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at 3 p.m.

New York

SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 26th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. MATHIAS (Portugal)

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The meeting was called to order at 3.20 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 54: COMPREHENSIVE REVIEW OF THE WHOLE QUESTION OF PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS IN ALL THEIR ASPECTS: REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS (continued) (A/35/532; A/SPC/35/L.13)

1. The CHAIRMAN drew attention to the draft resolution contained in document A/SPC/35/L.13, which had been prepared following informal consultations and which was being submitted to the Committee for adoption by consensus. He had been informed by the Secretariat that the draft resolution did not entail any financial implications for the 1980-1981 budget, and he reminded members that the previous year the Committee had taken a decision on a similar draft resolution without putting it to a vote.

2. Accordingly, if he heard no objections, he would take it that the Committee wished to adopt draft resolution A/SPC/35/L.13 without a vote.

3. It was so decided.

4. The CHAIRMAN noted that the Committee had thus completed its consideration of agenda item 54, and he requested the Rapporteur to prepare the relevant report to be submitted to the General Assembly in due course.

AGENDA ITEM 57: REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE ISRAELI PRACTICES AFFECTING THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF THE POPULATION OF THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES (continued) (A/35/425, 586)

5. The CHAIRMAN reminded the Committee that the list of speakers on agenda item 57 would be closed at the end of the current meeting and he requested that draft resolutions prepared on that item should be submitted as soon as possible.

6. Mr. NASSER (United Arab Emirates) said that the report of the Special Committee (A/35/425) provided ample proof of the obstinate persistence of the racist Israeli authorities in their inhumane practices and violations of the rights of the Palestinian people. The inhumane aspects of the occupation, such as the oppressive treatment of civilians, the vindictive demolition of residential and business premises and the deportations, should be condemned by the whole world on the basis of the principle of the illegal nature of the occupation and the legitimacy of self-defence and resistance against the foreign occupier. Israel had impeded the endeavours of the Special Committee in order to conceal from the international community the true nature of the odious crimes which it was committing in violation of the human rights of the Palestinian people. Israel's racist policy, its practice of torture and its establishment and extension of settlements should be condemned by the international community, which must also bring pressure to bear in order to deter Israel from its persistent defiance of United Nations resolutions.

7. The closure of the college of Abu Dis, the interrogation of students at the University of Bir Zeit and the attack on the teacher-training college at Ramallah

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(Mr. Nasser, United Arab Emirates)

clearly exemplified the odious and inhumane practices of the occupation authorities. Israel had recently deported the mayors of Hebron and Halhul and the Islamic court judge of Hebron and, despite numerous Security Council resolutions, had refused to allow them to return. Israel had also created an appropriate climate in which allegedly unidentified assailants had been able to attempt the assassination of the mayors of Nablus and Ramallah. The ultimate objective behind those Israeli policies was to drive the Palestinian people out of their homeland by launching murderous attacks against their leaders both within and outside the occupied territories.

8. The attention of the international community should be drawn to Israel's plans to submit a bill to the Knesset for the annexation of the occupied territory of the Golan Heights. Such a bill was contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and the principles of international law, which did not allow the acquisition of the territory of others by force. The international community should not merely condemn but should also take action to deter Israel from committing that crime, which was similar to the crime already committed in the annexation of Jerusalem, a crime which had increased tension in the region and made the desired peace even more difficult to achieve.

9. Mr. NUSEIBEH (Jordan) praised the Special Committee for its success in carrying out its mandate, despite Israel's refusal to co-operate in any way, although such behaviour was not surprising from an aggressive, fascist entity which could ill afford to reveal its heinous crimes. Israel had violated every rule and had challenged every role the United Nations was legally entitled to play under the Charter, under its own decisions and under international law. Decisions of the Security Council had been consistently rejected, and the Security Council Commission established under resolution 446 (1979) had even been refused entry to the occupied territories.

10. The tolerance of the United Nations was wearing thin. Indeed, he asked how any Member State that displayed such unconcealed disdain and behaved as though its authority was above the collective judgement of the world community could be allowed to continue to enjoy membership in the United Nations, the very organization that had given birth to the Israeli entity, of course on condition that all the rights of the Palestinians would be respected. Serious consideration of that fundamental question and an appropriate response to it were long overdue.

11. He paid a tribute to the Secretary-General for having mobilized the necessary facilities and staff for the implementation of all aspects of General Assembly resolution 34/90 A.

12. It had been clear from the start of the Israeli occupation 13 years earlier that the Israeli Government had never contemplated a mere military presence in the occupied territories; its aim had been to annex those territories by establishing massive Jewish colonies and concurrently subjecting the indigenous Palestinian inhabitants to terror, political subjugation and economic strangulation. In that connexion, he quoted from a book based on the diary of the late Moshe Sharett, who had referred to the series of false incidents and violations of the law committed

(Mr. Museibeh, Jordan)

by Israelis, which had brought disaster and contributed to the security crisis in the region. He also quoted from a statement published in Davar on 6 September 1979 which had been made by a soldier occupying an Arab village in 1948. The soldier had reported that Israeli soldiers had killed Arab women and children, fracturing the children's heads with sticks, had pushed people into houses and then had dynamited the houses, had raped women and then had shot them. The general policy had been that the fewer Arabs that remained, the better.

13. Several hundred Israeli rabbis had sent Menachem Begin a declaration stating that the return of the Arabs to the occupied territories was "absolutely forbidden" by their traditional law. The Israeli authorities had been following that advice strictly and, as a result, Israel had thus far established settlements and confiscated at least 33.5 per cent of the total area of the West Bank, including Jerusalem. Eighteen months earlier, according to the Security Council Commission established under resolution 446 (1979), the proportion had been 27.3 per cent. The confiscation and colonization of an equivalent of about 3,400 square miles had entailed the usurpation of the last remnants of the ancestral homeland of nearly 4 million Palestinians. He drew attention to the fact that, when the British Mandate had ended in 1948, the Palestinian people had owned nearly 95 per cent of all the land in Palestine, and those figures could be verified from United Nations files. The Drobles Plan prepared by the World Zionist Organization clearly indicated that the magnitude of such confiscation and colonization would grow in the future.

14. The situation in the occupied territories was unique in that the Israelis were persistently implementing a policy to alter the fundamental geographic, demographic and historical legacy of an entire people. The struggle of the Palestinian people for the restoration of their inalienable rights, with the support of the Arab world, the Islamic world and the non-aligned countries, as well as all people who believed in humanity, decency and elementary justice, would continue, despite Israel's organized terror perpetrated not only by the fascist Zionist army, but also by an underground movement aided by the Israeli authorities themselves. Acting through various national movements, the Israeli authorities were supporting systematic international terrorism, and Menachem Begin himself, according to Washington Star correspondent David Halevy, had ordered the director of the internal security movement, Shabak, not to be too zealous in pursuing the investigation into the assassination attempts against the mayors of Nablus, Ramallah and Bireh. That information had been confirmed by Israeli correspondents whose stories had been censored.

15. On another occasion, the chief of Israeli internal security had virtually begged Prime Minister Begin, a notorious leader of terrorism, to put Rabbi Kahaneh under preventive arrest in the light of evidence that his group had been planning large-scale terrorist attacks against unarmed Palestinian civilians under occupation. The most serious such incident had been the plot to blow up the magnificent Al-Aqsa and Dome of the Rock mosques on a Friday, when thousands of innocent worshippers would have been both inside and outside the mosques. The explosive charges had been accidentally discovered by a boy at the last moment, thus preventing a staggering crime against humanity.

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(Mr. Huseibeh, Jordan)

16. Israel had entirely encircled Arab Jerusalem with a ring of high-rise buildings so as to ensure that it would for ever remain the so-called eternal capital of Israel and to reduce the Palestinian Arabs' existence to a perpetual ghetto life, right in the heart of their own land. By the same token, the Knesset had passed a basic law on 30 July 1980 stating that Jerusalem, complete and united, was the eternal capital of Israel as well as the seat of the President of the State, the Knesset, the Government and the Supreme Court.

17. The Security Council had responded forcefully by unanimously deciding that all such measures were null and void and should be rescinded. Several Member States which had had embassies in occupied West Jerusalem had reacted equally vehemently by withdrawing their embassies, and he expressed appreciation for their faithful compliance with United Nations resolutions. Israel was currently engaged in the annexation of the Golan Heights, but it did not wish to create the uproar that had followed its annexation of Jerusalem.

18. As part of its all-out effort to make life unbearable for the people of Jerusalem, even education, the hope of any resurgent people - as the discussions in every committee of the United Nations confirmed - was being stifled on the incredible grounds of redundancy, as though there could ever be enough education in the world. On 15 July 1980, the High Court of Justice had given the military government 30 days to show cause why it had not allowed a science college at the Abu Dis high school east of Jerusalem to reopen. That high school had been upgraded to a science college a year earlier, entirely with Arab money, and he himself had been a member of its board. The military government had made the preposterous claim that four colleges in the West Bank were sufficient to meet the region's higher education needs, and it had thus obstructed the advance of peaceful education, despite the fact that not a single cent had been requested in that connexion. Moreover, it was common knowledge that because educational facilities in the occupied territories were inadequate, many students were forced to leave their homeland in order to continue their studies.

19. The Knesset had also passed a law on 29 July 1980 providing for the revocation of citizenship for so-called violations of allegiance to the State of Israel; in practical terms, that meant that anyone in annexed Jerusalem or any of the 600,000 Palestinians who expressed their beliefs or raised a flag would be liable to prompt expulsion from the country.

20. Israeli violations of human rights were characteristic of the behaviour of the fascist Zionist régime running literally berserk. There were no guarantees whatsoever of life or liberty, and lawlessness was the rule rather than the exception. For example, conditions in the notorious Nafkha Prison in Naqab were so unbearable that the inmates had gone on a 33-day hunger strike. The ensuing situation, as described by an Israeli Jew, had included the forcing of tubes down the throats of prisoners and spraying them with tear gas. The tubes had actually been pushed into their lungs, and at least two of the prisoners had died. Currently 5,000 Palestinian detainees were being subjected to various forms of inhumane treatment and torture, in particular during interrogation. A substantial proportion of all adults in the occupied territories were compelled to pass through

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(Mr. Museibeh, Jordan)

such torture chambers, as a warning not to engage in any protest against the occupation.

21. The mayors of Hebron and Halhul and the religious judge of Hebron had been illegally expelled to Lebanon without having committed any crime - as the military authorities themselves had admitted - apart from having expressed their natural opposition to the occupation. Their families had been informed that they could return, pending trial. That offer was clearly a trap, and when they had returned, they had been detained at the bridge over the River Jordan. Those three men, who were elected officials and who had testified before the Security Council a few months earlier, had been subjected to endless interrogation and humiliation. The High Court's appeal had been accepted by the Israelis merely as a ploy to defuse what had been an explosive situation in the West Bank.

22. Even the water in the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories had been seized by the Israeli occupation authorities, leaving the West Bank inhabitants no more than 0.006 of 1 per cent of the total water resources of their own land. It was thanks only to dew in the mountains that the people of the West Bank could engage in agriculture at all. All the other water was strictly rationed by the Israeli authorities and was given to the new Israeli settlements in the West Bank and to the Israeli entity itself. The inhabitants of the occupied territories were given only 16 per cent of their water resources for domestic consumption, while the Israelis used 84 per cent. Moreover, poisonous chemicals had been sprayed on the crops of Palestinian farmers so as to force them to leave their lands.

23. In his delegation's opinion, the situation in the occupied territories reflected Israeli malpractices, rather than "practices", as well as Israel's illegal, random and brutal behaviour. A more appropriate title for the mandate of the Special Committee would be "Israeli colonization and its concomitant threat to the survival of the Palestinian people under occupation". The terms used up to then were luxuries compared with the terrifying, systematic drift towards perdition which the population of the occupied territories faced on a daily basis. His words were neither propaganda nor an exaggeration; they were the brutal facts, which needed no embellishment to make them seem worse than they were.

24. It was inconceivable to allow the survival of a valiant, historic people to be mortally threatened under the very eyes of the international community. Surely neither history nor the world's conscience would ever forgive the masterly inaction that allowed such crimes to go unchecked.

25. The chaotic financial and economic conditions currently prevailing in Israel stemmed from its concentration on military build-up and belligerent objectives. Therefore, its ability to commit nearly \$6 billion for the implementation of the Drobles annexationist plan was clearly fuelled by outside assistance.

(Mr. Museibeh, Jordan)

26. The United States Congressional Record of 17 June 1980 contained a statement by Senator Stevenson which described the collusion in and abject abdication of the United States Government to Israel's policy of colonization and annexation. The Senator had said that, in view of widespread poverty throughout the world, Israel, which had a high standard of living, received almost as much military and economic assistance from the United States Government as the rest of the world's people. That preference for Israel diverted funds from the support of human life and vital American interests elsewhere in an interdependent and unstable world. Such an approach could be justified if it produced stability in the Middle East or enhanced Israel's security, but it only reflected continued acquiescence to an Israeli policy which threatened to increase instability and a further decline in the authority of the United States in the world. The Senator had gone on to say that the Senate was asked to authorize an extraordinary sum in spite of the continued defiance by the Begin Government of American policy and interests. The United States Government held that Israeli settlements in the occupied territories were illegal and an obstacle to the solution of the basic problem. Any criticism, however, of Israeli policy within the Congress was muted by domestic political considerations, especially during election years. The Senator had pointed out that the Israeli invasion of southern Lebanon in March 1979 had impeded the efforts of the United Nations Interim Force to achieve peace in that country. That had been followed by a succession of retaliatory and pre-emptive bombing attacks against Lebanese territory. Such military operations had been carried out with American equipment in apparent violation of the terms upon which it had been accepted. When Turkey, however, using equipment supplied by the United States, had invaded Cyprus in 1974, the United States Government had promptly imposed an arms embargo. The United States was subsidizing a settlements policy which undermined the peace process it fostered. The actions of the Begin Government in the West Bank conflicted with the policy of the United States, which was embodied in Security Council resolution 242 (1967) and the Geneva Convention.

27. That statement by Senator Stevenson explained why the United States Government tolerated practices which were contrary to its national interest. Lastly, the representative of Jordan expressed the hope that the Government of the United States would reassess that policy after the elections in order to save the Palestinian people from a terrible fate before it was too late.

28. Mr. HUSSAIN (Iraq) said that there was little to add to the detailed facts presented in the report of the Special Committee except for the events which had occurred in the period after its publication as had been pointed out by a number of representatives and in particular the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), at the previous meeting. The report reaffirmed, contrary to the assertions of the representative of the Zionist entity and his vain attempts to blur the facts, that what had occurred since the Zionist occupation should be considered as a premeditated policy whose ultimate objective was the "Zionization" of Palestine and the expulsion of its people.

29. The statement made by the Zionist representative at the previous meeting had been remote from the subject and unconnected with the facts. He had not come forward with anything to contradict the information from Israeli newspapers and

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(Mr. Hussain, Iraq)

other sources which had been the basis of the report. He had asserted that Israel was a free and open society in which it was possible for any individual to visit the territories under its administration and to talk with whomever he pleased. That alleged openness was contradicted by the refusal of the Zionist authorities to permit the Special Committee to visit the occupied territories. The Zionist representative had flatly denied the eviction of Arab inhabitants from their houses, the expropriation of their lands, the assault against their elected mayors, their expulsion from the country and the demolition of their homes.

30. The gravity of the facts presented in the report lay not in the nature of each taken in isolation but in their interconnexion, which proved the methodical nature of the Zionist attempt to put an end to the Palestinian presence in the area. As an illustration of that, the representative of Iraq referred to the incidents in the area of Hebron and of Halhul, mentioned respectively in paragraphs 90 and 144 of the report of the Special Committee (A/35/425). The gravity of those facts became even more evident when they were taken in conjunction with those paragraphs dealing with the closing of educational institutions, the intrusion of soldiers into school buildings, the interruption of studies, the prevention of about 25 per cent of students from sitting for matriculation examinations, as pointed out in paragraph 184, and the prevention of students enrolled in Lebanese universities from leaving the occupied territories. A situation in which farmers could not have access to their fields or students to their schools while in their own country could hardly be what the Zionist representative had called an open democratic society. That had been the great contribution of Israel to world peace claimed by the architect of the policy of colonialist settlement, Ariel Sharon. Those practices were not isolated events or simple infractions as had been claimed by the Zionist representative but part of a premeditated plan methodically implemented in the occupied territories, the objective of which was to force the Palestinians to abandon their fields, schools and villages and to replace them by Jewish settlers.

31. The Zionist entity stood alone, challenging the entire world with its refusal to comply with the resolutions of the United Nations which had called for the application of the Fourth Geneva Convention to the occupied territories and, in particular, with its refusal to implement numerous Security Council resolutions. The assertions of the Zionist representative on the non-applicability of the Fourth Geneva Convention to the situation in the occupied territories were without foundation. He had asserted that the treatment accorded to the inhabitants of the occupied territories lay outside the provisions of the Convention; the absence of capital punishment, the right of the inhabitants to have recourse to Israeli courts and their freedom of movement with the neighbouring countries. Such assertions did not free the occupying authority from the obligation of adhering to the provisions of international conventions. It would be easy to refute the claims of the Zionist representative and to bring into the open the political issues underlying them. The main reason for the refusal of the occupation authorities to acknowledge the applicability of the Geneva Convention to the occupied territory did not lie therein. The term used by the representative had been "areas administered by Israel", thereby showing that they did not consider themselves to be occupation authorities and that the clear objective was the annexation of the territories.

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(Mr. Hussain, Iraq)

32. The most abhorrent act perpetrated by the occupation authorities up to that moment had been the annexation of Jerusalem, where the status quo had been changed to de jure annexation. The repeated condemnations of the decision of the Knesset on 28 June 1967 extending Israeli legal and administrative authority over Arab Jerusalem had not prevented the Zionist entity from promulgating the recent law on the annexation of Jerusalem. If severe sanctions were not imposed upon that entity, future condemnations would change nothing in the status of Jerusalem. The present situation was the result of the Zionist plan initiated at the Basel Conference in 1879, when Herzl had announced that if one day the Zionists were to gain control of Jerusalem, and had the power to do so, they would remove anything not sacred to the Jews and obliterate all the antiquities superimposed upon the city over the centuries. That nightmare, which had been partly realized, would not last. The Arab people had paid for its rights throughout history and had fought for nearly 200 years against occupiers of Jerusalem before finally liberating it. The present Zionist occupation could not last. The Arabs were a people ready to make every sacrifice in that cause and they would, with the help of God, achieve success.

33. Mr. WAHBI (Saudi Arabia) expressed the appreciation of his delegation for the full and objective report presented by the Special Committee in spite of the difficulties encountered in fulfilling its mission and the refusal of Israel to co-operate with it. That refusal was itself a clear proof of the existence of flagrant violations of human rights in those territories and of the fact that their occupation was another stage in the implementation of the Zionist plot in Palestine, the focus of which was the annexation of territory. Israel, from its creation, and even from the inception of the World Zionist Movement, had adopted the tactic of imposing faits accomplis in pursuit of its fundamental aims, and the establishment of settlements was the cornerstone of the implementation of that plan. The Special Committee had reached irrefutable conclusions based upon a variety of trustworthy and objective sources indicating that Israel was determined to continue its present policy and eventually to appropriate all of the occupied territories. The report contained statements by all prominent Israeli politicians on their determination to establish new settlements and expand existing ones, a policy for which Israel had set aside \$6 billion. The report indicated the means used by Israel in pursuing its policies of expropriation and seizure of private and public land, using the pretext of national security and implementing de jure and de facto annexation.

34. The Committee had felt itself obliged to urge the international community to adopt effective and immediate measures to end the occupation in view of the situation in the area and of the fact that it constituted an extremely serious

(Mr. Wahbi, Saudi Arabia)

obstacle to a just and comprehensive peace in the region. The Israeli occupation was a flagrant violation of basic human rights. The policies of colonization and oppression and the expansionist policy of annexing parts of the occupied territories, their Judaization, the alteration or effacement of their religious, cultural and archaeological landmarks, the illicit exploitation of their natural resources and the incorporation of their economy in that of Israel should be considered a challenge to the conscience of the world as represented by international law and the resolutions of the United Nations. Those arbitrary and methodical measures would not affect the will of the Palestinian people or prevent them from realizing their objective. Israel's refusal to acknowledge the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, its insistence on continuing the occupation, its appropriation of more than one third of the land for the establishment of Jewish settlements for foreign colonists, its eviction of the Arab inhabitants in order to force them to leave or to fall victim to Israeli employers, were all glaring examples of Israel's scorn for world public opinion and its scandalous violation of the Hague Convention the Fourth Geneva Convention, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council and the Charter of the United Nations. Now, more than at any previous time, the international community demanded the implementation of these resolutions, for they would remain a dead letter as long as the Israeli occupation authorities continued to defy them. The Charter demanded that the Israeli occupation authorities cease forthwith their defiance and scorn of international law and custom.

35. Saudi Arabia condemned in particular the Judaization of Jerusalem and Hebron, considering that a dangerous escalation in the Middle East situation. His Government had on many previous occasions stated its position on the change in the legal status of Jerusalem and its proclamation as the "eternal capital" of Israel. The liberation of Jerusalem from the clutches of the racist Zionists must necessarily entail the liberation of Palestine and its return to its rightful owners.

36. The General Assembly had frequently deplored the failure of the Security Council to take effective measures concerning the situation in the occupied Arab territories. In operative paragraph 7 of resolution 34/65 A, the General Assembly had urged the Security Council to examine the recommendations endorsed by the General Assembly in its resolutions 31/20, 32/40 A and 33/28 A and to take a decision on them at the earliest possible opportunity. At the same time, Israel had doubled its settlement operations, had seized large areas of Palestinian and Syrian land and established dozens of Jewish settlements there, and had taken control of water resources and other amenities, thereby contravening all the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly and the Fourth Geneva Convention. Security Council resolution 465 (1980) had been adopted by consensus demanding that Israel dismantle its settlements and desist forthwith from establishing new

(Mr. Wahbi, Saudi Arabia)

settlements in Arab territories, including Jerusalem. That resolution had proclaimed the illegality of all settlements established since 1967, declaring that they created a serious obstacle to the establishment of a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East. Only a few days after the adoption of that resolution, Israel had appropriated large areas of land around Jerusalem and Hebron and other Palestinian cities for the purpose of establishing new settlements there. Israel was not content to continue its expansionist policy but went to even greater extremes in directing its hostility at the heart of the Islamic Arab nation by proclaiming Jerusalem its "eternal capital". Security Council resolutions 476 (1980) and 478 (1980) had declared all the legal and administrative measures adopted by Israel null and void.

37. If the Security Council and the General Assembly failed to secure the implementation of their resolutions and to take all necessary and immediate steps to prevent the realization of Israel's expansionist plans in the occupied areas, that would encourage Israel in its defiance of international law. It was incumbent upon the international community to use all the authority at its disposal to compel Israel to comply with international law and to implement the resolutions of the United Nations. It could not remain silent at a time when the destiny of a people under the yoke of occupation was being decided in an arbitrary and racist manner by intimidation, imprisonment, exile and terrorism. Any attempt to find a just and permanent solution in the Middle East that was not based upon General Assembly resolution 3236 (XXIX), which called unequivocally for the unconditional withdrawal of Israel from all Palestinian territories, including Jerusalem and other occupied Arab territories, and for the recognition and exercise of all the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, in particular the right of return, self-determination and the establishment of an independent State under the leadership of the PLO, was doomed to failure.

38. Mr. SOMOGYI (Hungary) said that the annual reports of the Special Committee were of great importance in keeping world public opinion informed of Israeli practices in the occupied territories. It was, therefore, the obligation of all Member States to assist the work of the Special Committee. The problem under consideration could only be solved within the framework of a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement based on the unconditional withdrawal of Israeli troops from the occupied Arab territories, the exercise of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination, including the right to establish a sovereign State of their own, and the recognition of the right of all States of the region to exist within secure and internationally recognized boundaries.

39. He expressed regret that no progress had been made in solving that problem. Time had proved that the Camp David accords and the separate deal between Egypt and Israel would not yield any positive results. It was clear to all that the real aim of those manoeuvres was only to camouflage the policy of aggression and expansion pursued by Israel. The Israeli Government's policy of establishing settlements in

(Mr. Somogyi, Hungary)

the occupied Arab territories and expelling the indigenous population was being implemented at an ever accelerating rate. The systematic oppression of the Arab population was designed to deprive them of their ethnic identity by making them strangers in their own land. While pursuing a policy very similar to that of bantustanization in South Africa, the Israeli authorities had confiscated large areas of privately owned Arab lands, had authorized Israeli citizens to acquire land in the occupied territories and had implemented a series of legislative and economic measures to force the Arab inhabitants to abandon their traditional occupations and leave their homeland. Israel was continuing to pursue that policy despite the numerous appeals to desist from so doing made by the international community and the various bodies of the United Nations. Israel, which owed its existence to a United Nations resolution, could continue to ignore world public opinion and pursue a policy in direct violation of the spirit and letter of the Charter only with the support and assistance of the United States, which so vehemently sought to increase its influence in that strategically important part of the world.

40. The policy of the Israeli Government, which flagrantly violated the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the Fourth Geneva Convention, was to perpetuate the result of the aggression of 1967. His delegation associated itself with all those who supported the determination of the Arab inhabitants of the occupied territories not to accept the conditions under which they were forced to live. The international community must act promptly and effectively to put an immediate end to the illegal actions carried out by the Israeli Government and its policy of oppression and racial discrimination in the occupied territories.

41. Mr. NEVES (Portugal) said that the Arab inhabitants of the occupied territories were deprived of their fundamental political rights and had to endure oppression under foreign occupation. The report of the Special Committee gave a very detailed account of the numerous incidents which violated international law and showed a disregard for basic human rights. As a member of the Security Council Commission established under resolution 446 (1979), his delegation had visited the occupied territories and had spoken with Palestinian residents, whose statements largely coincided with the information provided in the report. Some of them had had their lands confiscated, their crops destroyed and their homes demolished. His delegation had been concerned to learn that they were subject to coercion in the exercise of their right to educate their children in accordance with their cultural traditions. Freely elected authorities had been dismissed from office and there were troubling reports of arbitrary detention and mistreatment of prisoners. The Israeli authorities seemed determined to persist in their policy of establishing new settlements and extending existing ones. Those practices were designed to alter unilaterally the demographic and physical character of the occupied territories and as such constituted a flagrant violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention, which was fully applicable to the territories occupied by Israel since 1967.

(Mr. Neves, Portugal)

42. An end must be put to that situation. A lasting and just solution could be brought about only by a negotiated settlement based on Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) and the recognition of the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination. His Government, therefore, urged all concerned parties to enter into negotiations. Since the Israeli practices in the occupied territories constituted a very serious obstacle to the attainment of such a settlement, his delegation called upon the Government of Israel to abide by international law in dealing with the population of those territories and to uphold the humanitarian principles that had inspired Jewish culture throughout the centuries.

43. Mr. HALIM (Malaysia) said that his delegation deplored the arrogance of the Israeli authorities, who seemed determined to defy the international community and ignore the many resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council over the years. In 1980 alone, the Security Council had met no less than four times to consider the serious situation in the Middle East resulting from Israeli actions in the occupied territories that affected the human rights of the local population. The Government of Israel had responded to appeals to desist from establishing new settlements by announcing plans for more new settlements. It had answered the call to desist from changing the status and demographic character of Jerusalem by declaring that city its eternal and undivided capital. Such an attitude could only prolong the conflict in the Middle East.

44. His delegation expressed satisfaction with the work of the Special Committee in providing information on the serious violations of human rights in the occupied territories. Israel's refusal to co-operate with the Special Committee was yet another example of its negative attitude. The report had proved once again that the Israeli authorities had shown no intention of complying with the provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, and had taken further measures to restrict the basic rights of the people in the occupied territories. His delegation was concerned lest the continued denial of the basic rights of the population in the occupied territories should cause further frustration and a sense of desperation, which would lead to violence and armed hostilities. Israel had been able to pursue its policies in gross violation of United Nations resolutions and the principles of international law because of the strong moral and material support it continued to receive from several Member States. Those States were prepared to ignore Israel's violation of the human rights of the Arab population in the occupied territories because of their larger political and strategic interests in the Middle East. Such considerations, however, would not bring about long-term peace and stability in the region and would probably work against the interests of Israel and the Powers concerned. Lastly, he reiterated the appeal made by his delegation in the General Assembly that all countries which supported and sustained Israel should co-operate with the United Nations and the international community by taking steps that would ensure Israel's compliance with the accepted principles of international law. Only in that way could peace and stability be restored to the Middle East.

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45. Mr. RAMIN (Israel), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that the representative of Jordan had just made a new set of accusations and allegations typical of the hostile propaganda spread by that country against Israel inside and outside the United Nations. The representative of Jordan had spoken of the 13 years of Israeli presence in the West Bank and had quoted a book by an Israeli writer. He (Mr. Ramin) wished to quote a Jordanian source on the 19 years of Jordanian operations in the West Bank. In a confidential Jordanian document dated 13 January 1957, and marked "Top Urgent" and sent by the General Security Director of the Jerusalem District to the Commander of the Jerusalem District, the latter was requested to transmit an updated list of names of and details concerning suspected persons belonging to various political parties. Another document dated 25 April 1957 and sent by the Commander of the Jerusalem district to the Commander of the sub-districts, concerning government instructions on the suspending of all political parties in the Kingdom, contained a request for the immediate confiscation of all materials to be found in the offices of the Baath Party and the National Socialist Party in the Jerusalem district, and for the sealing off of their offices, the removal of signs and the posting of guards at the entrances. That was typical of the way in which the Jordanians had operated on the West Bank. Another text referred to the atmosphere and way of life in Jerusalem, Judea and Samaria. On 10 May 1956 the Beirut daily newspaper Al Muharrer had quoted an eyewitness report that Jordanian police had used clubs to disperse a mass demonstration staged in the Old City of Jerusalem by students who were demanding the release of some detainees. The leaders of that demonstration had also been arrested by the security forces. The same newspaper reported that all schools in the area had been placed under strict control and the number of persons arrested had reached several dozen. The representative of Jordan should bear in mind his country's practices during the 19 years of Jordanian occupation of the West Bank.

46. Although people in Iraq could carry a rifle without a licence, they could not carry a typewriter without one. The New York Times of 16 October 1980 had reported that it was illegal to own a typewriter in that country without registering it. The fact of possessing a typewriter was written into journalists' passports, and some journalists had even had their typewriters confiscated at the border. The reason was obvious. Through a typewriter, truth could escape to the outer world.

47. An Associated Press dispatch from Beirut on 4 November 1980 had reported a speech in which the President of Iraq had said that conquest conferred new rights. The longer a nation stayed in a territory, the more rights it gained. Wars created additional rights over and above pre-war rights.

48. Mr. HUSSAIN (Iraq), speaking on a point of order, appealed to the Chairman to request the speaker to keep to the item under discussion.

49. Mr. RAMIN (Israel) said that he was merely seeking clarification from the Iraqi representative as to whether the President of Iraq had been referring to the area west of the River Jordan or to the area east of the river Shatt-el-Arab.

50. Mr. NUSEIBEH (Jordan), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that, although the statement by the Israeli representative hardly merited a reply, he was impressed to learn that the Jordanian intelligence service was so meticulous in its compilation of data about the political parties existing in its country, although that had no particular significance since the collection of such information was the duty of every intelligence service in the world.

51. He wished to remind the representative of Israel that after 1950, when Israel had occupied four fifths of Palestine and the remaining part had been cut off to the south, north and west, the Palestinians in that remaining part had decided to enter into a union with the East Bank. Under that union, they exercised dual sovereignty to such a point that virtually all the officials in Jerusalem were sons of that city, and half the Cabinet and the Government and some 60 per cent of the army were Palestinians.

52. With regard to the detention of students in 1957, there had been a short period of turbulence after Israel had invaded Egypt in 1956; and that had necessitated the imposing of martial law for a few days. In such a situation, a few students might be detained in the freest country in the world.

53. Under the dual sovereignty system, Jordan had never taken over an inch of Palestinian territory. On the contrary, Palestinians had been permitted to buy and own a substantial percentage of Jordanian land on the East Bank. In fact, no distinction was made between Palestinians and Jordanians since they had all originally been natives of one country, natural Syria.

54. It was common knowledge that the bigoted and racist régime which had been wielding power in Israel under the ideology of zionism had been discriminating against Middle Eastern and North African Jews, though of course to a slightly lesser extent than against the indigenous Palestinian inhabitants. The representative of Israel seemed to be a Semitic Jew from one of the neighbouring Arab countries. All Arab countries would welcome back such citizens, whom the Jewish agency had impelled by devious means - even by the incitement of anti-Semitism - to leave the countries where they had been leading happy lives. The fact that the New York Times of 9 November 1980 had reported as an event worthy of notice a typical Middle Eastern Jewish cultural performance in a prestigious Tel Aviv theatre proved that those Jews were treated as second-class citizens. Instead of defending the indefensible Israeli practices which were the official policy of the Zionist movement, it would be better for Middle Eastern and North African Jews, who constituted some 60 per cent of the Jews in Israel, to join the indigenous Palestinians in working to overcome their racist oppressors. He advised the representative of Israel and his community to reappraise their position and live side by side in amity with their Arab brethren as they had for hundreds of years. That would bring salvation to Palestine and put an end to the tragedies in that country.

55. Arab countries had always given haven to Semitic Jews, and in the nineteenth century the Palestinians used to donate lands to religious Jews who wanted to live in Jerusalem because they regarded them as people of the Book.

56. Mr. HUSSAIN (Iraq), speaking in the exercise of the right of reply, said that it was neither the time nor the place to provide the representative of the Zionist State with a clarification on a matter which had not been submitted for consideration by the Committee. If the representative of the Zionist State wanted a clarification, the matter had been submitted to the Security Council and letters from the Foreign Secretary of Iraq would give ample explanation.

57. He would like to know who had ever said that no permit was required for carrying guns in Iraq. However, if a Government requested foreign journalists to apply for a permit to bring a typewriter into the country, that was a purely internal matter, governed by information policy, and did not concern the representative of the Zionist State. The obligation to apply for a permit did not mean that journalists were not allowed to bring typewriters into Iraq. There was no analogy with the fine of \$5,000 imposed by the Israeli authorities on all those who sang the Palestinian national anthem, or with the detention of children in Palestinian schools for hoisting the national flag of their country.

58. Mr. RAHMAN (Observer, Palestine Liberation Organization), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, pointed out that the Israeli Zionist representative had never denied any of the information given in the report of the Special Committee. Instead he had resorted to the Israeli delegation's usual practice of looking for other places where the Palestinians were allegedly mistreated.

59. A document emanating from the office of a member of the Knesset, and addressed to all other members and published in Jerusalem on 19 May 1980, reported the statements of a group of soldiers of the Israeli Defence Force sent to what Israel called "the territories". Those soldiers had no definite political views but felt alarmed by the instructions they had received from a high Military Government officer before they had been sent to a neighbouring village to help the border guards enforce the curfew. Immediately upon arrival, they had been issued with clubs and had been instructed to beat the whole body - except the head - of any adult found out of doors after curfew, and to explain the reason only when the offender's bones had been broken. If a small child was found out of doors, the whole family was to be made to stand in a row and the father beaten in front of his children. The soldiers had been told to arrest only persons who caused trouble. Persons causing trouble were to be beaten and then thrown on a vehicle to take them to military headquarters. The soldiers had been reminded that, as soon as such persons were on the vehicle, they were under arrest and must not be beaten. Those orders, and the story of terrified children being forced to fill sandbags to build a watch post while the soldiers looked on with weapons and clubs in their hands, had reminded the soldiers of stories of the Holocaust.

60. Mr. RAMIN (Israel), speaking in exercise of the right of reply and referring to the Jordanian representative's suggestion that Semitic Jews should return to the Arab countries from which they had gone to Israel, reminded the representative of Jordan that Jordanian Civil Law No. 6, paragraph 3, stated that any person could be a Jordanian subject if he was not Jewish.

61. Attempts had been made for many years to drive a wedge between Jews from

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(Mr. Ramin, Israel)

different countries. People must remember, however, that although there had been 12 tribes of Israel, they had all been one people. Jews were accustomed to seeking harmony among themselves and would like harmony with their neighbours. He himself had always admired the Hebrew programmes on Jordanian television because the announcers spoke Hebrew so beautifully that it gave him hope for harmony between the two countries.

62. Mr. NUSEIBEH (Jordan), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that the representative of Israel had made a valid point which should be answered. It was no accident that Jews had not been permitted into east Jordan because, when they had first come to Palestine, it had been under the umbrella of zionism, the specific aim of which was to make Palestine as Jewish as England was English. However, the representative of Israel could not deny that in the rest of the Arab world Jews were not only citizens of the countries in which they lived but leading members of the business community. No Arab had discriminated against them. The Jewish Agency had stimulated anti-Semitism with bribes in order to induce Jews to emigrate from Arab countries. Since the Jews had gone to Palestine to conquer and colonize the entire country, it was understandable that Jordan did not allow such conquerors from eastern Europe to overcome and replace the inhabitants of east Jordan, as they had done with the inhabitants of Palestine. He was not trying to drive a wedge between western and eastern Jews but only saying that the latter, who had lived in Arab countries for 2-3,000 years, should not have regarded those countries as places of exile but rather as cherished and respected homelands.

63. When he had said that if any Middle Eastern Jews wished to return home to an Arab country they would be welcome, he had hoped that the Israeli representative would reply that any Palestinian who had lived in Palestine for 7,000 years and who now wanted to return home would also be invited to do so. That was the most elementary of human rights. No one could condone the expulsion of an individual from his house and lands. He had told the Israeli representative that the Middle Eastern Jews had the option to return home, which was just what the Palestinians were demanding. Such reciprocity was the only way to achieve a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. Peace could not be achieved at the point of a bayonet but through consent of the people concerned.

64. Mr. HAMMAD (United Arab Emirates), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, noted that the Israeli representative had not denied either the incidents described in the report of the Special Committee or the violations of human rights in Palestine Arab occupied territories described by various delegations in addition to those mentioned in the report. The Israeli representative's failure to deny those charges could only mean that he was incapable of denying them, and that his Government and he himself therefore stood indicted of those accusations.

The meeting rose at 5.45 p.m.