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NOTE

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2400th MEETING

Held in New York on Monday, 18 October 1982, at 3.30 p.m.

President: Mr. Hazem NUSEIBEH (Jordan).

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/2400)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. The situation in the Middle East:
Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (S/15455 and Corr.1)

The meeting was called to order at 3.50 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in the Middle East:

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (S/15455 and Corr.1)

1. The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Lebanon requesting that Lebanon be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite Lebanon 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. Labaki (Lebanon) took a place at the Council table.

2. The PRESIDENT: I should also like to inform the Council that I have received from the representative of Jordan a note dated 18 October [S/15459], which reads as follows:

"The representative of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan presents his compliments to the President of the Security Council and has the honour to request the latter to extend an invitation to the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization to participate in the Council's consideration of the

item entitled 'The situation in the Middle East', in accordance with the Council's usual practice."

3. The proposal by Jordan is not made pursuant to rule 37 or rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure, but if approved by the Council that invitation would confer on the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) the same rights of participation as those conferred on Member States pursuant to rule 37.

4. Does any member of the Council wish to speak on this proposal?

5. Mrs. KIRKPATRICK (United States of America): May I take this opportunity first to congratulate you, Sir, in this public arena on your accession to the role of President of the Council and to express my Government's perfect confidence that you will conduct our meetings with skill and justice. I should also like to congratulate your predecessor, whom we all hold in very high regard.

6. The United States has repeatedly stated the reasons why we oppose the special formula that the Council uses to invite a representative of the PLO to participate in the debate.

7. On instructions from my Government, I desire to do so again, taking fully into account recent events. This special formula appears to treat the PLO as if it represented a State in international law. But it is not a State. It is a political movement which, as I said on 18 June [2379th meeting, para. 5], presents its claims on behalf of a collectivity whose members live under various political jurisdictions. Yet, the proposed formula seeks in some unexplained way to confer upon the PLO "the same rights of participation as those conferred on Member States pursuant to rule 37". We see no basis in policy or law for couching an invitation in these terms.

8. I desire as well to reiterate the position of the United States since this question first arose in 1976.

9. Our position is that we in the United States have no objection whatsoever to the Council's inviting representatives of the PLO to speak. The United States has never objected to the Council's hearing a representative of a political group which has a stake in our deliberations. But we consider that this can be accomplished constitutionally, within the framework of the Charter, only under rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure. Rule 39 has always provided a sound

basis for hearing the views of persons speaking on their own behalf or on behalf of non-governmental entities. It is under that rule that we believe the Council should act if it wishes to extend an invitation in this instance.

10. The United States requests that you put the proposed invitation to the vote. For the reasons stated today, the United States will vote "no".

11. The PRESIDENT: If no other member of the Council wishes to speak at this stage, I shall take it that the Council is ready to vote on the proposal by Jordan.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: China, Guyana, Ireland, Jordan, Panama, Poland, Spain, Togo, Uganda, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Zaire

Against: United States of America

Abstentions: France, Japan, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

The proposal was adopted by 11 votes to 1, with 3 abstentions.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Terzi (Palestine Liberation Organization) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council chamber.

12. The PRESIDENT: Members of the Council have before them document S/15455 and Corr.1, which contains the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon.

13. It is my honour and pleasure, on behalf of the Council, to extend warm greetings and express the highest esteem to Sheikh Amin Gemayel, the President of the Lebanese Republic, and to invite him to address the Council.

14. Mr. GEMAYEL (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, I should like first of all, in accordance with the tradition of the Council, to congratulate you on your assumption of your heavy responsibilities and to express my happiness at being here to address the Council under your presidency. There are many indestructible ties between our two countries.

15. I would also ask you to transmit our thanks to His Majesty King Hussein for the constant support of his Government, and in particular his delegation to the United Nations, in regard to the Lebanese question.

16. Lebanon owes much to the Council and to each of its members, both those who are present today and those who have been members in the past, since 1978.

17. But my presence in the Council is not merely a formal gesture. It is first and foremost an act of faith. Our trust in the international community that members here represent is equal only to our attachment to the principles of right which the Council has been entrusted with protecting. Lebanon, never committing aggression but, alas, all too often the victim of aggression, could have recourse only to the Organization of which it was a founding Member, hoping, as it still does, that it would be able to safeguard peace and freedom.

18. The Council has neither deceived nor disappointed us. The vicissitudes which have prevented the Council's resolutions from taking on their historical dimensions prompt us, like many members of the Council, to seek together, within the framework of the Charter of the United Nations, practical means of making the Council more effective. As members doubtless realize, we are thinking especially of resolutions 425 (1978) and 426 (1978) and those that flowed from them. We are thinking also of the more recent resolutions—508 (1982) and 509 (1982)—and of those which the Council adopted with superb unanimity. Of course, those resolutions did not lead to the liberation of Lebanon nor put an end to the continuing and recurring invasions. However, they condemned the aggression, confirmed the legitimacy of our rights, upheld the inviolability of our territory and contributed to preserving the unity and sovereignty of our country within its internationally recognized boundaries.

19. Joining us in our struggle for the independence of Lebanon and for the freedom of the Lebanese people were soldiers mandated by the Council to serve the cause of peace. Their blood, shed on Lebanese soil and mixed with the blood of our martyrs, will not be wasted; we know that the cause of peace has begun to triumph and will continue to triumph against and in spite of those who threaten it.

20. The Council is meeting today to discuss the future of the peace-keeping forces, the future of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL). The Council is already aware of our desire to see the mandate of the Force extended. This extension of the mandate, however, in our opinion cannot be an indefinite one. UNIFIL must remain an "interim force", as its name indicates. In addition, in keeping with its mandate, it must be capable of "restoring international peace and security" in southern Lebanon and "assisting the Government of Lebanon in ensuring the return of its effective authority in the area"—to use the words of resolution 425 (1978). Faced with the Israeli invasion of March 1978, UNIFIL, as we are all aware, found itself in a state of frustration since it was prevented from fully accomplishing its task by the provocations of one party or by the obstructions of another.

21. The General Armistice Agreement of 1949,¹ which Lebanon continues to respect and invoke,

was once again threatened with collapse owing to the persistence of the Israeli-Palestinian war inside Lebanese territory. Israel again violated the agreement by invading Lebanon once more, in the circumstances familiar to all here. The withdrawal of Israeli forces is therefore today the objective, as established in the Council's resolutions. That objective must be achieved. But, at the same time, Lebanon, as it has so frequently stated in this very chamber, also awaits the withdrawal of all the non-Lebanese armies and forces now on its territory.

22. It is not customary for a Head of State to take part in the deliberations of the Council, and it is certainly not my intention to do so. However, in view of the tragic circumstances in Lebanon, which threaten international peace and security, it seemed to me imperative to tell the Council how concerned we are that UNIFIL's future be viewed within the framework of the developments since its mandate was originally defined. Indeed, any possible extension of the mandate must take into account the new needs of deterrence and, in particular, the need to give the peace-keeping operation greater credibility.

23. Alongside UNIFIL, the Lebanese authorities have sought the support and assistance of another international force, the "multinational force", to which some countries represented here have contributed, and they have so informed the Organization. Under the supervision of that force, still operating with great effectiveness and courage, the Palestinian and Syrian military units pulled out of Beirut as a first stage in a negotiating process aimed at enabling the Lebanese army to undertake its responsibilities solely and fully and thereby to extend the authority of the State throughout the territory of Lebanon, with any other military presence excluded.

24. Thus, in the days or weeks to come, Lebanon hopes to gain new vigour.

25. The capital, which I left yesterday, is already coming back to vibrant life. Lebanon's resistance and its determination to emerge victorious from another war—the war against destruction and devastation—is probably one of the greatest achievements of our times.

26. And so it is with much pride and hope that I have come to announce to the Council in great solemnity the determination of the Lebanese, all the Lebanese, to live together, but alone, in one eternal, indivisible and independent Lebanon.

27. Coveted by its enemies and envied by its friends, Lebanon has by the blood of its sons earned the right to be free and to enjoy the trust and support of nations which have the same love of freedom.

28. I do not wish to end this statement without telling the Council how concerned we are by, and

involved in, the question of the Middle East, which is on its agenda.

29. The Lebanese, confident today that peace in Lebanon does not have to await an overall solution to the problem that is of concern to us all, affirm more strongly now than ever before their solidarity with the Arab world, to which they belong of their own free choice.

30. Within the framework of the United Nations, as the Council well knows, this solidarity means an obligation to promote the implementation of resolutions adopted with near unanimity concerning the legitimate rights of the Palestinians and the non-acquisition of territories by force and war.

31. What commitment could be more natural for the Lebanese, who themselves have been hostages and victims?

32. Thus, Lebanon, its powers fully regained, will here and elsewhere support any initiatives aimed at restoring a just and lasting peace in the Middle East and guaranteeing the right of peoples and nations to live in security.

33. Has not the Lebanese experience, so painful in itself, demonstrated the human tragedy and the dangers to world peace that come from the violation of rights?

34. In the Council's long deliberations, as well as in its resolutions, there are valuable lessons that the world will long remember.

35. That, at least, is our hope. May the God of peace bless your efforts.

36. The PRESIDENT: I wish to thank the President of the Lebanese Republic, Sheikh Amin Gemayel, for his very important statement and for the kind words he addressed to me and to my country. It will be my honour to convey the warm and cordial sentiments which President Amin Gemayel has addressed to His Majesty King Hussein of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and which embody the fraternal relationship between Lebanon and Jordan.

The meeting was suspended at 4.15 p.m. and resumed at 6.50 p.m.

37. The PRESIDENT: Members of the Council have before them document S/15458, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's consultations. It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on this draft resolution. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: China, France, Guyana, Ireland, Japan, Jordan, Panama, Spain, Togo, Uganda, United King-

dom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zaire

Against: None

Abstaining: Poland, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

The draft resolution was adopted by 13 votes to none, with 2 abstentions (resolution 523 (1982)).

38. The PRESIDENT: The Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 6.55 p.m.

NOTE

¹ Israeli-Lebanese General Armistice Agreement (*Official Records of the Security Council, Fourth Year, Special Supplement No. 4*).

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