of the civilian populations without any discrimination, and repudiates all acts of violence against those populations;*

*"6. Supports the efforts of the Secretary-General to implement resolution 516 (1982), concerning the deployment of United Nations observers to monitor the situation in and around Beirut, and requests all the parties concerned to co-operate fully in the application of that resolution;*

*"7. Decides to remain seized of the question and asks the Secretary-General to keep the Security Council informed of developments as soon as possible and not later than within twenty-four hours."*

5. That is the text of the revised draft resolution. Because of the urgency and gravity of the situation at present prevailing in Beirut, I urge that this draft resolution be put to the vote and that any further statements or comments be made thereafter.

6. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Jordan has stated that it would be preferable for the other speakers to make their statements after the vote, but there are already several speakers. I would request the indulgence of the representative of Jordan to permit those speakers who wish to do so to make their statements before the vote.

7. Mr. de La BARRE de NANTEUIL (France) (*interpretation from French*): First of all, on behalf of my delegation, may I extend to you, Sir, my congratulations on your accession to the presidency of the

Council for the month of September. I know that your great diplomatic skill, together with your great courtesy, are an excellent earnest for the work of the Council which will be under your direction.

8. May I also highly praise your predecessor, Mr. Noel Dorr, the representative of Ireland, who guided the work of the Council during the month of August with exemplary patience and competence.

9. I should also like to extend a welcome and express my good wishes for success to Sir John Thomson, our new colleague from the United Kingdom, who has just assumed his functions here.

10. In the serious circumstances which once again prevail in Lebanon, France wishes to associate itself with the efforts of the legitimate Government of Lebanon in dealing with the present crisis. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of France has just visited Beirut, at the request of the President of the French Republic, to assure the legitimate authorities of Lebanon, who have once again been put sorely to the test, of the solidarity and support of France. That was the sense of the message addressed by Mr. François Mitterrand to Mr. Elias Sarkis in the hours immediately following the villainous assassination of the President-elect of Lebanon. We are profoundly affected by his death, which happened at a particularly sensitive time for a country which had courageously embarked on the path of reunification.

11. Mr. Cheysson has received from the Lebanese authorities their assurance that the constitutional process has already been initiated in order to make it possible for a new president to be elected as soon as possible. France is very pleased at this and hopes that the way will thus remain open to bringing about national reconciliation, an essential prerequisite for re-establishment of the full authority of the Lebanese State, something which France earnestly wishes.

12. The Minister, who was received by President Elias Sarkis, was unable, as he had expected, to meet the President of the Lebanese Council, Mr. Chafik Al-Wazzan, because of the advance of the Israeli troops towards west Beirut.

13. That advance, which the Secretary-General described in paragraph 6 (*d*) of his report of 15 September [*S/15382/Add.1*], and the bombings which accompanied the advance, are viewed by us as a deliberate and unwarranted violation of the Habib plan, drawn up last August. It is worth recalling that that plan, which the United States, France and Italy co-operated in drawing up, was widely welcomed by the international community.

14. The guarantees provided by the Habib plan, in return for the evacuation of the armed forces, has been seriously compromised by Israel's unilateral action.

15. The French Government, for its part, denounces and condemns this action. It expects the immediate withdrawal of Israeli troops to the positions occupied before 15 September, which would be a first step towards the subsequent withdrawal of Israeli troops from the positions they occupy around Beirut. That should facilitate expeditious negotiation of the conditions for evacuation of all foreign armed forces from Lebanon, in accordance with the resolutions of the Council.
16. In this connection, the French Government would like to recall the weight it attaches to the immediate implementation of the resolutions of the Council *vis-à-vis* observers of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization in Beirut. Their immediate deployment in sufficient numbers should make it possible for us to evaluate the threat facing the civilian populations and the extent to which the agreements reached have been respected, as well as the possibility of taking other steps, if need be. France would like here and now to express its determination to lend its full support to any decision that might be taken.
17. It is for these reasons that my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution submitted by Jordan.
18. Mr. LIANG Yufan (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): We are very pleased to see you, Sir, the outstanding representative of Japan, a friendly neighbour separated from us by a body of water, presiding over the Council this month. The Government and people of China are eagerly awaiting the up-coming official visit to our country of the Prime Minister of your country, Mr. Zenko Suzuki. We hope and believe that his important visit will be a powerful impetus to co-operation between our two countries in various domains.
19. I am also convinced that, as a seasoned diplomat with rich diplomatic experience, you will certainly be able to lead the Council to a smooth fulfilment of its tasks for this month.
20. I also wish to take this opportunity to thank the President of the Council for August, Mr. Dorr. His admirable wisdom and ability enabled the Council to tackle successfully the important and, at the same time, very arduous tasks of the Council in August. At the same time, I wish to welcome to the Council the new representative of the United Kingdom, Sir John Thomson. We look forward to the best possible co-operation with him.
21. The Chinese delegation was very indignant to hear that the Israeli aggressor troops, taking advantage of the occasion of the untimely death of the President-elect of Lebanon, Bashir Gemayel, and in violation of the cease-fire agreement, carried out a massive incursion into west Beirut and attacked Muslim militia, plunging the people of west Beirut once again into the disaster of a war of aggression and thereby further exacerbating the situation in Lebanon.
22. At present, the situation in Lebanon and the entire Middle East situation are at a critical juncture. The PLO and the Arab States have made positive efforts for a just and comprehensive settlement of the Middle East problem. The PLO, having regard for the overall situation, has evacuated from Beirut its headquarters and armed forces. The Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, held at Fez in November 1981 and September 1982, put forward a constructive and realistic eight-point plan [*see S/15510, annex*]. All this has received the affirmation and support of the international community.
23. However, the Israeli authorities still stubbornly persist in their position of aggression and expansion. Not only have the Israeli troops that carried out an incursion into Lebanon not pulled back a single step but they have repeatedly provoked conflicts in the eastern and central parts of Lebanon. The Israeli authorities have not only totally rejected the Arab plan adopted at the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference but have also fabricated all kinds of pretexts for the continued presence of their aggressor troops in Lebanon. Begin has gone as far as openly declaring that the Israeli troops would not pull out of Beirut until all the Palestinian armed forces have withdrawn from Tripoli and the Bekaa valley and the Syrian troops from Lebanon.
24. It is necessary to point out here that whether or not the Palestinian and Syrian forces remain in Lebanon has nothing to do with Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon. By confusing the two completely different questions, the Israeli authorities clearly aim at having their forces entrenched in Lebanon and prolonging the tension there, a situation that would facilitate its control of that country.
25. The acts and deeds of the Israeli authorities clearly demonstrate that it is sheer hypocrisy for them to assert that they respect Lebanon's sovereignty and that they have no intention of occupying Lebanese territory.
26. The incursion of Israeli troops into west Beirut is another gross trampling underfoot and violation of Lebanese sovereignty and territorial integrity. The Chinese Government and people strongly condemn this new crime of aggression of the Israeli authorities. We firmly support the appeal made by the Lebanese Prime Minister for Israeli troop withdrawal. The Israeli authorities must turn over a new leaf, implement the relevant resolutions of the Council, abide by the norms of international law, immediately cease their aggression against Lebanon and immediately and unconditionally withdraw all their aggressor troops from Lebanon.
27. Sir John THOMSON (United Kingdom): Mr. President, I am grateful for the greetings to this

important world institution which you and others have so kindly extended to me. As a newcomer to the Council, I am delighted, Sir, to be starting under your presidency. You are both the representative of a country with which the United Kingdom enjoys very close and friendly relations and a distinguished and skilful colleague whom I had had the pleasure of knowing long before I came here. Under your wise and gentle guidance, I look forward—to use a golfing metaphor which I believe is not inappropriate—to playing straight down the fairways of the Council.

28. I should also like to pay a special tribute to your predecessor, the representative of Ireland, who, I know, conducted the Council's proceedings last month with his well-known skill, conscientiousness and good humour.

29. My Government is dismayed by this latest recurrence of violence and tension in Lebanon. We had hoped that, after the magnificent success of Mr. Habib's efforts in negotiating an agreement between the parties and the exemplary achievement of the multinational force from the United States, France and Italy, we would now be moving towards the restoration of peace in that country and the re-establishment of the Lebanese Government's authority throughout its territory.

30. This hope of peaceful recovery has been violently interrupted, first by the shocking assassination of Lebanon's President-elect, Mr. Bashir Gemayel, and subsequently by Israel's military thrust into west Beirut and the resumption of conflict there.

31. My Government deplores the murder of a man who since his election had committed himself to the search for peace between all communities in Lebanon. It is a tragic event for the country. We should like to extend our condolences to his family and the families of the other victims. We hope that all Lebanese leaders will continue to work for reconciliation and national reconstruction.

32. We trust that there will be no foreign interference with this internal and necessary process. We strongly support, too, the Lebanese Government's initiative to restore its own authority in west and east Beirut and are naturally opposed to any action which renders this more difficult.

33. Instead of the restraint which we had hoped for from all parties, we have seen Israel's forces move deep into west Beirut, causing further conflict and destruction. We are greatly concerned by this Israeli move. We note the Lebanese Government's public rejection of Israel's claim that it is acting to prevent fighting and secure peace. Israel has no right to arrogate to itself the power of intervention in the capital and territory of a neighbouring State. Israel has no right to take the law into its own hands in someone else's country. We support the call for an immediate

Israeli withdrawal to the positions it occupied before 15 September.

34. It is incumbent on all involved in the tragic situation in Lebanon to observe the greatest restraint and exercise prudence at this time of tension. A satisfactory situation can be achieved only when Israel withdraws its forces, as called for by the Council in resolution 509 (1982), and when all other foreign troops, except any authorized by the Lebanese Government, also withdraw. The representative of Lebanon said yesterday that "Lebanon should be left to the Lebanese, and the Lebanese alone" [2394th meeting, para. 12]. We agree and hold that this is the goal towards which the Council should work.

35. We liked the moderate and sensible speech by the representative of Lebanon, and the clear, concise and constructive draft resolution based on it which was put forward by the representative of Jordan [S/15394]. We could have voted in favour of that draft resolution, but we can also accept the amendments which have been proposed. Accordingly, we shall vote in favour of the text as it now stands [S/15394/Rev.1].

36. Mr. OTUNNU (Uganda): The delegation of Uganda is very pleased to see you, Sir, presiding over the Council during the month of September. We have worked closely with you in the Council for almost two years now, and we are confident that, with your well-known qualities of political wisdom and diplomatic skill, you will steer the Council successfully through this difficult period.

37. I wish to pay a very special and well-deserved tribute to my friend, Mr. Noel Dorr, of Ireland, who was President of the Council for the month of August. Mr. Dorr's resourcefulness, imagination, patience and sense of fairness have already made a significant impact on the work of the Council.

38. I should like also to take this opportunity to extend a very warm welcome to Sir John Thomson, the new representative of the United Kingdom. We look forward to working very closely with him and to benefiting from his extensive and distinguished experience.

39. The Council has been meeting since yesterday at the request of Lebanon, following Israel's invasion and occupation of west Beirut, an act clearly in violation of the cease-fire agreements and the resolutions of the Council.

40. My delegation condemns the assassination of Mr. Bashir Gemayel, the President-elect of Lebanon. But we condemn even more strongly Israel's cynicism in seizing upon that tragedy as a pretext for occupying west Beirut, thereby aggravating the suffering of the Lebanese people and shattering the fragile peace that was slowly, if painfully, emerging in Beirut.

41. The Council will recall that, when Israel launched its invasion of Lebanon on 6 June, among the reasons it gave for that move were the attempted assassination of the Israeli ambassador in London, alleged violation of the cease-fire by the PLO and PLO military presence in Lebanon. In response to that sort of argument, Professor Stanley Hoffman of Harvard University said the following in an article which appeared in *The New York Times* on 16 June:

“The Palestine Liberation Organization in Lebanon had actually observed the cease-fire with Israel obtained last summer by the United States. It was not in its interest to provoke an Israeli onslaught. The PLO did not resume hostilities until after the heavy Israeli attack, for which the assassination attempt on Ambassador Shlomo Argov in London—an odious act that no evidence links to the PLO—served as a pretext.”

42. The present Israeli action in Beirut therefore follows a now-familiar pattern of pretexts invariably followed by massive military action. There is no doubt that Israel has seized on the tragic death of President-elect Bashir Gemayel as a mere pretext to move into west Beirut in the same way that it used the attempted assassination of Ambassador Shlomo Argov in London as a mere pretext for launching a full-scale invasion of Lebanon.

43. I remember that during the months of June, July and August, Israel had invoked the presence of PLO fighters in Beirut as the reason for the destruction and carnage it visited upon the capital of Lebanon. Today, well after the successful evacuation of PLO fighters from Beirut, Israel continues to inflict destruction and human suffering on the people of Beirut.

44. The Israeli claim of restoring law and order in Beirut is preposterous and unacceptable. It is all the more ironic because it is Israel that has contributed so much to the present chaos and suffering in Lebanon. In any case, it is inadmissible that Israel should arrogate to itself the right to police the internal affairs of Lebanon in spite of the explicit wishes of the Government and people of Lebanon, as expressed so clearly and movingly yesterday in this very chamber by the representative of Lebanon, Mr. Tuéni.

45. The truth is that Israel has long harboured an elaborate and sinister design on Lebanon. Plenty of evidence is available on the nature and strategy of that design, but I shall refer to only one example to illustrate the point. In February 1954, David Ben-Gurion wrote to the then Prime Minister of Israel, Moshe Sharett, expounding on that design as follows:

“It is clear that Lebanon is the weakest link in the Arab League. The other minorities in the Arab States are all Muslim, except for the Copts. . . . The creation of a Christian State is therefore a natural act; it has historical roots and it will find support

in wide circles in the Christian world, both Catholic and Protestant. In normal times this would be almost impossible. . . . But at times of confusion or revolution or civil war things take on another aspect. Perhaps . . . now is the time to bring about the creation of a Christian State in our neighbourhood. Without our initiative and our vigorous aid this will not be done. It seems to me that this is the central duty, or at least one of the central duties, of our foreign policy. . . . We must concentrate all our efforts on this issue. . . . This is a historical opportunity. Missing it will be unpardonable.”

46. That was 1954 and therein lies the impetus for Israeli activities in Lebanon to this day. We cannot stand idly by and watch Israel implement with impunity its strategy for a weak and divided Lebanon. We support the desire of the people of Lebanon for a strong and united country, a Lebanon able to determine its own destiny in complete freedom and independence. For that reason, my delegation will support draft resolution S/15394/Rev.1.

47. The only contribution that Israel can make towards the restoration of law and order in Lebanon is to withdraw its troops immediately from Beirut and the entire territory of Lebanon.

48. In conclusion, my delegation regrets the impending departure of our friend and colleague, Mr. Ghassan Tuéni, of Lebanon. Over the last two years, I have come to know Mr. Tuéni well and to respect him deeply. He has done so much during his time at the United Nations to sensitize the Council in particular and the international community at large to the agony of his country. It is a matter of deep regret that the Council has not been able to do more in response to Mr. Tuéni's constant and passionate pleas on behalf of the Lebanese people. On this occasion, the best wish I can extend to Mr. Tuéni is the strong hope and prayer that his country should now be allowed to enter a new era of tranquillity, a period of national healing and reconstruction. This is my wish for Mr. Tuéni and for Lebanon.

49. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization, on whom I now call.

50. Mr. TERZI (Palestine Liberation Organization): While the Council has been passing time deliberating and arguing, the Israelis have taken the following action:

“Israeli troops have stormed west Beirut. Israeli troops have mounted a wide-scale arrest campaign. Hundreds of Palestinians and Lebanese have been seen bound, blindfolded and taken off to an unknown destination. Israeli troops have entered the Palestine Liberation Organization Research Centre—a centre of culture and education, a centre full of documents, manuscripts, maps and plans on the

history and economy and the society of Palestine. Israeli troops have imposed a curfew on west Beirut. The curfew has been used so that Israeli troops could storm houses and buildings to facilitate their arrest campaign."

51. Later we received the following much more serious information:

"A very dangerous situation is developing. Reports indicate that the militiamen of Saad Haddad had entered the Palestinian refugee camps of Sabra and Shatila. This very dangerous development could result in a mass massacre of Palestinian civilians still remaining in those camps."

52. Furthermore, just before we entered this chamber, reports said that those persons arrested were taken to the Cité Sportive; but much more dangerous, damaging and inhumane, corpses were found at the Ouzai Beach, presumably of some of those who had been arrested.

53. At last, the Council is about to adopt a resolution demanding Israel's immediate withdrawal—although it does not say "withdrawal"; but we maintain that it is—to the positions previously occupied. But the question is: should Israel fail to comply, as has been its policy in rejecting Council resolutions and decisions, will the Council invoke its powers, the powers vested in it by the Charter of the United Nations, and adopt effective ways and means to see to it that justice is done, that the lives of civilians are guaranteed and that Israel withdraws totally and unconditionally from Lebanon? Or will one member—the usual permanent member—again obstruct and undermine the role and efficacy of the Council? We have only to wait 24 more hours before judgement can be passed.

54. The PRESIDENT: It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution submitted by Jordan, contained in document S/15394/Rev.1, as orally revised by the representative of Jordan. I am afraid that some representatives might have missed the oral revision; therefore I shall read it out.

55. The representative of Jordan made the following oral revision to operative paragraph 4: replace the words "and the Lebanese armed forces throughout Lebanon", at the end of the paragraph, with "through the Lebanese Army throughout Lebanon". Operative paragraph 4 would then read:

"Calls again for the strict respect of the sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and political independence of Lebanon under the sole and exclu-

sive authority of the Government of Lebanon through the Lebanese Army throughout Lebanon."

56. If I hear no objection, I shall put the draft resolution, as orally revised, to the vote.

57. I put to the vote the draft resolution contained in document S/15394/Rev.1, as orally revised by the representative of Jordan.

*A vote was taken by show of hands.*

*The draft resolution was adopted unanimously (resolution 520 (1982)).*

58. Mr. OVINNIKOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): Today the Security Council has adopted a resolution which may seem to be a first step on the correct road—on the road to ending Israeli aggression, on the road to ensuring an unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces from all the territory of Lebanon, as provided for in the basic Council resolution 509 (1982).

59. However, in order to ensure that type of breakthrough, it is important to have not only a Council resolution, but also a sincere willingness on the part of all Council members who vote in favour of it to implement that resolution. This is especially relevant to those Council resolutions that were adopted unanimously, resolutions such as 509 (1982) and today's resolution.

60. States members of the Security Council may of course have a divergence of opinions at various stages of the discussion, but when they reach unanimity on any given resolution, that would seem to be the very minimum they should and cannot fail to implement. It is that elementary basis of activity by the Council that should be axiomatic. If a State merely votes formally in favour of any given resolution but does not go along with the actual implementation of that resolution, then many questions can arise.

61. For example, was that State sincere when it voted in favour of that resolution, or did it merely wish to use its vote as a fig-leaf? That is not a rhetorical question: it is not a theoretical problem. It is the very essence of what we shall encounter 24 hours from now if Israel does not withdraw its forces from west Beirut. The elementary obligation of the Council is to achieve the implementation of its resolutions, especially those resolutions that are adopted unanimously.

62. That is the basic premise of the Soviet delegation.

*The meeting rose at 7.25 p.m.*