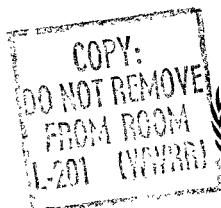


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ASSEMBLY**

**THIRTY-SECOND SESSION**

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SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE  
32nd meeting  
held on  
Wednesday, 23 November 1977  
at 10.30 a.m.  
New York

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**SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 32nd MEETING**

Chairman: Mr. NEUGEBAUER (German Democratic Republic)

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The meeting was called to order at 11.15 a.m.

EXPRESSION OF SYMPATHY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

1. The CHAIRMAN, speaking on behalf of the members of the Committee, expressed to the Government and people of India the Committee's profound sympathy for the loss of human lives caused by the recent cyclone and tidal wave.

AGENDA ITEM 57: REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE ISRAELI PRACTICES AFFECTING THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF THE POPULATION OF THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES (continued) (A/32/284, A/32/308; A/SPC/32/L.12, L.13 and L.14)

2. Mr. SURYOKUSUMO (Indonesia) associated himself with the Chairman in expressing his heartfelt sympathy to the representative of India for the catastrophe which had struck his country.

3. Turning to the agenda item under consideration, he thanked the Special Committee for the exhaustive and objective report which it had submitted. His delegation had noted with concern that the situation in the Middle East had again deteriorated as a result of the recent actions by the Government of Israel in the occupied territories. Of particular concern was the establishment of new settlements and the current Israeli Government's position on that matter. Israel's claims to historical sovereignty over territories which, in its view, were not occupied, in order to justify the inapplicability of the fourth Geneva Convention in such territories could not be sustained. Such an attitude showed a blatant disregard of the obligations incumbent upon an occupying Power, a disregard which was becoming increasingly obvious as the occupation went on. Settlements of a military or paramilitary character established in 1967 had gradually been transformed into civilian settlements, thus emphasizing the permanent nature of such settlements in the eyes of the Government and the settlers. Moreover, a growing number of the recently established settlements had been from the outset exclusively civilian. Such activities, which sought to dispossess the indigenous people of their land and homes, constituted a deliberate violation of the basic human rights of the inhabitants of the occupied Arab territories. They demonstrated that the policy pursued by successive Israeli Governments had not been abandoned. It was important that the international community should not extend recognition to the changes in the physical character and demographic composition of such territories, as urged by the General Assembly in resolution 32/5.

4. The extension and consolidation of the Israeli settlements constituted one of the main obstacles to the resumption of negotiations leading to a just solution to the Middle East conflict. It was difficult for Israel to convince the international community of its desire to live in peace with its Arab neighbours when it was proceeding to consolidate its position in the occupied territories.

5. His delegation deplored Israeli attempts to extend Israeli laws into the occupied territories. Such an action would deprive the Arab municipalities of

(Mr. Suryokusumo, Indonesia)

their powers and turn them into the tools of the Israeli military governors. Furthermore, it would sever the legal, administrative and cultural links between the east and west bank Arab communities.

6. His delegation also deplored the measures of oppression carried out by Israel. The political repression exercised by partisan military courts, the demolition of houses of persons suspected of resistance activity, the confiscation of Palestinian land on the pretext of military security and the enforced exile of community leaders were accelerating the process of changing the physical and demographic character of the occupied territories, as the Special Committee had indicated in its report (p. 42).

7. His delegation noted with regret the damage resulting from the deliberate destruction of Quneitra by Israel, which must be held responsible for making full restitution to the victims for all losses.

8. In conclusion, several aspects of Israeli policy clearly infringed upon the rights of the people in the occupied territories who were denied the right to their sovereignty and independence. Therefore, Israel must withdraw from the occupied territories if a negotiated settlement of the question was to be achieved. As the Special Committee had concluded, the international community must assume its responsibilities to put an end to the occupation and thereby ensure the human rights of the population of the occupied territories.

9. Mr. SOKALSKI (Poland) said that the nine successive reports of the Special Committee offered evidence of disquieting developments in the situation in the occupied territories. In June 1967, Israel had taken by force a considerable portion of Arab territory which it had kept ever since under illegal occupation and where it was committing acts that violated the Charter of the United Nations and were contrary to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and to the provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the protection of civilian persons in time of war. Ten years had passed without bringing about any noticeable improvement: the Government of Israel continued to implement a policy of annexation and settlement in the occupied territories and the daily life of the civilian population continued to be marked by a pattern of incidents, demonstrations, riots and other forms of violence directly attributable to the fact of occupation.

10. Three elements of Israeli policy aggravated the situation still further: the first was changes in the geographical structure of the occupied territories. In defiance of articles 47 and 49 of the Geneva Convention, the number of illegal Israeli settlements had to date risen to 84. In the light of the reported cases of expropriation and purchase of land in the occupied territories, the Special Committee had rightly drawn the attention of the international community to the illegality of such practices, since military conquest and occupation could not be recognized as conferring a valid title to property, as the General Assembly had reaffirmed in resolution 32/5.

(Mr. Sokalski, Poland)

11. The second element was changes in the demographic composition of the occupied territories. The Government of Israel continued to deny to the hundreds of thousands of civilians who had fled from their homes in the occupied territories during and after the 1967 hostilities the right to return and was endeavouring to settle there as many Israeli civilians as possible. Moreover, it did not conceal its intention of establishing further settlements.

12. Thirdly, there were the effects that the occupation was having on the daily life of the civilian population, which were also described in the Secretary-General's report (A/32/228). As the Commissioner-General of Prisons in Israel himself had admitted, overcrowding in prisons had become intolerable. Interrogation procedures had been abused for years and there was no sign that they had ceased to be used. Daily incidents, reprisals, arrests, torture of detainees, trials and imprisonment continued. The houses of suspects were bricked up. To Polish public opinion, such methods were sadly reminiscent of a previous period.

13. In the current year, the problem had acquired a new aspect. In order to justify its policy and the violation of relevant international agreements, Israel was alleging that the territories concerned were not occupied but "liberated". Everyone was aware of the political implications of such an interpretation, the repercussions of which would be incalculable.

14. The item under consideration was the sad legacy of aggression against the Arab States in 1967. As long as the effects of that aggression continued, the problem would not disappear. That was why Poland had always stood for a speedy and comprehensive settlement of the Middle East conflict. Such a settlement could come about if the negotiations involved all the parties concerned without exception and took due account of the vital interests of every one of them. Meanwhile, it was imperative that the provisions of the fourth Geneva Convention be applied in the Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem. For those reasons, his delegation supported the draft resolutions before the Committee.

15. Mr. LADGHAM (Tunisia) said that his delegation wished to pay tribute to the remarkable work carried out by the members of the Special Committee and also to the conscientiousness and intellectual integrity of its Chairman. In his report on the work of the Organization, the Secretary-General had said that the Israeli Government had recently taken certain measures in relation to the occupied territories which had been "strongly protested by Arab States and the Palestine Liberation Organization, which considered them as deliberate acts to consolidate Israeli occupation and to pave the way for annexation". He had also mentioned "a number of bombing incidents in Israel and the occupied territories, for which various Palestinian organizations have claimed responsibility". The Special Committee had stressed in the letter of transmittal accompanying its report that "the day-to-day situation in these territories continues to be tense, marked with constant occurrences of incidents, often leading to injury and loss of life".

16. According to the representative of Israel, the Israeli administration in the

occupied territories was efficient, constructive and humane and the so-called "Zionist hell" existed only in the vicious imagination of its enemies.

St. Augustine had said, "I do not speak of words, but of deeds"; and the deeds of the Israelis belied their assertions.

17. In his indictment, the Israeli representative had not spared Tunisia, which, as everyone knew, had for centuries been a country of asylum for the Israelite community. It was sufficient to mention Ghriba, the historic monument and synagogue on the island of Djerba, where thousands of pilgrims congregated each year. In independent Tunisia, the citizens of the Israelite faith had the same rights as their Moslem compatriots. Some of them occupied ministerial or parliamentary posts, others worked in the civil service, and they were active in all areas of economic life.

18. The repressive policy of the occupying forces against the peaceful population had reached heights which had never been equalled in the region. The report of the Special Committee made a precise and remarkably objective assessment of it. That policy, which had often been attested to by the information media, had not succeeded in destroying popular resistance. After 10 years of military occupation, with its trail of death, destruction and misfortune, the population of the occupied territories had not ceased to oppose the policy of colonial settlement.

19. Since the inclusion of the item in the Committee's agenda, the international community had spared no effort in its attempts to convince Israel to put an end to its intolerable practices which were contrary to the provisions of the fourth Geneva Convention, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the relevant United Nations resolutions. It had condemned the establishment of settlements in occupied territory, which constituted the essential reason for the deterioration of the situation in the region. The Israeli Government was trying, by all kinds of devices, to alter the legal status of the occupied territories, which was inadmissible at a time when hopes were arising for a just and lasting solution to the problem of the Middle East. On the previous day, the Israeli Prime Minister had said, "No more war, no more bloodshed, no more threats." The international community was waiting for those words to be translated into deeds and for the right of the Palestinians to freedom and self-determination to be recognized. The way would then be open to the establishment of a just and lasting peace in that troubled region of the world.

20. Mr. BOULOM (Lao People's Democratic Republic) said that it could be seen clearly from the information contained in the report of the Special Committee that the Israeli Government was continuing to apply its policy of annexation and settlement of the occupied territories despite the increasing opposition of their inhabitants and the strong condemnation of the international community. His delegation, like many other delegations, was seriously concerned about the fact that the Israeli Government had further intensified its policy of "fait accompli" by establishing new settlements, thus increasing the total to more than 80, and settling nearly 10,000 Israeli citizens in the occupied territories, not including those already settled in East Jerusalem. Furthermore, together with that policy

(Mr. Boulom, Lao People's  
Democratic Republic)

of annexation and settlement, the Israeli Government continued to apply a policy against the inhabitants of the occupied territories which violated all norms of international law, and in particular the provisions of the fourth Geneva Convention and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The measures for the expropriation of land, the destruction of dwellings, mass arrests and the brutal repression of the civilian population, the torture inflicted on inmates of the overcrowded prisons, and the denial of the right of return to persons displaced as a result of the 1967 hostilities, had no other aim than to perpetuate the occupation with a view to the outright annexation of the occupied Arab territories.

21. His delegation condemned those actions, which flagrantly violated the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council and also the provisions of the fourth Geneva Convention: they constituted a major obstacle to the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East and a serious threat to international peace and security. Israel must rapidly put an end to those actions by withdrawing from all the territories occupied since 1967. Meanwhile, the Israeli Government must allow the Special Committee to visit the occupied territories in order to carry out the mandate of the United Nations. His delegation called on Israel to recognize and apply the provisions of the fourth Geneva Convention in all occupied territories, including Jerusalem.

22. Mr. KORNEENKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) said that for many years the situation in the Middle East had been a source of internal tension because the key problems had remained unsolved. The main cause of the conflict was the expansionist policy of Israel, based on the consolidation of the occupation and settlement of the occupied territories. The report showed that the Israeli Government was pursuing a policy of repression and cruel terror, mass arrests and torture, in an attempt not only to crush resistance to the occupation and the liberation struggle but also to force the Arabs to abandon their lands by denying them the right to return to them.

23. Israeli propaganda tried to justify that illegal occupation by presenting it as a "good deed" in respect of the Arab population. In reality, Israel was practising a policy of "fait accompli": it proclaimed that it would not revert to its 1967 borders and would not return the occupied territories, and even went so far as to say that the West Bank of the Jordan was territory which had been "liberated" by Israel and consequently belonged to it. The Israeli Government was adopting specific measures for the settlement and annexation of the occupied territories. It had established more than 80 settlements, formulated plans for the establishment of new settlements and was attempting to change the demographic composition, geographical character and legal status of the occupied territories, in violation of the norms and principles of international law, and the Charter and relevant resolutions of the United Nations, including resolution 32/5. That policy was an obstacle to the efforts to establish a lasting peace in the Middle East.

(Mr. Korneenko, Ukrainian SSR)

24. In order to reach an equitable settlement of the conflict, it was necessary for Israel to put an end to the illegal occupation of the territories and withdraw its armed forces, for the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination and the creation of an independent State to be recognized, and for the independence and security of all States of the region to be ensured and, if necessary, backed by international guarantees. The international community must intensify its efforts to overcome the problems. To that end, the Geneva Conference should be convened as soon as possible, with the participation of all the parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization. The United Nations, for its part, must ceaselessly strive for peace, in the interest of all the peoples of the region.

25. Miss DEUER (Belgium) said that the countries of the European Community, on behalf of which she was speaking, had on several occasions expressed their concern, from the humanitarian and political point of view, about the situation in the occupied territories. That concern had been increased by the measures taken by Israel in recent months, the most disquieting of which was the expansion of settlements. The position of the Nine in that respect had been stated during the debate on item 126 at the current session of the General Assembly, and their vote in favour of resolution 32/5 had reflected their attitude clearly. Definitive and satisfying solutions to the problems under consideration by the Committee could only be found within the framework of an over-all settlement, of which one essential element was the necessity for Israel to put an end to the occupation it had maintained since the 1967 conflict.

26. With regard to the humanitarian and demographic aspects of the problem, the Nine had stated on many occasions that in their view the fourth Geneva Convention was entirely applicable to the occupied territories. They had voted in favour of a number of General Assembly resolutions calling on Israel to respect its provisions. They regretted that Israel did not accept the principle of the applicability of that Convention, which conferred responsibilities on the occupying Power and authorized certain measures with regard to the inhabitants, but prohibited any unilateral modification of the demographic and physical nature of the occupied territories. For the same reasons, the Nine remained opposed to any unilateral modification of the status of Jerusalem and the Holy Places.

27. The Nine recalled their reservations with regard to the Special Committee: because of the way in which it had been conceived, and the difficulties it encountered in its task, it was not able to pass an exhaustive judgement on the situation. The Nine had nevertheless very carefully studied the Special Committee's report, particularly the passages concerning the conditions of detention and the treatment of prisoners. The report contained certain elements which gave rise to concern. The representatives of the countries of the European Economic Community had listened with attention to the statements made on the subject by the representative of Israel and other delegations and continued to follow that aspect of the question closely.

28. The Nine firmly believed that, at a time when efforts for peace were entering a particularly delicate stage, the parties to the conflict should abstain from all

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(Miss Deuer, Belgium)

acts and measures incompatible with the requirements of a general settlement and a just and lasting peace.

29. Mr. AL GAYED (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) said that his delegation, which had read the Special Committee's report with particular attention, wished to pay a tribute to the objectivity and competence with which the Special Committee had gathered information on the situation in the occupied territories. His delegation had also listened with interest to the valuable statement by the Chairman of the Special Committee at the beginning of the discussion on agenda item 57.

30. The main purpose of the report was "to reflect, as completely as possible, the reality facing the civilian population of the occupied territories" (para. 26). The Special Committee deserved even higher praise for having attained that objective, since the Zionist occupation forces continued to impede the fulfilment of the mandate given the Special Committee by the General Assembly and prevented it from visiting the occupied territories, where it could view at first hand the atrocities committed against innocent victims, who were currently being subjected to aggression and occupation, as had the inhabitants of occupied Palestine 30 years previously.

31. The facts cited in the report proved incontestably that the policies and practices pursued by the Zionist entity in the occupied Arab territories constituted a flagrant violation of the provisions of the United Nations Charter, United Nations resolutions, international conventions and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and showed brutal disregard for the principles of international law. The racist régime continued its occupation: it continued to seize Arab lands by force and to implement its plans for annexation and expansion by establishing settlements and altering the geographic character and demographic composition of the occupied territories. Furthermore, the policy had recently been further intensified, leading to the destruction of more houses, to expropriations and confiscations and to the expulsion of the population, who were then prevented from exercising their right to return to their homes. The Zionist entity completely disregarded the illegality of such measures and the fact that military conquest and occupation were not recognized as "bestowing valid title to property", as the Special Committee had stressed (para. 246). Arrests, detentions, and the imposition of a curfew in both villages and towns were among the terror methods resorted to by the occupation authorities, who did not even shrink from using torture. His delegation was deeply concerned about the detainees, who were subjected to the most brutal treatment in overcrowded prisons without any regard for their most fundamental human rights and were denied the protection provided by international law. Paragraph 257 of the report testified to the "continuing deterioration of the situation".

32. Today everyone knew that the Zionist entity, assisted by the imperialist and colonialist Powers, had attacked the Palestinian people, despoiled them of their land and denied them their inalienable right to return to their homeland and to self-determination. It now had the effrontery to deny having committed aggression, claiming that the occupied territories were in fact "liberated



(Mr. Al Gayed, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

territories". Not satisfied with violating the most basic rights of the population, it was trying, by resorting to the most barbarous repression, to stamp out the struggle of the Palestinians to regain those rights. The Zionist entity shamelessly labeled as terrorists the leaders of the struggle, whereas it was the Zionist invaders who, in the eyes of international public opinion, were the true embodiment of terrorism.

33. The United Nations General Assembly had, in many resolutions, recognized as legitimate the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, had demanded that the latter should be allowed to exercise those rights in their homeland and had recognized the PLO as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. But the Zionist and racist entity nevertheless persisted in its odious practices and pursued its aim of annexing the territories which it had occupied after Palestine in a relentless march towards the realization of its imperialist aims.

34. The Special Committee had carried out its mission to the best of its ability. The members of the Special Political Committee now knew the facts: they should now assume their historic responsibility in the face of a situation which not only affected the fate of the Arab population of the occupied territories but also threatened international peace and security. The international community had the obligation to see to it that all the resolutions calling for the end of the occupation condemned by the Charter were implemented and that human rights were protected in that part of the world, where they were currently being violated.

35. Mr. SAYEGH (Kuwait)\* said that his delegation joined others in congratulating the Special Committee for having carried out its mandate with objectivity and impartiality despite the fact that it had had to work under difficult conditions. The matters it dealt with were a delicate subject for anyone concerned with human rights. Furthermore, the Special Committee had been denied access to the occupied territories by the occupying Power. Finally, like everybody required to carry out inquiries in the occupied territories or study matters relating to Israel, the Special Committee had been constantly criticized. The members of the Special Political Committee were themselves subjected to intimidation and blackmail by the representative of Israel, who, whenever a representative spoke about human rights, produced so-called "evidence" and circulated rumours concerning the human rights situation in the country of that representative.

36. On 8 November 1977, the representative of Israel had circulated a press communiqué criticizing the Special Committee for not having presented, in its report, the position of Israel, whereas it was Israel which had denied the Special Committee the means of ascertaining that position! If the Government of Israel refused to co-operate with the Special Committee or any other United Nations body, it did so because it felt it had no need to account to the international community for its machinations in the occupied territories, whereas the behaviour of an occupying Power was governed by very precise rules of international law. But Israel

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\* The full text of the statement by the representative of Kuwait will be issued as document A/SPC/32/PV.32.

(Mr. Sayegh, Kuwait)

considered that those territories were not occupied and formed part of its heritage. However, in its second report (A/8389), dated 5 October 1971, the Special Committee had already drawn attention to the doctrine of the national homeland set forth by the Government of Israel and supported by the opposition party. That opposition party was currently in power and the Special Committee noted in its latest report (A/32/284) that there was a clear revival, in a new form, of the doctrine of the national homeland, with its implications for Israeli policies and practices. The doctrine should be stressed because it was the key to the problem. Israel was in fact a special kind of State in which doctrine played a particular role.

37. Everything had begun with the Zionist concept, which had taken material form with the establishment of the World Zionist Organization. That organization had then created the Zionist movement, which had led to the transportation of people and to the establishment of a community in a territory in which it had not previously existed and then to the establishment of a society and ultimately a State. That progressive movement from the concept to the State was recognized in the Israeli declaration of independence. At the heart of the problem was the doctrine which underlay the policies of the Israeli Government and governed Israeli practices. That doctrine was embodied in the trilogy of people, land and State, whose interrelationship created a constant dynamic force aimed at displacing an entire population so as to occupy the whole territory of the State. But reality did not easily submit to the dictates of doctrine and for that reason, Israel was proceeding by stages.

38. The doctrine, which was in no way abstract, had always been proclaimed by the Israeli Government, but in forms adapted to varying circumstances. Thus, after the creation of Israel in 1948, the Israeli Government had begun to support two different policies. Israel had stated to the international community that it made no claim to the rest of Palestine, and yet it had remained loyal to the doctrine of a Greater Israel-Eretz Israel. It was not difficult to find examples of that double dealing. To the outside world, Israel used language aimed at reassuring the international community: in 1948, before the Conciliation Commission for Palestine, the representative of Israel had stated that steps should be taken to ensure respect for the principle of self-determination with regard to the Arabs in Palestine; in the first report of the Palestine Commission on its activities, Israel had stated that it had no designs on the central areas of Palestine. For internal purposes, the attitude of the Israeli Government had been quite different, as could be seen from an extract from the 1955 Yearbook for the Israeli Government, which had stated that the establishment of the new State had in no way diminished the scope of the historic Greater Israel. In the introduction to the 1952 Yearbook, David Ben-Gurion had explained that every State consisted of a land and a people and that Israel was no exception, but that it was not identical with its land or its people; in fact, when the State of Israel had been created, its population had represented only 6 per cent of the Jews of the world and it had occupied only one part of the land of Israel. The logical conclusion of that reasoning would thus seem to be that all of Palestine was the land of Israel and should revert to it.

(Mr. Sayegh, Kuwait)

39. The Israeli Government had shown the same ambivalent attitude in 1967 when it had begun a new stage in the application of the Greater Israel doctrine. After having once again announced that its territorial ambitions were confined to the lands already in its possession, it had extended, by decree, the application of the laws, jurisdiction and administration of Israel to a part of the recently occupied territories, namely East Jerusalem. One month after the 1967 cease-fire, the Israeli Government had announced to the Jews of the entire world, through the Jerusalem Post, that a decisive step had been taken. The ancestral Jewish heritage had been liberated and Jerusalem had been reunited. One year later, in 1968, the World Zionist Organization had published the modified Jerusalem programme in which the Greater Israel doctrine reappeared and had listed among the objectives of Zionism the gathering of the Jewish people in their historical homeland.

40. For 10 years the Israeli Government had refrained from including that doctrine in its official programme. But in 1977 the Likud Party had come to power and the platform on which Mr. Begin had been elected Prime Minister embodied for the first time the elements of the Zionist doctrine, four in particular: recognition of the unity of the Jewish people and of their common struggle for existence in the land of Israel and in the Diaspora; the eternal and historic right of the Jewish people to the land of Israel, which constituted their inalienable heritage; the establishment by the Government of urban and rural settlements on the soil of the national homeland; and the request that the Knesset authorize the Government to extend by decree the State's laws, jurisdiction and administration to all the territory of the land of Israel, as determined by decree. Thus Israel was currently laying claim openly to Greater Israel, a fact which was reflected in a new stand on three questions. Firstly, Israel had for many years reserved its position as to the applicability of the Geneva Convention to the territories it occupied, without categorically rejecting it. But in 1977, the Israeli Government had proclaimed that those areas were no longer occupied territories, but liberated territories, and that the Geneva Convention was therefore not applicable, although the General Assembly had affirmed the contrary in resolution 31/106 B.

41. There had also been an about-face in Israel's attitude towards the establishment of settlements in the occupied territories, which it had stepped up. Finally, it had also intensified its repression of the civilian population of the territories.

42. Reverting to the question of the settlements, he recalled that during debates in previous years Israel had always maintained that it was not applying a policy of annexation and that the settlements were only military advance posts established in response to security requirements. However, Israel currently acknowledged that it was implementing a civilian settlement policy on land which it had liberated. The fallacious arguments advanced by the representatives of Israel in that connexion deserved close scrutiny. They claimed, first, that the establishment of the settlements was conducive to peace: Mr. Dayan had declared in July, 1977 that nothing was more favourable to peace than coexistence between Israelis and Arabs. But if that coexistence was the key to peace, why not first allow the Palestinian refugees to return to their homes? The need for coexistence had been stressed by the Palestine Liberation Organization which, in its first statement to the General

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(Mr. Saverth, Kuwait)

Assembly, had expressed its desire to see the Christians and Moslems of Palestine living together side by side with the Jews who had come from abroad, in a pluralistic society. That had been denounced by Israel as an attempt to eliminate it. It had subsequently been made clear by Mr. Dayan that Israel felt that Arabs and Jews could coexist, but only under a Jewish Government.

43. Israel further claimed that the settlements it established in the occupied territories were comparable to the Arab villages which existed in Israel. The members of the Committee would not allow themselves to be taken in by so specious an argument. The Arabs had lived on that land before the creation of the State of Israel and constituted the indigenous population; they had not imposed their presence by force of arms as was the case with the Israeli settlements in the occupied territories.

44. Israel also had the temerity to assert that to deny Israelis the right to settle in the occupied territories would be tantamount to anti-Semitism. That was absurd: those who opposed the establishment of Israeli settlements did so because they considered them illegal and not because they were established by Jews. Israel was in fact asking that an exception to the laws be made in its favour, which was as discriminatory as denying the Jews equal rights. Israel should refrain from labelling as anti-Semites all those who advocated legality, since it was to be feared that anti-Semitism might in fact ultimately begin to exert a certain attraction on some.

45. Israel had declared that the establishment of settlements in no way violated the provisions of the fourth Geneva Convention and, particularly, of article 49, inasmuch as Israel did not carry out forcible population transfers. However, the Convention did not use the expression forcible transfers but referred only to "transfers." Moreover, Mr. Dayan himself had declared that he favoured controlled settlements rather than settlements left to individual initiative, although that had not prevented him from later telling the General Assembly that the settlements were voluntary, which was obviously false, since their establishment was due to the initiative of the Israeli Government, which had even set up a ministerial commission to deal with the matter and which resisted the efforts of Israeli nationals who opposed the settlements.

46. Another argument advanced by Israel was that the establishment of the settlements would in no way modify its borders. However, in the report of the Special Committee, various eminent Israelis who were less extremist in their views than the current Israeli Government had nevertheless unanimously affirmed that Israel would not abandon its current boundaries and would not withdraw from the settlements established within the new borders. Should it be concluded that the Israeli Government intended to eliminate the settlements or to allow them to exist under an Arab Government, thus creating a new Diaspora? The only plausible interpretation of that argument was that Israel was determined to keep all the territories, whether they contained settlements or not.

47. Finally, the representative of Israel had claimed that human rights were not

(Mr. Sayegh, Kuwait)

being violated in the occupied territories, since no one had been displaced. That was a shameless lie. There were several ways of displacing populations: by physical expulsion, by preventing them from returning home, or by creating conditions which led them to emigrate voluntarily. The establishment of settlements had led to the displacement of populations in all three of those ways. In the Golan, for example, where there was not an acre of land that had not been seized for settlement, the 100,000 Syrians displaced in 1967 would not return home precisely because of the existence of those settlements. In Jaffa and East Jerusalem, 10,000 persons had been forcibly expelled. In the remainder of the occupied territories, at least 226,000 dunams of land had been seized for settlements. Today, the farmers whose land had been seized provided cheap manpower; tomorrow they would be emigrants. In order to clarify that last point, he formally requested on behalf of his delegation that the Committee present in its next report all the information which it had accumulated over the years concerning the amount of land expropriated and the number of persons displaced.

48. In conclusion, he wished to recall that the crux of the problem was the doctrine of Greater Israel which Mr. Begin had revived. That was the reason for Israel's rejection of the applicability of the fourth Geneva Convention to the occupied territories and for its accelerated establishment of settlements in those territories. Thirty years ago, Count Bernadotte, United Nations mediator for Palestine, had foreseen the transfer of Jewish emigrants to Palestine to prevent the return of the Palestinians and had declared in his report to the General Assembly that to allow that to take place would constitute an affront to the elementary principles of justice. Today, it was incumbent upon the international community to do everything in its power to put an end to the establishment of settlements and the displacement of populations and to enable the displaced persons at last to return home.

49. Mr. IQBAL (Pakistan), speaking on a point of order and supported by Mr. TARZI (Afghanistan), proposed that the full text of the lucid and well-documented statement by the representative of Kuwait should be issued as a Committee document.

50. The CHAIRMAN recalled that the General Assembly had decided at its fifth plenary meeting to continue allowing the Special Political Committee the opportunity of obtaining, upon express request, transcripts of all or part of its debates. He took it that the Committee wished the statement by the representative of Kuwait to be reproduced in extenso.

51. It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.