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SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 45th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. EL-CHOUFI (Syrian Arab Republic)

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The meeting was called to order at 11.05 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 51: REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE ISRAELI PRACTICES AFFECTING THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF THE POPULATION OF THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES (continued)
(A/34/631, A/34/694, A/34/720; A/SPC/34/7; A/SPC/34/L.19, L.20, L.23, L.24)

1. Mr. KEATING (Ireland), speaking on behalf of the nine States members of the European Economic Community, said that the situation regarding the rights of the inhabitants of the Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967 was one of the most disturbing problems with which the Special Political Committee was confronted. In a statement issued in Paris on 18 June 1979, the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Nine had recalled the need for Israel to end the territorial occupation which it had maintained since 1967, for that was one of the elements of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. The Nine considered, in particular, that (a) Israel's claim to sovereignty over the occupied territories was incompatible with resolution 242, which laid down the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force; and that (b) the Israeli Government's policy of establishing settlements in the occupied territories was illegal from the point of view of international law. During the past year, certain actions and statements of the Israeli Government had aggravated the situation - among them the establishment of new settlements, the expansion of existing ones and the announcement of similar projects for the future.
2. The objections formulated by the Nine to the settlements policy were based not only on the illegality of that policy but also on the fact that it constituted a serious obstacle to the search for a comprehensive peace. Moreover, it seemed incompatible with the desire for peace expressed by the Israeli Government itself. The Nine were deeply concerned about those activities and regretted that their concern - and that of the international community as a whole - seemed to carry little weight with Israel. They therefore called once again on that Government to put an end to its policy of establishing settlements in the occupied territories.
3. The Nine considered that the Fourth Geneva Convention was entirely applicable to the occupied territories and did not accept Israel's rejection of that view. That Convention prohibited any unilateral modification of the demographic and physical nature of the occupied territories, and, in that context, they continued to oppose any unilateral modification of the status of Jerusalem and the holy places.
4. Furthermore, the Special Committee had not had access to sufficient first-hand material to give its report adequate authority. None the less, the latest report (A/34/631) cast light on certain disquieting aspects, especially in the passages concerning the conditions of detention and the treatment of prisoners. The Nine also took note of the statements of Israel and of other delegations on that and other aspects of the problem.
5. Mr. HAGGAG (Egypt) said that since 1967 dozens of resolutions had been adopted condemning Israeli practices in the occupied Arab territories, particularly with regard to human rights under the United Nations Charter and Universal Declaration

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(Mr. Haggag, Egypt)

of Human Rights. The Security Council, in particular in resolution 237, had called upon Israel to ensure the well-being and security of the inhabitants of the occupied territories and to facilitate their return. Unfortunately, that resolution had so far produced no effect. In Egypt's view, it was necessary, in order to put an end to that situation, to enable the Palestinian people to exercise their legitimate rights, so as to guarantee the security of all the States of the region, so that the latter could once again contribute to the progress of mankind.

6. One of the most dangerous practices and one to which Egypt was opposed was the policy of establishing settlements, which was, to say the least, illegal and incompatible with international obligations undertaken by Israel, in particular the Fourth 1949 Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War. Egypt urged the Committee to reaffirm that that Convention was applicable to the occupied territories, because its provisions forbade any measures of collective reprisals. Moreover, article 49 of that Convention provided that individual or mass forcible transfers, as well as deportations of protected persons from occupied territory to the territory of the occupying Power or to that of any other country, occupied or not, were prohibited, regardless of their motive and that, furthermore, the occupying Power could not deport or transfer parts of its own civilian population into the territory it was occupying. On 11 November 1976, the Security Council, acting on the initiative of Egypt, had issued a statement reaffirming that that Convention was applicable to the occupied territories, calling once again on the occupying Power to observe strictly the provisions thereof and affirming that any measures taken to change the geographical character or demographic composition of those territories had no validity in law. The Council had, moreover, reaffirmed that on several occasions, in particular in resolution 446.

7. Egypt had also opposed the arrest of the Mayor of Nablus by the Israeli authorities and welcomed the fact that the latter had finally complied with the General Assembly resolution calling upon them to liberate Mr. Bassam Shaq'a. That was an encouraging sign, which gave grounds for hoping that Israel would eventually implement the General Assembly resolutions in that field.

8. The policy of establishing settlements in the occupied territories was incompatible with the principles of international law, the Charter, United Nations resolutions, the Geneva Convention and the four Conventions of The Hague prohibiting the expropriation of property and the deportation of populations. The defensive measures taken by Israel were thus illegal, and Egypt believed that the situation was a dangerous one. That was why it had raised that question on a number of occasions in the Security Council and at the thirty-second session of the General Assembly. A resolution had then been adopted, almost unanimously, and that resolution should be reaffirmed once again by the Committee. Israel must put an end to its settlements policy. Its obligation to dismantle its settlements in the Sinai should also apply on other fronts, because only thus could peace be established between Israel and its neighbours. Egypt's objective was to eliminate all obstacles to peace in the region and to enable the Palestinian people to live in security in their homeland.

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9. The path to peace was now open to all, as a result, in particular, of the efforts made to promote a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in that region, which was the cradle of three revealed religions. That peace would not be possible unless concerted efforts were continued and States refrained from placing obstacles in that path.

10. Mr. BAAYO (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) said that he appreciated the objectivity shown by the Special Committee in its report (A/34/631). Despite all the efforts made by the Israeli authorities to hide their crimes, the truth had once again prevailed. The information provided in section IV, part A, reflected faithfully the Zionist policy of expansion in the Arab world. After invading Palestine, using force and imposing the severest reprisals, Israel was insatiably pursuing its expansionist aims with premeditation; but, in order to hide the substance of the problem from the world, it was using all sorts of tactics. Thus, it had renamed Cisjordan "Samaria and Judaea" and occupied Jerusalem "unified Jerusalem". Most important, in order to force the parties to accept its game, the racist Zionist entity was endeavouring to confront them with a new situation through the method of the fait accompli, as was clear from its deliberate and premeditated policy of annexation of the occupied territories, given concrete form by the expropriation of property and the establishment of Israeli Jewish civilian settlements. In that regard, his delegation endorsed the Special Committee's conclusions (paras. 369 and 370).

11. The expropriation measures described in paragraphs 79 to 105 of the report were racist measures, the purpose of which had, right from the start, been the establishment of an exclusively Jewish Palestine. Thousands of dunams had been seized, and those who had been cultivating them had been expelled and Jewish settlers established there. The sole purpose of the Absentee Property Law, which dated from 1948-1950, the real estate laws of 1948 and 1953 and the law prohibiting the leasing of lands to Arabs (in particular art. 220) was to give substance to the slogan launched by the Zionists at the start of the invasion of Palestine: "A land without a people", a land without Arabs. The same applied to the repressive measures taken against the Arab population, in the form of collective and individual reprisals and the denial of their political rights, the sole purpose of which was to deport the Arabs to make room for Jewish immigrants. Through immigration, the Zionists would be able to achieve their aims and, as stated by Chaim Weizmann in Trial and Error, Palestine would ultimately belong to the Jews alone. Immigration was, therefore, in itself one of the practices which should be condemned and stopped. Israeli policies and practices, including the radical changes made by the Israeli authorities in Jerusalem, were in flagrant violation of the Geneva Conventions and the resolutions of the General Assembly, in particular resolutions 2257 and 2254 (S-V).

12. In its defiance, the Zionist State was aided by the forces of international imperialism, which not only gave it loans but rendered assistance of all kinds, including the provision of weapons of mass destruction. It was time for the international community to assume its responsibilities, for the cause of freedom throughout the world was indivisible.

12a. The CHAIRMAN announced that Turkey had become a sponsor of draft resolution A/SPC/34/L.24.

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13. Mr. KASINA (Kenya) thanked the Chairman of the Special Committee for its informative report, prepared despite the Israeli authorities' refusal, as in previous years, to co-operate with it. It was the eleventh such report since the establishment of the Special Committee and like the others, it showed that Israel's policy was to annex and colonize the occupied territories and establish Jewish settlements there in order eventually to incorporate those territories into the Jewish State of Israel. That systematic policy was, indeed, periodically confirmed by statements from members of the Israeli Government announcing measures under way or planned for the establishment of Israeli settlements in those territories. There was abundant evidence that the Jewish settlers were encouraged by the Israeli Government which went so far as to provide them with material aid and military protection.

14. The world community could not allow such a policy to continue in defiance of resolutions adopted by the United Nations. It was entirely inadmissible for any State, whether Israel or any other, to acquire territory by force. The world community must insist on Member States respecting the rules of international law, including the Fourth Geneva Convention, which Israel was not respecting because it continued to deny its applicability to the territories occupied since 1967. Articles 47 and 49 of that Convention were none the less particularly clear on the subject.

15. The civilian population of the occupied territories had been adversely affected for 12 years. The occupying Power had been pursuing a policy of reprisals against them, demolishing their homes, expelling persons prominent in the community and interfering in the social and commercial life of civilians. The young people were also affected, and their frustration and resentment were growing daily.

16. Some cynical arguments had been advanced: the civilian population had supposedly been given a better life, better housing and roads, and a higher standard of living. Israel could not glorify its occupation by baldly claiming to have improved living conditions in the area. The best thing Israel could do would be to withdraw from the territories and stop using the improved welfare of the occupied population as an argument. Material things could not be exchanged for occupation. His delegation joined other States in refusing to recognize any measures taken by Israel to change the physical character, demographic composition or status of the occupied territories, which constituted a flagrant violation of the Geneva Convention of August 1949. Peace would not prevail in the Middle East until the rights of the Palestinian people were recognized and implemented, particularly their right to a homeland and their own independent State. A whole nation of over 4 million people could not continue to live in exile on charity. Israel could not stubbornly flout United Nations decisions or be allowed to keep territories acquired by force. To allow that to continue would encourage belligerency and the resultant threat to international peace and security.

17. Mr. SAYEGH (Kuwait)* said that the Special Committee's excellent impartial and comprehensive report brought to light certain disquieting trends that had emerged during the previous year, and he would try to show the connexions between

* The full text of this statement will be issued as document A/SPC/34/PV.45.

(Mr. Sayegh, Kuwait)

those trends in order to point up their meaning and significance when viewed in the political context of that same period.

18. First, the policy of establishing settlements in the occupied territories had been intensified: existing settlements had been expanded, new settlements had been established and the required infrastructure for the settlement programme as a whole - making loans available, drawing up plans - had been established.

19. A second trend, closely linked to the first, was the extension of the area of public and private lands in the occupied territories being claimed by the Israeli Government and turned over to settlers for new or expanded settlements. The distinctions the Israeli Government was seeking to make between private land and publicly-owned land, arable land and uncultivated land, had no standing in existing international law, which forbade any confiscation of land in occupied territories for settlement purposes. None the less, the Israeli Supreme Court had always supported the Israeli authorities and had ratified violations of international law committed by the Executive Branch. The Court's recent judgement invalidating the decision to establish one such settlement would not suffice to reduce anxiety on that score, because it had relied on technical rather than legal grounds.

20. A third trend was Israel's increasing control over the water resources of the occupied territories: on the West Bank, indeed, control of the water supply meant control of the life of the territory. The Israeli authorities had institutionalized their control over water resources in a discriminatory way by giving settlements populated by a minority population all the water they needed, while depriving the Palestinian population of water to irrigate their crops, thus taking away their means of subsistence. That was a particularly disturbing development inasmuch as the agricultural population was being forced to work for wages on its own land or to choose exile as a way out.

21. Fourthly, Israel had removed the ban on the acquisition of land in the occupied territories by Israeli individuals or companies, in violation of international law, which forbade an occupying Power to authorize anyone to buy land in occupied territories. The sophism used by Israel to justify the removal of the ban had been a claim that it was guided by a concern not to discriminate against Jewish buyers, but by granting such buyers, simply because they were Jews, privileges which international law denied to everyone, it was in fact applying a discriminatory measure.

22. The fifth trend that had emerged during the previous year was the establishment of regional and local councils to administer the affairs of the Israeli settlements in the occupied territories. The aim probably was to protect Israel from whatever might happen after "autonomy" was granted to the West Bank and Gaza, as provided in the Camp David accords, by giving the illegally established Israeli settlements an autonomy parallel to that enjoyed by the indigenous Palestinian population.

23. The sixth trend was the rise of organized Israeli terrorism in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Armed bandits and marauders were acting as if they had licence to kill, injure and rob the defenceless and unarmed civilian population in the

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(Mr. Sayegh, Kuwait)

West Bank and Gaza. If the people of a village opposed their will, they destroyed the inhabitants' means of subsistence. If young people who were particularly proud to be Palestinian refused to bow down before the occupiers, they were immediately subjected to wholesale reprisals. Such acts were tolerated and encouraged, and thrived in the climate of laxity fostered by the authorities, which showed the greatest indulgence towards those criminals by commuting their sentences or giving them excessively light penalties.

24. Finally, the Israeli authorities were seeking to wipe out any feeling of Palestinian identity among the young people of the occupied territories. Arab books and magazines found in Hebrew universities and libraries were proscribed in Arab universities. Schools curricula were being modified, and textbooks were censured. The very word "Palestine" was not supposed to be used.

25. All those trends had to be viewed in the political context of the so-called autonomy of Gaza and the West Bank that had been endorsed by the three parties to the Camp David accords, regardless of how the concept of autonomy was interpreted by the other two parties. It was obvious that for the Israeli party autonomy meant only municipal autonomy for the towns and villages of the West Bank and Gaza. That concept of autonomy had to be understood in the light of the great debate that had gone on in Israel after the 1967 war on how to resolve the conflict between the territorial imperatives of Zionist expansionism, which required annexation of land, and the demographic imperatives, which required a Jewish majority in the occupied territories. In the 1960s the possibility of annexing those territories without giving political rights to the inhabitants, in order to preserve the purely Jewish character of "Greater Israel", had been considered. That was the concept that had again been advanced in the autonomy proposals of Prime Minister Begin and had been ratified with slight amendments at Camp David. Such so-called autonomy amounted to no more than granting a few municipal privileges and rights to the Palestinian populations, with Israel maintaining control of the land and resources, and every precaution had been taken to prevent it from becoming synonymous with self-determination for the indigenous population of the occupied territories.

26. Mrs. RAMLALL (Guyana) congratulated the Special Committee on the very comprehensive report which it had been able to produce despite a lack of co-operation on the part of the Israeli Government, which continued to refuse to grant the Committee access to the occupied territories. The report was a frightening chronicle of systematic acts of violence, torture and degradation committed by the Israelis against defenceless people whose only crime was to dare to seek the recovery of what had been taken from them. The closing of schools, physical abuse of teachers and students for the slightest expression of patriotic sentiments, the transfer of teachers for "security" reasons, the seizure of people from their homes, ill-treatment and imprisonment if they belonged to a certain organization, expulsions and deportations, and violent reprisals against any manifestation of opposition to the occupation constituted the long list of flagrant violations of the basic human rights of the population in the occupied territories, of the provisions of the fourth Geneva Convention of 1949, which Israel had ratified, and of the principles of the United Nations Charter.

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(Mrs. Ramlall, Guyana)

27. Her delegation called upon the occupying Power, as a first step, to desist from all actions which violated the human rights of the population of the occupied territories. While Israel's security concerns were legitimate, security must be mutual. The security of Israel could not be achieved at the price of the insecurity of the population of the occupied territories. Israel could not expect a display of solidarity from the victims of its occupation which, by creating problems of insecurity in the mind of the occupier, led to exaggerated responses.

28. An equally disturbing aspect of the report was the information concerning Israel's determination to absorb all the occupied territories and to present the world with new realities. Far from enhancing Israel's security, such a design carried within itself the seeds of even greater insecurity and would inevitably endanger peace in the area and in the world as a whole. A lasting solution to the Middle East question must encompass all the vital elements of the question and must be based on three fundamental principles: (1) the withdrawal of Israel from all Arab territories occupied since June 1967; (2) the restoration of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to a homeland; (3) the right of all States in the area to live within secure and mutually recognized boundaries.

29. Her delegation urged the international community to continue to be forthright in its condemnation of Israeli occupationist and annexationist policies and to bring pressure to bear on Israel to take steps consistent with the interests of justice, peace and security in the Middle East.

30. Mr. BOULAT (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) said that the report of the Special Committee (A/34/631) contained a wealth of convincing but alarming information concerning the criminal acts committed by Israel in the occupied Arab territories. Flouting the basic rules of international law and daily violating elementary human rights, the invader pursued a policy of massive repression and terror against the entire indigenous population, expelled the people from their homes, destroyed their houses and confiscated their property. The section of the report entitled "Information on the policy of annexation and settlement of the occupied territories followed by the Government of Israel" contained statements by members of the Government and official communications which demonstrated irrefutably that the Israeli leaders were pursuing a policy of annexation of the Arab territories which they had seized during their aggression. The report contained a list of compelling facts concerning the climate of repression and terror which Israel had created. Facts were intractable and could not be ignored.

31. The report also contained examples of physical and psychological torture of the most horrendous kind and of outrages committed by the Israelis against Arab detainees. Torture was being used with increasing frequency on women. The testimony of Kamal Nakkari and Rasmiah Odeh on that subject was most enlightening. The Israelis were conducting themselves in the occupied territories as the fascists had done before them on Russian, Ukrainian, Byelorussian, French, Italian, Yugoslav, Polish and Czech soil, and in other countries as well. The facts did not vary from

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(Mr. Boulet, Byelorussian SSR)

one report to another, because Israel, despite the dictates of common sense, the protests of international public opinion and the resolutions of the United Nations and other international organizations, was blindly pursuing its policy of aggression and annexation in the invaded territories. Moreover, of late, more specifically since the conclusion at Camp David of the separate anti-Arab agreement, Israel had been showing increasing aggressiveness, effrontery and cruelty. The Israeli-Egyptian deal had rendered a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement of the Middle East crisis extremely difficult, and events had shown that the agreement was an attempt to untie the hands of the aggressor.

32. How could the interests of international imperialism and zionism, which were attempting at any cost to retain control of strategic positions and oil resources in the Middle East, coincide with the real interests of peace and the cause of the exercise of the inalienable national rights of peoples, and more specifically of the Arab people of Palestine? If the Palestinian people continued to languish in exile or suffer under the heel of the occupier, and if blood was being shed in Lebanon, it was imperialism which was to be blamed. The Camp David agreements and the separate Egyptian-Israeli treaty served as a smokescreen for Israel's policy of expansion and aggression against the Palestinian people and neighbouring Arab States. Imperialist circles were taking advantage of the agreements to attempt to expand their political or military presence in the Middle East.

33. His delegation reaffirmed its solidarity with the Arab peoples which were resolutely struggling against the machinations of imperialism and zionism in the Middle East, and against the separate agreement concluded behind their backs and at the expense of their interests.

34. His delegation wished to express its satisfaction with the work of the Special Committee, which had prepared a detailed and objective report documenting the many violations of basic human rights committed by Israel in the occupied Arab territories. In that connexion, he wished to refer to the joint communiqué published in the Soviet press on 15 November on the occasion of a visit to the Soviet Union by a Delegation of the Palestine Liberation Organization headed by Yasser Arafat, which stated that the parties were of the view that the negotiations conducted by Israel, Egypt and the United States concerning so-called 'administrative self-government for the Palestinians' were clearly aimed at preventing the Arab people of Palestine from enjoying their inalienable national rights, and at consolidating the occupation of the Arab lands and Palestinian territories invaded by Israel and the annexation of the eastern sector of Jerusalem. In addition, the parties strongly condemned repression, racial discrimination, the desecration of the Arab historical and cultural heritage, the persecution and deportation of the Arab population of the occupied territories, the establishment of Israeli settlements and other illegal acts. The communiqué further stated that the separate treaty concluded with Israel created serious obstacles to the establishment of a lasting peace in the Middle East and undermined the cause of the national independence of Arab and African peoples, particularly the just struggle of the Arab people of Palestine for freedom and the restoration of their inalienable national rights. In those circumstances, the cohesion of the patriotic forces of the Arab people and the strengthening of their unity in the

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(Mr. Boulat, Byelorussian SSR)

struggle against the manoeuvres of imperialism and zionism and for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East, were of vital importance.

35. Mr. ZAHAWI (Iraq) drew attention to the letter dated 29 November 1979 addressed to the Secretary-General by the Permanent Representative of Iraq, to which a document entitled "Israeli torture of Palestinian political prisoners in Jerusalem and the West Bank: three State Department reports" was annexed. That document, the conclusion of which he commended to members, had been circulated as an official document of the General Assembly (A/SPC/34/7).

36. Referring to the report of the Special Committee (A/34/631), section IV of which he found particularly valuable, he drew attention to paragraph 54 and subsequent paragraphs relating to the Israeli position on the implementation of the autonomy plan, and wondered how a Government on the verge of bankruptcy could contemplate such sweeping projects with such enormous financial implications. Obviously, three major factors were involved. The military factor was well known; it had been studied in other forums and there was no need to go into the matter again. The economic and financial factors, however, merited consideration. The hearings of the Sub-Committee on International Operations of the United States Committee on Foreign Relations during the ninety-fifth session of Congress had revealed that the United States paid between \$40,000 and \$50,000 per family to settle Jewish immigrants in the occupied Arab territories, while substantially smaller sums (from \$1,000 to \$1,200) were paid to those wishing to settle elsewhere. Assistance to Israel came from many other sources, too. Thus, the Co-Chairman of the Jewish Agency's Settlement Department had stated on 18 May 1979: "The State of Israel must, for political and other reasons, develop the entire region of Judaea and Samaria; and in five years' time, 100,000 Jews will not live in this region, I doubt that we will have a right to this region. If Jews will live in Judaea and Samaria it will be ours; if they will not live there, it will not." He had then gone on to emphasize that what was most important at the present stage was to seize lands for settlement and not to go into detailed planning, for it might prove impossible to seize the lands in the future.

37. He noted with interest that, in the statement made on behalf of the nine countries of the European Economic Community, the representative of Ireland had expressed regret at the fact that Israel apparently disregarded the concern which its policy aroused throughout the world. He wondered why that was so.

38. The sad truth was that, not only the United States of America, but also other Governments and international institutions - knowingly or unknowingly - were encouraging Israeli expansionism. For example, in 1973, UNDP had allocated \$5 million to aid Israel. Iraq, which at that time had been a member of the Governing Council of UNDP had pointed out that the indicative planning figure on which that allocation had been based had not been at all realistic. In fact, UNDP assistance to any particular country was proportional to that country's gross national product; however, the figures provided had taken no account of the income received from the exploitation of the occupied territories. When UNDP had been alerted to that fact, Israel had then said it would in future renounce UNDP assistance in favour of needier countries. Again, in 1973, the World Bank had

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(Mr. Zahawi, Iraq)

allocated \$40 million to Israel in order to help it to improve its road network and thus to accelerate the transport of perishable agricultural produce. Could anyone doubt that the improvement of the road network had strategic importance? Moreover, was not the occupying Power currently building a vast road network in the occupied territories? The purpose of that undertaking was not only to control those territories more effectively and to facilitate their annexation, but also to link the some 100 settlements established in those areas. Once again, strategic considerations were involved. As to the bilateral and multilateral economic agreements between Israel and other countries, there was every reason to wonder what the legal terms governing them were. The wording of an agreement concluded between the European Economic Community and Israel indicated that that agreement applied only to the State of Israel. But where was Israel? Where did its territory stop? Where were its borders? Was the European Economic Community aware of the fact that Israel was in the process of integrating the economy of the occupied territories into its own economy and that it was exploiting their natural and human resources? How had the trade in question been envisaged and what were its economic and legal consequences? Relations between EEC and Israel were being conducted as if everything was entirely normal in Israel. Was it surprising, therefore, that Israel should ignore what it was told, both in the United Nations and elsewhere? At its twenty-ninth session, the General Assembly had adopted the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States. If one reread article 16, the appeal made to the international community would be quite clear: it was the duty of the international community to make sure that Israel no longer received economic assistance which enabled it to pursue its policy of annexation.

39. Lastly, there was another factor involved, the human factor. Israel's aim was to expel the Palestinian people from their land in order to replace them with settlers brought in by the Zionists. As Count Bernadotte had already predicted in his report to the Security Council dated 12 July 1948:

"It could not be ignored that unrestricted immigration into the Jewish area of Palestine might, over a period of years, give rise to a population pressure and to economic and political disturbances which would justify present Arab fears of ultimate Jewish expansion in the Near East. It can scarcely be ignored that Jewish immigration into the Jewish area of Palestine concerns not only the Jewish people and territory but also the neighbouring Arab world."

What the Mediator had predicted was currently a reality; it was not only the territory allotted to the Jews which was involved, but the whole of the rest of Palestine, as well.

40. His delegation thought that a resolution similar to that restricting immigration to Southern Rhodesia would also be appropriate in the case of Israel, in view of the fact that, for 30 years, Israel had refused to acknowledge, even in principle, that the Palestinian people had the right to return to their land and to their homes. Everything seemed to indicate that the policy which Israel had

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(Mr. Zahawi, Iraq)

followed for 12 years would be further intensified, under cover of the Camp David agreements and the Israeli-Egyptian peace treaty. Accordingly, it was especially important for the international community to act resolutely and rapidly in order to bring such violations of international law to an end.

41. Mr. GHAFCORZAI (Afghanistan) said that, although Israel had systematically refused to allow the Special Committee to visit the occupied territories, the latter had admirably depicted Israeli practices in those territories and had clearly summarized the principle of international law regarding the rights of the population of the occupied territories.

42. His delegation wished to emphasize that Israel's occupation of Palestinian and Arab lands constituted an act of aggression and a flagrant violation of all the human rights of the people of the occupied territories. Only the withdrawal of the Israeli forces would enable the Arab and Palestinian people to enjoy their rights and would put an end to the explosive situation in that part of the world, which constituted a threat to the peace and security of the Middle East and of the whole world.

43. In occupying Palestinian and Arab lands, the Israeli authorities had violated article 17 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which stipulated that "No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property", as well as the provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War. Those lands had been confiscated under vague pretexts of security and, what was worse, they had immediately been used for Israeli settlements and industrial complexes. That policy had been accompanied by the following measures: the destruction of crops on Arab land, the cutting off of electricity and water supplies to Palestinian villages, and threats against and the arrest of recalcitrant Palestinians. Moreover, the occupying Power had expropriated land by fencing it off and declaring it to be reserved for "military purposes".

44. The cases cited in the Report of the Special Committee showed that Israel had violated articles 46, 47, 50 and 56 of the 1907 Hague Convention, as well as articles 31, 32, 33, 49 and 53 of the fourth Geneva Convention. In fact, such acts as killing, torture, destruction of houses, expropriation of property, pillage, the eviction of the population, and the establishment of settlements constituted serious violations of the provisions of that Convention, which had been drafted expressly with a view to preventing the recurrence of the crimes of which the Jews, in particular, had been the victims. It was therefore disturbing to observe that Israel not only disregarded United Nations decisions, but attached no importance to the international conventions it had ratified, and that the Israeli authorities were pursuing their policy of annexation, of establishing settlements in the occupied territories and of consolidating existing settlements. It was time for the General Assembly to consider the adoption of new measures designed to compel Israel to comply with the decisions of the international community.

45. His delegation supported the conclusions contained in the report of the Special Committee; it condemned the occupation of Arab and Palestinian lands by Israel and Israel's measures to Judaize and absorb the Arab territories, especially the Holy City of Jerusalem, and it denounced the so-called "homeland" doctrine. It was convinced that it was the moral, political, material and financial support of the imperialist and a few other States that enabled Israel to disregard United Nations resolutions and to intensify its policy of aggression and colonization.

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(Mr. Ghafoorzai, Afghanistan)

46. His Government wished once again to reiterate its unreserved solidarity with the just cause of the Palestinian people and with their sole legitimate representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization. Any attempt to find a solution to the Middle East question in which the Palestine Liberation Organization was not involved would not constitute an acceptable framework for a just and lasting solution to the problem and would only further aggravate the already explosive situation in the Middle East.

47. Mr. MATTIAS (Portugal) pointed out that his delegation's position concerning the situation in the Middle East was well known and that it was therefore unnecessary for him to reiterate it. He wished, however, to stress the need to respect the national political rights of the Palestinian people, their right to return to their homes, their right to self-determination and their right to a homeland. He also wished to reaffirm that Israel's occupation of Arab and Palestinian territories, including Jerusalem, was unacceptable.

48. Until that occupation ceased, Israel was called upon to observe the relevant international conventions with particular regard to the protection of civilians in time of war, the treatment of prisoners and the allocation of natural resources, particularly the distribution of water on the West Bank of the Jordan.

49. The policy of establishing settlements in the occupied Arab territories and the resulting geographical and demographic changes were a major obstacle to a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

50. His country hoped that such grave concerns, which were also the concerns of the greater part of the international community, would be heard and understood in Israel, so that all the States and peoples of the region could live in peace.

51. Mr. ELFAKI (Sudan) expressed his appreciation to the members of the Special Committee for the work they had carried out despite the many obstacles created by the Israeli authorities and by world zionism.

52. He said that Israeli practices were part of a well-designed process intended to bring about the gradual implementation of all the aggressive and expansionist aims of zionism, whatever the consequences for the persons affected, for the world order or for the international community. Since their accession to power the leaders of the Begin Government no longer denied their objectives. On the contrary, they were emphasizing their so-called sovereign right to the occupied Arab lands, as had been confirmed by the statement made by Moshe Dayan at the thirty-second session of the General Assembly, a statement which had been quoted in part by the representative of Israel in the Committee's debate the previous week. The situation was such that the Sudanese delegation believed that detailed consideration of Israeli practices would lead to a deadlock, thanks to Israel's intransigence. It was high time to tackle the heart of the problem and, accordingly, the United Nations must shoulder its responsibilities under the Charter and must put an end to Israeli occupation and colonization of the occupied territories, and restore all the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to establish a sovereign and independent State. Only in that

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(Mr. Elfaki, Sudan)

way would the Israeli reign of terror give way to a reign of peace, stability and progress in that part of the world.

53. His country would continue to support the just struggle of the Palestinian people, under the leadership of their sole legitimate representative, the PLO, until their rights were restored, particularly the right to self-determination and independence.

54. Mr. PITA (Cuba), supported by Mrs. AHMED (Bangladesh) and Mr. MUBAREZ (Yemen), proposed that the text of the statement of the representative of Kuwait should be issued in extenso as a separate document.

55. It was so decided.

56. Mr. PITA (Cuba) noted that the increasingly bloody reprisals of the Israeli authorities had led to an escalation in the struggle and in the resistance of the population of the occupied territories. In the United Nations the policies of capitulation and separate agreements had failed, while anti-imperialist and anti-Zionist feeling was gaining ground in the Middle East.

57. The Israeli authorities were reviving the atrocities of the Nazis and were intensifying their policy of terror against the population of the occupied territories. The reports of the Special Committee and the Secretary-General were valuable sources of information. The two reports described in great detail one of the most tragic nightmares of the current era. Speaking to the General Assembly of the United Nations as Chairman of the movement of non-aligned countries, President Fidel Castro had drawn attention to the tragic similarity between the Nazis, who had mercilessly decimated the Jewish people, and the genocide currently practised by the Israeli authorities.

58. The inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people were being systematically violated in the occupied territories. Those violations were on such a scale that even United States newspapers, such as The Washington Post, were obliged to refer to the systematic torture of Arab prisoners in Israeli prisons. The Special Committee's report showed that the occupied territories had become one enormous prison, and it also gave alarming indications that Israel intended to annex all the occupied territories.

59. It was the duty of the international community to redouble its efforts to ensure a lasting peace in that region and to prevent further violations of human rights in the occupied territories. The United Nations must put an end to the pillage of those territories by the invaders, who had become emboldened since the signing of the Camp David agreements. The Zionist authorities had committed innumerable crimes in the occupied territories: the annexation of land, the establishment of new settlements, the deportation and expulsion of the Arab population, the refusal to grant the right of return to that population, the confiscation and appropriation of land, mass arrests, torture and inhuman treatment of prisoners, the plundering of the archaeological and cultural heritage

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of the region, discrimination on the basis of religious belief, the desecration of holy places, the plundering of indigenous natural resources and terrorism in general.

60. However, like the European peoples that had confronted German fascism, the Palestinian people, helped by the Arab nation, had decided to take action. The expulsion of the Mayor of Nablus had made it possible to gauge the temperature in the region. His country wished to reaffirm its unconditional solidarity with the Palestinian people and the other Arab peoples in their struggle against imperialism, zionism and capitulation. In accordance with the foreign policy which it had always pursued in connexion with the Palestinian question, his country would vote in favour of draft resolution A/SPC/34/L.19, A/SPC/34/L.23 and A/SPC/34/L.24. Recalling a phrase used in 1959 by Camilo Cienfuegos, a hero of the Cuban revolution, he said that "all those who struggle, wherever they may be, are Cuba's brothers".

61. The CHAIRMAN announced that Bangladesh and India had become sponsors of the draft resolution in document A/SPC/34/L.19, and that Mali had become a sponsor of the draft resolutions in documents A/SPC/34/L.23 and A/SPC/34/L.24.

62. Mr. AL-ARRAYED (Bahrain), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, recalled that on Wednesday the representative of Israel had been embarrassed by certain statistics on the infant mortality rate in the occupied territories. That was scarcely surprising in view of the fact that the Zionists constantly denied the truth and ignored the existence of an entire people. He said that the statistical data he had given were taken from official Israeli documents and had been published by the Mayor of Ramallah in the Middle East Review of 22 October 1979. He merely wished to point out that health services were constantly deteriorating in the occupied territories, and that the mortality rate was increasing.

63. Mr. DORON (Israel), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that the statistics provided by the representative of Bahrain were absurd from both a scientific and a practical point of view. He had consulted the official statistics on the matter, as given in a report submitted by the Israeli Ministry of Health to the World Health Organization. He was prepared to give the representative of Bahrain precise figures, and said that the Mayor of Ramallah was not competent to speak about the health situation in the occupied territories.

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.