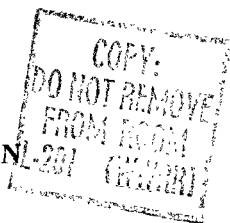


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Chairman: Mr. NEUGEBAUER (German Democratic Republic)

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AGENDA ITEM 57: REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE ISRAELI PRACTICES AFFECTING THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF THE POPULATION OF THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

#### STATEMENT BY:

Mr. SAYEGH (Kuwait)

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AGENDA ITEM 57 (continued)

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

Mr. SAYEGH (Kuwait): My delegation takes pleasure in joining with other delegations in expressing our praise and in paying a tribute to the members of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories, praise and a tribute above all for the objectivity and impartiality with which they discharged their mandate under the resolutions of the General Assembly in the most difficult of circumstances. The circumstances in which they worked have been difficult indeed. For in the first place the subject itself is distasteful to any person sensitive about the trampling of human rights and, secondly, their task has been difficult because they have been denied access to the occupied territories and the occupying Power has refused to co-operate with them. Thirdly, their task has been difficult because, like all other groups that have had to investigate Israeli practices in the occupied territories, they have been subjected to ceaseless abuse by the occupying Power and its representatives. In that, of course, they have been always in good company. Every organ of the United Nations that has ever had to deal with questions relating to Israel and has voiced any criticism of Israel has been subjected to the same kind of abuse. The General Assembly, the Security Council, the Commission on Human Rights, the Economic and Social Council and countless other bodies have all been subjected to the same kind of abuse. Even members of delegations in this very Committee who consider the report of the Special Committee before them find themselves in an atmosphere of intimidation and blackmail. One word uttered against Israel and the Israeli representative digs into his bottomless briefcase to produce what he calls evidence to chastise the speaker with, as though the item under consideration were entitled "Human rights in the world at large". Any representative who speaks against the violations of human rights in the Israeli-occupied territories incurs the intimidating wrath of the representative of Israel, who turns the tables and spreads rumours about the conditions of human rights in that representative's country. These, then, were the conditions

(Mr. Sayegh, Kuwait)

in which the Special Committee has worked, and it deserves our praise, as do the members of the Secretariat who have offered the Committee their services and performed so very well.

On 8 November, the Israeli representative issued a press release about the report of the Special Committee, which was circulated at the United Nations Headquarters. In it he reprimanded the Special Committee for "the total exclusion of the Israeli side of the case". The representative of the country that refused to give the Special Committee the Israeli side of the case nevertheless proceeded to chastise that Special Committee for not including in its report the Israeli side of the case. When I read that release I was reminded of what one of our colleagues told this Committee a few years ago. He told the Committee that he was walking on Times Square one day and saw in the window of a book store a book entitled "A Dictionary of the Yiddish Language". He purchased the book and opened it at random and came across the word chutzpah in Yiddish. Chutzpah is an untranslatable word. Its nearest equivalent is "effrontery":- in Arabic it would be wakaha - "audacity". The editors of the dictionary could not find an exact synonym for the word chutzpah so they gave an illustration.

A youth murders his father and his mother. He is convicted, and just before sentencing the judge asks him what he has to say. He throws himself on the mercy of the court and asks for leniency on the ground that he is an orphan.

When I read the statement of the representative of Israel, I thought to myself that he has now made another contribution to illustrate the meaning of the word chutzpah which the editors of that dictionary of Yiddish may very well use.

The refusal by Israel to co-operate with the Special Committee, or with any other organ of the United Nations investigating the situation in the occupied territories, conceals a much more significant position on the part of the Government of Israel, namely, Israel's belief that it is not accountable to the international community for what it does in the occupied territories. That is the heart of the matter. That rejection of international accountability for actions in territories

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which are subject to very clear norms of international law in turn points to a still more important aspect of Israel's position, namely, the belief that those territories are not occupied at all, that they are part of the patrimony of Israel, that they are its heritage and its property.

The Special Committee, with great perception, as early as in its second report of 5 October 1971, document A/8389, drew our attention in the Special Political Committee to that belief when it said in paragraph 48 b (viii):

"At the heart of the Middle East problem is the homeland doctrine enunciated by the Government of Israel and supported by the opposition."

This year when the former opposition become the Government and the former Government became the opposition, the Special Committee returned to the subject in the report which is now before us, document A/32/284, paragraphs 245 and following, and it spoke of the resurrection in a transformed manner of this homeland doctrine and the consequential changes in policies and practices by the Israeli occupation authorities resulting therefrom.

Now someone will ask, Why speak about doctrines when we are dealing with the practical question of policies and practices? Let me hasten at this stage in my statement to explain why. It is because Israel is a special kind of State in which doctrine plays a special kind of role. If we were to suggest a genealogy, it would run something as follows: At the beginning there was the idea, the Zionist idea. The idea begat an organization, the World Zionist Organization. The organization begat a movement, the Zionist movement. The movement implemented itself through the transportation of people and the creation of a new community in a land in which that community did not previously exist, the building of a new society. The society begat the State, and the motion has been uninterrupted from idea to organization, to movement, to society, to State. And at its birth the State attested to the linkage between itself and the original idea in its very declaration of independence. So what we

(Mr. Sayegh, Kuwait)

are dealing with then is not an academic question, it is not an abstract question, it is not an irrelevant question - it is the heart of the matter, the doctrine which animates Israeli policies and governs Israeli practices. And that doctrine is indeed a trinity, a trinity of people, land and State, the interrelationships of which at any given moment constitute a dynamic effort to transport the entire people to occupy the entire land in the State.

(Mr. Sayegh, Kuwait)

The implementation, of course, is piecemeal, because reality does not submit to the diktat of the doctrine. The implementation is piecemeal. They grab a piece of land, they transport a segment of the people, they squeeze out a corresponding number of the indigenous population. Then they grab a new piece of land, they create new settlements in it, and then the next action will be to transport the existing population to that newly acquired land, and so on.

Now, this doctrine - which, as I said, is not something abstract - has been constantly expressed by the Government of Israel. But the modality of expression has adjusted itself to the international circumstances governing the moment. For example, after Israel established itself in a part of Palestine in 1948 it began to speak from the two corners of its mouth: to the international community it said: "We have no additional claims on any other parts of Palestine." I have before me a book entitled Foreign Relations of the United States for 1949, which was published this year by the United States State Department. Volume VI of that book contains a most important statement, and I draw the attention of all representatives here to its importance not only for our present debate but also for the debate currently taking place in the plenary Assembly, and for the debate that will take place there shortly on the question of Palestine. On page 1019 of the book is a memorandum from Mr. Mark Ethridge, the Chairman of the United States delegation to the Palestine Conciliation Commission, which was Chairman of that Commission for that month, to his Secretary of State. And Mr. Ethridge is reporting to his Secretary of State on what the Chairman of the Israeli delegation, Mr. Walter Etam, notified the Palestine Conciliation Commission. He said:

"On 29 November 1947 the General Assembly did not divide Palestine between the Jews and the Arab States, but between the Jews and the Arabs of Palestine. The Arab States have no claim whatsoever on Palestine. The Arab States are in temporary military occupation of Palestine. The first task of the Committee is to face this situation of unlawful military occupation. The Israeli delegation insists on withdrawal of all the Arab States."

(Mr. Sayegh, Kuwait)

And now, here comes the crux of the question:

"The principle of self-determination should be observed for Arab b Palestine. The future of Arab Palestine should be left to its inhabitants."

Thus spoke the representative of Israel in May 1948, immediately after the signing of the Protocol of Lausanne and the admission of Israel to the United Nations - in language he would not use today. But that was the language used to the outside world only. In the report of the Palestine Conciliation Commission on that same period (A/927) - specifically, the Third Progress Report of the Palestine Conciliation Commission - we read in paragraph 29:

"The Israel delegation declared that Israel has no ambitions

as regards the above-mentioned central area of Palestine"

- the West Bank, then under Jordanian military occupation. Israel has "no ambitions" on that. Again, will the Israeli representative say the same thing today? No, of course not, because now we have a new phase in the articulation of the doctrine of Eretz Israel. But at that time they said it to the outside world. And while they were saying that to the outside world, they were saying, internally, in their own publications, in the Government Yearbook of Israel for 1955:

"The creation of the new State by no means derogates from the scope of historic Eretz Israel."

And David Ben-Gurion, writing in the introduction to the Government Yearbook for 1952, had this to say:

"Every State consists of a land and a people. Israel is no exception.

But it is a State identical neither with its land nor with its people."

And he goes on to say:

"It has already been said that when the State was established it had only 6 per cent of the Jewish people. It must now be said that it has been established in only a portion of the land of Israel."

(Mr. Sayegh, Kuwait)

While they were telling the outside world and the international community, "We have no ambitions and no claims in the remainder of Eretz Israel, which belongs to the Arabs of Palestine, who must exercise their self-determination in it", they were at the same time, in their own internal publications, saying, "This entire land is our land, and we have established a State in only a part of it."

In 1967, Israel grabbed another instalment of what it calls Eretz Israel. Forgotten then were the proclamations that "our ambitions are limited to the land where we have established the State": they proceeded immediately to reactivate the doctrine of Eretz Israel.

The first act was in the domain of legislation: under the Law and Administration Ordinance, Amendment No. 11, of 27 June 1967, Israel proclaimed that

"The law, jurisdiction and administration of the State should apply in any area of the State of Israel designated by the Government by order."

And promptly the Government, within 24 hours, issued the order extending the law, jurisdiction and administration of the State to a part of the then occupied territory - namely, to East Jerusalem.

Now, that legislation was only the forerunner of claims of ownership to the entirety of so-called Eretz Israel. The next stage was in a proclamation issued by the Cabinet of Israel, and at the same time by the Executive of the Jewish Agency.

Exactly one month after the cease-fire of June 1967, on 10 July of that year, the Israeli Cabinet and the World Zionist Executive, in a joint meeting in Jerusalem, issued a call to the Jewish people throughout the world.

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The Jerusalem Post described it in its issue of 13 July 1967, on page 2, as follows:

"In a proclamation reminiscent of the one issued in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah 2,500 years ago, the call said:

'A decisive turning point in the history of the Jewish people and of Israel has taken place before our very eyes. Our ancestral heritage has been liberated and Jerusalem redeemed to become once more a city that is one'."

The following year, the World Zionist Organization, at its twenty-seventh quadrennial conference, issued the amended Jerusalem programme in which it reiterated the doctrine of Eretz Israel and in which it said that among the aims of Zionism is "the ingathering of the Jewish people in its historic homeland, Eretz Israel".

So, within one year of the expansion by Israel to another instalment of what it called Eretz Israel, it had already, by legislation and by simultaneous declaration with the Zionist organization, laid claim to the newly acquired portions of what it calls Eretz Israel.

But, for 10 years the Government of Israel refrained from incorporating this doctrine in its own official programmes - until this year. This year, with the advent of the Government of the Likhud Party, the new Government's programme on the basis of which Mr. Begin assumed power as Prime Minister put together for the first time all these ingredients of the Zionist doctrine in the following four of the 26 points of the Government programme:

"1. Recognition of the unity of the destiny and the common struggle for existence of the Jewish people in the land of Israel and in the Diaspora;

"2. The Jewish people has an eternal historic right to the land of Israel, the inalienable inheritance of its forefathers;

"3. The Government will plan, establish and encourage urban and rural settlement on the soil of the homeland;

"10. The Knesset has empowered the Government to apply by administrative order the law, jurisdiction and administration of the State to all territory of the land of Israel as shall be determined by administrative order".

(Mr. Sayegh, Kuwait)

And it goes on to say,

"However, we shall not implement this until we consult with the Knesset on its implementation".

So, we are now faced with a new situation in the public enunciation of the claim for Eretz Israel. How does this reflect itself in the manner in which it concerns us under this item? It reflects itself in the following ways. First, there is a new attitude towards the Geneva Convention. Secondly, there is a new dynamism and a new rationalization regarding the establishment of settlements in the occupied territories. Thirdly, as the Special Committee notes in its report, there is an intensified repressiveness of the civilians opposing these renewed claims, whether they are out of gaol or in gaol.

I turn to the first aspect, the new outlook on the applicability of the Geneva Convention to the occupied territories. As the Special Political Committee will recall, year after year the representative of Israel has told us: "We have reserved our position on the applicability of the Geneva Convention". They did not say, "We have emphatically rejected its applicability" but "We have reserved our position on that question". The tone was set as early as 1969, and I am reading now from a statement by the International Committee of the Red Cross made to the Special Working Group of the Commission on Human Rights contained in document E/CN.4/1016, paragraph 21. I quote:

"Following on persistent ICRC representations to the Israeli authorities stating that the Fourth Convention is applicable throughout all the occupied territories, the Government of Israel has declared that it wished to leave open for the time being the question of the application of the Fourth Geneva Convention, preferring to act on an ad hoc basis by granting practical facilities to the ICRC delegates".

That remained, until this year, the official position of Israel. "The question is left open." "We have reservations on the question." Even when the General Assembly adopted resolution 31/106 B on 16 December 1976, affirming the applicability of the Geneva Conventions to the occupied territories and 134 delegations voted in support of that affirmation, the representative

(Mr. Sayegh, Kuwait)

of Israel abstained. He did not vote against it. It would be interesting to see this year how the representative of Israel would vote on a similar draft resolution, because this year there is a new situation. This year the Government of Israel says: "These occupied territories are not occupied territories, and the Geneva Convention does not apply". It does not say: "We leave open the question". It does not say: "We have reservations". It says that the Geneva Conventions do not apply.

Now this is a new situation that we think the Special Political Committee should recognize and act on accordingly. The legal arguments why the Geneva Convention does not apply have already been answered by the Special Committee of investigation and by the Working Group of the Commission on Human Rights. I will not go into them, but a question arises in my mind that was raised by an American professor of law, Professor W. T. Mallison, Professor of Law and Director at the International and Comparative Law Programme at George Washington University. He raised that question in a speech before a sub-committee of the Committee on the Judiciary of the United States Senate on 17 October 1977. He asked:

"If Israel claims that the West Bank and Gaza are parts of Eretz Israel and that it will not apply the Convention in them because the former presence of Jordanian and Egyptian military authorities and administration in these territories was illegal, if it does not apply the Convention to the West Bank and Gaza, what about Golan and what about Sinai? Does Israel recognize the applicability of the Geneva Convention in Sinai and in Golan, which it has never claimed to have been part of Eretz Israel, or does it reject that applicability because tomorrow it may yet claim that even Sinai is part of Eretz Israel, and even Golan is part of Eretz Israel?"

This was the question raised by Professor Mallison before a Senate sub-committee only last month, and I wonder whether the representative of Israel at any stage will address himself to it - that is, whether even Sinai is part of Eretz Israel and therefore liberated territory, and whether even Golan is part of Eretz Israel and is liberated territory, and that is why Israel does not recognize the applicability of the Geneva Convention there.

(Mr. Sayegh, Kuwait)

I move on to the next manifestation, which is the new attitude to the establishment of settlements in the occupied territories. There is a new attitude, manifested not only in the accelerated pace at which settlements are being built compared to the pace prior to Begin's coming to power, but also a new attitude reflected in legal and other claims concerning these settlements.

(Mr. Sayegh, Kuwait)

This Committee will remember the interesting debates we had last year and the year before and the year before that with the representative of Israel. At that time his two themes were, first, it is not true to say that Israel has a policy of settlement and annexation; secondly, that these settlements are not civilian settlements, but rather part of a defensive network, part of the security arrangement. This Committee remembers the debates we had, and our purpose was to refute his claim and say, "Yes, there is a policy of settlement; and it is not a military settlement policy but a civilian settlement policy". This argument today is academic.

The representative of Israel does not say that there are no settlement policies. He does not say these are military outposts meant for our security. Now, he says, "Yes, we have a settlement policy because this is our land, liberated by us and it is our right to establish settlements in those territories". However, knowing that this kind of argument would not carry much weight in this Committee, the Israeli representatives in plenary meetings and here have unleashed a smoke-screen of six arguments, to which I shall now turn, one by one.

First, the exercise of this right to settle Jews in the territories is a step towards peace.

Secondly, these settlements in the territories are similar to the Arab settlements in Israel.

Thirdly, denial of our right to establish settlements is tantamount to anti-Semitism.

Fourthly, these settlements do not contravene article 49 of the Geneva Convention, even if it were applicable, because that article speaks only of forcible transfers and not of voluntary settlement.

Fifthly, these settlements will not affect the final borders and therefore they are not an obstacle to peace.

Finally, these settlements have not infringed on the human rights of anybody because not a single person was displaced by the creation of these settlements.

Let me take these arguments very briefly, one by one.

(Mr. Sayegh, Kuwait)

The first argument is that the right to establish these settlements, once it is exercised, becomes a constructive step towards peace.

Mr. Dayan, who has been quoted again and again in this debate for his views on the settlements, said - and I am quoting now from the New York Post of 29 July 1977, page 4:

"I do not know anything more productive and constructive for peace than living together with the Arabs, and that is what we do there in these settlements."

We fully agree that there is nothing more productive and constructive than for Arabs and Jews living together. And when the Palestine Liberation Organization addressed the plenary meeting for the first time through its Chairman, that was the vision that the Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization brought to the international community:

"Let us Christian Palestinians, indigenous to Palestine, let us Muslim Palestinians, indigenous to Palestine, live side by side with the Jews who have come from outside Palestine, in a pluralistic society that is the exclusive property neither of Jew nor of Arab but a human heritage."

But that call was denounced by Israel as a call for the liquidation of Israel. When the Palestinians say, "Let us live with you", that is a call for liquidation. But when the Israelis control a territory by force, they say, "We impose ourselves on you, and that is a step towards peace". If Israel truly believes that Arab and Jew living together will produce peace, the first priority should be given to letting the Palestinian refugees live in their homes, and then when they return to their homes there will be that march towards peace that Israel speaks about.

(Mr. Sayegh, Kuwait)

Mr. Dayan speaks about coexistence of Arab and Jew as a step towards peace, on the basis of the implicit thesis which he enunciated in the Jewish Chronicle of London in May of this year, when he said, "Arabs and Jews can coexist, but only under Jewish rule".

The next argument is that these settlements are analagous to the Arab villages in Israel.

That argument might find ready ears at Madison Square Garden; it will not find ready ears before the well-informed members of this Committee, because the members of this Committee know that the Arabs in Israel are the indigenous population who were there before Israel was created. They are the remnants of the people of that territory, whereas the Israeli settlements now being established are superimposed under the protection of military occupation in an area where they did not exist before.

Then there comes the third argument, that denial of the right of a Jew to settle in the occupied territory is anti-Semitism.

When I heard Mr. Herzog say that in the plenary meeting, I remembered a professor of mine in college who used to tell us that there are two statements which are irrefutable: first, the absolute self-evident truth, and secondly, nonsense. Nonsense is irrefutable, and far be it for me to believe that I can rebut or refute that kind of a statement. But I should like to place on record my delegation's thoughts on this question.

When I grapple with a thief - a blue-eyed thief - coming to steal my watch or my wallet, believe me I do so because I cherish my wallet and not because I hate blue eyes. When people oppose the establishment of Jewish settlements in the occupied territories it is because they are illegal settlements established in violation of the law and in exploitation of a situation of military occupation and not because they are populated by Jews. So this is the first thought that we should keep in mind.

(Mr. Sayegh, Kuwait)

The second thought we should keep in mind is that what the Israeli representative is asking for is a special exemption for Jews from the rule of law. The Geneva Convention says that settlements in occupied territories are illegal. He wants us to say that they are illegal when anybody settles in occupied territories, except when Jews do so. That is as discriminatory as would be the exclusion of Jews from rights enjoyed by others. That is anti-Gentilism, which is as bad and as much of a racist posture as anti-Semitism.

The third thought that I should like to leave on this occasion - and I earnestly hope that the representative of Israel ponders this thought very carefully before he persists in making this argument - is that when someone keeps calling all those who uphold the law "anti-Semites", because they do so, he may be running a grave risk of making anti-Semitism attractive. And that would be a sin.

If A equals B, then B equals A. If upholding the law is anti-Semitism, then anti-Semitism is upholding the law. There are many anti-Semites who would like the world to believe that. I caution the representative of Israel against giving them reason for propagating such a lie, against giving them reason for making anti-Semitism dignified. I abhor anti-Semitism and I would abhor any act that would encourage it or sugar-coat it or make it more attractive.

(Mr. Sayegh, Kuwait)

The next argument is that these settlements do not in fact contravene the Geneva Convention because, as Mr. Dayan said on 10 October, the Geneva Convention, in article 49, speaks only of forcible transfers but not of voluntary settlements. Let me say first of all that the Geneva Convention does not use the word "forcible"; it uses the word "transfers" without any further qualification. In the second place, let me say that the settlements in question are not voluntary settlements. Mr. Dayan himself, in an earlier interview with The New York Times on 5 June of this year, was asked, "Do you support continued government-approved settlement in the territories?" And his reply was: "I would recommend controlled settlement; it cannot be done by individual initiative."

Compare what Mr. Dayan said in June to The New York Times with what he says in October to the General Assembly. He said: the settlements are voluntary and they are not forced.

Yet he says that he opposes voluntary settlements, that he is only for controlled settlement. Even if he did not say that, we would know it, because settlement is part of the plan of the Government, as I already said. There is a Ministerial Committee to plan the settlements; the Government finances the settlements and, most important of all, the Government fights with those who go spontaneously to establish settlements. In other words, the only settlements that the Government of Israel restricts in the occupied territories are precisely the same kind of settlements which Mr. Dayan said in the plenary meeting are the Israeli settlements.

The next argument is that the settlements will not affect the frontiers; the future borders will not be affected by the settlements. In the combined reports of the Special Committee before us, we have statements by the former President of Israel, by Prime Minister Meir, by Prime Minister Rabin, by Foreign Minister Eban, by Foreign Minister Allon, by Defence Minister Dayan, by Defence Minister Peres, by the Chairman of the Ministerial Committee, Galilee, by the Minister of Police, Hillel, and by other Ministers, each and every one saying: we shall not withdraw from these settlements; these settlements shall be the future borders of Israel.

(Mr. Sayegh, Kuwait)

Yet Mr. Dayan says, speaking for a new Government, a so-called more extremist Government, that these settlements will not affect the frontiers. What could that statement mean? It could mean, first of all, that Dayan and Begin are ready to withdraw from settlements from which Rabin and Golda Meir and their Government were not ready to withdraw. Is this credible? Or it means: we will withdraw from these settlements and leave them with their population under Arab rule.

Is it credible that the Zionist movement, which came into being to eliminate the Diaspora, is now engaged in creating a potential new Diaspora?

The only possible interpretation of Mr. Dayan's statement is the following: yes, these settlements will not affect the borders, because we shall ask for all the territory we occupy in Eretz Israel to remain in our hands whether or not there are settlements in it. This is the only logical, possible reconstruction of the meaning of Dayan's statement.

Finally, there is the last argument, that these settlements have not infringed the rights of anybody, they have not displaced anyone. I avoid the use of impolite language, but in this instance I cannot but say: this is a gross lie. There are many ways in which people can be displaced. One way is to bodily move someone somewhere else. Another way is to prevent someone who has been displaced from returning. A third way is to create conditions that would make the people leave on their own because life becomes intolerable for them under those conditions.

I would say that the settlements accomplished displacement in these three ways. In the case of the Golan, where every inch of agricultural land has already been taken over by these settlements, the 100,000 Syrians who were displaced in 1967 will be prevented from returning because of these settlements. In the case of Rafah and East Jerusalem, no less than 10,000 people have been bodily evicted - 6,000 in Rafah, 4,000 in East Jerusalem - in order to make room for new settlements. And in the rest of the occupied territories what has happened is that at least 226,000 dunams - and I got this figure by totalling together, minus duplications, the conservative figures mentioned in the cumulative reports of the Special Committee - have been seized from their owners in the occupied territories and turned over to make them settlements.

(Mr. Sayegh, Kuwait)

When you come to a village where the houses cluster around the centre and the agricultural land outlies it, and you leave the villager in his home but you confiscate his agricultural land, you have not actually displaced him. However, you have created conditions where he can no longer live as a farmer off his land, as an independent self-employed farmer. He has to hire himself out as a coolie in Israel in order to keep his family together. He has not been displaced but he has in effect been alienated from his land. Today, he is a worker, a cheap hired labourer; tomorrow he will be an emigrant.

Therefore, the claim that no one has been harmed, that no one has been displaced, is a lie. The representative of Israel twice reprimanded the Special Committee for not quoting this statement of Mr. Dayan. My retort is, on behalf of my delegation, to submit a formal request asking the Special Committee, in its next report, to consolidate the information it has placed before us over the years, as it does in one map of the settlements, and give us all the information: how much land has been expropriated; how many people have actually been displaced in order to build settlements, and to give us information, so that the Special Political Committee may have authentic data at its disposal in order to judge the matter.

I apologize for having spoken so long. Let me conclude. The heart of the matter is the doctrine of Eretz Israel, which has been resurrected anew by Mr. Begin in a more aggressive form. As a result of that there is a rejection of the applicability of the Geneva Convention and the new attitude towards the settlement of the occupied territories and a new pace in their establishment. But the heart of the matter remains that doctrine.

Some 30 years ago, or a little more, the United Nations Mediator for Palestine, Count Folke Bernadotte, saw what was happening in Palestine: the bringing in of Jewish emigrants in order to prevent the Palestinian refugees from returning to their homes. And he said in his report to the General Assembly that it would be an affront to elementary principles of justice for that to be permitted.

(Mr. Saveh, Kuwait)

Now, Israel has occupied a new instalment of the land, and under a new Government it is stepping up efforts to duplicate the same pattern. The situation today cries out for another Bernadotte, another man of courage and principle and concern for human rights, to tell this Special Political Committee that it would be an affront against the elementary principles of justice if the establishment of settlements, the displacement of people, and the continuing barring of displaced persons from their homes, is permitted to go on without the international community doing everything it can to stop it.

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