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**President: Mr. Lazar MOJSOV (Yugoslavia).**

AGENDA ITEM 126

Recent illegal Israeli measures in the occupied Arab territories designed to change the legal status, geographical nature and demographic composition of those territories in contravention of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, of Israel's international obligations under the fourth Geneva Convention of 1949 and of United Nations resolutions, and obstruction of efforts aimed at achieving a just and lasting peace in the Middle East (*continued*)

1. Mr. ALLAF (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The item before the General Assembly deals with a matter of great importance and urgency. It deals with the process of usurpation and spoliation which has been organized and perpetrated against the territory of an entire people and against the very essence of its human, national and cultural existence.

2. This act of piracy and plunder did not start today. It did not start 10 years ago, when Israel committed its treacherous aggression against three Arab peoples in June 1967. It did not begin 30 years ago, when Palestine was torn apart under the very eyes of the United Nations and a racist Zionist State was planted inside it in November 1947. This process began a long time before that, when the leaders of zionism met at the end of the last century to look for a land on which to establish their religious State in any spot they could snatch from its people, whether in Argentina, in Uganda or in Palestine.

3. Some unsuccessful attempts to set up a State of the chosen people in Argentina are set forth by Herzl in his book *The Jewish State*, in which he wrote:

"Argentine is one of the most fertile countries in the world, extends over a vast area, has a sparse population and a mild climate."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Theodor Herzl, *The Jewish State* (New York, American Zionist Emergency Council, 1946), p. 95.

The founder of the racist zionist régime went on in his book to ask Argentina to give up part of its territory. He claimed, without shame, that his proposal was in Argentina's own interest, saying: "The Argentine Republic would derive considerable profit from the cession of a portion of its territory to us."<sup>2</sup>

4. When the Zionists failed in their attempt to take over Argentina, their covetous eyes turned to a second alternative, Uganda. In 1903, the Sixth World Zionist Congress in fact adopted a resolution to establish the Jewish State in Uganda. But later, in 1905, at its seventh session, the Zionist Congress changed its mind and decided instead to concentrate on Palestine. Thus the Zionist leaders realized that they would not be able to set up their racist entity without resorting to and exploiting religious Jewish fanaticism.

5. This is not the time to go into precise historical detail concerning the tragedy of the Palestinian people. It should be mentioned, however, that world zionism pursued its scheme of usurpation and spoliation in collusion with British colonialism. In 1917 it obtained from Britain what is known as the Balfour Declaration, which promised to help it create a "national home" for the Jews in Palestine. After 30 years of plots, pressure, misleading propaganda and illegal immigration, world zionism succeeded in 1947 in having the newly formed United Nations partition the Palestine land. More than one half of that land was to be handed over to the foreign Jewish settlers, who had flocked to it secretly or openly for colonization, settlement and the dispossession of its inhabitants.

6. The pillage and spoliation did not end with the establishment of the Jewish State. Soon thereafter, Israel began to extend the territory allotted to it under the partition resolution [*resolution 181 (II)*]<sup>—</sup>that is, 56 per cent of the land—carrying out terrorist massacres against the Arab population. When the armistice agreements with neighbouring Arab countries were signed in 1949, Israel controlled more than 70 per cent of the total area of Palestine.

7. Since then, the Zionist entity has constantly resorted to a policy of expansion and aggression against the neighbouring Arab countries and peoples. In order to complete the process of pillage and plunder, it tried unsuccessfully in 1956 to swallow the Gaza Strip and the Sinai peninsula during the tripartite aggression against Egypt. This attempt was repeated during the treacherous aggression of June 1967. This time the Zionist entity succeeded in occupying the remaining part of Palestinian land as well as sizable parts of Syrian and Egyptian territory.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*,

8. The successive and aggressive expansion by the Zionist entity did not happen accidentally or under haphazard circumstances. It represents a well conceived Zionist policy of expansion and settlement the lines of which were drawn many decades ago. This policy is being implemented with precision by Zionist leaders and rulers, one by one. Did not Herzl himself, in his book *The Jewish State*, dream of a Jewish State that would constitute a bridge-head for colonialism and a base to protect European civilization against Asian barbarism? In that book, he says: "We should there form a portion of a rampart of Europe against Asia, an outpost of civilization as opposed to barbarism."<sup>3</sup>

9. Did not Ben-Gurion admit the real ambitions of Israel when he called in 1920 for a Jewish Commonwealth extending northward to the Litani River and eastward to the south of Damascus? Ben-Gurion wrote:

"It is necessary that the water sources, upon which the future of the Land depends, should not be outside the borders of the future Jewish Homeland. . . . we have always demanded that the Land of Israel include the southern banks of the Litani River, the headwaters of the Jordan, and the Hauran Region from the El Adja spring south of Damascus."<sup>4</sup>

10. Did not General Dayan of the blood-stained hands say one year after the 1967 aggression:

"Our fathers reached the frontiers that were recognized in the Partition Plan of 1947. Our generation reached the 1949 frontiers. But the 'Six-Day generation' were able to reach Suez, Jordan and the Golan Heights in Syria. This is not the end; for after the present ceasefire lines there will be new lines, but they will extend beyond the Jordan River, maybe to Lebanon and perhaps to Central Syria as well."

11. And now it is the turn of the Prime Minister of the terrorist Zionist entity himself, Menachem Begin, of his foreign Minister Moshe Dayan, and of his representative here, to proclaim shamelessly that the West Bank and Gaza Strip are not occupied but liberated territories, and that these lands belong to the Jews according to history, the Old Testament and the divine promise bestowed by God upon the "chosen people", that is to say, "the Jewish people", thousands of years ago.

12. Thus "victims of racism, and of religious and racial discrimination" have now become the advocates and agents of these practices. Those who suffered from massacres and persecution under the slogan of "racial superiority" have been transformed into executioners and tyrants who oppress others in the name of "religious superiority". How else can our international community explain the theory of the "chosen people" in the twentieth century? Since when has God been a racist practising segregation and discrimination among His creatures, choosing one people at the expense of another, one part of humanity to the detriment of another, one race over and above the others?

13. Were there a "chosen people", this would necessarily and logically mean the existence of another, an "unchosen people" or, in other words, an "outcast people". Has not the world suffered tens of millions of victims during the Second World War and devastation and destruction beyond all imagination in order to defeat the proponents of such logic, the advocates of the theory of the "chosen race"? Why does the world stand by today before the new Nazis, the advocates of the theory of the "chosen religion"?

14. The mask has now been torn from the face of the racist Zionists. The whole international community is perfectly convinced that those invaders are actually after continuous territorial expansion, bringing the world back to the darkest eras of settler-colonialist invasion and racist and religious fanaticism. The pretexts and excuses which the Zionist racists had used for decades to mislead the world are being exposed one after another.

15. The international community has realized it is not the Arabs who wish to throw the Jews into the sea but, rather, the Zionists who wish to throw the Arabs into the desert. It is not the Arabs who are threatening the security and existence of Israel but, rather, Israel which is threatening the security and existence of the Arabs. Israel is not the "poor little State" surrounded by Arabs who are ready to pounce on it from every side but, rather, Israel is "Goliath", and not "David", as it has pretended to be for many years.

16. The rejection of peace and of peaceful negotiations on an equal footing originates from the Israeli side, not from the Arab side. It is Israel which is creating dozens of obstacles, both procedural and substantive, to prevent negotiations in order to gain time and be able to continue to create faits accomplis.

17. Day after day published reports and information point to the aggressive Israeli schemes and to Israel's plots and aggressive designs against Arab countries and peoples. During the last few days the mass media were filled with news concerning Israeli preparations and war plans, including those in the nuclear field. The *Washington Post* yesterday described the "war of annihilation" being prepared against Syria, Egypt and the Palestinian people. It showed how the plan to stage a war was drawn up even before the terrorist Begin government was formed and how the latter adopted this plan, taking advantage of the formidable arsenal of heavy and complex weapons showered upon Israel by the United States. Those weapons will enable the Zionist adventurers to launch a war on three Arab fronts for 30 days without the need for fresh supplies from America.

18. Why are the new Nazis preparing for a new "war of annihilation" in the Middle East? Why does the Zionist régime persist in its hard, defiant and rejectionist attitude each time the Arabs show moderation and sincere efforts to establish a just and lasting peace? Why do the Zionist racists persist in refusing to withdraw from the territory occupied through war and aggression, ignoring the rights and the existence of the Palestinian Arab people, and in rejecting the participation of its leadership, the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], in the peace conference? The answer to all these questions is simple: it is because

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 96.

<sup>4</sup> Quoted in David Ben-Gurion, *Israel: A Personal History* (New York, Funk & Wagnalls, Inc., 1971), pp. 43-44.

Israel does not want, and is afraid of, peace, for peace can only be based on justice. Should justice, or even approximate justice, be achieved in the Middle East, this would mean the collapse of all the plans and dreams of Zionist colonialist expansion. It would mean cutting down the racist Zionist entity to size, while it is trying to assume in the area the role of a large colonial force, inspired by Zionist dreams and unlimited support from colonialist forces.

19. For the last 10 years, Israel has been implanting Jewish settlements in every part of the occupied Arab territories. It is doing so feverishly and stealthily. It is therefore necessary to look closely into those actions in the light of the expansionist designs which I have just described, and which do not need any more proof or evidence today. Recently, and more particularly since the extremist terrorist character of Israel has become even more pronounced with the formation of the new Israeli Government, this process of settlement has assumed dangerous proportions which may lead to an explosion in the area unless an end is put quickly to the policy of creeping annexation. Unless the policy of the Zionist terrorist clique is stopped quickly and decisively, the situation may lead to a conflagration in the region.

20. Since 1967, Jewish settlements established by Israel in the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, Golan and Sinai have numbered over 100. Some reports speak of an even much higher number. Hardly a week goes by without an announcement that new settlements have been created or that old settlements have been declared legal, after the Israeli Government had pretended to disagree over their establishment in the past.

21. While Israeli settlements used to be created one at a time and over long periods of time, the colonization and settlement policy in the last few months has assumed major proportions. It has been taking place at a feverish pace, thus revealing the existence of comprehensive long-term plans to settle Arab territory intensively and on a huge scale.

22. As an example of these large-scale settlement plans, the *Jerusalem Post* of 9 January 1977 mentioned the scheme announced by Professor Weitz, Chief of the Settlement Department in the World Zionist Organization, to establish 56 new Israeli colonies, of which 27 are in the occupied Arab territories.

23. Just a few days ago, the newspaper *Ma'ariv* published a story concerning a plan submitted by the Settlement Department of the Jewish Agency to the competent governmental committee for the creation of 15 settlements in the Rafah region. On 3 January 1977, the *Jerusalem Post* wrote about a scheme which had just been completed to build a deep-water port at Yamit in the same region. My colleague, the representative of the Arab Republic of Egypt, in his statement yesterday [47th meeting] gave detailed information about the serious extent and dimensions of this project. On 5 April 1977, *Ha'aretz* discussed what is known as the "Southern Project", which provides for the creation of 10 new Jewish settlements in the Rafah region this year, as a first instalment out of 150 agricultural settlements which will be established over the next 15 years.

24. On 25 April 1977, *Ma'ariv* published the decision of the ministerial committee for settlement affairs to set up five additional colonies on the West Bank.

25. On 8 May 1977, *Ha'aretz* published a report concerning a new programme to enlarge the Jewish quarters in the Arab sector of Jerusalem by building 18,000 new apartments at Ramot, Gilo and Talpiot in the vicinity of Nevi Ya'cov.

26. The *Christian Science Monitor* of 20 July 1977 published a detailed report about the new Begin Government's plan to intensify Israeli settlements in the West Bank, Gaza, Sinai and Golan. It stated that Gideon Patt, Israeli Minister of Construction and Housing, has drawn up a five-year plan to develop and settle the Golan Heights on a priority basis. Quoting Israeli Radio, the report stated that four new settlements would be established soon, in addition to the 20 already established. Attention is to be given to the Katzrin Center in central Golan, where housing units will be increased from 350 to 1,000 or 1,200, which would accommodate 10,000 settlers. The Israeli Minister stated, "there is room for 30 more settlements instead of the existing 20 in Golan . . . we will not leave the Golan Heights whatever the circumstances". The same report added that Mr. Israel Galili, former Minister of Housing, had been requested to reconsider the four-year plan which he had rejected under the previous Labour Government. The plan provides for the construction of two new towns, each of which would include 10,000 housing units, three towns of 5,000 units each, and three other towns of 1,000 units each in the Jerusalem area. Furthermore, 2,000 more units would be added to the settlement of Kiryat Arba near Hebron.

27. On 27 July 1977, most Israeli and world news media reported the decision of the Israeli governmental committee on settlements to legalize three Jewish settlements which had been previously at Kaddum, Ofra and Maab-Adumim. That Israeli measure, in particular, aroused strong indignation, not because the many other Jewish settlements were any more legal or less dangerous to peace, but because the decision to confer legality on the three settlements had been taken less than 48 hours after the return of the Israeli Prime Minister, Mr. Begin, from his official visit to the United States and his meeting with President Carter.

28. Despite wide protests and world condemnation of this Israeli defiance—even by the United States—barely 10 days later, two Zionist settlers, Amnon and Daniella Weiss, leaders of the extremist racist group Gush Emunim, announced at a press conference in New York that 12 more settlements would be established in the occupied West Bank and that 1,200 Jewish families would be moved at once to those settlements. In its 6 August issue, *The New York Times* quoted them as follows: "We would like to make it clear that there will be more settlements in Samaria and Judaea."

29. On 17 August 1977, the racist Zionist régime demonstrated the extent of its defiance of the world community by announcing the setting up of three other Israeli settlements in the West Bank: Tsur Natan B, near Qalqilya, Mevo Horon C, north of Latroun, and a third settlement by the Gush Emunim rightist and extremist

group on the road between Hebron and Beersheba. This latest act was Israel's reply to the criticism of the international family on the legalization of three settlements in less than 20 days.

30. The Zionist racists have been ingenious in fabricating excuses and pretexts to justify the plantation of settlements by the dozen inside Arab territory. At times they pretend that these are old settlements which have not been announced before; other times they claim that the settlements had been sanctioned by the previous Government and are only being implemented by the present Government, as if the crime plotted by the previous Government becomes a legitimate act when it is carried out by the next one. Sometimes they allege that the settlements are small ones without importance, their populations not exceeding a few inhabitants, as if the violation committed by 100 people becomes a good act if it is carried out by not more than 10 persons.

31. The latest device just invented by the Zionist régime is to implement its policy of colonialism by settling the new foreign Jewish intruders by way of so-called camps of the Israeli army of occupation. On the West Bank, six new camps have been opened to accommodate Gush Emunim settlers over the next three months, so that by the end of the year these camps will be converted into civilian settlements. *The New York Times* on 3 October recognized that this procedure had been agreed upon between Menachem Begin and the Gush Emunim group, as a means of circumventing American objections to new Jewish settlements in occupied Arab territories.

32. Mr. Mordechai Zipori, Deputy Minister of Defence in Israel and a member of the ministerial committee on settlements, officially approved the creation of those six settlements on 10 October. According to *The New York Times* of 11 October the six settlements, and possibly a seventh one, will be established by Gush Emunim, and those settlers will be considered to be employed on special mission on behalf of the army. The army may later hand over the camps to the settlers or move them to other nearby areas.

33. The implantation of Jewish settlements within Arab territory in this frenzied way is not the only way the Zionist entity has usurped Arab land in order to change its demographic, cultural, geographic and legal nature. The Israeli Government has resorted to another open method which clearly reveals its aggressive expansionist plan to annex the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and possibly other parts of the occupied Arab territories. On 14 August, it announced that Israeli administrative regulations and laws would be applied to occupied Arab territories in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

34. A spokesman for the Israeli Labour Party, the opposition party, expressed its view openly concerning this measure. In a declaration reported in *The New York Times* on 15 August 1977, he said: "A strong odor of annexation emanates from this Cabinet decision."

35. On the other hand, the Secretary of the Israeli Government, Ariye Naor, was quoted to have admitted the annexation in a different form when he said: "This is not

annexation. You cannot annex the land of Israel or the people of Israel because it already belongs to them."

36. This double Israeli violation of international law and practice, through the implantation of settlements in the territories of others, on the one hand, and the imposition of Israeli laws and regulations there, on the other, clearly shows the real intentions of the Zionist régime with regard to Arab occupied territories, particularly the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

37. The international community has unanimously condemned these grave Israeli violations of the United Nations Charter and the principles of international law, particularly the provisions of the fourth Geneva Convention of 1949 on the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War.

38. Israel's violation of articles 47 and 49 of that Convention is perfectly clear, particularly with regard to article 47:

"Protected persons who are in occupied territory shall not be deprived, in any case or in any manner whatsoever, of the benefits of the present Convention by any change introduced, as the result of the occupation of a territory . . . nor by any annexation by the latter of the whole or part of the occupied territory."<sup>5</sup>

39. The same may be said of its violation of article 49 which reads as follows:

"The Occupying Power shall not deport or transfer parts of its own civilian population into the territory it occupies."<sup>6</sup>

40. The emergency meeting of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries held at the United Nations Headquarters here in New York on 30 September 1977 unanimously condemned Israeli practices. The Political Declaration issued at the end of the meeting stated:

"The Ministers reviewed the seriously deteriorating situation in the Middle East resulting from continued Israeli occupation of Palestinian and other Arab territories, the extension of Israeli laws and the establishment of Israeli settlements in the West Bank and Gaza in a clear attempt to prepare for their annexation, and the escalation of Israeli violations and oppressive practices in the area. They consider that such measures constitute an obstacle to the endeavours for the achievement of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

"The Ministers reaffirm that Israel's continued illegal occupation of Arab territories by force constitutes a serious threat to international peace and security.

"The Ministers also consider that illegal occupation does not authorize the occupying Power to carry out any changes which would affect sovereign and other established rights and that such changes are in contravention of the fourth Geneva Convention of 1949 relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War.

<sup>5</sup> See United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 75 (No. 973), p. 318.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

“The Ministers condemn Israel for taking these illegal measures in Palestinian and other occupied Arab territories with the objective of changing the geographic, demographic, economic, cultural or historical characteristics of the occupied territories. Such measures are not compatible with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and Israel’s obligations under the fourth Geneva Convention. The Ministers consider such measures as null and void and affirm that the measures constitute an obstacle to the endeavours towards the achievement of peace in the Middle East.

“The Ministers reject the statements recently made by the Israeli Government describing the occupied Arab territories as ‘liberated Israeli lands.’” [A/32/255-S/12410, annex, paras. 1-5.]

41. The extraordinary meeting of the Islamic Conference held in New York on 3 October condemned these Israeli violations and dangerous expansionist practices in its final communiqué, which was published as an official document of the General Assembly, document A/32/261, dated 5 October 1977.

42. The condemnation of the establishment by Israel of Jewish settlements in occupied Arab territory and other measures to change the demographic, cultural and legal nature of the territories did not emanate only from the non-aligned States, the Islamic States, the socialist States or all the countries of the third world. The European and northern States and even the closest allies of Israel, such as the United States, have also condemned these measures and have considered them to be an obstacle to peace. Those States have refused to recognize the legitimacy of such action.

43. Condemnations have come also from within Israel itself. I shall quote only one source, namely, Mr. Israel Shahak, professor of organic chemistry at Hebrew University and Chairman of the Israeli Committee on Human Rights, who testified on Israeli settlements. In an article which appeared in the *Middle East International* magazine, he said:

“... the Jewish settlements in the occupied territories, from their very nature, constitute a dispossession, a discrimination and a system of *apartheid*. The territories confiscated, or acquired by pressure and deceit for settlement, become territories where only Jews are allowed to live, and where only Jews shall be allowed to live in the future. They are taken out of their geographic context, and become typical imperialist bases, serving the strategic needs of the colonialist power—in this case Israel—that has erected them.”<sup>7</sup>

44. The subcommittee on refugees of the House Committee on The Judiciary of the United States Congress 10 days ago heard Mr. Israel Shahak’s testimony as well as that of a number of other Israeli and Arab witnesses concerning the practices of the Zionist military régime in occupied

Arab territories. *The New York Times* reported on that testimony of Mr. Shahak as follows:

“Monday the committee heard a strongly-worded attack on Israeli occupation policies from an Israeli citizen and law professor at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, Dr. Israel Shahak. Shahak charged that the occupation authorities regularly violated the rights of West Bank Arabs.

“‘The two most significant aspects of those violations’, Shahak said, ‘appear to be the confiscation of the land, carried out in a particularly cruel and unjust way, and the creation of a régime of inequality and racist discrimination.’”

45. The arrogance of the spokesmen of the Zionist entity and their stubbornness in continually defying world public opinion is not surprising or strange for a racist régime of aggression, which has expelled 3 million human beings or subjected them to the yoke of colonialism for 30 years.

46. That is why it was not surprising for us or for any other delegation to hear what the spokesman of the Zionist entity stated here at great length. We also listened to the mystifying statements made by his chief, the Foreign Minister, at this session during the general debate [27th meeting].

47. These spokesmen of the Zionist régime persist shamelessly in claiming that the occupied Arab territories are liberated territories because of the divine historic promise that those territories should be given back to the Jews without taking into account the millions of its indigenous inhabitants who have lived there for tens of centuries. Those racists assert that the implantation of Jewish settlements in the occupied Arab territories is a “legal measure” and they shamelessly state that it is a measure that serves the cause of peace.

48. This Zionist racist arrogance tells the whole story and deserves no reply. Could we expect Hitler to recognize that the crimes he committed against the Jews were inhuman and that his occupation of Europe was illegal?

49. Could we expect the racist régime in South Africa to recognize that the policy of *apartheid* which is practised against the peoples of Africa is a criminal and humiliating policy for those inhabitants?

50. Likewise we should expect the leaders of the Zionist racist régime to recognize one day the fact that their occupation of Arab territories is illegal, that the establishment of Jewish settlements populating the occupied Arab lands with thousands of foreign settlers is illegal and constitutes an obstacle to peace?

51. The Zionist representative claimed yesterday that all the Zionist settlements in the occupied Arab territories have within them no more than 6,000 settlers. We have seen how the head of the Gush Emunim group had stated that 1,200 Jewish families were getting ready to set up 12 new Jewish settlements on the West Bank of the Jordan. This means that the approximate figure which would be necessary to establish one settlement would be 100 families.

<sup>7</sup> Israel Shahak, “What are my Opinions”, *Middle East International*, January 1975, No. 43, MEI extra, third page.

Twelve hundred families for 12 settlements would mean that there would be 100 families per settlement. Now, if we suppose that the average number of members in a Jewish family is four individuals, this would mean that every settlement will begin by having at least 400 Jewish settlers. Therefore, if one makes a very simple calculation, one could estimate the number of Jewish settlers in approximately 100 settlements which have been implanted in the very core of the occupied Arab territories would be no less than 40,000. And this, of course, does not take into account the inhabitants of the towns and the big settlements which were to receive hundreds of thousands of settlers.

52. The Zionist leaders are attempting to justify their aggression in occupied Arab territories, particularly on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip, by claiming that these territories are not subject to Jordanian or Egyptian sovereignty. This is why they—that is to say, the Israelis—also assume the right to seize them.

53. What makes one laugh and what is indeed painful in this logic is that the Zionists are ignoring, as usual, the principal part of the matter—that is to say, the question of the Palestinian people. Have they not said that the Jordanians or the Egyptians wished to seize the West Bank or the Gaza Strip? The entire world is saying that it is necessary to return this land. It is merely a minimal part of the territory of the Palestinian people. It must be returned to those people so that they may establish an independent State, and so that they may exercise their right to self-determination in accordance with United Nations resolutions.

54. Another astonishing matter in this area is that Israel refuses to negotiate with the representatives of the Palestinian people with regard to the West Bank and claims that it will negotiate only with Jordan with regard to that territory. Then—forgetting this pretext—it claims that it has rights of sovereignty over the West Bank because Jordan, in fact, has no connexion with the West Bank.

55. Israel's presence, in the eyes of the United Nations, is connected to the presence of the Palestinian State because the two States—the Arab State and the Jewish State—have been provided for in the resolutions that have been adopted by the General Assembly in resolution 181 (II) dated 29 November 1947.

56. The status of the membership of Israel in the United Nations was also related to its respect for and concurrence with that resolution which provided for partition and resolution 194 (III) of 11 December 1948 concerning the rights of Palestinian refugees to return and to compensation. This is also clear in resolution 273 (III) dated 11 May 1949, by which Israel was admitted as a Member of the United Nations.

57. The reply of the international community to Israel's persistent aggression should be severe and should be effective, because over the past 30 years dozens, indeed hundreds, of resolutions have been adopted without Israel having abided by them or implemented them.

58. Condemnations no longer suffice. The racist régimes do not take these condemnations into account, nor do they

take into account the protestations of the international community, whose resolutions are not implemented because these régimes know that some of the countries protecting them will ensure that any attempt to implement the United Nations Charter and those resolutions will not be effective.

59. This also holds true for the practices and the defiance of other racist régimes in Africa. In both cases it is high time for the United Nations to implement the provisions and principles of the Charter so as to implement all General Assembly resolutions.

50. Despite our own deep belief that condemnation does not suffice to put an end to the serious, dangerous situation in occupied Arab territories, so as to put an end to this Israeli occupation which has lasted for years, and to the process of spoliation and usurpation of the occupied Arab territories, the Syrian Arab delegation is a sponsor of the draft resolution submitted to the Assembly in document A/32/L.3/Rev.1 and Add.1. We are truly hopeful that the General Assembly will unanimously adopt this moderate resolution so as to convince the Zionist and racist régime of the magnitude of its isolation due to its expansionist policy and its continual occupation of Arab territories.

61. The only true remedy for the dangerous situation in the Middle East is to put an end to Israeli occupation of the Arab territories immediately and to enable the Palestinians to regain their inalienable national rights, including their right to return, their right to self-determination, and their right to establish an independent State in this land.

62. This is the only way that a just and lasting peace may be established in the region, and we do hope that the international community will stand in solidarity and take the first steps in this direction.

63. Mr. LOZINSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The question before the General Assembly of the illegal Israeli measures in the occupied Arab territories is a major facet of one of the most dangerous focal points of tension in the world—the Middle East conflict. Over a lengthy period of time, this conflict has been the centre of attention of the world community, and this is not by accident. The situation in the Middle East, where for many years now the consequences of Israeli aggression against the Arab States have not been eliminated, and where the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people continue to be trampled under foot, is a further continual source of international tension, where there is a real danger of a new conflagration impending. All this seriously complicates the situation in the world and hinders the improvement of the international political climate as a whole.

64. Now there are favourable signs for making progress on the way to establishing a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. There is broader understanding of the need for a speedy resumption of the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East, which is the only proper and effective way to resolve all aspects of the Middle East problem as a whole. In this connexion the joint Soviet-American statement on the Middle East of 1 October 1977 was of great importance. As was recently stated by the General Secretary of

the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Comrade Brezhnev,

“During the past few months serious attempts have been made towards progress for a comprehensive settlement of the Middle East conflict. One would hope that the parties directly involved in the conflict would, in concert with the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference, use these fresh opportunities which have recently emerged.”

65. In the prevailing situation in which more favourable conditions for achieving a Middle East settlement exist, the steps being taken by Israel to strengthen its position in the occupied Arab territories cannot but give rise to the most serious concern.

66. In all the time that has elapsed since the occupation of Arab territories, the ruling circles in Israel have unswervingly pursued a policy of colonizing the Arab territories which they seized and of including these lands *de facto* in the State of Israel. Various kinds of measures have been taken to tie the occupied Arab territories economically to Israel.

67. In defiance of international law and of the decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly of the United Nations and other international organizations, Israel is step by step creating Israeli settlements on the Arab territories which they seized. Information is available indicating that at the present time there are about a hundred of such settlements. Reports have reached us on the preparation of long-term plans for the further strengthening of Israel's position in the occupied Arab territories according to which in coming years it plans to establish approximately 50 new Israeli settlements in these territories. Many facts concerning these illegal activities by Israel were mentioned by the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic a few moments ago. All this is convincing proof that the creation of such settlements is in line with far-reaching strategic purposes—the annexation by Israel of a significant portion of the occupied Arab territories. New evidence of this goal was the recent decision taken by the Israeli authorities to extend the validity of certain Israeli laws to the occupied Arab territories.

68. Representatives of Israel in their public statements, including those made at the United Nations, have expressed Israel's efforts to achieve peace, its readiness to conduct negotiations leading towards a peaceful settlement of the Middle East conflict. But how can one square those statements with Israel's real policy, that of a systematic Israelization of the occupied Arab territories?

69. The actions taken by the Israeli authorities in the occupied Arab territories are a gross violation of the norms and principles of international law, in particular the provisions of the fourth Geneva Convention of 1949 relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War. For example, article 49 of that Convention states that “the Occupying Power shall not . . . transfer . . . its own civilian population into the territory it occupies”, let alone create their own settlements.

70. Israel's obstinate refusal to withdraw from the occupied Arab territories and the measures it takes to

annex these territories give rise to grave concern and alarm among all those who are genuinely interested in establishing a lasting peace in the Middle East and have repeatedly been condemned by the United Nations.

71. In November 1976 the President of the Security Council presented a consensus statement<sup>8</sup> expressing deep concern and alarm with respect to the grave situation in the occupied Arab territories as a result of their continuing occupation by Israel. The Security Council called upon Israel to halt its arbitrary and unilateral actions in the occupied territories with regard both to the Arab populations and the establishment of Israeli settlements. He emphasized that these actions did not have the force of law and constituted obstacles on the road to peace in the Middle East. Thus the Security Council quite clearly and unequivocally reaffirmed the illegality and unlawfulness of the Israeli occupation.

72. At its last session the General Assembly by an overwhelming majority adopted resolution 31/61, which condemned Israel's continued occupation of Arab territories in violation of the Charter of the United Nations and also condemned all measures taken by Israel in the occupied territories designed to change the demographic and geographic character and institutional structure of these territories.

73. However, Israel not only refuses to heed these clearly expressed demands of the international community but obstinately continues its illegal actions designed to continue its occupation of the Arab territories and to annex them *de facto*.

74. It is therefore not surprising that this policy by Israel is viewed by the overwhelming majority of States as creating new obstacles on the way to achieving a just peace in the Middle East. That was reaffirmed by the statements made by the heads of delegations of States Members of the United Nations during this session's general debate and also in the statements made by various other representatives on this question. Those statements contained resolute demands that Israel immediately refrain from implementing any measures which might change the legal status and the demographic and geographic character of the occupied Arab territories. The Soviet Union fully supports those just demands.

75. In accordance with the decisions taken at the Twenty-Fifth Congress of the Communist Party, the Soviet Union insistently aims at eliminating the remaining hotbeds of tension, first and foremost at implementing a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. The Soviet Union favours the total elimination of the consequences of Israeli aggression, and the withdrawal of Israeli forces from all the Arab territories it occupied as a result of the 1967 war. As was emphasized by our Foreign Minister, Andrei Gromyko, in his statement of 27 September this year.

“ . . . we have been and we remain advocates of the just cause of the Arabs, whose lands have been unlawfully

<sup>8</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-first Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1976*, document S/12233.

taken away and are still retained by force of arms. Those lands must be returned unconditionally to the Arab peoples." [8th meeting, para. 141.]

The Soviet Union resolutely condemns Israel's activities in the occupied Arab territories and insists on the implementation of the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including the right to self-determination and to the creation of their own State. Only thus can the independence, the existence and the security of all peoples and States of that region be ensured.

76. The Soviet Union together with all other States of the world favours a Middle East settlement on a lasting and just basis. That was particularly reflected in the joint Soviet-Indian declaration signed yesterday in Moscow by the Prime Minister of India, Mr. Desai, and the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Comrade Brezhnev, which states the following:

"Both again voiced their support for a just political settlement in the Middle East on the basis of withdrawal of Israeli troops from all the Arab lands occupied in 1967, the satisfaction of the legitimate demands of the Arab people of Palestine including their legitimate and inalienable right to establish their own state, and ensurance of the right of all states in the Middle East to independent existence and development. In pursuance of these aims, they firmly support the earliest resumption of the Geneva Peace Conference with the participation of all sides concerned, including representatives of the Palestine Liberation Organization."<sup>9</sup>

77. In conclusion, my delegation would like to state once again that the Soviet Union will continue to do its utmost to achieve a comprehensive settlement in the Middle East and to establish there a just and lasting peace based on the recognition of the legitimate rights and interests of all States and peoples of that region.

78. Tan Sri ZAITON (Malaysia): For three decades now the problem of the Middle East has captured the attention of the international community. However, the passage of time has not helped us to resolve this difficult problem, which continues to pose a serious threat to world peace and international security.

79. At the heart of this complex and disturbing question lies the Palestinian problem. It is the firm belief of my delegation that a complete Israeli withdrawal from all occupied Arab territories, and the restoration and exercise of the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to return to their homes and properties and to achieve self-determination is of basic importance to the search for a solution to bring an enduring peace to that troubled area.

80. Recent peace moves indicate that there exists a genuine and renewed desire to reconvene the Geneva peace talks to negotiate a just solution which would ensure peace and security to all States in the Middle Eastern region. Instead of seizing upon those encouraging trends, Israel's

response has come in the form of more Israeli settlements on the West Bank. My delegation views with profound concern this further and recent extension of Israeli laws to the West Bank and the Gaza Strip as well as the establishment of Israeli settlements in the occupied territories.

81. Yesterday we heard the statement of the Israeli representative [47th meeting]. My delegation is not convinced by the justifications he advanced regarding the recent Israeli measures in the occupied Arab territories. The Malaysian Government considers such action by Israel a flagrant violation of international law and a contravention of the principles of the United Nations Charter. The repressive measures and illegal actions by Israel to consolidate its territorial occupation of Palestinian and Arab lands also represent a violation of the 1949 fourth Geneva Convention.

82. Malaysia cannot condone the continued occupation by Israel of the Arab territories, nor can it accept the Israeli measures altering the legal status, geographical nature and demographic and cultural character of those territories. We consider those measures to be utterly illegal and would urge Israel to end its intransigence and heed world opinion calling on it to halt its policy of settlement in the occupied Arab territories.

83. The recent illegal Israeli measures have not only intensified the uncertainty of the situation but have also increased tension in the area. The deliberate obstructionist policy pursued by the Israeli Government indeed impedes efforts to achieve a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

84. Also of continuing concern to Malaysia has been the Israeli policy of desecration and destruction of the buildings and places in Jerusalem holy to Muslims. We deplore such acts and, in particular, the Israeli diggings under the al-Haram al-Sharif sanctuary, including the Al Aqsa Mosque, the Dome of the Rock and all the adjacent buildings and historical places.

85. The Foreign Ministers of the States members of the Islamic Conference met earlier this month in New York. My delegation fully associates itself with the views expressed in the final communiqué of that meeting [A/32/261, annex] that the Islamic world rejects and would not indefinitely tolerate the continued Israeli occupation of the Palestinian and Arab territories and the obstruction of Moslem pilgrims to Mecca and Medina. This religious provocation carried out by Israel is endangering the already precarious and tragic situation in the Middle East.

86. Malaysia has always shared the aspirations and hopes of the Arab people as a whole in the Middle Eastern conflict and, pending the resolution of this conflict, Malaysia strongly demands that Israel comply with its international obligations under the fourth Geneva Convention of 1949 and, as the occupying Power, desist from taking further measures designed to change the legal status, geographical nature or demographic composition of the occupied Arab territories. In this regard, Malaysia is happy to be among the sponsors of draft resolution A/32/L.3/Rev.1 and Add.1, which has already been ably introduced by the representative of Egypt yesterday [47th meeting],

<sup>9</sup> See "Joint Soviet-Indian Communiqué", *Reprints from the Soviet Press*, vol. XXV, Nos. 11-12 (15-31 December 1977), p. 58.



and we are confident that it will be adopted by an overwhelming majority in this Assembly.

87. Mr. VELLA (Malta): Mr. President, this is the first time my delegation has spoken in a plenary meeting. May I therefore be allowed, albeit belatedly, to congratulate you on your election as President of the General Assembly? To repeat your merits, which make you highly suitable for the office you are filling so ably, is to state the obvious. Your fruitful presence here as Permanent Representative of Yugoslavia, your presidency of the Economic and Social Council and your continuous personal involvement for many years in all the major negotiations taking place in this Organization speak for themselves. To us in Malta, however, the most significant aspect of your election is that you come from a country that is a neighbour and a close friend and that is, above all, dedicated, as we are, to a commitment to see the Mediterranean region develop peacefully into a harmonious family of nations.

88. I should also like to take this opportunity to congratulate Ambassador Amerasinghe on his excellent work as President of the thirty-first session of the General Assembly and to acknowledge and place on record my Government's high esteem for the Secretary-General's continuing efforts in the cause of peace.

89. The item the General Assembly is now debating is indeed new to its agenda, but the measures and actions by Israel to which it specifically calls our attention are not. These actions have, year in and year out, been debated, censured and condemned by this Assembly without the slightest hint of any change for the better. With the recent political changes in Israel, however, what was formerly sometimes hidden under a cloak of tolerance and sometimes pictured as reluctant official approval is now being officially sanctioned and encouraged. That this Assembly should therefore have now been invited to take a closer look at the recent measures taken by Israel, particularly the establishment of more and more settlements in the occupied Arab territories, is the fault neither of those delegations which took the initiative of bringing the item before the Assembly, nor of the Assembly, which correctly decided to give the item its full consideration.

90. In approaching this item my delegation bases its stand on a premise that is accepted by one and all. The premise is that the occupation of land by force is inadmissible and that once it unfortunately takes place it is the duty of the occupying Power not only to treat the people under occupation with magnanimity but to see to it that no action is taken that makes withdrawal from that territory more difficult to achieve. In other words, occupied territory is occupied territory and is not annexed land to be treated as the occupant wills. This principle is valid not only because it is enshrined in Article 2 of the United Nations Charter but also, and more importantly, because it has constantly been invoked over the years by this Assembly and has found its way into numerous resolutions. The principle is not, therefore, a dead letter.

91. Having said that, I hasten to add that the delegation of Malta is not so naïve as to believe that the question of the occupied Arab territories is a simple one to solve after the accumulation of 30 years of actions, each certainly aimed

at strengthening the foothold of the occupiers of the territory. But sometimes it is healthy for us to invoke the first principles of international relations—and we consider Article 2 of the Charter to be one of them—in order to enable us to see how far we have wandered from the path of correct international behaviour and from international contractual obligations.

92. In this light there is no doubt in our mind that the Israeli settlements in the occupied Arab lands are illegal in international law. Article 49 of the fourth Geneva Convention, of which Israel is a signatory, imposes on the occupying Power the obligation not to deport or transfer parts of its own civilian population into the territory it occupies. Of course, the present occupying Power knows of this obligation, and it is no wonder that it has taken great pains to justify its occupation with legalistic argumentation, even to the point of saying that, while the occupation is there for all to see, Israel is not an occupying Power within the meaning of the fourth Geneva Convention. But this argumentation poses more questions than it purports to answer.

93. If consciences are so clear, if no international contractual obligations are being broken, if no apologies are necessary, then why, may one ask, were settlers first given status clearly aimed at avoiding censure under the fourth Geneva Convention, which addresses itself to civilians, only for that status to be eroded by the fact that the settlers were to remain civilians employed on a mission on behalf of the army? This legalistic camouflage is, to our mind, an unmistakable indication that Israeli settlements in the occupied Arab territories, far from not being an obstacle to peace, as has been asserted, are part of a concerted plan to consolidate Israel's foothold there, thus rendering more difficult the achieving of border settlements.

94. The fact is that, however innocent Israel seems to consider these demographic changes in the occupied territories, world opinion is decidedly in disagreement. By the most lenient, they have been described as unfortunate and untimely and as not helping the serious efforts aimed at a Geneva meeting, and still less the cause of a settlement with justice for all concerned. Besides, in this case suspicion is generated not only by the inherent characteristics of each single act of illegal settlement but also by the cumulative effect of several actions that manifest the true intention of the perpetrator. It is one thing to say that settlements are no obstacle to peace, and it is another to make references in the same breath to the occupied areas where they are being established as Judaea and Samaria, dropping any reference to occupied Arab lands and indeed going so far as to call them "liberated territories" and, as if that were not enough, issuing instructions to news editors to stop calling the West Bank an "occupied" territory. As I have said, these measures are viewed with suspicion even by the most ardent sympathizers with the cause of Israel.

95. Quoting *The New York Times* in this Assembly is like carrying coals to Newcastle, but I cannot help reading a short extract on this very point from its editorial of 15 October. It said:

"The disclosure this week that the Begin Government wanted Israeli news editors to stop calling the West Bank

'occupied' territory, to refer to all Jewish settlements as legal and never to utter the word 'annexation' will only compound the suspicion of its motives. The Israel editors rejected the request, and so should other friends of Israel."

96. In this short intervention I have made it a point to refer only to the question of illegal settlements as contemplated in agenda item 126, just to give further proof, if that were needed, that the problems they raise are in themselves identifiable and worthy of special and specific treatment by this Assembly. I would, however, emphasize that the problems of the Middle East are complex and none of them can be treated completely in, as it were, water-tight compartments. This is especially true of the Palestinian people, whose future statehood is intimately connected with the question of the illegal settlements. But we shall address ourselves to this problem under a more appropriate item.

97. Finally, I should like to say that Malta will support the draft resolution on this item [A/32/L.3/Rev.1 and Add.1].

98. Mr. KAISER (Bangladesh): The Middle East situation continues to challenge the international community as a major test of the credibility and viability of the United Nations in discharging its fundamental responsibility of preserving peace and security in the world. In no other issue has the United Nations been so deeply involved. On no other problem does the United Nations bear so great a burden of responsibility. On no other question does the cost of failure carry so heavy a burden.

99. In recent months there have been tenuous hopes that the negotiating process between the parties would in some measure be regenerated and that the momentum towards a settlement based on justice and a durable peace could be initiated. Notwithstanding the fact that procedural mechanisms are no substitute for genuine negotiations on substantive issues, the world community nevertheless viewed the initiatives with some degree of optimism. The cardinal test was the will to move towards a meaningful settlement. Every action, physical or psychological, in a climate of deep-rooted distrust and in a heavily armed environment has substance and could act as an immediate brake on peaceful progress towards a Middle East solution.

100. The importance of the item under discussion has particular relevance in this hair-trigger situation. Bangladesh strongly endorsed its inclusion on the Assembly's agenda. I stated then, and strongly reiterate now, that the recent measures undertaken by Israel in the occupied territory, detailed in the explanatory memorandum so ably submitted by Egypt [A/32/241] and broadcast by international media across the globe quoting authoritative statements of Israeli leaders, both, from the government and the opposition, and revealed in the condemnation and concern expressed by responsible statesmen, individually and in concert, constitute a pivotal issue in determining the balance between a durable peace and the eruption of war in this region.

101. The objective facts of the case reveal a blatant and premeditated design that cannot but cast doubts on the *bona fides* of Israel in seeking a peace honourable to all. The basic elements of the plan constitute a challenge to the

United Nations authority, a flagrant disavowal by Israel of its Charter obligations, a violation of United Nations resolutions and the basic precepts of the Geneva Convention of 1949 and, indeed, a major barrier to efforts within and without the Organization to promote a solution in the Middle East.

102. The plan, well on the way to implementation, has already resulted in the establishment of 77 known colonial-type settlements in the occupied Arab territories—six more have been authorized as late as August following Prime Minister Begin's trip to the United States. Only a few days ago two more settlements were authorized in pointed disregard of the storm of criticism and condemnation aroused world wide, as exemplified by the inclusion of the item on the Assembly agenda. While the initial motivation might have been governed, I supposed, by defence considerations, the eventual aim became patently obvious: outright annexation. Projected into the future are plans within a 15 year period for the creation of scores of new homelands, including 50 within the occupied territories. Accompanying such a blueprint for territorial acquisition through force are poorly concealed intentions to increase the rate of settler immigration to the tune of hundreds of thousands of Zionist settlers from abroad.

103. Even more contemptible than these flagrantly illegal moves are attempts by Israel to justify its virtual colonization on the untenable ground of legitimacy dredged up from 2,000 years ago—the biblical link to the ancient Jewish homeland. The recognition of such claims could constitute a dangerous precedent, the condoning or appeasing of which could nullify the fundamental Charter injunction against the acquisition of territory by force. It could change the map of the world and open the door to international anarchy.

104. Alongside this plan to impose virtual colonization is the thinly concealed plot to oust the original inhabitants through a deliberate campaign of intimidation and denial of basic human rights, accompanied by attempts to alter the cultural, religious and demographic structure of these territories, including the desecration of the holy shrines.

105. The United Nations cannot allow Israel to flout its authority with impunity; the adverse consequences to a Middle East peace are obvious. The threat to the viability of the principles of the United Nations Charter, however, is far-reaching and monumental. It is not only the Arabs or the Palestinians who are challenged but every nation in the world, for the basic precepts which underlie and bind the community of nations are being undermined.

106. Bangladesh categorically condemns these Israeli measures. We strongly urge concerted international action along the lines laid down by the recent communiqués of the extraordinary meeting of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries [A/32/255-S/12410, annex] and of the Islamic Conference [A/32/261, annex], respectively. We believe that such action must be directed in particular towards securing the immediate dismantling of settlements, the restoration and rehabilitation of the original inhabitants and the mobilization of all assistance, material and financial, to help the original inhabitants to achieve this goal. It is for this reason that Bangladesh considers it a duty to

sponsor draft resolution A/32/L.3/Rev.1 and Add.1, so ably introduced by the representative of Egypt.

107. Mr. AL-OBAIDLY (Qatar) (*interpretation from Arabic*): On behalf of my delegation I should like to express our sincere thanks and appreciation to this international Assembly for the interest it has shown in this important item. This debate demonstrates the sincere desire of the international community to step up efforts to reveal the Zionist entity's intentions following the illegal measures it is taking in occupied Arab territory. Our intention is to allow the Arab and Palestine people to recover their rights and establish peace in the Middle East.

108. Respect for the principles of international law is one of the essential requirements and obligations placed upon States Members of the United Nations and is one of the essential characteristics of the civilized world. The Zionist entity has not abided by these principles but, on the contrary, has violated and disdained them.

109. The international community is well aware that world Zionism, in collusion with imperialism, was able to proclaim the unfortunate Balfour Declaration in 1917 providing for the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestinian lands, disregarding the wishes of the indigenous inhabitants of the country, who represented 92 per cent of the population and possessed 98 per cent of the land.

110. Scene outlines and chapters in these shabby plots succeeded one another: Great Britain was handed the Mandate over Palestine and began to play its role by annihilating the interests of the Palestinians and forcing them to leave the country, while at the same time it was granting privileges to the Jews and throwing wide open the doors to their immigration with a view to settlement. The Zionist organizations also, together with their allies, played a despicable role in the repression of the Palestinian Arabs: they used the most barbarous methods when they engaged in collective massacres designed to wipe out the inhabitants, stockpiled arms and mobilized the terrorists. To meet this conspiracy the Palestinian people at that time could only resist stubbornly and with means far beyond the limit of its possibilities. Nevertheless, the Zionist settlers were able to implant the first Zionist colony on the soil of Palestine in 1886.

111. To complete this international conspiracy in which the Zionist and Western forces took part, the United Nations also committed the greatest blunder known to history by adopting on 29 November 1947 resolution 181 (II), providing for the partition of Palestine without enabling the Palestinian people to take part in decisions affecting its destiny and its future in its own land and country.

112. That fateful error threw open the way to these ravaging wolves which began to devour both the innocent people and the territory of Palestine in order to establish a larger number of Israeli settlements, and consolidate them through illegal and inhuman laws. Israel was not satisfied with what it had done. It launched the 1967 aggression against three of its Arab neighbours and occupied a large part of the land of those countries, including the whole of Palestine. Israel then began to set up settlements in these

territories. The Zionist entity persevered in creating a larger number of colonies and in planning for the occupation of all of Palestine, the Golan Heights and the Sinai peninsula.

113. That is a matter which is not confined to the secret intentions of the Zionist entity, because we see ever more clearly all the projects that have been announced and all the duly observed material facts that aim at the creation of many military positions. The settlements are not merely housing complexes but rather extensions of the Zionist military establishment. What is more, that Zionist entity is seeking to lay the basis for Arab-Zionist economic integration and is preparing the way for the achievement of its long-term objective: to "Zionize" the occupied Arab territories, including the city of Jerusalem.

114. The political resolutions which were adopted at the Tenth Conference of the Zionist Herut Movement under the guidance of Menachem Begin, a conference which was held on 8 November 1970, stated:

"The Herut Conference refuses any proposal which would lead to a new partition of Israel and in order to guarantee Israeli sovereignty over all of the liberated regions, the legislation, jurisdiction and administration of Israel must be implemented there. What is of paramount importance is the intensive settlement of all of the territory of Judaea, Samaria, the Gaza Strip, Sinai and the Golan Heights."

115. This Zionist defiance continues and Israel's persistence in seizing Arab territories to establish Zionist settlements is a flagrant challenge and defiance of the international community, its Charter, its resolutions and its provisions. The policy of usurpation and spoliation of Arab territories on the part of Israel has been the essential aim of the Zionist movement since its inception in the last century and up to the present time. This Zionist movement has stubbornly used all means and methods available to it, and exploited the British Mandate over Palestine on the pretext of saving the Promised Land. However, the movement was not successful in all of its attempts to seize this land for it clashed with the Arab citizens. But the picture changed when Israel was established under the Zionist movement. The usurpation of lands undertaken by the Zionist entity led to the massive scattering of the Palestinian people.

116. In 1948 Israel grabbed a large part of Palestinian land, to say nothing of dozens of Syrian and Egyptian villages which were occupied, one of them being Quneitra. Since then the confiscations continue relentlessly at two different but interdependent levels, on the one hand by the use of force and, on the other hand, on the basis of military laws which the Zionist entity has inherited. This Zionist entity is based on tyranny, repression, imperialism and colonialization applied by Zionist circles aided and abetted by their foreign allies.

117. The barbarous massacres committed by the terrorist Zionist organizations, as well as by the military authorities, as a result of the establishment of the Zionist entity, the expulsion of the Arab people from Palestine, the occupation of the country and the occupation of a neighbouring Arab country's territories, all of this cannot be justified in the eyes of history and are unacceptable from the human standpoint.

118. These Israeli measures taken in the occupied Arab territories are not confined to the territories occupied by Israel in 1967; they also encompass the lands which the Arabs possessed in the Territories occupied since 1948. Clear and irrefutable proof of Israel's policy of oppressing and repressing the Arab inhabitants is afforded by the confidential Koenig decree, which reveals a global plan for bringing about a dangerous increase in the total population of Upper Galilee, the Judaization of the region and the dispersion of the Arab inhabitants by destroying their houses, expelling them from their lands and depriving them of their rights. The measures taken for the Judaization of the town of Nazareth and of Galilee are null and void, and no community can afford to tolerate or recognize them.

119. The slogan "*Eretz Israel*", which has been the goal for more than a quarter of a century, is being now revived in a new form by Menachem Begin's terrorism. In his feverish electoral campaign, he brandished that slogan, even though it is nothing but the fruit of the Zionist superiority complex and arrogance, and will collapse just as the myth of the invincible Israeli army has collapsed. The racist and discriminatory policy, founded on Zionist superiority, seems more than ever senseless and is based only on lies and illusions devoid of any juridical or real foundation. The Zionist daily *Jewish Chronicle*, published in the United Kingdom, did not hesitate to criticize Begin's policy in an editorial dated 19 August 1977 and wondered whether Begin and the members of his government had become so bemused by political power that they refused to heed all the international protests aroused by the measures they had taken on the West Bank and in Gaza.

120. The movement for Zionist settlement has been very intense and has activated the fulfilment of the settlement plans drawn up in the time-table of the Zionist Parliament and the Jewish Agency. To that we must add that the colonization projects have been undertaken by Zionist organizations both in different regions of Palestine and in the occupied Arab territories. Settlement colonies have been set up in the region of Sharm El Sheikh to promote tourism and trade. Military and other habited colonies have been set up in the same region. More than 30 settlements have been established on the Syrian Golan Heights. More than 40 settlements have been established on the West Bank of the Jordan, in addition to a town with a capacity of 250,000 settlers, which will be completed in 1980. Dozens of settlements have been implanted along the Jordan river with a view to creating a *cordon sanitaire*. Taking advantage of the fact that the Jordan is the border between various regions—did not Rabin say: "Plant olive trees, for the Jordan River is the border"?—the Zionist clan tries to establish a series of settlements in order to encircle the Arab towns, so that they will be isolated and gradually colonized to the point at which their Arab character will disappear. This is to say nothing about the measures taken to change the character of Jerusalem, which is already encircled by a series of colonies, and the other measures affecting the Holy Places, and in particular the Al Aqsa Mosque and the El Ibrahim Mosque.

121. These racist acts which are based on a policy of religious discrimination, have aroused the anger and indignation of the entire world—the Islamic world and the Christian world. They have been condemned vehemently

because they are acts of sacrilege against the holy places of Islam, Christianity and Judaism. We should add to this the fact that there is a city to be built to contain 280,000 inhabitants and to be called Ariha Eiloot and the city of Nablus is also to be surrounded by a belt of settlements.

122. All of these acts of provocation and settlement which are being carried out by the present Government in Israel in contravention of international law and the traditions and principles of the United Nations can serve only as proof of the fact that this entity is moving towards a situation which will reflect a deadlock and will lead to a conflagration in the region. How else can we explain Israel's persistent occupation of the occupied Arab territories, the expulsion of their inhabitants, the creation of settlements and the annexation of the city of Jerusalem and the changing of its nature? How can all of these measures be explained which violate the resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council?

123. An article "Landmarks on the Road to Execution" by Michael Adams provides indications as to the path which has been taken, and the aim of Zionist policy, namely, to establish what Israel calls "Greater Israel". Let me quote what he states:

"From the moral point of view, the settlement of Arab territories is an error and exposes the Israeli community to the same violence to which the people Israel wishes to subjugate are exposed. From the legal point of view, this matter of settlements is illegal and, by leading Israel into a constant struggle with the international community, increases its isolation. From the political point of view, the establishment of more settlements in these occupied Arab lands is self-defeating and useless. This policy demonstrates Israel's hostility and its refusal to refrain from actions of this nature."

124. The Security Council, in the consensus statement by the President of 11 November 1976, has expressed its concern about the grave situation prevailing in the occupied Arab territories and has reaffirmed the need for Israel to guarantee the safety of the populations under its domination. The Security Council has agreed that all the legal or administrative measures taken by Israel with regard to the city of Jerusalem are null and void and has urgently appealed to Israel to put an end to these illegal measures and to prevent their recurrence.

125. While the United Nations says nothing about the inhuman Israeli practices in the occupied Arab territories or the violations of the Charter, United Nations resolutions, international law, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the fourth Geneva Convention, the Zionist entity pursues its policy of expansion and aggression and continues to establish settlements and to Judaize the occupied Arab territories in defiance of the international community. My country strongly condemns the Zionist entity, especially for the arbitrary measures it has taken in the occupied territories. These measures are an obstacle to any effort made with a view to establishing a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

126. It is high time that the international community should cease to confine itself solely to the adoption of

resolutions condemning the Zionist entity—resolutions which Israel only scorns and defies. On the contrary, the international community must shoulder its full responsibility and take all necessary measures to put an end to this illegal occupation so that the Palestinian people will be able to return to their country, and recover their rights to self-determination, under the guidance of the PLO and to set up their independent State on a portion of their homeland.

127. Mr. HOLLAI (Hungary): The situation in the Middle East continues to be explosive as a direct consequence of the fact that the key problems of the conflict between the Arab States and Israel are still unresolved. On a number of occasions my delegation has expressed from this rostrum the position of the Hungarian Government on the Middle East question, a position which has basically remained unchanged since the beginning of that conflict.

128. This time, rather than speak again at length to repeat our views, I shall touch upon another aspect of the Israeli aggression against the Arab countries which is equally a source of potential danger of the greatest gravity. I am referring to Israel's policy based on the so-called homeland doctrine, which serves as a basis for the annexation of the occupied Arab territories. The annexation of those territories through direct and indirect measures and practices lies at the root of the situation, which is steadily deteriorating. Such a policy of fait accompli claims that the territories captured from the Arab countries form part of Israel and are therefore, on the one hand, not considered as occupied lands, and on the other, that the population of those territories is regarded as living there only on sufferance. That doctrine is, of course, untenable.

129. Recently the Government of Israel has taken concrete measures in relation to the occupied West Bank and the Gaza Strip, measures that have a bearing on the search for a peaceful settlement in the Middle East. Those measures are deliberate acts to perpetuate Israel's occupation of Arab lands and to pave the way for their annexation. Ever since 1967 the policy of annexation has manifested itself in the establishment of settlements in the occupied territories, in the further development of the settlements already established, in the continued acquisition of land in the occupied territories, in the process of annexing the occupied part of Jerusalem, and in the discouragement of the population from remaining in the occupied territories, while refusing to recognize the right to return of those who fled or left their homes in 1967. That practice is known as an attempt to change the geographical nature and the demographic composition of the occupied territories. That shameful practice has recently been further developed. As I have already stated, the recent measures adopted by the Government of Israel are also aimed at changing the legal status of the occupied territories.

130. Those measures include the announcement by the Israeli Government of its official approval of the existing settlements and the creation of new ones in the Arab territories under Israeli occupation and of the application of Israeli laws and regulations to Arab areas in the occupied territories.

131. The Israeli policy of annexation is a grave violation of the United Nations Charter, which protects the principle of sovereignty and the territorial integrity of all States; it is a grave violation of the rules and principles of international law, more specifically the provisions of the fourth Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, to which Israel is a signatory; and it is also a grave violation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

132. My delegation is deeply concerned by the actions of the Israeli Government in the occupied territories, particularly by its announced administrative measures, which seem to imply a continuation of the policy aimed at the permanent annexation of those territories. These actions create even greater tension in the area and pose a threat to the international community. We believe that in the present circumstances the General Assembly should take appropriate initiatives that would increase opportunities to move towards a solution of this problem. We are of the opinion that the General Assembly should condemn all measures taken by the Israeli authorities to change the legal status, the geographical nature and the demographic composition of the occupied territories and should call upon the Government of Israel strictly to comply with its international obligations.

133. In conclusion, I should like to make it clear that in the view of my delegation the measures and actions taken by Israel in the occupied territories have no legal validity and are a serious hindrance to the efforts to achieve a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. Israel still keeps the Arab territories under occupation and maintains tension in the region. We are convinced that an over-all settlement of the conflict can only be conceived within the framework of an international conference to be held with the participation of all the parties involved, including the representatives of the PLO. Such a settlement should be based on Israel's withdrawal from all the Arab territories occupied in 1967, on the recognition of the legitimate right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, and on guarantees for all States in the area to live in peace within recognized, secure and guaranteed borders.

134. Mr. VERTINSKY (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): The delegation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, whose people still vividly remember the aftermath of the last war and military occupation, fully shares the general alarm and concern over recent developments in the Middle East.

135. For many years now the Middle East has remained the focal point of international tension. Military conflagration has broken out four times in a comparatively short period and it would certainly be tragic if it were to break out again.

136. That explosive situation is a direct consequence of Israeli aggression against Arab countries, of the continued occupation of Arab territories by Israel, territories which it seized in 1967, and of its refusal to recognize the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

137. The situation in that region has been further exacerbated by the decisions taken by the Israeli leaders to

legalize the settlements in occupied Arab territories on the West Bank of the Jordan and to extend the validity of certain Israeli laws to those territories. That situation has been mentioned in detail by a number of previous speakers.

138. Those actions of Israel are quite simply an attempt by the Israeli authorities formally to arrogate to Israel the Arab territories which it seized, thus placing a *fait accompli* before the world.

*Mr. Kaufmann (Netherlands), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

139. The leaders of Israel, incidentally, do not conceal their true aims and far-reaching plans, which were openly stated in their decision to remain in the occupied territories. The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Dayan, stated this in his statement to the General Assembly on 10 October [27th meeting], when he attempted to justify the "legality" of Jewish settlements in the occupied Arab Territories. He resorted to so-called "arguments", which convinced no one here, not even the State which is the ally and patron of Israel. Even the leaders of that State have several times indicated their disapproval of the measures taken by Israel to legalize the settlements it has founded.

140. As has already been stated, those actions are a gross violation of the United Nations Charter and its decisions, of the norms and principles of international law, and in particular of the provisions of the fourth Geneva Convention of 12 August 1949, a convention to which Israel is a signatory. Article 49 of that Convention prohibits the Occupying Power from deporting or transferring "parts of its own civilian population into the territory it occupies" and, *a fortiori*, from establishing its own settlements there.

141. It is worth noting—and this has been mentioned by a number of representatives—that the illegal actions of Israel were perpetrated at a time when the special efforts made by the Soviet Union, the Arab States and all peace-loving forces had created more favourable conditions for a Middle East settlement and when the question of resuming the work of the Geneva Peace conference had reached the stage of preparation.

142. This shows the nature and scale of Israel's defiance of the international community and international public opinion and its blind reliance on the concept of force and violence.

143. It is natural that the defiant steps of the Israeli leaders are regarded by all countries everywhere as actions which create fresh obstacles on the way to achieving a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

144. The Byelorussian SSR shares the bitterness and wrath of the Arab peoples over the fact that part of their ancient lands continues to remain under the heel of the occupying forces and are being formally annexed by usurpers, and that many hundreds of thousands of Palestinian Arabs are deprived of the right to their own homeland.

145. From this rostrum many representatives have, quite rightly, spoken about a natural human right: the right to life. But there is another one organically connected with

that, an inalienable elementary human right: that is the right to a homeland. Israel is denying the Palestinian Arabs this right, although as regards its own interests, it is always talking about its so-called "historical homeland". We might think that the Palestinians do not have an historical homeland but some other kind.

146. Israel and those who back it should not harbour any illusions that they can impose their will on the Arab peoples. Whoever sows the wind reaps the whirlwind. In the final analysis, this is not in the interest of the people of Israel itself, who continue to live in the conditions of a garrison State but who, like all people, long to live in peace and tranquillity.

147. But there will be no peace and tranquillity unless Israeli troops withdraw completely from the Arab territories it seized in 1967, unless the legitimate national rights of the Arab people of Palestine are ensured, including their right to the creation of their own State, and unless the right to an independent existence and the security of all States involved in the conflict are guaranteed.

148. These three key factors are the basis for a just and lasting settlement and the way to that settlement lies through the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East which, to our minds, should resume its work as soon as possible.

149. The Israeli leaders should now realize that occupied territory is foreign land and, inevitably, they will have to restore that land to its rightful owners. As a first step, they should stop their illegal measures aimed at changing the legal status, geographical character and demographic composition of the occupied Arab territories.

150. On the basis of everything I have said, the Byelorussian SSR supports draft resolution A/32/L.3/Rev.1 and Add.1.

151. Mr. IDRIS (Indonesia): As the delegation of Egypt has pointed out in its explanatory memorandum contained in the annex to document A/32/241, recent illegal Israeli measures in the occupied Arab territories constitute a serious contravention of the principles of the United Nations Charter, in particular those which establish the non-admissibility of the acquisition of territory by force and provide for the right of self-determination and freedom for all peoples. In addition, they represent a flagrant defiance of the will of the international community as expressed in numerous resolutions both of the General Assembly and of the Security Council. The United Nations and the international community as a whole cannot afford to ignore such a brazen challenge.

152. My delegation has noted with concern that the situation in the Middle East has again deteriorated as a direct result of the recent actions by the Government of Israel with regard to the occupied territories. The major elements of its policy there include the mistreatment of inhabitants of the occupied areas, the denial of human rights, especially freedom of religion, and the increase in the number of Israeli settlements in these areas. The Israeli Government's continuation of its policy of annexation and expansion through the legitimization of the illegal settle-

ments, in particular, clearly constitutes an impediment to the over-all settlement of the Middle East question.

153. It is relevant to recall that the General Assembly has in the past condemned Israeli practices in the occupied territories. Israel has failed to heed the repeated demands by the international community to discontinue its efforts to change the legal status, geographical nature and demographic composition of the territories under its occupation.

154. In this regard it is particularly distressing to note that Israel continues to violate not only the basic norms of international law and of the relevant international conventions, but has also committed grave breaches of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War. The longer the occupation continues, the more blatant becomes the Israeli Government's disregard of its explicit obligations in this respect. Settlements which were initiated in 1967 as military or paramilitary outposts have gradually been transformed into civilian occupation—a fact which emphasizes their permanency, not only from the viewpoint of the Government, but also from that of the settlers as well. Moreover, a growing proportion of the more recently established settlements has had from the outset an openly civilian character.

155. Clearly such activities, which seek to permanently dispossess the indigenous people of their lands and homes, constitute a deliberate policy of violating the basic human rights of the inhabitants of the occupied Arab territories. Some of the more specific instances of these practices are especially disturbing. The deliberate interference with the religious freedoms and practices occasioned by the extension of Israeli settlements has caused grave anxiety and concern among the people in the occupied territories and also among the other nations in general. Such deliberate and persistent violation of the traditional religious practices by the Israelis deserves the condemnation of the entire international community.

156. The establishment of Israeli settlements in the occupied territories demonstrates that the expansionist policies pursued by successive Israeli Governments have not yet been abandoned. It is clearly important that no member of the international community should extend recognition to the changes which have been imposed by Israel. The extension and consolidation of the Israeli settlements in the occupied territories constitute one of the main impediments to the negotiations which would lead to a just solution of the problem of the Middle East. As repeatedly recognized by the General Assembly in successive resolutions, such a settlement can only be attained through the withdrawal of Israel from all occupied Arab territories, including the holy city of Jerusalem, and the recognition of all the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

157. My delegation therefore strongly condemns the persistence of Israel in carrying out its measures of oppression, in particular the establishment of settlements in the occupied Arab territories.

158. We wish to take this opportunity to call upon Israel scrupulously to observe its international obligations in accordance with the principles of international law and the

fourth Geneva Convention. Equally, Israel must desist from taking any action which would result in changing the legal status and the geographic and demographic composition of the Arab territories, including Jerusalem.

159. In order to lend its active support to the attainment of these goals, my delegation has decided to become a sponsor of draft resolution A/32/L.3/Rev.1 and Add.1. In particular, we hope that the contacts to be undertaken by the Secretary-General pursuant to operative paragraph 6 (a) of the draft resolution will result in the cessation and nullification of the illegal Israeli measures in the occupied territories. It is also my delegation's belief that a review of the situation by the Security Council in the light of the draft resolution and of the Secretary-General's efforts would do much to resolve this pressing issue.

160. Mr. SAI LAM (Yemen) (*interpretation from Arabic*): We are now on the eve of the establishment of peace. We Arabs always prefer to be optimistic, and this desire for peace is part of our daily life, our traditions and our age-old customs. The expression *salaam aleikhem* is repeated daily by every Arab—whatever his religion, Moslem, Christian or Jewish. Arabs, whatever their status, continue to meet and greet one another with this expression of peace and to live in friendship and love until the arrival of certain kinds of people that have come to live with them, people that pretended to be peace-loving and Semites but indeed were not at all.

161. I do not wish to devote my statement here to the Zionist movement or to its designs for expansion. I shall be brief and limit my statement to various steps and positions taken by Israel to impede progress towards peace in the Middle East.

162. The representative of the Zionist and racist entity has described before the Assembly the Israeli settlements in the occupied Arab territories by stating that that was an exemplary way in which to bridge the gap existing between Arabs and Jews so that they might live together by establishing a dialogue and demonstrating how they can exist side by side. He spoke as if he wished to persuade the Arabs, the General Assembly and the whole world to recognize the Israeli settlements as a *fait accompli* because, in his opinion, the policy of *fait accompli* is the only way to live in peace in the Middle East. Did the Israeli representative, in so doing, wish to imply that his listeners were unaware—or was he himself unaware—of the fact that the occupied Arab territories are subjected to the yoke of racist Zionist policies? That he should attempt to ignore the fact that Arabs are the authentic owners of that territory shows his belief that the Zionists, who hail from all corners of the earth, came to Palestine to teach the Arabs how to live in peace side by side with the Zionist settlers.

163. That twisted logic proves—if it proves anything at all—nothing other than the fact of the arrogance and superiority complex of this race which wishes to treat others as ignorant so that it may achieve its aims—its claim that it is the chosen people of God and that other persons should appreciate its instructions, respect its desires and implement its orders, because this people is capable of everything.

164. What logic can the Arab countries or even the countries friendly to Israel use to convince the leaders of racist and arrogant Israel that persisting in establishing Israeli settlements in occupied Arab territories impedes efforts to achieve a just and lasting peace in the Middle East? How can they be convinced that the refusal to implement General Assembly and Security Council resolutions demanding Israel's withdrawal from occupied Arab territories and to recognize the PLO as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people is impeding progress towards peace? To refuse Palestinian refugees the right to return to their homeland and to recover their property or to compensate those who do not wish to return—all this also constitutes an obstacle to peace. The hatred and the scorn which Zionists have towards Arabs, Israel's distortion of truth and twisting of words are still other obstacles to peace. The use of force to repress Arab youth claiming its rights and liberty in a country which flaunts its democratic institutions, the confiscation of Arab property and the changing of the legal status, geographical nature and demographic composition of the occupied territories, the defamation of sacred Islamic sites—all are obstacles to peace. Israel's statement in this debate and its criticism of domestic situations in Arab lands are yet more obstacles raised by Israel to all efforts towards establishing peace.

165. Rather than welcome the position taken by Egypt as a positive step forward in the establishment of peace in the Middle East, when the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Egypt, Mr. Fahmy, said several weeks ago in Washington that Egypt was ready to accept Israel as one of the States of the Middle East and that it was necessary to live in peace in the region, the Zionist representative attempted to mock that initiative, which he described as being belated, and he said that Israel would continue to establish Israeli settlements in occupied Arab territories as, he claimed, a preventive measure. Does he mean by that that it is a preventive measure because he fears peace? An Arab proverb has it that "If you are not ashamed, you may do as you will."

166. The primary responsibility for establishing peace in the Middle East lies with this Organization, which has brought into the world an ungrateful child without legal justification, and subsequently it has been unable to educate that child.

167. Responsibility in the second place lies with the United States, which has turned Israel into a fortress armed to the teeth with weapons of all sorts, to such an extent that its influence extends even over the authority of the country which abetted its creation.

168. The delegation of the Yemen Arab Republic appeals to all parties concerned to prove their sincere desire to reconvene the Geneva Peace Conference and urges the United States of America and the Soviet Union to remove any obstacle raised by Israel to the reconvening of that Conference with the participation of all parties concerned, including the PLO as the only representative of the Palestinian people.

169. Israeli occupation of Arab territories has lasted for a very long time. The patience of the Arab people and of the whole world has been exhausted in waiting year after year

for a solution of this humanitarian problem. Every obstacle to the restoration of peace in the Middle East will have a serious impact on the entire world, and could expose mankind to a third world war, which would be devastating, and all because of the interests of a handful of individuals who claim to be the people chosen by God.

170. Mr. HUSSEN (Somalia): The item under discussion, namely, recent illegal Israeli measures in the occupied Arab territories, has been debated before this Assembly by the speakers who preceded me with the eloquence and clarity that the problem deserves.

171. During the course of the debate, the brutal and evil policy of the Tel Aviv régime against the Arab people has been exposed and vehemently condemned. It is with those voices of condemnation of the Israeli régime that I should like to associate the voice of my delegation.

172. As a result of the investigations conducted by the United Nations Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories, the international community is now familiar with the brutal practices of the Zionist entity in Tel Aviv against the human rights of the population of the occupied Arab territories. Now this Assembly is considering the illegal measures taken by Israel in the occupied Arab territories as a consequence of its policy of changing the geographical nature, demographic composition and legal status of the West Bank, the Golan Heights, Sinai and Gaza.

173. While the notorious methods by which the Zionist régime was established in Palestine are well known, the Tel Aviv authorities, true to their expansionist designs have, since 1967, embarked upon the establishment of over 90 illegal settlements. Many other settlements are also in preparation, unless they are checked by the concerted action of the international community.

174. In defiance of the world community and in violation of international conventions and of international law, the Tel Aviv régime has arrogantly and recklessly planned and put into effect illegal settlements on the West Bank, such as Hal Odmim, Ofra, Elon Souria and many others in the occupied Arab territories. Many have heard "from the horse's mouth"—from none other than Menachem Begin, the so-called Prime Minister of Israel—that "... these territories are liberated territories and a part of the historical land of Israel". In the same vein, Moshe Dayan has from this very rostrum declared that international law and conventions were not applicable to the occupied Arab territories.

175. Moreover, Mr. Ariel Sharon, the Minister of Agriculture for the Tel Aviv régime, has recently called in no uncertain terms for the creation of major Israeli cities and settlements, including one to be established in Sinai called Yamit, with an estimated population of 100,000.

176. There can be no clearer proof of the expansionist policies of the Israeli régime than these recent remarks straight from the mouths of their most highly placed leaders. This Assembly has to take cognizance of the fact that, far from being ready to respond to the international



call for its withdrawal from occupied Arab territories, the Tel Aviv régime has now shown its true colours by formally establishing new settlements in the Arab territories.

177. As the representative of Egypt has stated [47th meeting], the planned new settlements will be populated by Zionist settlers from South Africa, according to Israeli newspapers. These reported Zionist settlers from South Africa once again demonstrate the unholy alliance between the Tel Aviv and Pretoria régimes.

178. In order to attain these sinister and nefarious ends the Tel Aviv authorities have unleashed a reign of terror upon the Arab population, and they have evicted a great number of Arabs from their legitimate homeland, destroyed their dwellings and crops, and expropriated their properties in order to make way for these new Zionist settlements. Moreover, Tel Aviv has employed cunning techniques and subterfuges to create vainly a *fait accompli* by extending its so-called laws to the Arab population of the occupied territories. This action has been rejected by the Arab population, which sees it as the tentacles of the Zionist designs to displace Arabs from their homelands.

179. Instead of complying with the resolutions of the United Nations and with other international norms, the Zionist representative has made an effort to divert the attention of this Assembly from the item under discussion by trying to inject into the debate matters which are entirely extraneous to it. The Zionists' crocodile tears are well known to Africa.

180. The expanding military and economic co-operation between Tel Aviv and the arch enemy of Africa, namely the white minority régime in South Africa, is clear evidence of the treachery and double standards of the Israeli régime with regard to Africa's interests.

181. In conclusion, Tel Aviv's illegal measures in the occupied Arab territories are not only unfortunate circumstances the Arab people of the territory have to face; they also pose a new danger to the peace and security of the world. Also they are contrary to the norms of international law and a violation of the provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, which is applicable to the Arab population in occupied Arab territories. In short, Tel Aviv's actions are illegal and should to all intents and purposes be condemned by this Assembly. Accordingly my delegation urges the Assembly to take strong action against the Tel Aviv authorities for the wanton violations they have committed.

182. I am sure the Assembly will adopt draft resolution A/32/L.3/Rev.1 and Add.1, which is now before it.

183. Mr. RAMAROKA (Madagascar) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation regrets that a representative, well before even having heard what was to be said, considered it proper to prophesy that most speakers following him in this Assembly would content themselves with repeating like parrots the slogans and *clichés* a ring-master might have orchestrated for them. I regret this.

184. Indeed, we should thank that representative because he could not have made a more explicit confession of the

deeds he pretends to deny here. Anyone who uses slogans and words should understand and believe them. But that is not true of the Zionist leaders, who speak of the ancient and historic rights of Israel to secure, recognized and guaranteed borders according to their own standards, to the exploitation of the desert, to peace, order and prosperity reigning in the occupied territories, and to coexistence between Moslems and Jews in a free and open society in Israel—while non-Jewish Israeli citizens are but third-class citizens

185. It is surprising, in any case, that Israel deemed it appropriate to describe as *clichés* the inalienable rights of a people. What would the reaction of the international community be if we were to so describe Israel's right to existence? It is deplorable that a Member of the Organization attaches so little importance to the principles of the United Nations.

186. With regard to the accusation that a superficial approach is being taken to international problems, that cannot hold up, because if it were so we would have to conclude it is necessary for Israel to disappear in order that the problems of the Middle East might disappear with it.

187. We have not envisaged such a solution, and Israel could confirm that.

188. My delegation wants to forget the offence to the sense of responsibility of all delegations committed by the representative of Israel when he declared that we would not even take the time to evaluate the facts put forward.

189. But is it not true that Israeli practices in occupied Palestinian and Arab territories have been known for a long time now, and that condemnation of them has similarly long been in the public domain?

190. Whom would he like to have believe that no individual has been displaced, that no Arab has been dispossessed of his property, that no human life has been sacrificed? In 1948 the Palestinians were robbed of their property, buildings and land for the benefit of the Jewish immigrants. It was the same after the wars of 1967 and 1973.

191. And what kind of mirage or illusion caused observers to see the population of the Golan Heights dwindle from 77,000 to 13,000; 200,000 Palestinians forced to withdraw from the West-Bank of the Jordan; 40,000 hectares of land expropriated in the Gaza Strip; and a further 300 hectares expropriated in the Arab sector of Jerusalem?

192. Israel's guilt is too clear, and Israel has itself established that guilt through its own actions. It is therefore not necessary to adduce proof.

193. Is Israel guilty or not guilty of having ignored all the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly relating to the occupied territories and the rights of persons displaced from those territories? The verdict is guilty.

194. Is Israel guilty or not guilty of having acted against and having violated the provisions of the Geneva Convention of 1949?

195. And any argument seeking to prove the contrary can proceed only from obvious bad faith or a deliberate intent to intimidate to which we refuse to cede. Israel is guilty.

196. The fact that it would appear that Israel undertook nothing in the way of colonization between 1948 and 1967 cannot justify all its later actions. And all things considered, we do not see how Israel can absolve itself of the exactions which it has committed against the Palestinian people since 1948.

197. We are accused of being obsessed by Israel. But it is actually Israel which itself is obsessed by an alleged international anti-Israel plot. When it is attacked with regard to its Pharisaic Jewish practices, it attempts to entrench itself behind a good faith which actually is non-existent and, with a misplaced sense of melodrama, believes that a hysterical appeal to world conscience is enough to absolve it of all the sins which it has committed against the international community.

198. But we have been told also about a theatre of the absurd. Where do we look for what is absurd here? Does it lie with us, the delegations of States Members of the United Nations who are asking only for strict respect of principles, resolutions and decisions? Or does it lie, rather, in the thinking of the impenitent Zionists, for whom the only valid rights are their own?

199. No one can ignore the great activity which has recently been undertaken in an attempt to clear up the situation in the Middle East. Nor can anyone minimize the aspirations of the peoples of the region to a peace based on equity and respect for the inalienable rights of everyone.

200. That is why we understand the apprehensions of the Egyptian delegation in asking for the inclusion of item 126 on our agenda. All interested parties, including Israel, protest that they have only peace in mind. But there are those who conceive of this peace in the most exclusive way possible, and thus take exception to any participation in the negotiations by the PLO, which is of course actually the only legitimate and authentic representative of the Palestinian people.

201. But there are those who, like the Zionist leaders, are determined to obstruct all efforts aimed at establishing a just and lasting peace in the Middle East by increasing their measures to change in an irreversible fashion the legal status, the geographical character and the demographic composition of the Palestinian and Arab occupied territories in violation of the principles of the Charter and Arab occupied territories in violation of the principles of the Charter and United Nations resolutions and in contempt for the obligations entered into under the terms of the fourth Geneva Convention of 1949.

202. One of the most odious aspects of these violations is the establishment and proliferation of Jewish settlements in the occupied territories. But it is surprising, to say the least, that when we are notified of such measures, which are scandalously illegal, such news has only given rise to purely formal protestations which are insufficient to arouse the apathy of the United Nations, which seems, at the level of the Security Council, paralysed, by the dilatory actions of

the Western Powers, who have remained too susceptible to Zionist propaganda according to which Israel must have secure, recognized and guaranteed borders.

203. Are not all the difficulties in establishing a lasting peace in the Middle East a result of this pernicious notion of "secure borders" because, of course, Israel arrogates to itself the right to be the sole judge of the security of its frontiers, does not recognize any party except itself as being able to ensure this safeguard, and, under the cover of this alleged double need, pursues openly and cynically a racist, annexationist and expansionist—in sum a colonialist—policy.

204. I shall not dwell on the things which we have witnessed in all the Palestinian and the occupied Arab territories, which cause us to relive the darkest nightmares of the colonial era: the displacements of populations for the benefit of Jewish settlers richly endowed with all the resources of modern technology, living conditions which have been made intolerable in the zones reserved to non-Jews, discrimination in the hiring of workers, denial of the most elementary rights to non-Jewish workers, and so forth.

205. But when they dare to speak of liberated Israeli territories to designate Palestinian and occupied Arab territories, when they let it be said that "Israel is everywhere where Jews are settled", we know very well that the Zionist authorities want to make us believe that for Israel there will never be any final frontiers and that, in the first stage, which we are now witnessing, the objective to be attained is, in the minds of the Israeli leaders, none other than the full "Israelization" of all of Palestine, and even of the neighbouring territories under Arab sovereignty. What, then, would become, *inter alia*, of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, of which our Organization is the guarantor. What would become of the principles of sovereignty and territorial integrity which Israel itself claims?

206. How long will we tolerate the United Nations remaining paralysed by fallacious arguments, supported if not endorsed by certain of its influential Members?

207. How long will we tolerate a single State to take the liberty of flouting the rest of the international community and shamelessly violating the obligations it has undertaken, in all sovereignty, in becoming a Member of our Organization and in acceding to the international rules of conduct such as the fourth Geneva Convention of 1949?

208. What my delegation would like, first and foremost, is to remind each of us of the urgent need to act for peace in the Middle East, to call upon a Member of our Organization to fulfil its obligations to safeguard its own interests, for, equally with its neighbours and all other peoples of the earth, the Israeli people has an interest in seeing a just and lasting peace established in the Middle East. And it is in that spirit that my delegation has become a sponsor of the draft resolution submitted to our Assembly under agenda item 126.

209. Consequently, by way of a requirement—which, if it were pronounced in all equity and before a court, which the General Assembly has no wish to be, despite Zionist

allegations, would lead to the outlawing pure and simple of Israel—we demand: that the international community, going beyond mere verbal condemnation, should oblige Israel, in the firmest possible way and by the most appropriate measures, to renounce henceforth, for all time, the colonization of the Palestinian and occupied Arab territories; that no validity be accorded to the measures taken by Israel, in flagrant contradiction with its obligations, to “Israelize” Palestine and the occupied Arab territories, in order to put an end to Israeli pretensions to historic rights that make a mockery of the obligations that were imposed on that State at the time of its admission to the United Nations; and that the Zionist occupier, whose interpretation of history verges sometimes on the paranoid, respect its international obligations which it subscribed to under the fourth Geneva Convention.

210. This set of measures is, in sum, but a palliative—however firm the will of the Member States and of the United Nations to apply them—if we do not concentrate on the central concern, that of ensuring for the Palestinians the rights which, as a people that can point to a tradition as age-old as that of the others, they can aspire to and will not give up. And among those rights there is, first and foremost, the right to exist, in every sense of the term, on their lands, surrounded by the belongings of which Israel has robbed them.

211. Mr. AHMED (Pakistan): I should like to thank you, Mr. President, for calling on me and allowing me to join a debate which is one of a series of discussions that prove the fact that the whole world put together cannot dislodge an adamant foe of justice and fair play. It appears that all conventions, the repeatedly expressed opinions of the world and the resolutions adopted by the United Nations are powerless when a Member of this Organization resolutely decides to disregard, flout and trample on them.

212. I have come to this rostrum with a deep sense of disappointment, but I may state that disappointment does not mean any relinquishment of our support for what is right or any weakening of our determination to be on the side of the people, who have been and are being wronged by those who believe in brute force, who think that they can explain away everything by cleverly coined phrases and jugglery of facts, and whose blatant violations of international law, disregard for human rights and disrespect for good conscience have left no doubt regarding their motives. This Assembly has unequivocally expressed its views against the many violations committed by them and is now watching how its powerful Members will fulfil their responsibility.

213. All of us, as human beings with awakened consciences, felt intensely disturbed when one pilot was killed and 82 innocent passengers and four crew were held for ransom. The Organization has taken cognizance of that fact and has showed readiness to deal with it. That is as it ought to have been. But what do we do when a whole country is “hijacked” under the cover of meaningless historical claims, naive pretensions of security for boundaries and the excuse that the establishment of settlements calculated to merge the conquered territory with the previously held land are quantitatively negligible or carry a different meaning in law and fact from what they are on their very face. Let us take

a look at that claim, see behind the screen and evaluate the arguments of quantity and motive. All of them have been pressed by Israel at one time or other and in one form or another.

214. The historical claim has its dubious origin in a period of time which was, or was alleged to have existed, once upon a time, more than 2,000 years ago. The essence of that argument is that there was history before two millennia and that since then history has stood still. However, if the allegation is correct, we may ask, What was the duration of that period? And what was the expanse of territory? The period in which the ancestors of the Jewish people are said to have ruled was a fraction of a fraction of the length of time that followed their exodus. The precise ascertainment of their territory will give the best of historians sleepless nights even in making the most approximate conjectures. That is the origin of the historical claim.

215. Why was that alleged sovereignty lost? Admittedly as a punishment for bad deeds. Since then centuries have rolled by: many empires rose and ruled vast territories, including the land that is claimed; many nations flourished there and made great contributions to human history. But we are required to treat all those happenings of a couple of thousand years as non-existent, as mere nothings deservedly forgotten. On that basis Israel claims the West Bank and Gaza as historically its own property and treats aggression as “liberation”. This is obviously a groundless argument.

216. But this argument is supported by a geographical cum-military argument. The assertion is made that the conquests of June 1967 constitute unquestionable territorial extensions because the conquered territory stretched the land that Israel possessed at that time out to its “natural boundaries”. But what is the value of natural boundaries if this possession is unnatural? Moreover, natural boundaries acquired by aggression are the most unnatural frontiers that can be conceived of by an international organization which stands for peace and orderly conduct. In addition to that, we know that one expansion leads to another, with the result that the so-called natural boundaries are really boundless. The talk of natural boundaries is a mere camouflage.

217. On the basis of those contentions the Israeli Government has proceeded to defy world opinion by taking steps to merge the conquered territory with the territory already held by it. That has been done by legalizing the settlements which were made on the occupied territory, by planning new settlements on it, by handing over the territory to the Israeli Civil Service, by appointing military men as governors, by extending Israeli laws to it, by abrogating the existing matrimonial laws and by establishing Israeli institutions in that area.

218. We are told that that is not annexation, because the settlements are small and because administrative uniformity should be looked upon as “equalization” of the residents of the occupied territory with the citizens of the State of Israel. The difference is, however, that Israeli citizens are free people and well-armed rulers, whereas the residents of the occupied territory are unwilling citizens as well as unwelcome, but captured, flocks of men and women.

219. The measures recently taken by the Israeli authorities are the latest examples of a lengthy sequence of outrageous violations by Israel of United Nations resolutions, its obligations under the fourth Geneva Convention and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. This Assembly will recall that several reports of the Special Committee which was established to investigate Israeli practices have highlighted serious contraventions by Israel of articles 47 and 49 of the fourth Geneva Convention.

220. Several General Assembly resolutions have repeatedly called upon Israel to respect and comply with its obligations under international law and have deplored its persistent violation of the Geneva Convention. Several General Assembly resolutions, including resolution 31/106 A adopted last year, have also strongly condemned Israeli measures taken in the occupied Arab territories to alter their demographic composition or geographical nature and particularly the establishment of Jewish settlements. That resolution further called upon Israel to rescind those measures and to desist forthwith from taking such measures. All those injunctions of the highest forum of the international community have failed to make any impression on Israel. As late as July of this year Israel went ahead and legalized unauthorized Jewish settlements and also decided to establish new Jewish settlements on the West Bank.

221. Instances of the violation of the provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights have frequently come to light. A recent report by the Swiss League for Human Rights, released in September of this year, referred to the excesses committed by the Israeli administration against the people of the occupied territories. Those excesses include arbitrary arrests, prolonged detention without legal sanction, restrictions on movement, violation of property rights such as arbitrary expropriation of property, political and judicial discrimination, and even systematically inflicted torture.

222. It is deplorable that, while the international community is trying to seek a peaceful settlement in the Middle East and to pave the way for the convening of the Geneva Conference, Israel is pursuing plans to colonize the occupied Arab lands. It is therefore not surprising that the moves made by the Israelis have drawn a sharp reaction and not only from the Arab world; they have also come under the severe criticism of the entire international community. Even Israel's close friends have described them as "an obstacle to constructive peace negotiations."

223. Pakistan has always supported the cause of the Arab and the Palestinian peoples. Our support is not merely to show that we are solidly with them in the furtherance of their cause, but it is based on the principle of self-determination, on respect for the Charter of the United Nations and its resolutions, and on rejection of the exercise of force and intimidation in international relations. It is our firm belief that lasting peace cannot be attained unless Israel withdraws from the occupied Arab territories and respects their people's inalienable rights, including the right to establish an independent State in their own homeland. The Zionist policies aimed at the extinction of Palestine and the Palestinian people, and depriving them of their land in order to accommodate Jewish immigrants, will only bring the Middle East and the whole world to a crisis.

224. It is therefore incumbent on the international community to condemn the Israeli policies of seeking changes which are clearly calculated to create colonies. The world community must adopt effective measures to compel Israel to reverse such policies. My delegation, therefore, has joined other representatives in sponsoring the draft resolution which is before the Assembly.

225. Mr. RAMPHUL (Mauritius): My delegation has read with great attention the statement made yesterday by the Permanent Representative of Egypt concerning the decision of the Government of Israel to establish further settlements in the occupied Arab territories. My delegation has also studied carefully draft resolution A/32/L.3/Rev.1 and Add.1 and finds itself in full agreement with its aims and purposes. Accordingly, we have sponsored this draft and shall naturally vote in favour of its adoption.

226. It is a matter of grave concern to my delegation that, at a time when the efforts of the international community are actively directed towards achieving an early resumption of the Geneva peace talks and towards creating a favourable climate in which those talks can take place, Israel should take further provocative measures to aggravate and complicate an already complex situation.

227. My Government has always maintained the position that the fourth Geneva Convention fully applies to all territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including the holy city of Jerusalem. It is regrettable that Israel should continue to pursue towards the occupied territories under its control a policy which it initiated from the time it began its occupation of the Arab territories in 1967 and which runs counter to the spirit and provisions of that Convention. In addition to establishing Jewish settlements in occupied Arab territories, it has taken other illegal measures aimed at transforming the status of those territories.

228. It is my delegation's view that Israel should be called upon to halt forthwith all actions which would result in changing the legal status, geographical nature and demographic composition of those territories.

229. The unfortunate aspect of this question is that the measures being taken by the Israeli authorities constitute deliberate acts of defiance of the decisions of the Security Council and of the General Assembly, and a grave violation of international law. Their objective can only be interpreted as denying the national rights of the Palestinian people, strengthening Israel's grip over the Arab territories and raising additional obstacles to international efforts for achieving a just and peaceful solution of the Middle East crisis.

230. My delegation unequivocally supports the position taken by the Organization of African Unity, as well as that of the non-aligned group of States, that Israel's continued illegal occupation of Arab territories constitutes a serious threat to international peace and security and that the measures taken by Israel to alter the status and character of the territories are null and void.

231. My delegation cannot accept the argument by Israel that the legal status of the territories is indefinite or that the Geneva Conventions are not applicable to them. The

international position was made abundantly clear by the Security Council on 11 November 1976. It will be recalled that on that occasion the President of the Council, speaking on behalf of all its members, reaffirmed that

"... the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War is applicable to the Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967. Therefore, the occupying Power is called upon once again to comply strictly with the provisions of that Convention and to refrain from any measure that violates them. In this regard the measures taken by Israel in the occupied Arab territories that alter their demographic composition or geographical nature and particularly the establishment of settlements are accordingly strongly deplored. Such measures which have no legal validity and cannot prejudice the outcome of the search for the establishment of peace constitute an obstacle to peace."<sup>10</sup>

232. Mr. Saleh FARAH (Djibouti): It is with great sorrow that we have recently received the shocking news of the untimely and premature death of our brother, Saif bin Ghobash, the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of the United Arab Emirates. The death of Mr. Ghobash is not only an unfortunate loss to his country but also a loss to the Arab world and to the rest of the world at large. In this sad moment, I should like to express on behalf of my delegation our deep condolence to his beloved family, his Government and people. May God rest his soul in peace.

*Mr. Mojsov (Yugoslavia) resumed the Chair.*

233. Since this is the first debate in which my delegation has participated, allow me to express my special feeling of happiness in addressing members at this thirty-second session of the General Assembly and to thank them sincerely for accepting and welcoming my country, the Republic of Djibouti, as it took its place here in the United Nations.

234. It also gives me great pleasure to convey to them the warm greetings and gratitude of President Hassan Gouled and our people for their kind consideration in enabling us to secure our position in this Assembly. Let me assure the representatives here that the congratulatory notes and the courtesy they have extended to our delegation were an encouragement to my country proudly to assume its full responsibility among you here.

235. It is also my pleasure to extend my warmest congratulations to Mr. Lazar Mojsov, on his election as President of the thirty-second session of the General Assembly. Let me assure him that our mission to the United Nations will be pleased fully to co-operate with its fellow delegations, under your good guidance, in the discharge of our international responsibilities.

236. I also take this rare opportunity to express my respect and admiration for the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for the competent efforts he has been exerting in achieving tangible success in the endeavours of the United Nations and in promoting the best interests in the pursuit of peace, prosperity and justice.

237. Coming to the question for which the debate has been opened, I frankly state, on behalf of my Government and my delegation, that the recent measures taken by the Israeli Government to change the legal status, the demographic composition and the geographical nature of the occupied Arab territories, are in open defiance of the Charter and of the resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly and the Security Council. It is a criminal act that repudiates all human faculties of perception. The question of manoeuvring in order to occupy vast Arab territories has been one of the cherished schemes entertained in the minds of the Israelis since the inception of their illegal State by aggression.

238. The Palestine problem—which has been created ever since the inception of the Zionist State of Israel—has been the major issue in the Middle East conflict—a situation which has engaged the attention of the international community for the past 30 years. What is needed is a powerful and more practical effort to seek solutions more attractive to both parties. Alas, it is always Zionist Israel that steps farther away from any peaceful solution whenever such attempts are made.

239. In spite of Israeli obstinacy and arrogance, it is high time that peaceful ingredients be found for the cure. This is imperative, because the geographical and material situation of the Middle East bears an important relation to the linking of peace and security in the region with peace and security in the world at large.

240. The whole world is aware that the existing situation in the Middle East is the result of Israeli intransigence and continued aggression viciously directed against the rights of the Palestinian people and against the territories annexed from the Arab lands. This situation is surely aggravated by the ever-increasing lust of racist Israel to claim and annex what is Arab territory.

241. The recent Israeli measures designed to apply Israeli laws to the Arab inhabitants in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and to establish new settlements in occupied Palestine and other Arab lands are clear evidence of the intent of the Israeli Government to satisfy its voracious appetite for expansion.

242. The existing state of affairs in that region, as a result of Israeli obstinacy in disregarding the international appeal for peace, invites an explosion of the situation in the Middle East—an explosion which may not be limited to the countries of the region, but may rather endanger peace in the whole world.

243. The lesson that the whole world in general—and Israel in particular—has learned from the October 1973 war, which jeopardized the concept of peace and brought the whole world to the verge of nuclear war, is not beyond memory. In the light of this unforgettable lesson we state for the record that all talk and negotiations about peace in the world are a farce if real peace is not achieved in the Middle East.

244. The Arab countries, which are a very important part of the world, realize this fact. Through peace the Arabs can ensure the prosperity and welfare of their people in the

<sup>10</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council: Thirty-first Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1976*, document S/12233.

Middle East. We call on the Israelis to do likewise. But this is not the way of Israel. Whenever the Arabs step towards peace, the Israeli counterpart usually moves to obstruct peace.

245. Statements made by Israeli Prime Minister Begin are a true example of how to obstruct peace. These statements always show the trend the Israeli leaders follow. They talk about the "historical homeland", the "liberated territory" of the West Bank, and about the "Biblical land of Israel". This is a dishonest measure aimed at annexing the Arab lands to Israel. It is an insult to the intelligence of the international community. Suffice it to say that history is not deceived.

246. The steps taken by Israel in its illegal attempts at annexation are designed to undermine the efforts of convening the Geneva Peace Conference. The Israeli proposals for peace in the Middle East are far from accomplishing any peace in the area. In this context the Israelis ignore the fact that the Palestine question is the core of the conflict in the Middle East. They refuse to withdraw to the pre-5 June 1967 borders, and they refuse to recognize the PLO. They also refuse to accept the right of the people of Palestine to establish their own sovereign State.

247. How can the Israeli impostor and aggressor reconcile its contradictory claims—its desire to live in peace and its voracious appetite for occupation and expansion? Israel would be very much mistaken if it indulges in the belief that it can impose its will on the Arabs. Israel should know that history repeats itself and that no impostors ever win.

248. In conclusion, we call upon all representatives, international bodies, organizations and the world community to stand firm against Israel's aggressive and expansionist attitude and practices. We call upon the General Assembly to condemn the recent Israeli settlements in the occupied territories. They are vicious settlements imposed against the will and at the expense of the people of Palestine and other Arab countries.

249. Mr. HARRIMAN (Nigeria): Mr. President, it is with great humility that I have to congratulate you after my Head of State and my Foreign Minister have both done so. But be assured that I have enjoyed your leadership during this Assembly and that my country and yours, which have the same general trend in our foreign policies, will continue to work together both at the individual and national levels.

250. My delegation is speaking on agenda item 126 on the recent illegal Israeli measures in the occupied Arab territories because in its view these measures, put in the mildest form, are blocking all efforts at resolving the Middle East problem by peaceful means. I feel that the time has come when the international community should focus its attention on the continuing crisis in the area, a crisis which is daily assuming increasingly ominous dimensions in terms of the serious threats it poses to international peace and security.

251. During the thirty-first session of this Assembly, resolution 31/106 which was recommended by the Special Political Committee and subsequently adopted by the General Assembly, strongly deplored the measures taken by

Israel in the Arab territories occupied since 1967, particularly those measures which deliberately sought to alter the demographic composition or geographical conformation of the occupied areas and, in particular, the Israeli Government's conscious promotion of the establishment of new Jewish settlements on Arab lands seized by naked force and aggression.

252. I do not regret today that I participated in a debate in UNESCO when I was Ambassador to France and to that organization, which led to the adoption of sanctions against Israel for its desecration of historic sites and the Holy Places which are held dear in the Islamic world. The protests of the international community of Zionists went a long way towards rocking the stability of the United Nations system. This is yet another problem on which others cannot express their views because of international Zionism and the pressure which it can bring to bear even on an international organization of the nature of UNESCO.

253. The present Israeli Government that came to office a few months ago has not only set itself the task of conferring official sanction on illegal Jewish settlements in the occupied lands on the West Bank of the River Jordan, but has also initiated a new retrogressive step by actively encouraging the establishment of new Jewish settlements in the area. And, as if the new Government were consciously setting the tragic pace for a new conflict in the Middle East, Mr. Begin, the Israeli Prime Minister, has chosen, again with deliberate provocation, to rename the West Bank the so-called liberated areas of biblical Judaea and Samaria. If it is the desire of the world to go back 2,000 years and to draw new boundaries based on Mohammedanism, Christianity, Buddhism and the like, we shall all understand what chaos there will be and indeed what a new and interesting world we shall have. Even Israel's friends in this country, the United States of America, were taken by surprise, just as the entire world was stunned by Tel Aviv's actions.

254. An American newspaper the *Washington Post* described the Israeli action as reckless, provocative and indefensible. The paper went further to dub it as a frontal assault on the American effort to arrange a settlement. No other description can be more apt, since Mr. Begin chose to give legal status to the three unauthorized Israeli settlements on the West Bank on the eve of Mr. Cyrus Vance's latest diplomatic shuttle between Arab and Israeli capitals in August. This action, if anything, underlines the levity with which the State of Israel has chosen to treat a matter of serious concern to the world community.

255. The picture in the occupied areas itself is one of unmitigated suffering, hardship, humiliation and human degradation for the Palestinians who chose to remain following Israel's sweeping victory in the June 1967 war. The records of statements made by other delegations during this session and information from sources generally accepted as being independent have all proved conclusively that the Israelis have no regard for any standards of propriety or values of international law in this matter. In addition to giving official sanction to Jewish settlements in occupied areas in flagrant violation and brazen defiance of the resolutions of this Organization of which Israel claims to be a Member State, the Zionists have begun a brutal campaign of calumny, harassment and repression against

the Palestinians living in the occupied areas. Increasing immigration backed by international Zionism and a warlike posture supported by that movement do not help the situation.

256. The pattern and style of the administration of the Jewish occupation force has violated every word and every statute in the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949. Palestinian families have been deliberately uprooted from their homes and their farmlands have been turned over to Jewish settlers. Where there are no Israelis available to cultivate the land, we are informed, according to a report in the American magazine *New Times*, the fields have been chemically defoliated. Palestinian shepherds quietly and peacefully working their traditional grazing land are said to have been tracked down by Israelis in jeeps and chased away by rifle fire. The report in the *New Times* claims, and I have no reason to doubt it—I have no reason to believe it, but it claims—that as much as 80 per cent of all arable land abutting the West Bank of the Jordan River—the area which would be the bread-basket of the new Palestinian State—has been confiscated.

257. Finally, the attempts made by the Israeli Government to extend the application of Israeli laws to the Arabs in the occupied areas cannot but be seen as a form of discrimination against the hapless Arabs and thus has the effect of further compounding their humiliation already made evident in the sequestration of their lands by the Israelis. In short, even though it is on record that I do not wish to link the situation in the Middle East with the question of *apartheid* in South Africa, the Israeli style of government in the occupied areas can find a parallel in terms of its monstrosity and callousness only in *apartheid* South Africa with which Tel Aviv has lately developed even closer ties in spite of all our protestations during the past few years.

258. I am distressed that all this should be happening at a time when the prospects even from the Arab side appeared excellent for a just and durable peace in the area. Even the American press, noted for its traditional affinity with and sympathy for the Israeli cause, is now full of previously untold stories of repression of the Palestinians. Some are wondering whether Israel has not now become a threatened outpost of human rights or whether Israel has transformed itself into a country that has used a generation of American arms and money and, above all, a generation of American good will and emotional support to quadruple its size and dispossess millions of people in quest of an expansionist ambition that can only provoke renewed conflict and bring disaster to the region. In a wider context the situation in the Middle East today constitutes one of mankind's most veritable threats to international peace and security.

259. My delegation, therefore, wishes to reiterate, as indeed it has over the years, before this body our unequivocal and total support for the oppressed Palestinians, who have been callously dispossessed of their lands, and to pledge our solidarity with them in their just and legitimate struggle for self-determination and for their inalienable right to regain the lands taken away from them by brutal force and aggression. The United Nations also has a continuing obligation before the entire world to reaffirm

its abhorrence of the acquisition of territory by force by any aggressive State and to reaffirm that all previous acts of the Israeli Government and those it may be contemplating in the immediate future in the occupied lands and areas in violation of previous United Nations resolutions are *ipso facto* null and void and of no legal effect.

260. In conclusion, we wish to express the hope that the Israelis will realize that no durable peace in the Middle East is feasible so long as the Palestinians are denied their inalienable rights to self-determination, human dignity and independence within secure and definable political boundaries, rights that are those of all States in the area. Israel's backers have a responsibility to themselves as well as to the entire world community to exert all the pressure at their disposal on the Israelis to desist forthwith from any further alienation of Arab lands in the occupied areas and to evacuate the settlements on which legal sanction was lately conferred. We also expect the same backers to help in accelerating the process for an early reconvening of the Geneva peace talks which will allow for the widest participation of all parties to the conflict in the Middle East including the PLO, which is universally acknowledged as representing the authentic voice of the Palestinian people, in a spirit of equality and compromise.

261. Mr. EL HASSEN (Mauritania) (*interpretation from French*): I should like first to express my delegation's condolences to the delegation of the United Arab Emirates on the tragic death of the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of that country, Mr. Ghobash. As a result of his tragic death the Arab world has lost a great statesman and the United Nations also has lost a very well-known and highly respected figure. I should like therefore to assure the delegation of the United Arab Emirates of our sympathy and solidarity.

262. The international community has been trying by all means at its disposal to resolve the deadlock on the question of the Middle East. Efforts have been made in this Organization and outside it to reconvene the Geneva Conference so that a real movement towards peace could be initiated on the basis of United Nations resolutions and of the fundamental principles which govern relations among States.

263. The most important of those principles is without question that of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force or by *de facto* annexation. There is also another principle which is of no less importance, namely, the principle of respect for the rules established in the fourth Geneva Convention.

264. The efforts of the international community to reach a just and lasting peace have been dangerously compromised and they are being compromised more and more every day by the illegal measures adopted by Israel in the occupied Arab territories. The principles contained in the fourth Geneva Convention, to which I have just referred, are principles to which all the States Members of our Organization have subscribed. We have all taken an oath to uphold those principles, and yet that oath is being flouted and trampled upon by the authorities of Tel Aviv.

265. It was an awareness of the danger of that situation to international peace and security that led the representative

of Egypt to request the inclusion of an additional item on our agenda, agenda item 126, with the wording of which all members are familiar. The overwhelming support which has been given to the Egyptian initiative indicates, if that were indeed needed, that the Israeli policy in the occupied Arab territories is of deep concern to our Organization and to its Member States. The many speakers who have preceded me at this rostrum and who come from different schools of thought and represent different philosophies, have all, with the single exception of the representative of Israel, stressed the highly dangerous, arrogant and insolent nature of that Israeli policy. Even the traditional friends of Israel are now more and more embarrassed by the present situation. And their consciences are increasingly troubled by that policy and by the insolent and the implacable essence of that policy.

266. I believe that the most significant thing in this respect is the statement made by the representative of Belgium on behalf of the European Community [48th meeting]. That representative criticized in the most forthright manner possible the harm done by Israel to the demographic and geographical conformation of the occupied Arab territories in contravention of the provisions of established international law.

267. What is the situation? In 1967, Israel, carrying out its policy of intimidation and aggression, occupied the Gaza Strip, the Sinai, the Golan Heights and the West Bank of the Jordan. Those are all Arab territories, as is Palestine itself. Not only has Israel behaved like a typical occupying Power with regard to its new acquisitions which it acquired by force but it has also systematically tried to change the demographic nature and geographical conformation of those territories. It has committed and is daily committing inadmissible sacrileges with respect to the Holy Places of Islam in Jerusalem. These sacrileges take the form of new constructions, archaeological excavations and the profanation of mosques.

268. Israel is implementing a policy of settlements, which is fed by waves of immigrants, the majority of whom have never seen Palestine before. All this is undeniable fact and it all takes place in defiance of the decisions of our Organization, which itself gave birth to Israel. Thus, 26 settlements have been set up in the Golan Heights, 3 in Sinai, 17 in the Gaza Strip, 31 on the West Bank of the Jordan. What is more, the Arab populations of those occupied territories have been displaced and their homes destroyed. Those people have lost their property and have

been robbed of their dignity. Those are the so-called "benefits" of occupation of which the Israeli representative spoke.

269. In fact, the Israel's policy in the occupied Arab territories is founded on racial discrimination and on the pure and simple denial of the most elementary rights of the human person. By their very nature these Jewish settlements are a form of racism which is as insidious and as odious as the system of *apartheid* in South Africa which we all so resoundingly condemn. The solidarity and manifold and close relations between Tel Aviv and Pretoria show in fact that these two régimes are essentially similar. They follow the same pattern and have the same policy of separate development based on race. They use the same methods of discriminatory terrorism. They have the same superiority complex towards the native inhabitants of the occupied regions.

270. Under the circumstances, how is it possible to believe for an instant the statements made by the Israeli authorities, according to which these authorities wish to find a just and lasting peace in the region? You all know that this peace cannot be just unless it is accompanied by the annulment of the *faits accomplis* which have been brought about in the occupied Arab territories. This peace cannot be a just peace as long as there are people displaced from their homes and replaced by immigrants who have come from everywhere except from Palestine. This peace cannot be lasting either if it sets apart the Palestinian people and its only genuine representative, the PLO. This peace cannot be lasting either if it is accompanied by acquisition by force and occupation.

271. The developments that have taken place in the region ever since 1945 show that Israel will never know peace as long as it is determined to ignore the Palestinian reality. Israel can win lightning victories here and there. Israel can continue to deny and scorn the United Nations. It can continue to establish settlements in the occupied Arab territories. But in the long run, Israel is condemned to disappear or to live on the basis of respect for the fundamental principles which govern relations among peoples on the basis of right and justice. Once Israel becomes aware of this extremely simple choice that it must make, then, and only then, will it be possible to achieve a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

*The meeting rose at 7.25 p.m.*