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SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 35th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. MUBAREZ (Yemen)

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The meeting was called to order at 10.45 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 64: COMPREHENSIVE REVIEW OF THE WHOLE QUESTION OF PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS IN ALL THEIR ASPECTS (continued)

1. Mr. CRAIG (Ireland) said that his delegation fully supported the views expressed on peace-keeping operations by the representative of Denmark speaking on behalf of the 10 States members of the European Economic Community. Ireland had participated in most United Nations peace-keeping and observation missions since it had joined the United Nations in 1955. Irish soldiers had served in three continents and some 50 of them had given their lives for the cause of peace.
2. Since peace-keeping operations were essentially a temporary measure and only part of a peace-making process, efforts to resolve the causes of the conflict must continue. Peace-keeping had emerged as one response to the circumstances of the post-war world. The presence of United Nations peace-keeping forces had helped to open the way for negotiations by bringing immediate conflicts to an end and also served to lessen the danger that the great Powers would be drawn into direct conflict in certain sensitive regions of the world. Furthermore, the impartiality of United Nations forces enabled them to report objectively to the Security Council.
3. Peace-keeping missions must have the consent of the countries in whose territories they were stationed and the co-operation of all parties concerned. The importance of a peace-keeping force lay not in its military capacity but in the international will which it represented. If full advantage was taken of the possibilities and if adequate co-operation was extended to a peace-keeping force, that could serve as a basis for efforts to achieve a settlement through negotiation.
4. Peace-keeping operations obviously required the firm support of the Organization, particularly the Security Council. That applied not only to the practical conduct of operations, but also upholding the principles of the Charter. Lack of complete commitment on the part of the Security Council undermined the basis for United Nations peace-keeping operations.
5. Since the responsibility for maintaining peace was shared collectively by all States Members of the Organization, the financial responsibility for peace-keeping operations duly authorized under the Charter should be shared equitably by all Member States. His delegation continued to be concerned at the serious financial situation of certain peace-keeping operations, particularly that of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL), as a result of the practice followed by some Member States of withholding assessed contributions. That placed a disproportionate financial burden on other Member States, particularly those which participated in peace-keeping operations. It also ran counter to efforts to ensure the principle of wide geographical representation in the composition of peace-keeping forces, a principle to which his delegation was particularly attached.

(Mr. Craig, Ireland)

6. It was clear that in the case of UNIFIL such conditions had not been fully met. Nevertheless, UNIFIL had played an indispensable role in controlling the conflict up to the Israeli invasion in June 1982. Even afterwards in its reduced and limited role, UNIFIL maintained stable conditions in its area of operations. However, if UNIFIL or other United Nations forces were to play an effective role in assisting the Government of Lebanon to restore Lebanese sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity, the Security Council and the international community must bring about the conditions necessary for satisfactory operations. Lastly, he paid tribute to the courage and devotion to duty shown by all those involved in United Nations peace-keeping operations.

7. Mr. SMITH (Jamaica) said that his delegation would have great difficulty in routinely agreeing to the renewal of the mandate of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations if its next report did not indicate a greater degree of progress in its work. It was necessary to avoid what his delegation had earlier referred to as the institutionalization of a failure. If the Special Committee was making no progress, that should be admitted frankly. The implications of that failure for the future of peace-keeping should be clearly defined, and the inflexible attitude of some permanent members of the Security Council on that question should again be fully brought to the attention of the international community.

8. He expressed satisfaction at the report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization (A/37/1), which had emphasized that peace-keeping operations had generally been considered one of the most successful innovations of the United Nations and had recommended that Member States, especially the members of the Security Council, should again study urgently the means by which peace-keeping operations could be strengthened. A number of General Assembly resolutions had urged the Special Committee to expedite its work, and recent events had clearly shown that the completion of its task was long overdue. Peace-keeping operations continued to be conducted on an ad hoc basis, with uncertain financing and without the full support of all States, including the permanent members of the Security Council. The same divisiveness which had almost rendered obsolete the collective security premise on which the Charter was based continued to limit the potential of peace-keeping operations.

9. Under such circumstances and despite an excellent record thus far, the authority of peace-keeping forces and the level of confidence in their operations had been affected. On two recent occasions the United Nations had been bypassed and multinational forces had been used instead. In Lebanon during the past summer the authority of peace-keeping forces had once again been challenged when the positions of UNIFIL had been overrun by the Israeli army during its invasion of Lebanon. The need for agreement on guidelines governing the conduct of peace-keeping operations clearly increased with the deterioration of the international situation.

10. Peace-keeping was a valuable means of controlling a conflict and bringing about conditions favourable to the peaceful settlement of disputes. The fact that

(Mr. Smith, Jamaica)

some disputes had continued for long periods of time when peace-keeping forces were in place was a reflection of the inability or unwillingness of the international community, including its most influential members, to take advantage of the opportunities which peace-keeping provided. His Government would continue to give its full support to the peace-keeping activities of the Organization. Their importance to the international community, particularly small, militarily weak States, had increased over the years because of the lack of co-operation within the Security Council in implementing the enforcement measures as envisaged under the Charter.

11. With regard to the guidelines to govern the conduct of peace-keeping operations, his Government believed that the established modality through which such operations were conducted only with the consent and agreement of the parties concerned was essential to their success and reflected the non-coercive nature of such operations. Jamaica shared the view that, while the Security Council might have a primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, peace-keeping activities could be legitimately authorized by the General Assembly in the exercise of its residual responsibility when the Security Council could not or would not act. The functions and powers of the Security Council and the General Assembly in that regard should be complementary, not conflicting.

12. It was the collective responsibility of all Member States to finance peace-keeping operations. Such expenses fell within the purview of Article 17 of the Charter and should be apportioned among all Member States on the basis of an appropriate formula decided upon by the General Assembly. It was a matter of continuing concern to his Government that the expenses associated with peace-keeping continued to be the principal cause of the budget deficit of the Organization.

13. Jamaica took great interest in proposals designed to strengthen the United Nations peace-keeping capacity through the conclusion of agreements relating to national contingents for possible use in peace-keeping operations. He expressed appreciation to the relatively small number of countries which had consistently borne a disproportionately large share of the responsibility for peace-keeping operations through the provision of forces and equipment.

14. The major Powers, particularly the permanent members of the Security Council, were under an obligation to develop the collective security framework envisaged under the Charter. As an immediate step the permanent members of Security Council should seek to achieve greater co-operation on that question within the Special Committee.

15. Mr. SMIRNOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that the Soviet Union continued to attach great importance to reaching agreement on guidelines to govern peace-keeping operations in strict accordance with the Charter. Such an agreement would constitute an important step toward strengthening the effectiveness of the Organization. Only unswerving observance of the Charter would guarantee that the armed forces of the United Nations would not be used for purposes contrary to the Charter and the interests of States, particularly small ones.

(Mr. Smirnov, USSR)

16. Several years earlier the Special Committee on Peace-Keeping Operations had achieved positive results on the basis of the Charter. His delegation had repeatedly expressed its readiness to return to the guidelines on which agreement had been reached and to continue joint efforts to arrive at final agreement. However, it should be pointed out that in recent years the work of the Special Committee had become bogged down and attempts had been made to divert its attention to secondary questions.
17. In that regard, he expressed concern at the position of certain States, which not only showed an unwillingness to work constructively, but were undermining the system of collective measures for maintaining international peace and security as envisaged in the Charter. Those who had created the "rapid deployment force" were guided by selfish considerations, rather than the general need to strengthen security. The establishment of such a force once again showed that their desire to continue to declare any region of the world to be within their sphere of vital interests was contrary to the Charter. The Charter did not give any State the right to impose its will on others by force or threat of force or to set up military forces for interfering in the internal affairs of sovereign States.
18. Recent events had only confirmed that the policy of suppressing the struggle of peoples for national liberation, interfering in the internal affairs of States and protecting aggressors had led to attempts to circumvent the Security Council in its task of carrying out peace-keeping operations. The common interest of the States Members of the Organization required the unswerving implementation of the Charter and the development of sound guidelines governing United Nations peace-keeping operations. That would be in keeping with the need to enhance the effectiveness of the Organization in the maintenance and strengthening of international peace and security. In that regard, his delegation reiterated its readiness to continue to seek agreement on guidelines governing peace-keeping operations in strict accordance with the Charter.
19. Mr. BROSKI (Canada) said that the past year had not been a good year for peace-keeping. The Special Committee had not held a single meeting. A United Nations peace-keeping force had been brushed aside by the armed force of a Member State and was still experiencing difficulties in carrying out its responsibilities because of lack of co-operation on the part of all parties. Furthermore, no solution had been found to the chronic problems of financing peace-keeping operations. In those circumstances his Government commended the Secretary-General for the courageous initiative he had taken in his report on the work of the Organization in identifying some of the problems in the area of international security. An indispensable component in maintaining international security in certain types of disputes was the rapid deployment of peace-keeping troops under an agreed mandate and respected by all parties concerned.
20. His delegation agreed with the representative of Austria as to the need for States to show patience and sensitivity in reviewing their positions; that was not the same as inactivity. He would welcome the resumption of the work of the Special Committee and felt that the report of the Secretary-General on the work of the

(Mr. Broski, Canada)

Organization would be a suitable point of departure for its deliberations. Lastly, he paid a tribute to the brave soldiers of all nations serving in United Nations peace-keeping operations.

21. Mr. ALBANO (Philippines) said that past experience had demonstrated that peace-keeping operations were instrumental in reducing tension and conflicts affecting international peace and security. Recent events, however, had once again underscored the fact that notwithstanding the avowed goals of the Charter, no effective mechanism had yet been devised for maintaining international peace and security. Those events, particularly the overrunning of UNIFIL, had drawn attention to the urgent need to strengthen United Nations peace-keeping operations.

22. His delegation fully supported the recommendation of the Secretary-General in his report on the work of the Organization that Member States, especially the members of the Security Council, should again study urgently the means by which peace-keeping operations could be strengthened. The Secretary-General envisaged two possibilities: increasing the military authority of peace-keeping operations and underpinning their authority by guarantees for collective or individual supportive action. In that context, the completion of both aspects of the work of the Special Committee on Peace-Keeping Operations was of vital importance. His delegation urged the members of the Special Committee to expedite their work. It was particularly disquieting that that body had held no meetings during 1982.

23. It was hoped that in the course of the coming year the members of the Special Committee would show a greater degree of political will and flexibility in order to overcome the wide disparity of views. His delegation would support a draft resolution calling for the renewal of the Special Committee's mandate and looked forward to the submission of its next report to the General Assembly.

24. The Philippines had unfailingly supported the peace-keeping activities of the United Nations and had contributed its share to their financing. Peace-keeping operations should be of a temporary nature for the purpose of lessening tension and bringing about the necessary conditions for a negotiated political settlement between the parties concerned. They should lead to the solution of disputes, not the perpetuation of conflict. The success of peace-keeping operations largely depended on the full support and co-operation of all parties to a conflict. Those parties had an obligation not to take action which would impede the functioning of peace-keeping forces within their area of operations and to endeavour to reach a permanent and peaceful settlement of the conflict. Peace-keeping operations must be conducted only with the consent of the host country, whose sovereignty and territorial integrity must be respected.

25. The international community must be prepared to explore other practical possibilities which would provide flexibility in setting up and managing United Nations peace-keeping operations through the wider involvement of the Secretary-General and/or the General Assembly when the Security Council was unable to act.

(Mr. Albano, Philippines)

26. The financing of United Nations peace-keeping operations was the collective responsibility of all Member States. It was regrettable that some States continued to refuse to comply with their obligations, imposing additional financial burdens on other States and diminishing in the long term the capacity of the United Nations to respond to conflict situations.

27. The Manila Declaration on the Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes, which had been recently adopted by the General Assembly was a first step toward strengthening modalities for achieving the peaceful settlement of disputes and could enhance the Organization's ability to preserve peace.

28. His delegation noted with appreciation the dedicated efforts of the Secretary-General in carrying out the peace-keeping functions of the United Nations, and commended the officers and men of the various peace-keeping operations for their courage and dedication to duty. He paid tribute to those men who had given their lives in the performance of their duty.

29. Mrs. MUSENGESHI (Zaire) paid tribute to all those who had lost their lives in the conduct of peace-keeping operations in Zaire following that country's independence.

30. As a peace-loving State, Zaire was firmly attached to the principles of the Charter, in particular the principles of non-use of force, pacific settlement of disputes and non-interference in the internal affairs of other States. Unfortunately, at times the international community seemed to forget those elementary principles. The Charter could not be more explicit on the question of the maintenance of international peace and security, however: under Article 1, paragraph 1, the United Nations must take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, while under Article 2, paragraph 2, all Members must fulfil in good faith the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the Charter.

31. Basing itself on the spirit and the letter of the Charter, her delegation hoped that the continuation of peace-keeping operations would enable the United Nations to achieve the objectives of the Charter and would, for instance, contribute to a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. At the same time, it deplored the fact that certain Member States, for political or financial reasons, were shirking their obligations in the matter of peace-keeping operations.

32. Her delegation hoped that, by the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly, the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations would have completed agreed guidelines for the conduct of peace-keeping operations and found practical ways of making them more effective. Peace-keeping operations remained a valid instrument for the peaceful settlement of disputes and their success would greatly enhance the image of the United Nations.

33. Mr. SHERIFIS (Cyprus) said that, as a country where the United Nations had been playing an active peace-keeping role for several years, Cyprus attached great

(Mr. Sherifis, Cyprus)

importance to peace-keeping operations. Having benefited from the presence of the United Nations Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP), it was in a position to appreciate the work done by the United Nations in that field. It wished to convey its profound gratitude both to the countries which have provided troops or resources for United Nations peace-keeping operations the world over and to the Secretary-General and his staff, and to pay tribute to the men who had died while serving under the United Nations flag.

34. Peace-keeping was not an end in itself and must be accompanied by peace-making. His delegation reiterated its view that solutions could be found to existing problems only through genuine negotiations between the parties to a dispute, strict adherence to the Charter and proper implementation of United Nations resolutions; peace-keeping operations could then be dispensed with.

35. The parties to any dispute should use peaceful means to arrive at a settlement: Article 33 of the Charter established principles for the pacific settlement of disputes in cases of armed conflict or threats to the peace. United Nations peace-keeping operations had often served the objective of international peace and security effectively by reducing tension and conflict and creating a climate for peaceful settlement and the Organization should persevere on that course. His delegation therefore deplored the situation that had recently arisen in Lebanon where UNIFIL had been overrun and thrust aside, costing the United Nations both prestige and human lives and adding weight to the Secretary-General's call for an urgent study of ways of strengthening peace-keeping operations.

36. His delegation deplored the Special Committee's failure to address the need for, inter alia, a system of financing which would permit a more equitable distribution of the financial burden of peace-keeping operations; broader geographical representation in peace-keeping forces to ensure that all Member States participated actively in all spheres of such operations; and enhanced authority for such operations. It was especially regrettable that the Special Committee had not even met during 1982.

37. It was essential that United Nations peace-keeping forces should operate with the consent of their host country, respect its sovereignty and independence and refrain from interfering in its internal affairs. Those forces must operate impartially, in accordance with the Charter and United Nations resolutions, and be allowed to exercise their functions fully and without hindrance and without fear of attack by the aggressor or by the armed forces of the host country.

38. The question of training for peace-keeping forces was also important and his delegation reiterated the need for special training programmes and seminars to be organized at national level, under United Nations auspices, drawing on the experience of countries which had already participated in peace-keeping operations. Special training of military and civilian peace-keeping personnel would guarantee that peace-keeping operations became more effective.

39. Mr. HAMADNEH (Jordan) observed that the purpose of peace-keeping operations was to maintain international peace and security and that all Member States must



(Mr. Hamadneh, Jordan)

respect such operations and not impede their functioning. All delegations were aware that Israel had violated the Charter and United Nations resolutions repeatedly by sabotaging the action of UNIFIL, especially in 1982, and his delegation therefore demanded that Israel must co-operate with the peace-keeping forces in Lebanon so that they could perform their functions. Finally, his delegation extended sympathy to the families of members of United Nations peace-keeping forces who had died in service and expressed deep appreciation for the dedicated efforts being made by the Secretary-General with regard to peace-keeping operations.

40. The CHAIRMAN said that the Committee had thus concluded the general debate on item 64.

AGENDA ITEM 61: REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE ISRAELI PRACTICES AFFECTING THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF THE POPULATION OF THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES (A/37/162, 485, 525 and 541)

41. The CHAIRMAN drew attention to documents A/36/706, A/36/853 and A/36/854 relating to item 61, which had been submitted by the Secretary-General in 1981 in pursuance of resolutions adopted by the General Assembly at its thirty-sixth session.

42. Mr. FONSEKA (Sri Lanka),\* introducing the report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories (A/37/485), said that the purpose of the report was to reflect as accurately as possible the real situation in the occupied territories and to show in what direction that situation was leading.

43. Since 1968, when the Special Committee had first begun to monitor the human rights situation in the occupied territories, that situation had deteriorated steadily. The causes of the deterioration must be identified in order to reverse a dangerous trend. Some delegations were already aware of that deterioration but there were others who, over the years, had questioned the Special Committee's work and findings. With the passage of time, however, the findings of the Committee's earlier reports had been confirmed and, even though the Committee had consistently been denied access to the occupied territories, the accuracy of its reports had been proved beyond question. The accuracy of its latest report should not therefore be questioned simply because the Special Committee had continued to be denied access to the territories in question.

44. Delegations must examine the present and past reports of the Committee if they wished to arrive at an honest and valid assessment of its work. To avoid doing so on procedural or similar grounds was to give carte blanche to Israel, as the occupying Power, to do whatever it pleased in the occupied territories, in defiance of the resolutions of the General Assembly in violation of the most basic rights of the Palestinian and Syrian populations of those territories. While he did not

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\*The full text of this statement will be issued as document A/SPC/37/PV.35.

(Mr. Fonseka, Sri Lanka)

expect those delegations that had thus far sheltered behind procedural or other considerations to readily change their position, he would ask them to compare the situation described in the Committee's earlier reports with that described in its latest report, in order to gain some idea of the deterioration in the human rights situation.

45. In the Committee's view, that deterioration could not be allowed to continue. The human rights of the Palestinian and Syrian civilians in the occupied territories were subject to the wishes of a foreign military occupying force which had chosen to ignore the rules of international law governing the conduct of occupying Powers towards civilians under their military control. The occupying Power had used 15 years of occupation to impose an infrastructure aimed at the eventual eviction of Palestinians and Syrians from their respective homelands. Delegations were already aware that, in December 1981, the Government of Israel had promulgated legislation aimed at the annexation of the occupied Syrian territory in the Golan Heights.

46. The fundamental right to self-determination of the population of the occupied territories was being utterly disregarded as a result of the so-called "homeland" doctrine according to which the territories occupied in 1967 constituted part of the "Jewish homeland" and therefore ceased to be occupied territory in the eyes of the Israeli authorities. Any delegation wishing to verify that statement should request clarification from the Israeli authorities as to whether the occupied territories constituted part of the Israeli "homeland". On the basis of the "homeland" doctrine, a policy had been elaborated which envisaged the extension of Israeli sovereignty over those territories.

47. The situation in the occupied territories had affected the human rights of the civilian population in a number of ways. With regard to their right to self-determination, exercise of that right would mean reintegration of the territory and population of the Golan Heights into Syria and the creation of a Palestinian homeland in the West Bank.

48. The Fourth Geneva Convention, to which the Israeli Government had been a party since the early 1950s, expressly prohibited any measure affecting the safety of persons or property, as well as any attempt to annex territories under occupation or to transfer civilians from the territory of the occupying Power to the occupied territory.

49. As to the current situation, by November 1982, more than 130 settlements had been established in the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and the Golan Heights, and all of them were inhabited by Israeli citizens transferred there expressly by the Israeli Government. It was clear from the map in annex I to the Special Committee's report that those settlements constituted deliberate infiltration of the territories occupied in 1967. Moreover, the Israeli Government's recent announcement that additional settlements were to be built came as no surprise: the establishment of settlements had begun immediately following the 1967 occupation and had not yet ceased. Indeed, the number of settlers in the occupied West Bank was expected to double in 1983, according to a senior official of the World Zionist Organization.

(Mr. Fonseka, Sri Lanka)

50. Furthermore, the settlements were built on land which did not belong to the Israeli Government but which it had taken over in a variety of ways, including outright expropriation, expropriation for "security" purposes and, more recently, purchase by illegal agencies, as was indicated in the report. Palestinians had been systematically removed from Jerusalem, where only a handful of Palestinian Arab families currently lived, and a study undertaken by the former Deputy Mayor of West Jerusalem showed that in future, Israel might seize some 60 per cent of the West Bank land.

51. In accordance with international law, particularly, article 53 of the Fourth Geneva Convention, the Government of Israel bore full responsibility for the acts committed by settlers in the occupied territories. Those settlers were becoming increasingly implicated in reports of forced expropriation and acts of violence against local civilians, a phenomenon which the Special Committee had found it necessary to emphasize repeatedly in recent reports. In its previous report, the Special Committee had even come to the conclusion that the Israeli authorities were condoning such activities.

52. A classic case of annexation was that of the Golan Heights, to which the Israeli Government had formally extended the jurisdiction of its laws, despite the great resistance of the Syrian Druze population. Moreover, the Israeli Government had reacted to the 1982 American peace plan, which included the freezing of settlements in the occupied West Bank, by announcing the establishment of 10 more settlements, although that announcement had been followed by a belated clarification to the effect that those settlements had been planned before the peace proposals had been presented.

53. In addition to the measures aimed at expropriating civilian-owned land, the Palestinians living in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and the Syrians living in the Golan Heights continued to be subjected to measures aimed at forcing them to leave their homes or to remain there only as second-class citizens. During the years of occupation, the agricultural labour force had been displaced, primarily because of the shortage of land or the discouraging prospects and had been obliged to accept work in the Israeli construction industry or to migrate to other Arab countries. He drew attention to the fact that, for those who migrated, the right to return to their homeland was subject to severe restrictions. Furthermore, every aspect of the economic activities carried out in the occupied territories was carefully controlled by the military authorities, in violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention.

54. Military Order No. 854, promulgated by the Military Government with the avowed purpose of reforming education, had been used merely to prevent the growth of existing higher educational institutions and to suppress every manifestation of Palestinian patriotism. The application of that Order had resulted in the dismissal of some 20 foreign teachers who had refused to sign documents indicating that they did not support the Palestine Liberation Organization, a prerequisite for receiving a licence to teach. Fortunately, the unequivocal disapproval expressed by the United States Secretary of State in connection with Order 854 had already resulted in the rescinding of that prerequisite.

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(Mr. Fonseka, Sri Lanka)

55. Military Order No. 947, which purported to establish a "civil administration", had resulted in the removal of lawfully elected municipal councils and mayors and their replacement by councils composed of a few hand-picked nominees, who had no popular mandate whatsoever. In fact, the military authorities had legislated on all aspects of civilian life and had changed the entire legal régime applied in the territories. Understandably, the civilian population found it difficult to live with such restrictions, which interfered with their daily lives.

56. The table of incidents contained on pages 51 to 88 of the report was not intended to justify violence, although each incident reflected violence; it was meant to reflect the tenacity and determination with which the Palestinians in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and the Syrians in the Golan Heights were resisting Israel's military occupation. Indeed, those people could not be made to accept the Israeli occupation for ever. The table of incidents actually constituted an appeal to all members of the Committee from the people in those territories, who were seeking freedom and self-determination.

57. The table also reflected the plight of the thousands of civilians imprisoned for political offences, whose conditions were widely acknowledged to be poor and whose treatment during interrogation had been acknowledged to exceed applicable norms. Above all, those detainees were in prison only because their land remained occupied.

58. In view of the harsh realities reflected in its report, the Special Committee appealed to those delegations that had thus far ignored those realities to re-examine their attitude towards the human rights of the civilian population in the occupied territories. Clearly, the Israeli Government was in the process of annihilating an entire people, by creating a situation designed to drive them from their homeland or to oblige them to remain in a state of perpetual subjugation. Since that situation could not but provoke further resistance and bloodshed, it constituted a threat to all and must therefore be defused, first and foremost by ensuring that the Palestinian people in the occupied territories were adequately protected against the policies of the occupying Power. In other words, the Palestinians must be allowed to return to their homeland and to exercise their right to self-determination, and the occupied territory in the Golan Heights must be returned to the Syrians.

59. Accordingly, practical efforts must be made to divert the situation from its current tragic course. The first step in that direction lay in exercising some control over the Israeli Government's conduct in the occupied territories. Delegations that had previously maintained an attitude of detachment should make a special effort to that end, since they were the most capable of ensuring that Israel abided by its obligations under the Fourth Geneva Convention. The broader political solution everyone desired was outside the Special Committee's competence but, pending that solution, both the Special Political Committee and the Assembly owed it to the people in the occupied territories to ensure that their human rights were both restored and protected in accordance with that Convention.

60. Mr. ABOUCHAER (Syrian Arab Republic) asked that the statement made by the representative of Sri Lanka should be reproduced in full in the records of the Committee.

61. The CHAIRMAN said that, if he heard no objection, he would take it that the Committee wished the full text of the Sri Lankan representative's statement to be included in its records.

62. It was so decided.

63. The CHAIRMAN announced that the list of speakers on item 61 would be closed at the end of the Committee's meeting on Wednesday morning, 24 November.

The meeting rose at 12.35 p.m.