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# SECURITY COUNCIL

## OFFICIAL RECORDS

**THIRTY-FOURTH YEAR**

***SUPPLEMENT FOR JULY, AUGUST AND SEPTEMBER 1979***

**UNITED NATIONS**





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**UNITED NATIONS**

**New York, 1981**

## NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

Documents of the Security Council (symbol S/. . .) are normally published in quarterly *Supplements of the Official Records of the Security Council*. The date of the document indicates the supplement in which it appears or in which information about it is given.

The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council*. The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

## CHECK LIST OF SECURITY COUNCIL DOCUMENTS ISSUED DURING THE PERIOD 1 JULY-30 SEPTEMBER 1979

NOTE. The titles of the documents printed in the present *Supplement* appear in bold type. Unless otherwise indicated, the other documents remain mimeographed and are kept for archival purposes in the Dag Hammarskjöld Library.

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**DOCUMENT S/13427\***

**Letter dated 29 June 1979 from the representative of Zambia  
to the Secretary-General**

[Original: English]  
[2 July 1979]

I have the honour to convey to you the following message from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Zambia:

"Please refer to reported possible meeting between H.E. President Kaunda and so-called Prime Minister Muzorewa. Be advised that there is no truth in the report as there are no plans for such a meeting either for now or in future. Our policy is that there cannot be such a meeting with a rebel or rebels without prior consultations among front-line States and that includes Nigeria. Therefore dismiss the report with the contempt it deserves."

I should be grateful if you would kindly have the above information circulated as a document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Paul J. F. LUSAKA  
Permanent Representative of Zambia  
to the United Nations

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\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/346-S/13427.

**DOCUMENT S/13429\***

**Letter dated 11 June 1979 from the Acting Chairman of the Special Committee  
against Apartheid to the Secretary-General**

[Original: English]  
[3 July 1979]

In accordance with the decision of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* at its 430th meeting, on 8 June 1979, I have the honour to transmit herewith, for the attention of the General Assembly and the Security Council, the summary record of the 429th meeting of the Committee, held on 6 June 1979, at which it heard experts from the United States, the United Kingdom and Canada on bank loans to and investment in South Africa.<sup>1</sup>

The Special Committee wishes to take this opportunity to emphasize the importance of urgent action to stop all loans to South Africa in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly.

I should be grateful if you would have this letter circulated as a document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Serge Elie CHARLES  
Acting Chairman of the  
Special Committee against Apartheid

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\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/348-S/13429.

<sup>1</sup> The summary record is not reproduced in the present document; for the text, see A/AC.115/SR.429.

**DOCUMENT S/13430**

**Letter dated 29 June 1979 from the representative of Benin to the Secretary-General**

[Original: French]  
[3 July 1979]

I have the honour, on instructions from my Government, to transmit to you herewith for distribution as a document of the Security Council, a press communiqué dated 29 June 1979 issued by the Permanent Mission of the People's Republic of Benin concerning the prosecution in the French courts of Gilbert Bourgeaud and his associates, who com-

mitted armed aggression against the People's Republic of Benin on Sunday, 16 January 1977.

(Signed) Patrice HOUNGAVOU  
Chargé d'affaires, a.i.  
of the Permanent Mission of Benin  
to the United Nations

ANNEX

Press communiqué dated 29 June 1979

The Permanent Mission of the People's Republic of Benin to the United Nations has the honour to bring to the attention of the public the text of the following communiqué issued on 28 June 1979 by the Embassy of the People's Republic of Benin in Paris:

"The Embassy of the People's Republic of Benin in France announces that on 16 January 1977 a group of people, mostly of French nationality, embarked on armed aggression designed to overthrow the Government of Benin.

"The aggressors, who landed from an aircraft at Cotonou airport and occupied it, then tried to move towards the centre of the city.

"They were driven back, but their firing caused seven deaths and injured several dozen people.

"The documents left behind by the aggressors as they fled include a list of the names, forenames and bank account numbers of all members of the expedition, together with other documents. Among the latter were a French identity card in the name of Bourgeaud Gilbert, commander

of the operation, who is none other than Bob Denard (born on 30 January 1929 at Caen (Calvados), residing at Paris (XVIIIe), 14, rue Max Dormoy), plane tickets, bank deposit receipts, and their service records and records of army specializations and level of primary, secondary or higher education in France.

"The families of the victims accordingly instructed lawyers de Nordmann and Jean Michel Braunschweig to bring a criminal action concurrently with a civil action for voluntary homicide against Bourgeaud Gilbert, known as Bob Denard, and all other members of the gang whose documents show their nationality to be French.

"The charges were lodged today with the senior examining magistrate of the Paris correctional court.

"Done at Paris on 28 June 1979."

By these proceedings the families of the victims are showing their determination to prosecute in the French courts, in accordance with their procedural rules, Gilbert Bourgeaud, alias Bob Denard, alias Maurin, and his gang of criminals.

The Beninese authorities will keep developments in these proceedings against this French gang of criminals under close review.

DOCUMENT S/13431

Letter dated 2 July 1979 from the representative of the United States of America to the President of the Security Council

[Original: English]  
[3 July 1979]

I have the honour to transmit to you the enclosed statement by Acting Secretary of State, Mr. Warren Christopher, in explanation of the affirmative vote of the United States on the resolution concerning Nicaragua adopted by the Organization of American States' meeting of Foreign Ministers on 23 June and to request that it be circulated as a document of the Security Council.

The United States reaffirms its full support for the resolution adopted and its willingness to abide by all of its provisions. We would also encourage all States to eschew unilateral actions which might be construed as intervention in the internal affairs of a State and which might only exacerbate the tragic situation in Nicaragua.

(Signed) Donald F. McHENRY  
Acting Permanent Representative  
of the United States of America  
to the United Nations

ANNEX

Statement by the Acting Secretary of State of the United States of America in explanation of the affirmative vote of the United States on the resolution concerning Nicaragua adopted on 23 June by the Organization of American States' meeting of foreign ministers

The resolution adopted represents an extraordinary effort by the nations of the Western Hemisphere to deal with the unique and tragic problem of Nicaragua.

As far as I know, there is no precedent for the broadly-based and far-reaching resolution adopted today.

By this resolution, an overwhelming consensus of the nations of the hemisphere have reached agreement on several important propositions:

1. The conduct of the Somoza Government is the fundamental cause of the tragic situation faced by the Nicaraguan people, and it should be replaced without delay.
2. A broadly-based democratic alternative should be promptly installed and free elections should follow as soon as possible.
3. The human rights of the Nicaraguan people, so long abused, shall be guaranteed.
4. The member States are urged to take whatever steps may be feasible to facilitate an enduring and peaceful solution to the Nicaraguan problem.
5. The member States are called upon scrupulously to respect the principle of non-intervention and to abstain from taking any action incompatible with an enduring and peaceful solution.
6. Finally, the member nations commit their efforts to promote humanitarian assistance to the people of Nicaragua and to contribute to the recovery of the country.

The United States is pleased to join this resolution in the interest of hemispheric solidarity. While the resolution does not have the specificity we had originally desired, it does permit constructive action by the member countries.

Our support for the resolution is a reflection of the policy of the United States to give full respect and dignity to the views of the other member nations, and to find accommodations which enable us, avoiding unilateral actions, to act in unison.

DOCUMENT S/13432\*

Letter dated 3 July 1979 from the representative of Jordan to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[3 July 1979]

Upon instructions from my Government, I have the honour to draw your attention to Israel's systematic policy of harassment and disruption of the educational life of the Arab inhabitants of the West Bank of Jordan. Since it occupied

the Arab territories in June 1967, Israel has been waging a vicious physical and moral war in an attempt to destroy Arab educational and cultural institutions in the West Bank of Jordan, especially the University of Bir Zeit.

The list of incidents below is only the latest in a long

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/349-S/13432.

series of the vicious Israeli war against the educational community. This war is mainly directed in and around the town of Bir Zeit and its university in an attempt to put out the Arab torch of learning in the West Bank of Jordan.

1. The University of Bir Zeit has been closed by the military authorities of Israel since 2 May 1979. It is closed for an indefinite period of time on the allegation that the University is becoming a risk for Israel's security.

2. The 1,100 students are forbidden to enter the campus, the telephone lines of the town of Bir Zeit and the university have been cut and stores on the main street have been ordered closed.

3. During President Carter's visit to occupied Jerusalem, large numbers of Israeli forces, led by the Military Governor of the West Bank, entered the town of Bir Zeit, and four Arab students were shot by the cowardly Israeli soldiers. A curfew was imposed on the town and all men over 14 years of age were brought for interrogation.

4. On 4 May, the Israeli Military Governor issued orders preventing the students from entering the university campus until further notice and many students were arrested.

5. The morning of the same day, a group of Israeli hooligan settlers from nearby Neve Tzuf settlement shot at a gathering of Arab students at the entrance to the university. One student was seriously injured. The military authorities until now have not brought the Israeli criminal to justice.

6. On 7 May, secondary schools in the cities of Ramallah, Halhoul and Nablus were closed indefinitely. Large numbers of students were arrested and thousands of them lost one academic year.

7. At the same time, the University of Bethlehem was ordered closed for four days, and many of its students were arrested, interrogated and tortured.

I wish also to bring to your attention the following oppressive Israeli practices aimed at obstructing and downgrading the high standard of learning that the West Bank educational institutions have maintained long before Israeli occupation.

1. University students in the field of education are not allowed to train in secondary schools as their programme for graduation requires.

2. Arab universities are not allowed to recruit foreign teachers to enhance their faculties.

3. Since 1974 Arab universities are not allowed to apply their programmes of training school teachers.

4. Israeli authorities denied Bir Zeit University a request to erect buildings in the city of Ramallah, thus the University has not been able to expand its class-rooms in that city.

5. Contrary to any law in Jordan or in Israel, the University of Bir Zeit after the occupation was forced to pay more than \$46,000 in customs duties on educational equipment. The university also paid \$20,000 in customs duties on imported steel to be used for construction.

It appears from all this that the Israelis are following a planned policy to undermine Arab institutions of education and Arab culture in the West Bank of Jordan. Moreover, more than 6,000 Arab students in the West Bank and Gaza Strip will have completed their secondary education this academic year. Their hope is to pursue higher education in universities at home, but the doors of higher education are feared to be closed in the coming year. The three universities of the West Bank of Jordan, Bir Zeit, Al-Najah and Bethlehem cannot absorb more than 1,500 students a year.

The aforementioned facts are put forward to you in the light of a statement by the Israeli Defence Minister Ezer Weizman in *The New York Times*, 3 July 1979, that the University of Bir Zeit would be allowed to open next September. Israeli promises are more deceptive than to carry anything of substance in them.

I call upon you to use all possible means at your disposal to make sure that the university is allowed to function again without Israeli oppression, harassment and disruption.

I kindly request that the present letter be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) George Y. SHAMMA  
Chargé d'affaires, a.i.  
of the Permanent Mission of Jordan  
to the United Nations

## DOCUMENT S/13433\*

### Letter dated 3 July 1979 from the representative of Kuwait to the Secretary-General

(Original: English)  
[3 July 1979]

I have the honour to transmit herewith the text of the letter dated 29 June 1979 addressed to you by the Permanent Observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

I would like this letter to be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Abdalla Y. BISHARA  
Permanent Representative of Kuwait  
to the United Nations

LETTER DATED 29 JUNE 1979 FROM THE OBSERVER OF THE  
PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

With reference to my conversation with Mr. Brian Urquhart on Thursday, 28 June 1979, at 1740 hours, I would like to relate the information I conveyed to him on the instructions of the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization:

1. At 1940 hours Beirut time, forces of the Israeli and isolationist enemy commenced heavy bombardment of the Qiliyah Hills, Kaoukaba and Zalliyah. The bombing continued through 2325 hours.

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/350-S/13433.

2. At 2000 hours, from artillery based in Marji'oun, forces of the Israeli and isolationist enemy heavily, but intermittently, bombarded the town of Al-Ansar in Southern Lebanon, and at 2015 hours the bombardment was extended to cover the areas of Al-Bazouliyah, Jwaya, Aishiyah and Nabatiya. Flares were also being fired over Rashidiyah.

This information is conveyed to you so that you may be kept apprised of the escalated and highly intensified Israeli activities, and in this particular instance, with the collaboration of the isolationist enemy, with the sole intent of intimidating and annihilating the Palestinians and Lebanese in Southern Lebanon, thus leading to a new forced exodus from the region.

This abominable and inhuman wave of barbarity against the Palestinians and Lebanese by the neo-fascist Zionists at Tel Aviv is being carried out within the framework of their master plan for the total genocide of the Palestinian people. I would inform you that the Palestine Liberation Organization holds the so-called Government of Israel solely responsible for the renewed circle of violence now posing a very serious threat to the already explosive situation in the Middle East and to peace and security in the world.

(Signed) Zehdi Labib TERZI  
Permanent Observer of the  
Palestine Liberation Organization  
to the United Nations

#### DOCUMENT S/13434\*

#### Letter dated 3 July 1979 from the representative of Viet Nam to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[3 July 1979]

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith, for your information, the text of the speech by the head of the delegation of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, Dinh Nho Liem, at the first meeting of the second round of Viet Nam-China talks on 28 June 1979. I request you kindly to have this letter and its enclosure circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) HA VAN LAU  
Permanent Representative of the  
Socialist Republic of Viet Nam  
to the United Nations

#### ANNEX

Speech by the head of the delegation of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, Dinh Nho Liem, at the first meeting of the second round of Viet Nam-China talks on 28 June 1979

In the desire of restoring the traditional friendship between the Vietnamese and Chinese peoples, the delegation of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam has come to Peking to continue with the delegation of the Government of the People's Republic of China the talks on problems concerning the relations between the two countries. Once again, we wish to convey to the people of Peking, capital city, and of China as a whole the cordial greetings of the Vietnamese people.

Viet Nam and China are two close neighbours. During their protracted revolutionary struggle for independence, freedom and national construction, the Vietnamese and Chinese peoples have relied on each other, mutually extended support and assistance and promoted a deep friendship. The Vietnamese people have consistently treasured this lofty friendship which they have done their utmost to preserve and develop.

Of late, the traditional friendship between the two peoples has been seriously impaired by the Chinese rulers. The large-scale war of aggression they launched against Viet Nam last February has led to a very strained situation between the two countries. It was an extremely ruthless war of extermination, which caused untold suffering and destruction to the Vietnamese people, ran counter to the Chinese people's interests and jeopardized peace and stability in South-East Asia. For that very reason, the Chinese people have gradually come to realize the truth in spite of all attempts at black-out and distortion by the instigators of this criminal war. The healthy voices have been raised more and more widely against this unjust war. The Peking rulers still find it necessary to seek by every possible means to justify themselves in the eyes of world public opinion and of the Chinese people and evade their responsibility for provoking this aggressive war. We are firmly convinced that, like the Vietnamese people, the Chinese people do not want war between the two countries. The friendship between the Vietnamese and Chinese peoples will overcome all trials and flourish again.

With this aspiration and confidence, the Vietnamese people and Government took important initiatives in the course of the talks with a view to settling the problems in the relations between Viet Nam and China, restoring the normal relations between the two States and the traditional friendship between the two peoples. Regrettably, after a month with five meetings at Hanoi, the first round of talks failed to meet the wish of the two peoples and of world public opinion. In beginning today the second round of talks at Peking, we should look back at the course of the first round and find out the reasons why it did not make any progress.

After winning complete independence and unity, the Vietnamese people have no more earnest desire than to have lasting peace to rebuild their country following 30 years of unceasing war and to live in peace and friendship with other nations, particularly their neighbours; the Chinese contention about so-called expansionist and hegemonic designs of Viet Nam in South-East Asia is at variance with facts. The designs attributed by the Chinese side to Viet Nam are precisely those which the Chinese rulers have nurtured for a long time already, and are now striving to carry out.

Therefore, at the very beginning of these talks, we made it clear that the deep root and the immediate cause of the tense situation which led to the recent war of aggression against Viet Nam lie in the great-power expansionist and hegemonic policy of the Chinese rulers and their policy of hostility to Viet Nam. Carrying aloft the banner of national independence and socialism, the banner of peace and friendship, the Vietnamese people are determined to defend the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of their fatherland, and to preserve their line of independence and sovereignty. At the same time, they are deeply attached to peace and constantly desirous of maintaining the traditional friendship with the Chinese people and good-neighbourly relations with the People's Republic of China. The Vietnamese people have unswervingly and persistently advocated a negotiated settlement of all the problems in the relations between the two countries.

Proceeding from this serious position and attitude of goodwill, we have put forward an important proposal on the main principles and contents of a three-point settlement of the problems concerning the relations between the two countries [S/13257, annex]:

1. The adoption of urgent measures to secure peace and stability in the border areas of the two countries and to ensure an early reunion of the people captured during the war with their families.
2. Restoration of the normal relations between the two countries on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence.
3. Settlement of border and territorial problems between the two countries on the basis of the principle of respect for the *status quo* of the historical borderline, respect for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

This comprehensive, reasonable and sensible proposal aims both at solving the urgent questions caused by the recent war and preventing a re-sumption of hostilities, and at settling the fundamental problems in the relations between Viet Nam and China, thereby meeting the South-East Asian and the world peoples' desire for peace and stability. It has elicited increasing approval and appreciation from broad sections of world public opinion which consider it an important peace initiative.

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/351-S/13434.

We also made, on three occasions, recommendations on how to discuss the issues raised by either side in a spirit of equality, without either imposing its views on the other, so as to bring about practical and constructive talks.

Given such a serious position and the attitude of goodwill of the Vietnamese side, the talks could have certainly made progress if only the Chinese side had really desired to settle the problems. Nevertheless, throughout the first round, the Chinese side took a completely opposite position and attitude.

The Chinese side tried to evade its responsibility for the war of aggression against Viet Nam which has been and is being condemned by the whole of mankind. It put forth an eight-point proposal [S/13278, annex] expressing its great-Power expansionist and hegemonistic policy. It attempted thus to achieve at the negotiating table what it had failed to achieve by all other means including war, namely, Viet Nam's giving up its correct line of independence, sovereignty and international solidarity, relinquishing even its territorial sovereignty, and aligning itself on the Chinese policy of alliance with United States-headed imperialism and opposition to the socialist countries and the world movement for national independence, democracy, peace and progress. While evading the Vietnamese side's reasonable and sensible three-point proposal, the Chinese side raised questions not belonging to bilateral relations, which was at variance with the agreement between the two sides to deal at these negotiations only with problems concerning the relations between the two countries. It completely eluded the urgent measures to secure peace and stability in the border areas of the two countries, whereas in its statements and notes it had previously spoken on six occasions of the need to discuss this question at these talks. It turned down all the Vietnamese proposals on the method of discussion, and only tried to impose its eight points. Obviously, it had come to the negotiating table not to talk in a spirit of equality with a view to settling problems, but only to compel the other side to acceptance of its position. If the first round of talks failed to make any headway, responsibility rests entirely with the Chinese side.

At present, the peoples of the two countries and of the world are following with keen interest and great expectations the current round of talks. The responsibility of the Vietnamese and Chinese delegations is, therefore, very heavy.

Animated with an unchanged goodwill, the Vietnamese Government delegation will spare no efforts and will discuss with the Chinese Government delegation in a spirit of equality with a view to reaching satisfactory settlements of the problems in the relations between Viet Nam and China, ensuring peace and stability in border areas, restoring the normal relations between the two countries and the long-standing friendship between the two peoples. In this spirit, the Vietnamese Government delegation reaffirms the three-point proposal on the main principles and contents of a settlement of the problems concerning the relations between the two countries. We hope that the Chinese side will give a positive response to it. At the same time, we are prepared to discuss the issues of interest which will be raised in turn by the two sides for discussion at each meeting as we have proposed.

After the recent war of aggression against Viet Nam, and even while the talks are being conducted, the situation in the border areas of the two countries has remained very tense. The Chinese side has continued massing troops and war material close to the Vietnamese border, daily committing armed provocations and hostile acts which violate the territorial sovereignty and jeopardize the security of Viet Nam. Firing has gone on, peace, stability and the life and work of the Vietnamese border populations are under a

perpetual threat. The Chinese side in collusion with the United States imperialists is carrying out a world anti-Viet Nam campaign, seeking by every possible means to drive a wedge between South-East Asian countries and Viet Nam; in defiance of the condemnation by world public opinion and the opposition of the Chinese people, a number of Chinese rulers have of late reiterated their threats about "teaching Viet Nam a second and even many more lessons". These incorrect statements can in no way intimidate the Vietnamese people.

The Vietnamese people, the Chinese people want peace and friendship. The South-East Asian peoples want peace and stability. It is, therefore, a pressing problem for us to remove at once the dangerous situation caused by the events along the border of the two countries and by the above statements.

By agreement between our two delegations, the two sides have recently carried out the return of the people captured during the war. This bears out the possibility of reaching agreement on specific issues if both sides want a settlement.

Following what has been achieved and in order to ease and eventually to remove the tension along the border and to create a favourable atmosphere for the talks, the delegation of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam proposes that the two delegations reach an immediate agreement on ending armed provocations in the border areas of the two countries. Following is our draft:

**"AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE DELEGATION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF VIET NAM AND THE DELEGATION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA**

"Pending continued discussions between the two sides on the measures,

"To firmly secure peace and stability in the border areas of the two countries and on other fundamental problems in the relations between the two countries, and with a view to creating a favourable atmosphere for the talks, the two delegations have agreed as an immediate step on the following provisions which shall come into effect as of 0600 hours, Hanoi time, or 0700 hours, Peking time, on 5 July 1979:

"The two sides undertake to refrain from espionage and reconnaissance activities in any form whatsoever on each other's territory, to refrain from offensive activities, armed provocations, firing from one territory to the other on land, on the sea and in the air, to refrain from any activity endangering the security of each other.

"Each side shall order all its armed forces to implement the above-mentioned agreement immediately and strictly. This order shall be announced over the radio and in the newspapers of each side."

This proposal of the Vietnamese delegation is very practical, fair and reasonable; it proceeds from the situation and the imperative requirements as mentioned above. Suffice it to say that both sides want to ease the tension, then an agreement could be reached and implemented at once. This proposal is constructive, without pre-condition, it is to be imposed by neither side and is beneficial to the two peoples and meets the South-East Asian people's aspirations for peace and stability. If implemented, it will help remove the obstacles on the path of the negotiations, bring about a better mutual understanding and make it possible for the two sides to reach agreement on other measures firmly to secure peace and stability in border areas and settle step by step other fundamental questions in the relations between the two countries. We look forward to a positive response from the Chinese side.

**DOCUMENT S/13436\***

**Letter dated 5 July 1979 from the representative of Democratic Kampuchea to the Secretary-General**

*[Original: French]  
[5 July 1979]*

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith, for your information, an editorial from "La voix du Kampuchea démocratique" entitled "Day by day the Vietnamese aggressors are becoming more deeply embroiled in Kampuchea."

I should be grateful if you would have the present text circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

*(Signed) THIOUNN PRASITH  
Permanent Representative  
of Democratic Kampuchea  
to the United Nations*

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/352-S/13436.

**Commentary from "La voix du Kampuchea démocratique" entitled "Day by day the Vietnamese aggressors are becoming more deeply embroiled in Kampuchea"**

At present in Kampuchea the rainy season is at its height. What is the situation out in the field?

As everyone recalls, throughout the recent dry season, the Vietnamese brought in reinforcements and mustered large forces to launch repeated attacks against the people and the revolutionary army of Kampuchea. Their aim was to stifle the Kampuchean people's struggle and to seize the whole of Kampuchea without firing a shot. However, the Vietnamese failed in their attempt. The Kampuchean people's struggle is not only continuing but is growing and intensifying in all regions of the country.

The guerilla war is surging ahead, consuming and engulfing a growing number of Vietnamese aggressors. The latter are becoming increasingly bogged down and are fighting under countless and insoluble difficulties.

1. The Vietnamese forces of aggression have suffered heavy losses and are finding it very difficult to bring their decimated ranks up to strength. During the recent dry season, they had 40,000 dead and wounded. And, at the beginning of the present rainy season, they are continuing to suffer further losses. The Vietnamese forces of aggression have lost 20 to 30 per cent and even as much as 40 per cent and 50 per cent of their strength in Kampuchea. Let us cite one example: in the western region of Kampuchea, Vietnamese division No. 5 lost, in the recent dry season alone, more than

5,000 men. It was thus completely decimated and had to be reorganized in Siemreap province before being renamed division No. 75.

2. At present, epidemics—malaria, amoebic dysentery, typhoid fever—continue to decimate the Vietnamese forces of aggression. The situation is so critical that it has compelled the Hanoi authorities to send out SOSs and to plead for international assistance, which they are being refused.

3. Hanoi is experiencing great difficulties in transporting and provisioning its troops dispersed in different regions of Kampuchea where communications and means of access are controlled or have been cut off by the Kampuchean revolutionary army and our guerilla fighters since the beginning of the rainy season. Elsewhere, all roads and communications have been blocked by rain or flooding. Certain enemy positions can be supplied only by helicopter and many of them are completely isolated.

4. The successive defeats they have suffered, together with increasingly precarious living conditions and growing insecurity, have resulted in the increasing demoralization of the men of the Vietnamese forces of aggression, certain units of which are in total disarray. In these conditions, there are increasingly frequent desertions on all battlefields and in all units.

It therefore appears clear that in Kampuchea the Vietnamese aggressors are inexorably becoming embroiled and are fighting desperately, not to mention the countless difficulties they are at present experiencing in both their own country and the international arena.

In these favourable circumstances, the guerilla war in which the people and the revolutionary army of Kampuchea excel will surge even further ahead and inevitably attain all the objectives of this rainy season.

**DOCUMENT S/13437\***

**Letter dated 5 July 1979 from the representative of Israel to the Secretary-General**

*(Original: English)*  
[5 July 1979]

I have the honour to refer to the letter of 11 June 1979 addressed to you by the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Algeria<sup>2</sup> and also to his letter of 16 June addressed to the President of the Security Council [S/13399], and to state the following.

The dispute which was the subject of those letters and of a recent debate in the Security Council is essentially a local issue primarily between the States involved in the question of Western Sahara. It is clear therefore that the references to Israel made in the above-mentioned letters and also in the Algerian statement in the Council on 21 June [2152nd meeting] are completely irrelevant and gratuitous. They are in fact further examples of the obsession gripping

certain Arab States with regard to Israel, and of their inability and unwillingness to let pass any opportunity without injecting wholly extraneous issues.

The representatives of Algeria are not alone in exhibiting that attitude. The representative of Democratic Yemen, in addressing the Security Council on 22 June [2153rd meeting], gave voice to the same obsession. His approach too is characteristic of those Arab States which invariably seek to exploit the Council and the business on its agenda for their own narrowly partisan purposes.

I have the honour to request that this letter be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

*(Signed) Yehuda Z. BLUM*  
*Permanent Representative of Israel*  
*to the United Nations*

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/353-S/13437.

<sup>2</sup> A/34/308.

**DOCUMENT S/13438**

**Note verbale dated 5 July 1979 from the Mission of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic to the Secretary-General**

*(Original: Russian)*  
[6 July 1979]

The Permanent Mission of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic to the United Nations presents its compliments to the Secretary-General and, with reference to his note of 21 March 1979, concerning information on violations of the embargo on the supply of arms to South Africa, has the honour to state as follows.

The Byelorussian SSR, in pursuance of its position of principle on this question, strongly and consistently upholds the resolutions of the Security Council on the implemen-

tation of the embargo on the supply of arms to South Africa. The Byelorussian SSR does not maintain and has never maintained relations or links with the racist régime of Pretoria in the economic, military or any other sphere and does not supply and has never supplied it with weapons, equipment or military technology.

The Permanent Mission of the Byelorussian SSR believes it necessary to draw the attention of the relevant organs of the United Nations to numerous reports in the information



media to the effect that South Africa is continuing to receive a range of weapons from some Western countries, in direct contravention of the resolutions of the Security Council on the embargo on the supply of arms to South Africa. Such activities of Western countries lead to exacerbating military

tension in Africa and constitute a threat to international peace and security.

The Permanent Mission of the Byelorussian SSR requests that the present note be distributed as a document of the Security Council.

## DOCUMENT S/13439\*

### Letter dated 6 July 1979 from the representative of Democratic Kampuchea to the Secretary-General

[Original: French]  
[6 July 1979]

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith, for your information, a summary of developments during the period from 14 to 26 June 1979 in the people's war of resistance being waged by Democratic Kampuchea against Vietnamese aggression.

I should be grateful if you would have the present text circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) THIOUNN PRASITH  
Permanent Representative of  
Democratic Kampuchea  
to the United Nations

#### ANNEX

#### Summary of developments during the period from 14 to 26 June 1979 in the people's war of resistance being waged by Democratic Kampuchea against Vietnamese aggression

Pursuing with tenacity and ingenuity the line of the people's war and with the active support and collaboration of the population, the soldiers of the Kampuchean revolutionary army and the Kampuchean revolutionary guerrillas have multiplied and intensified their attacks against the Vietnamese forces of aggression, inflicting heavy losses on them daily, capturing many enemy positions and continually liberating villages, communes and entire districts.

##### 1. South-western front

On 10, 11 and 12 June, we attacked the enemy on the roads leading from the town of Kampot to Kep, Toek Chhou and the Chakrei Ting cement works, and in the town of Takéo itself. We killed 65 of the enemy and destroyed two military vehicles.

##### 2. Western front

From 13 to 16 June, our guerrillas were very active in the zone, particularly in the Au Khlei, Kdol, Wath Thbeng, Kbal Damrei and Kraing Skea sectors. They put approximately 130 enemy soldiers out of action and destroyed two military vehicles.

##### 3. Kompong Som-Koh Kong front

Among other actions, we intercepted, on 7 June, an enemy river convoy, which was attempting to make a break-through between Trapeaing Rong and Andaung Toek. The Vietnamese aggressors left behind 24 dead and a large number of wounded, as well as some military equipment.

At the beginning of June, we attacked the enemy at Kien Toek, Moat Peam, Koh Kong Krao and Prek Khsach Thom, killing 116 of the enemy on the spot and wounding more than 75 others. We destroyed three military vehicles and captured a DK-75 and a B-41.

From 20 May to 22 June, on the entire Kompong Som-Koh Kong front we killed or wounded more than 370 of the enemy.

##### 4. Pursat front

From 29 May to 16 June, we killed or wounded about 300 Vietnamese aggressors and destroyed three military vehicles.

##### 5. Battambang front

###### (a) National highway 10 sector, east of Pailin

On 13 June, we attacked the enemy stationed at the Au Tavau bridge, one kilometre east of the town of Pailin, killing six and wounding four of

the enemy. On the evening of the same day, at the same place, we destroyed an enemy military vehicle, putting 10 occupants of that vehicle out of action.

###### (b) Thmar Puok sector

In the attacks made on 13, 14, 21 and 22 June, our guerrillas eliminated 90 of the enemy.

###### (c) Mongkol Borey sector

On 24 June, we captured the Raung Ko position, killing 65 of the enemy on the spot and wounding 55 others. We captured a large quantity of military equipment, including one radio and two transmitter receivers.

###### (d) Bovel sector

On 7, 17 and 18 June, our guerrillas put 70 enemy soldiers out of action.

###### (e) Poipet sector

In attacks on 15, 16, 17 and 18 June, we killed or wounded 60 Vietnamese aggressors and destroyed two military vehicles.

On 24 June at Poipet, we attacked the enemy and the troops sent to their rescue. We destroyed one military vehicle, killed 20 soldiers on the spot and wounded 13 others.

###### (f) Sisophon sector

On 24 and 26 June, our guerrillas intercepted an enemy convoy travelling from Phnom Koy to Sala Kroa, eliminating six aggressors and destroying two vehicles. On 21 and 22 June, our soldiers killed eight of the enemy and wounded 13 others.

###### (g) National highway 5 sector

On 8 June, in an attack on the Vietnamese forces of aggression east of Nimit, we put 60 enemy soldiers out of action, of whom 35 were killed on the spot.

###### (h) Battambang-Ville sector

On 19 June, we attacked enemy positions in the town itself and at Phnom Sampo, killing 10 Vietnamese aggressors and wounding many others.

###### (i) Samlaut sector

In attacks on enemy positions on 20 and 21 June at Dang Tong, Au Reaing Khen and Chamlang Kuoy, we killed or wounded approximately 550 enemy soldiers and captured about 20 weapons of all types.

##### 6. Siemreap-Oddar Meanchey front

From 1 to 22 June, we killed or wounded some 500 enemy soldiers, destroyed about 10 military vehicles and captured approximately 20 weapons of all types.

##### 7. Preah Vihear front

From 1 to 13 June, we eliminated more than 30 of the enemy, including a commanding officer at Pratheat in the Sangkum Thmey district.

##### 8. Stung Treng-Rattanakiri front

On 7 June, we liberated I-Taup and, on 11 June, we liberated Vooun Say.

In total, from 25 May to 18 June, we put 540 of the enemy out of action, destroyed 13 military vehicles and captured 85 weapons of all types.

##### 9. Mondulkiri front

From 9 to 12 June, we killed or wounded 55 of the enemy and destroyed two military vehicles.

##### 10. Kompong Thom front

From 7 to 15 June, we put 148 Vietnamese soldiers out of action and destroyed two enemy vehicles.

##### 11. Kompong Cham front

###### (a) Chamkar Loeu front

From 5 to 18 June, we eliminated 67 of the enemy and destroyed one vehicle.

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/354-S/13439.

(b) *Stung Trang sector*

From 2 to 18 June, we eliminated 113 of the enemy.

(c) *Prek Prasap sector*

From 1 to 19 June, we attacked the enemy at Srè Popel, Chamcar Em, Srè Tonlea, Stung Thom and Russei Keo, killing or wounding 83 of the enemy and capturing 60 weapons of all types.

In total, on the Kompong Cham front, from 1 to 19 June, we eliminated 263 of the enemy, destroyed one military vehicle and captured 60 weapons.

12. *Kratié front*

We liberated the islands of Koh Chbar and Koh Svan and the village of Kompong Porl on 25 June and on the following day, 26 June, we liberated the villages of Bos Leay and Ekkaphcap and the island of Koh Chreng, situated directly opposite the town of Kratié.

In total, from 14 to 26 June, we eliminated 261 of the enemy, took 16 prisoners, destroyed one vehicle and captured 22 weapons of all categories.

The provisional and partial summary of the activities of the soldiers of the Kampuchean revolutionary army and the Kampuchean revolutionary guerrillas, for the period from 14 to 26 June with additional figures for 20 May-13 June) is as follows:

- (a) 3,210 Vietnamese aggressors killed or wounded;
- (b) 16 prisoners;
- (c) Nearly 50 military vehicles destroyed;
- (d) More than 200 weapons seized;
- (e) A large quantity of military equipment and ammunition and dozens of tons of rice seized.

DOCUMENT S/13440\*

Letter dated 5 July 1979 from the representative of China to the Secretary-General

[Original: Chinese/English]  
[6 July 1979]

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith the text of a speech made by Han Nianlong, head of the Chinese Government delegation and Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs at the seventh plenary meeting of the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations on 5 July 1979. I request that this speech be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) LAI Ya-li  
Acting Permanent Representative  
of the People's Republic of China  
to the United Nations

ANNEX

Speech made by Han Nianlong, head of the Chinese Government delegation and Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs, at the seventh plenary meeting of the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations on 5 July 1979

After carefully studying Mr. Dinh Nho Liem's speech at the sixth plenary meeting [S/13434, annex], the Chinese delegation cannot but point out with regret that in the speech the Vietnamese side distorted the picture of the first round of negotiations and attempted to shift the blame for the lack of progress onto China. Moreover, the Vietnamese side continued to repeat its slanderous charges against China and berate and oppose the Chinese side's eight-point proposal [S/13278, annex]. It groundlessly accused the Chinese side of creating tension along the border and even tried to blame China for Viet Nam's forcible exporting of refugees. In a further attempt to evade discussion on the basic reason and substantive issues leading to the deterioration of Sino-Vietnamese relations, the Vietnamese side resorted to a new trick for leading the negotiations astray, namely, the proposal that the two sides agree to refrain from armed provocation. When you act in this manner at the start of the second round of negotiations, how are people to confirm the "sincerity" which you profess?

The Vietnamese side has produced a so-called "draft agreement", claiming that tension along the border would be relaxed if the two sides could agree on this proposal. However, it is not hard to see from a cursory review of the deterioration of Sino-Vietnamese relations and of things as they stand today that the Vietnamese proposal is simply a trick to deceive public opinion in Viet Nam and the world at large. The Chinese side cannot, of course, agree to the proposal.

It is universally known that the Chinese Government has always pursued a friendly and good-neighbourly policy towards Viet Nam. For a long time, people on both sides of the border lived in harmony and tranquillity. And the Sino-Vietnamese boundary had been a boundary of peace and friendship. But in recent years, the Vietnamese authorities changed their China policy because they sought, with the connivance and backing of a super-Power, to set up an Indo-Chinese federation in pursuance of their dream to dominate South-East Asia. They contravened the principle of maintaining the *status quo* along the border affirmed in the letters ex-

changed between the Central Committees of our two parties and violated the relevant agreements reached between the local authorities of our two countries to maintain tranquillity along the border. They whipped up an anti-China, anti-Chinese campaign and drove Vietnamese refugees en masse into China. They steadily escalated their armed provocations against and incursions into Chinese territory, and ultimately provoked the serious border conflict. A host of irrefutable facts prove that the tension along the Sino-Vietnamese border was created entirely and deliberately by the Vietnamese authorities, and that it will of course disappear once the Vietnamese authorities give up their policies of aggression and expansion, of anti-China hostility, refrain from armed incursions and provocations against Chinese territory and stop driving refugees into China. But as of today, the Vietnamese authorities are still fomenting anti-China hostility and stepping up their arms expansion and war preparations. They have massed troops along the Sino-Vietnamese border, sent armed personnel into Chinese territory on missions of harassment and sabotage, kept strafing and bombarding Chinese territory, and killing Chinese army men and civilians. The purpose of "the draft agreement" produced by the Vietnamese side in these circumstances is obviously neither to relax and eliminate tension nor to create a favourable atmosphere for the negotiations. It is only a demagogic trick which the Vietnamese authorities imagine can serve as a camouflage for their preparations for war against China, to tighten their control on Laos and strengthen their war of aggression in Kampuchea, and a camouflage for their ambitious designs on Thailand and other South-East Asian countries. They also imagine that it will help them escape the strong condemnation by all countries who denounce them for exporting refugees. All that will prove futile.

At present, the question of the Indo-Chinese refugees has become an international issue attracting world-wide attention. Exporting refugees is an important step taken by the Vietnamese authorities in their pursuance of the policy of regional hegemonism and a grave issue undermining peace and stability along the border and bringing about the deterioration of Sino-Vietnamese relations.

For quite some time, the Vietnamese authorities have used extremely barbarous and contemptible means to make nearly a million refugees flee from Viet Nam into South-East Asia, Asia and other parts of the world, placing heavy economic burdens and grave social problems on many countries, especially their neighbouring countries. The Vietnamese authorities have forced these innocent people to leave their homes and lead a precarious existence. Tens of thousands of people have been made to drift at sea, and many were drowned. This has resulted in a tragedy unprecedented in the history of mankind. The Vietnamese crime of creating and exporting refugees in a planned, organized and systematic way has aroused world-wide indignation. However, the Vietnamese authorities have not shown any restraint. On the contrary, they are further expelling refugees en masse from Laos and Kampuchea, which are under their military control or occupation. Moreover, they plan further to create and export Vietnamese refugees on a massive scale. Such inhuman fascist atrocities committed by the Vietnamese authorities in violation of the United Nations Charter are as notorious in their cruelty as the appalling Hitlerite persecution of the Jews in the 1930s and will not be tolerated by today's civilized mankind.

The Indo-Chinese refugee problem is a product of the reactionary domestic and foreign policies of the Vietnamese authorities. After the conclusion of their war of resistance against United States aggression, the

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/355-S/13440.

Vietnamese authorities catered to the social-imperialists' policy of driving southward and frenziedly adopted an external policy of aggression, expansion and regional hegemonism and a domestic policy of great Vietnamese national chauvinism and brutal oppression of the people. These policies have aroused the people's dissatisfaction, ruined the economy, and rendered the people destitute. To suppress popular resentment and shift the burden of their economic difficulties onto others, the Vietnamese authorities have been inciting ethnic animosity. They not only persecute Chinese nationals who have lived in Viet Nam for many generations, but also persecute Vietnamese citizens of Chinese descent and other ethnic minorities and those Vietnamese who disapprove of their reactionary policies. They deprive these people of their means of livelihood by various despicable methods and forcibly expel them from the country. They have even introduced that barbaric policy into Laos and Kampuchea. That is the origin of the Indo-Chinese refugees. The Vietnamese authorities also take the opportunity to plunder the properties of the refugees and make a big fortune by extorting fabulous sums of gold and foreign exchange. They have degenerated into the most avaricious traffickers in human misery. Another more sinister purpose of the large-scale export of refugees by the Vietnamese authorities is to create turmoil and disrupt public order in neighbouring countries to serve their policy of dominating South-East Asia.

China has borne the brunt and suffered greatly from the Vietnamese authorities' massive export of refugees. In the past year and more, over 230,000 people have been driven from Viet Nam into China, including Chinese nationals, Vietnamese of Chinese descent and other Vietnamese nationals. And more groups are being driven to that country by sea or by land. The Vietnamese authorities are wantonly persecuting the local ethnic minorities such as the Meo, Sha, Yao, and Nong in the counties and villages of Ha Tuyen, Hoang Lien Son and Lai Chau provinces bordering on China, forcing them to crowd into China's frontier regions in large groups. They are planning further to drive hundreds of thousands of border

inhabitants into China. That criminal practice of the Vietnamese authorities is bound to aggravate tension along the Sino-Vietnamese border and cause a further deterioration of relations between the two countries. In those circumstances, Vietnamese rhetoric about their desire to normalize relations with China and live in amity with neighbouring countries has no credibility.

During the negotiations the Vietnamese side has gone so far as to blame China for its own export of refugees, alleging that they fled the country at Chinese incitement. This is sheer nonsense and an impudent lie. Fair-minded world opinion has identified Hanoi as the root cause of the problem of the Indo-Chinese refugees. The Vietnamese authorities are the arch criminals responsible for that problem. This is an iron-clad fact which no lie or sophistry can alter.

The Chinese delegation solemnly demand that the Vietnamese authorities stop forthwith their persecution of Chinese nationals, Vietnamese citizens of Chinese descent and ethnic minorities and their barbaric practice of driving them into China. We demand that they immediately change their criminal policy of creating and exporting refugees and accept back into the country those still floating on the sea and those who have not been resettled and ensure them their elementary right to life. It is incumbent on the Vietnamese side to give an unequivocal answer to this just demand of ours.

The Vietnamese side has time and again professed "sincerity" for the negotiations. We think that "sincerity" must be proved by deed and not word. We hope the Vietnamese side will seriously study the statement made by the Chinese side today and give us a constructive response. It should seriously study China's eight-point proposal and proceed to a fundamental settlement of the issues in our relations by first agreeing to discuss the basic principles for handling these relations, namely, the five principles of peaceful coexistence and the anti-hegemony principle, and thus do something really useful to enable progress in the negotiations. We hope the Vietnamese side will earnestly consider our opinions.

#### DOCUMENT S/13441\*

#### Letter dated 6 July 1979 from the representative of Israel to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[6 July 1979]

Further to my letters of 28 February [S/13126] and of 8 June 1979 [S/13385], I wish to inform you that Bir Zeit University, near the town of Ramallah to the north of Jerusalem, was reopened on 4 July, after assurances were given by the vice-president of the university, Dr. Gabi Baramki, that the institution and its students would henceforth engage solely in academic pursuits and refrain from subversive activities.

As was explained at some length in the second of my above-mentioned letters, the university was closed in the light of a long record of criminal abuse of academic freedom as a cover for terroristic activities on the part of certain students at the institution, who were aided and abetted by members of its faculty and administration and, specifically, in the wake of a series of student disturbances which reached a violent climax on 2 May 1979.

In that connexion, I wish to refer to the letter of 3 July 1979 addressed to you by the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of Jordan [S/13432]. That letter demonstrates once again the total lack of integrity, political and intellectual, of the Jordanian authorities with regard to Bir Zeit University and the problems of education in Judea and Samaria in general.

During its 19 years of occupation of Judea and Samaria (from 1948 to 1967), the Jordanian Government deliberately curtailed educational development there. There were no universities, and the Jordanian authorities refused to grant university status to any institution seeking it. However,

since 1967, under Israeli administration, Judea and Samaria have advanced rapidly in all fields, including education. The secondary education system has flourished and two fully fledged universities and two colleges are now functioning in the areas in question.

Israel will continue to encourage and support the development of institutions of higher education in Judea and Samaria. Moreover, in conformity with the spirit of academic freedom—and in keeping with its liberal policies, which mark it off from other régimes in the Middle East—it will not interfere in the academic affairs of those institutions. But it expects that such institutions will concentrate on advancing higher education and not on fostering terroristic activities which threaten the lives and safety of other people.

Given Jordan's unceasing hostility to Israel and its deplorable record during the 19 years of its illegal occupation of Judea and Samaria, its above-mentioned letter must be seen for what it is—yet another Jordanian attempt to manipulate the United Nations machinery in Jordan's relentless political warfare against Israel. That letter is thus the height of political hypocrisy and will no doubt be dismissed as such.

I have the honour to request that this letter be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Yehuda Z. BLUM  
Permanent Representative of Israel  
to the United Nations

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/356-S/13441.

## Letter dated 9 July 1979 from the representative of Democratic Kampuchea to the Secretary-General

[Original: French]  
[9 July 1979]

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith, for your information, a summary of developments in the people's war of resistance being waged by Democratic Kampuchea against Vietnamese aggression.

I should be grateful if you would have this text circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) THIOUNN PRASITH  
Permanent Representative of  
Democratic Kampuchea  
to the United Nations

## ANNEX

Summary of developments in the people's war of resistance being waged by Democratic Kampuchea against Vietnamese aggression

## 1. Many villages liberated in the north-west zone

The north-west zone comprises Battambang and Pursat provinces and borders on Thailand in the north and west. Last April and May, the Vietnamese aggressors and their Soviet masters mobilized their forces to launch repeated large-scale sweeps with a view to destroying the Kampuchean revolutionary army and guerrillas and crushing the resistance of the Kampuchean people. The Vietnamese aggressors concentrated most of their forces in the region of the Kampuchea-Thai border. But they were unable to achieve their purpose. The struggle of our people and the activities of the soldiers of our revolutionary army and our guerrillas did not diminish but were even expanded and intensified still further. Thus, in June, the great guerrilla warfare movement of the population of the north-west region, like that of the population of the country as a whole, surged forward with particular force. Pursuing the line of the people's war with great imagination and ingenuity, our soldiers and guerrillas intensified their activities and expanded their field of action, substantially enlarging the guerrilla bases, capturing many enemy positions and continually liberating villages, communes and localities:

## (a) Sisophon and Mongkol Borey sector

With the active support and collaboration of the population, our soldiers captured the Ampil Pram Doem position and liberated the villages of Phum Siem, Kamphay, Slor Chhnganh, Kompong Chhnang and Samrong, situated on national highway 5 between Sisophon and Poipet. We also captured the positions Au Popul, Au Lamchik, Au Sanday, Ta Kong, Au Tralach Svar, Srakei Daung, Au Chamchap, etc.

On 24 June, we liberated Raung Ko, an important enemy position in Sisophon district.

On 27 June we liberated Bovel.

We have extended the guerrilla zones as far as national highway 5 around Poipet, Kaub Thom, and Dong Aranh; in the south, we have linked up with our guerrillas in Kamrieng and Pailin districts.

## (b) Samlaut sector

We liberated the localities of Kang Hat, Roung, Kompong Korl, Koas Krala, Phnom Thom, Kbal Mous, Ta Sanh, Anlong Puok, Ta Tok, Kranhuong, Kompong Ropoe, Chamlang Romeaing, Au Reaing Khen, etc.

We have extended the guerrilla zones as far as national highways 5 and 10 from Reaing Kései to the town of Pailin.

## (c) Pailin sector

We have liberated the localities of Peam Pruos, Leach, Reaing Khvav, Skor Dach, Siem Borei, Chamkar Chek, Koh Andet, Kompong Krauch, etc. We have extended the guerrilla zones as far as the town of Pursat itself.

Strengthened by all these victories, our guerrillas and the inhabitants of the north-west zone are more determined than ever to consolidate their combat union still further and to pursue even more effectively the line of the people's war with a view to completing successfully our tasks for the current rainy season.

## 2. In the regions temporarily controlled by the enemy, the population and puppet soldiers are combating the Vietnamese aggressors and fleeing to the liberated areas

(a) On 10 June, almost 200 Khmer soldiers, forcibly recruited by the Vietnamese aggressors, rebelled against the latter in the town of Battambang and returned to the liberated area. They denounced the crimes and extortion committed by the Vietnamese forces of aggression and expressed their determination to participate, side by side, with our soldiers and people, in the struggle against the Vietnamese aggressors until the latter are completely eliminated from Kampuchea.

(b) On 15 June, more than 1,000 inhabitants and self-defence guards rebelled and attacked the Vietnamese forces of aggression on national highway 6 from Prasath to Tang Krasang, in Santuk district, Kompong Thom province. They killed or wounded about 50 Vietnamese, captured many weapons and routed the survivors.

(c) Early in May, in Kompong Chhnang province, 25 village and commune heads appointed by the Vietnamese occupiers gained the liberated area, bringing with them 11 weapons which they handed over to our guerrillas. They declared: we have come to the liberated area because we categorically refuse to serve the Vietnamese.

(d) On 5 June, the members of three village committees in Thmar Puok district, Battambang province, came to the liberated area, bringing with them 150 families, after putting many enemy soldiers out of action.

(e) On 20 June, 13 self-defence guards, forcibly recruited by the Vietnamese aggressors, killed 10 Vietnamese soldiers before coming to the liberated area in Prek Prasap district, province of Kompong Cham.

(f) On 20 June, 320 inhabitants of the region temporarily controlled by the enemy came to the liberated area in Kratié province because they could no longer bear the particularly difficult living conditions inflicted on them by the Vietnamese aggressors.

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/358-S/13442.

## DOCUMENT S/13444

## Note verbale dated 6 July 1979 from the Mission of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic to the Secretary-General

[Original: Russian]  
[9 July 1979]

The Permanent Mission of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic to the United Nations presents its compliments to the Secretary-General and, in connexion with his note of 21 March 1979 concerning compliance with Security Council resolutions 418 (1977) and 421 (1977), has the honour to state the following.

In accordance with its position of principle on this question, the Ukrainian SSR is strictly and fully complying with the resolutions of the Security Council concerning a voluntary arms embargo against the racist régime of South Africa and has no relations of a political, economic, military or other character with that régime.

The Permanent Mission of the Ukrainian SSR also wishes to draw attention to reports in the mass media to the effect that a number of Western countries are continuing to deliver a variety of arms to the Republic of South Africa. Such acts not only violate resolutions of the Security Council on the arms embargo against South Africa but also heighten military tension in the southern part of the African continent, which constitutes a threat to the general peace and security of peoples.

The Permanent Mission of the Ukrainian SSR to the United Nations requests that the present note should be circulated as a document of the Security Council.

## DOCUMENT S/13445\*

### Letter dated 9 July 1979 from the representative of Jordan to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[9 July 1979]

Upon instructions from my Government, I have the honour to bring to your attention the latest of Israeli inhuman practices in the occupied West Bank of Jordan. These practices not only defy the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, but also violate the principles of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, to which Israel is a signatory. The list below reflects the evil character and dimension of the Zionist settler-colonial movement which has clung to the wicked aspirations of conquest, expansion, terror and arrogant racism.

1. On 4 June 1979, Israeli occupation authorities demolished the home of Itaf Ahmad Yusuf in the town of Al-Jariah, near Ramallah. She was accused of resisting Israeli occupation. Four other houses were sealed off and their owners arrested on the pretext of resisting Israeli occupation. The first house, in the area of Ramallah, was owned by an Arab girl named Hanan Nakhleh Elias Mish. The second house, in the town of Al-Bireh, was owned by another Arab girl, Nadia Ahmad Rashid Al-Khayyat. The other two houses, also in Al-Bireh, were owned by Jamal Ahmad Hassan Yasin Zayed.

2. On 3 June, the Arab inhabitants of Silwan, near Jerusalem, sent Prime Minister Menachem Begin a message protesting the expropriation of more than 100,000 dunums of their cultivated land in the area of Maale Adumin (Al-Khan Al-Ahmar) near Jericho, and in the Dead Sea area. That land is the only source of their livelihood and that of Silwan. They told Begin to send a copy of their message to President Carter and to President Sadat.

3. On 3 June, Israel's cabinet approved the establishment of a Jewish settlement named Elon Moreh on several thousands of dunums of privately owned Arab land, in the area of the village of Rujib, seven kilometres south of Nablus. The Gush Emunim group, who are the henchmen of Begin, are planning an urban Jewish centre of about 100,000 Israeli settlers—twice as large as the Arab city of Nablus.

4. On 7 June, the Israeli newspaper *Ma'ariv* reported that the Gush Emunim gang is leading a large and vicious campaign for expanding the land areas of existing Jewish settlements in the West Bank of Jordan. The following list shows the present area of each settlement in dunums and the planned expansion of each one of them:

	Present area	Required area
Dotan (Sanur) . . . . .	46	1 500
Shomron . . . . .	100	1 500
Qaddum . . . . .	300	1 500
Qarney—Shomron . . . . .	150	1 500
El-Qana . . . . .	310	1 500
Ariail . . . . .	110	5 000
Tapuah . . . . .	150	1 500
Neve Zuf . . . . .	900	1 500
Ofra . . . . .	350	1 500
Beit El . . . . .	225	1 500
Beit Horon . . . . .	150	1 500
Giv'on . . . . .	90	5 000
Mizpeh Jericho . . . . .	1 000	1 500
Qiryat Arba . . . . .	4 250	5 000

I put these facts before you in the light of a statement made by Begin, hours after the Israeli cabinet approved the establishment of the Elon Moreh settlement near Nablus. He said "There has never been an action more legal than settlement by Jews in all the territories of the land of Israel". Given the Zionist character of Israel and its shameless record since its creation in 1948, there can never be a greater insult to the values of mankind than Begin's statement. Therefore, I call upon you to use your good offices to put an end to the inhuman practices of the Israeli authorities in the West Bank of Jordan, including Jerusalem.

I have the honour to request that this letter be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) George Y. SHAMMA  
Chargé d'affaires a.i.  
of the Permanent Mission of Jordan  
to the United Nations

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/360-S/13445.

## Note verbale dated 10 July 1979 from the representative of Angola to the President of the Security Council

[Original: English]  
[11 July 1979]

The Permanent Representative of the People's Republic of Angola to the United Nations presents his compliments to the President of the Security Council and has the honour to forward herewith the text of a communiqué issued by the Minister of Defence of the People's Republic of Angola, Colonel Iko Carreira, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the MPLA-Workers' Party.

The Permanent Representative of the People's Republic of Angola requests that this communiqué be issued and circulated as a document of the Security Council in connexion with the question of South African aggression against the People's Republic of Angola.

ANNEX  
Communiqué issued by the Minister of Defence of the  
People's Republic of Angola

## SOUTH AFRICAN ATTACKS IN HUÍLA AND CUNENE

The South African military and racist forces continue their aggressive armed action against the People's Republic of Angola. On 6 July 1979, in the early hours of the morning, South African military aircraft violated our air space in reconnaissance planes and attacked some military positions in the provinces of Huíla and Cunene.

An old agricultural area located 16 kilometres from Lubango that had been transformed into schools for Namibian refugee children was bombed by six Mirage and Buccaneer aeroplanes. This bombardment caused massive material damages but no loss of lives.

Another squadron, with similar aeroplanes, bombed one of the districts in the city of N'giva and also Omupanda in the province of Cunene. At N'giva, the attack caused the death of 11 compatriots, including 4 soldiers belonging to the frontier guard. At Omupanda, there were no victims. In this last attack, our air defence shot down a Mirage III aeroplane with the South African military plate No. 856.

The struggle continues. Victory is certain.

## DOCUMENT S/13447

## Note verbale dated 10 July 1979 from the Mission of the Lao People's Democratic Republic to the Secretary-General

[Original: French]  
[11 July 1979]

The Permanent Mission of the Lao People's Democratic Republic to the United Nations presents its compliments to the Secretary-General and, with reference to his note of 21 March 1979 concerning the implementation of Security Council resolutions 418 (1977) and 421 (1977), has the honour to inform him as follows.

The Lao People's Democratic Republic has from the outset firmly supported, still supports and will continue to support the oppressed African people of South Africa in their struggle to eliminate the hateful system of *apartheid*, which is truly a scourge for mankind. Together with all the peoples of the African continent and the other peoples who care for justice and human dignity, it has unflinchingly opposed that evil and energetically demanded in all international bodies, notably the United Nations, that the strong measures pro-

vided for in Chapter VII of the Charter should be taken against the *apartheid régime* in South Africa in order to force it to end its criminal practices.

In accordance with that position, the Lao People's Democratic Republic respects and will continue to respect scrupulously all the provisions of the relevant United Nations resolutions dealing with that question, especially the provisions of resolution 418 (1977). It also wishes to reaffirm that it will co-operate fully with the Security Council Committee established by resolution 421 (1977) concerning the question of South Africa.

The Permanent Mission of the Lao People's Democratic Republic would be grateful if the Secretary-General had the present communication circulated as a Security Council document.

## DOCUMENT S/13448\*

## Letter dated 11 July 1979 from the representative of Democratic Kampuchea to the Secretary-General

[Original: French]  
[11 July 1979]

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith, for your information, a commentary by "La voix du Kampuchea démocratique" entitled "The Vietnamese aggressors are implementing with unprecedented cruelty their policy of exterminating the Kampuchean race".

I should be grateful if you would arrange to have this text circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) THIOUNN PRASITH  
Permanent Representative of  
Democratic Kampuchea  
to the United Nations

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/363-S/13448.

**Commentary by "La voix du Kampuchea démocratique" entitled "The Vietnamese aggressors are implementing with unprecedented cruelty their policy of exterminating the Kampuchean race"**

As long ago as 1930 the Vietnamese devised their sinister strategy of an "Indo-Chinese federation". Over the past 50 years, however, they have failed in their attempts to set up this "Indo-Chinese federation" under Vietnamese domination despite the fact that they have resorted to every possible and conceivable means and manoeuvre. What they have successfully achieved in Laos, quietly swallowing up the entire country, they have not been able to achieve in Kampuchea.

At present, having occupied part of Kampuchea, the Vietnamese are implementing with unprecedented cruelty their policy of exterminating the Kampuchean race. To that end they are using every method and resorting to every means at their disposal:

1. They are engaging in open and systematic genocide. Wherever they go, the Vietnamese aggressors machine-gun the population and send their tanks to crush the inhabitants, whom they seize and burn alive. They even send their aircraft savagely to strafe and bomb peasants on the roads and in the rice plantations and fields while they are working on the land, as happened at Bakan and at Leach in the province of Pursat.

2. They are pursuing a deliberate policy aimed at reducing our people to starvation. To achieve this goal the Vietnamese forces of aggression are pillaging and destroying the harvests and the rice plantations, smashing all the instruments of production and slaughtering the domestic and draught animals, thus depriving the population of every means of livelihood and production.

3. In the areas under their provisional control the Vietnamese aggressors have forcibly enlisted the men and youths, whom they send to die in their place on the battle-fields. At the same time they take cowardly advantage of the wives of the latter who remain in their clutches and they force the young girls to become their concubines. In so doing, the Vietnamese aggressors intend ultimately to wipe out the Khmer race by a process of cross-breeding.

4. At the present time the ruling clique at Hanoi is engaged in transporting hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese from Viet Nam for permanent settlement in the territory of Kampuchea, having expropriated and driven out the national population which, deprived of shelter, food and every means of production, is facing certain death.

5. Moreover, the ruling clique at Hanoi is sending Vietnamese women to join their soldier husbands in Kampuchea in order to dissuade the latter from deserting and returning to Viet Nam and, above all, to give them an incentive to hold on to Kampuchea and continue the extermination of the Kampuchean people.

By these criminal practices the ruling clique at Hanoi is seeking ultimately to wipe out the Khmer race by a process of demographic growth which, year by year, will work in favour of the Vietnamese colonists, until the latter become the majority population group while the nationals of Kampuchea are reduced to nothing more than a national minority before disappearing completely.

Faced with this mortal danger, the people of Kampuchea and the Government of Democratic Kampuchea have no alternative but to intensify their efforts and to close ranks even more tightly to carry on a relentless struggle everywhere and at all times until all the Vietnamese aggressors are expelled from Kampuchea. This is the only way of salvation and the only honourable path for every citizen of Democratic Kampuchea.

**DOCUMENT S/13449\***

**Letter dated 11 July 1979 from the representative of Viet Nam to the Secretary-General**

*(Original: English)*  
*{11 July 1979}*

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith, for your information, the text of the speech delivered on 5 July 1979 by the head of the delegation of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, Dinh Nho Liem, at the second meeting of the second round of the Viet Nam-China talks, and request you to have the present letter and its enclosure circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

*(Signed) HA VAN LAU*  
*Permanent Representative of the*  
*Socialist Republic of Viet Nam*  
*to the United Nations*

**ANNEX**

**Speech delivered on 5 July 1979 by the head of the delegation of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, Dinh Nho Liem, at the second meeting of the second round of the Viet Nam-China talks**

At the opening meeting of the second round of the Viet Nam-China talks, the Vietnamese delegation reaffirmed the reasonable and sensible three-point proposal on the "Main principles and contents of a three-point settlement of the problems concerning the relations between the two countries" [S/13257, annex]. We reiterated the fair and satisfactory proposal about the method of discussion, namely, the two sides will raise in turn the issues of interest for exchanges of views at each meeting. We also put forward a new initiative in the form of a draft agreement on refraining from armed provocations [S/13434, annex] with a view to easing the tension at the border between the two countries and bringing about a favourable climate for the talks to make headway.

To our deep regret, while the two peoples and world public opinion were following with keen interest and great expectations the progress of the current round, the Chinese side still clung to the wrongful position and

attitude that had been a stumbling block throughout the first round of talks. It kept putting forward crude distortions and slanders against Viet Nam which, right in the last meeting, we flatly rejected. It still tried to evade the three-point proposal and the draft agreement put forward by the Vietnamese side, refused to discuss any issue whatsoever and adamantly and threateningly insisted on the Vietnamese side's acceptance of its eight points [S/13278, annex].

The Chinese delegation repeated again and again that the "anti-hegemony" principle was the "crux" of the matter, a "basis" for a settlement of the problems concerning the relations between the two countries. It kept clamouring that the Vietnamese side was "eluding" the so-called anti-hegemony issue. It deliberately forgot that, right in the first round of talks, the Vietnamese side had bluntly told it a harsh fact: speaking of hegemonism, there is only the great-Power hegemonism and great-Nation expansionism that the Chinese rulers have been entertaining for a long time and are now striving hard to carry into effect.

Today we would like once again to elaborate on this issue. The practice of the world peoples' revolutionary struggle and China's activities in the field of foreign relations over the years have clearly shown the following: the Chinese rulers' hegemonism is embodied in ambitions for territorial expansion in various forms: in attempts to impose by every possible means Peking's ideologies, views and lines on other countries; in the interference in the internal affairs of a series of countries through Chinese-fostered political and armed opposition organizations and through fifth columns, consisting of bad elements recruited in the large local communities of overseas Chinese; in aggression waged directly or through agents, and threats of aggression against other countries with the contention of "teaching them a lesson"; in the alliance with imperialism and other reactionary forces against the world peoples' struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

The Chinese rulers claim that they "do not want any inch of territory from other countries". As a matter of fact, it is they who have published universally known books and maps presenting as lost Chinese territories extensive areas of other countries, among them the whole territory of Viet Nam, Laos, Kampuchea, Mongolia, Burma, Thailand, Malaysia, Bhutan, Nepal, and parts of the territory of India, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Japan. The current map of the People's Republic of China published by China itself includes into Chinese territory the vast expanses

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/364-S/13449.

of the Eastern Sea (South China Sea) up to the vicinity of Indonesia, the Philippines, Malaysia, Viet Nam, and all islands and archipelagoes therein. This bears out their great ambition to monopolize the Eastern Sea. The Chinese rulers started in 1962 a war of aggression against the Republic of India, over 36,000 square kilometres of whose territory are still occupied by Chinese troops. They provoked in 1969 armed conflicts at the border with the Soviet Union, on which they have laid continuing territorial claims under the label of "contested areas". They sent in 1974 military forces to occupy the Vietnamese Hoang Sa (Paracel) islands, and are claiming sovereignty over other Vietnamese islands in the Eastern Sea. For many years now, they have grabbed in various forms many places on the Vietnamese border. At present, Chinese troops are still occupying over 10 additional points they grabbed after the war of aggression against Viet Nam starting on 17 February 1979. All these facts have given the lie to the Chinese side's contention about "not having a single soldier on the territory of other countries", and fully exposed its policy of territorial expansion.

The Chinese rulers claim that they "stand for equality among all countries, big and small" and that "they do not seek hegemony". As a matter of fact, they have banked on China's being a great Power, and have resorted to all possible political, economic and military devices in an attempt to impose their ideologies, views and lines on other countries and to draw them into their orbit. In case of non-compliance, they make an about-face and turn friends into foes. Viet Nam, Laos, Cuba, Albania etc., are typical cases in point. Furthermore, the Chinese rulers aspire after leadership over the many countries forming what they call "the third world". They want China to be "the revolutionary centre" of the world and to rally all the peoples in a so-called "international united front against the super-Powers" which is to be placed under their control.

The Chinese rulers claim that they "do not manipulate or interfere in the internal affairs of other countries". As a matter of fact, many countries, particularly in South-East Asia, were driven into an awkward predicament or encountered great difficulties in coping with the activities of China, which was supplying money and weapons and was using compliant organizations and the underground army, recruited from among overseas Chinese, as instruments of political and economic pressure and subversion against local administrations.

The abortive coup in Indonesia (1965), the incidents involving overseas Chinese in Indonesia (1959 and 1965-1966), India (1962-1963) and Burma (1967), the organization of and assistance to armed opposition activities in Burma, Thailand, Malaysia and in Afghanistan, which were the subject of many protests lodged by the Governments concerned and which is now the subject of a strong protest lodged by the Afghan Government with the Chinese Government—all those facts constitute undeniable evidence. Chinese rulers also claim that they are "opposed" to imperialism. However, it is common knowledge that China, as an "Eastern NATO", is frenziedly seeking an all-round alliance with its global strategy directed at the socialist countries, the national liberation movement and peace and progress in the world. The Chinese rulers support the Fascist Pinochet clique, help Mobutu and made friends with Shah Pahlavi, now overthrown by the Iranian people. To oppose the revolutionary movement in various parts of the world, they are achieving a close co-ordination and distribution of work with the United States imperialists, whom they urge to maintain occupation forces in a number of countries with a view to interfering in the internal affairs of the latter.

The most typical manifestation of their great-nation expansionism and great-Power hegemonism is their policy towards Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea. With regard to Kampuchea, the Chinese rulers have for a long time now nurtured a scheme to turn it into an important military base, an effective spring-board for the annexation of the other countries of the Indo-Chinese peninsula and for expansion to South-East Asia. Right from the early 1960s, they secretly fostered the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique into a shock force to further that design. Immediately after the Kampuchean people's total victory in the patriotic war against United States aggression, they imposed, through the stooge Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, their hegemony on that country in place of the United States imperialists' rule. They carried out an extremely ruthless policy of genocide, thoroughly destroyed the base of the Kampuchean society and rigged up the so-called Peking-type "pure socialism" in an attempt to consolidate their domination over the Kampuchean people. They poured into Kampuchea important quantities of weapons and war matériel and sent in 20,000 military advisers to take in hand the training and command of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary army. They resorted to an extremely perfidious and wicked neo-colonialist policy, using Kampuchean to suppress and kill Kampuchean and to fight the Vietnamese. The peoples of Kampuchea and the world are demanding from them an answer on the massacre of 3 million Khmers and the barbarous treatment of the remaining 4 million. With regard to Viet Nam, throughout the past 30 years, the Chinese rulers unceasingly pursued a scheme to keep Viet

Nam partitioned, weak and dependent on China so as to facilitate its annexation. Having failed to buy over or to pressure Viet Nam into their orbit, they shifted more and more overtly to a systematic policy of hostility to Viet Nam. Using the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary army, they launched an aggressive war against Viet Nam from the south-west. Along with that criminal war, they stepped up armed provocations and military pressure at the northern frontier of Viet Nam, which they were thus in a position to attack from two directions. They rigged up the problem of "victimized Chinese residents" and instigated reactionaries among the Hoa to foment troubles and to undermine Viet Nam from within. At the same time, they sought a pretext to cut off aid and recall all specialists in an attempt to weaken Viet Nam in the economic field. After the failure of all these perfidious schemes and particularly after their heavy defeat in Kampuchea, they mobilized 600,000 troops and launched a ruthless war of aggression against Viet Nam from the north under the signboard of "counter-attack in self-defence". That was the culmination of their long-term policy of weakening and annexing Viet Nam, which fully laid bare their great-Power expansionism and hegemonism.

With regard to Laos, after the failure of the scheme or partitioning that country and drawing it into Peking's orbit, the Chinese rulers have unceasingly sought to foment troubles and subversive attempts and to organize and foster reactionary elements opposed to the Lao People's Democratic Republic.

At present, the Chinese rulers are seeking by every possible means to prop up a handful of Pol Pot-Ieng Sary remnant bandits in an attempt to reimpose their genocidal régime on the Kampuchean people. They are sending reinforcements to border areas adjacent to Laos, threatening aggression against that country, rallying reactionary forces to set up a so-called "socialist party of Laos", and intensifying their interference in the internal affairs of Laos. They continue provoking a tense situation along Viet Nam's border, and are acting hand in glove with United States imperialism in a world-wide anti-Viet Nam campaign. They are striving hard to incite countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations against Viet Nam, to drive a wedge between the former and the latter in an attempt to divert vigilance from their vicious schemes and acts in the whole of South-East Asia. A number of Chinese leaders have gone so far as to threaten Viet Nam with another and even many more aggressive attacks. However, the Peking rulers' schemes and tricks have failed and are doomed to total failure.

All the above facts fully bear out the following: it is the Chinese rulers, and not anybody else, who have pursued for a long time now great-Nation expansionism and great-Power hegemonism against Viet Nam, Laos, Kampuchea and other South-East Asian countries, against the revolutionary and peace movements in the world, and they have now emerged as the most bellicose elements. Their hegemonistic schemes and acts run completely counter to the Chinese people's constant desire to live in peace, friendship and equality with the other peoples of the world.

In order to cover up their own hegemonistic actions, the Chinese rulers have ceaselessly attributed to Viet Nam a so-called "regional hegemonism", in the first place, with regard to Kampuchea and Laos.

It should be pointed out that Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea are close and friendly neighbours who have been fighting against the French imperialists, the Japanese Fascists, the United States imperialists formerly or Chinese expansionism now. The facts of history have shown that all aggressors have used our country as a spring-board to invade the others and have carried out a "divide-and-rule" policy, pitting the Indo-Chinese against one another, in order to conquer one country after another and eventually to conquer all the three countries. In the struggle against the common enemies, for the sake of their respective vital interests and the victory of their respective revolutions, the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea have relied on one another and have achieved co-operation and mutual assistance on the principle of mutual respect for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Animated by pure feelings of international solidarity, the Vietnamese armed forces have on three occasions fought shoulder to shoulder with the people's armed forces of Kampuchea and Laos against the common enemies and won victories on the first two occasions; they pulled back home upon fulfilment of their international obligations. It will be the same this time. After the danger of aggression and intervention created by the Chinese rulers' expansionism and hegemonism has been removed and the independence, sovereignty and security of Viet Nam, Kampuchea and Laos secured, the Vietnamese armed forces will be brought home in agreement with the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea and the Government of the Lao People's Democratic Republic. Their presence in Kampuchea and Laos is entirely just and consistent with the Charter of the United Nations and the principles of the non-aligned movement. This question belongs only to bilateral relations among three sovereign countries:



it has absolutely no bearing on other countries or on the Viet Nam-China talks.

Posing the "anti-hegemony" principle in an attempt to raise the so-called "Kampuchean problem" at the current talks, the Chinese side has crudely interfered in the relations between Viet Nam and Kampuchea. This is a repetition of a trick used formerly by the French colonialists and the United States imperialists, an attempt to undermine the militant solidarity among the three Indo-Chinese peoples and to compel Viet Nam to give up its correct international obligations so as to facilitate the pursuance of Chinese expansionism and hegemonism.

Why have the Peking rulers, the biggest expansionists and hegemonists, so noisily clamoured in recent years about "not seeking hegemony and opposing hegemony"? It is worthy to note that they have put forward this slogan at a time when the various peoples are spearheading their struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, *apartheid* and zionism, whereas they are frenziedly seeking an alliance with imperialism, in the first place with United States imperialism, and other reactionary forces. They have misrepresented the struggles of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples for national independence and social progress as hegemonic rivalries between the super-Powers. Obviously, by hoisting the "anti-hegemony" signboard, the Peking rulers are attempting to side-track the world peoples' revolutionary struggle, to side-track world public opinion, which is sternly condemning their collusion with imperialism against the revolution and against peace, and to cover up their own expansionist and hegemonistic schemes.

Therefore, the Vietnamese side holds that anti-hegemonism should be discussed with the following contents:

(a) Non-expansion of territory in any form whatsoever. Immediate ending of the state of affairs in which territories are grabbed from other countries.

(b) Non-aggression, non-use of force or threat to use force to "punish" any country or "to teach it a lesson".

(c) Non-imposition of one's own ideologies, views and lines on other countries. Non-use of any trick whatsoever, including economic aid, to compel other countries to relinquish their policy of independence and sovereignty. Non-interference in the relations of one country with another.

(d) Non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries' opposition organizations, boosted by oneself, by the instrumentality of one's overseas nationals or in other form whatsoever.

(e) Non-alliance with imperialism and other reactionary forces against peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

We have expounded above some views of ours about the anti-hegemony issue to shed more light on its essence.

Everybody realizes that, although the Peking rulers have yet to announce the withdrawal of their troops, their policy of hostility to the Vietnamese people has remained unchanged. While the talks between the two countries were under way in Hanoi, and at this very moment when they are being pursued in Peking, the Chinese side massed and is massing troops and war materiel close to Viet Nam's border, is still stationing troops in a number of points on Vietnamese territory, and ceaselessly indulging in daily armed provocations and violations of Vietnamese territory on land, on sea and in the air. The situation in border areas of the two countries has remained very tense and constantly fraught with the danger of resumed hostilities. As we have repeatedly made clear, the problem now facing us is to remove that dangerous situation immediately.

In point 1 of the three-point proposal, the Vietnamese side has put forward urgent measures to secure peace and stability in the border areas of the two countries. These include non-concentration of troops close to the border, separation of the armed forces of the two sides, cessation of all acts of war provocation and all forms of hostile activities violating the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the other side, and threatening its security, establishment of a demilitarized zone and setting up of a joint commission of the two sides to supervise and control the implementation of the above-mentioned measures. These are regarded by public opinion at large as urgent, practical and fair steps to be taken in the first place after

the war, in order to prevent the danger of renewed hostilities. Nevertheless, they have not elicited any response from the Chinese side.

At the opening of the second round of talks, considering the great tension that persists along the border, pending continued discussions by the two sides on measures to secure firmly peace and stability in border areas and on other fundamental questions in the relations between the two countries, and in order to create a favourable atmosphere for the talks, we took a new initiative and proposed that the two delegations reach an immediate agreement on an undertaking by the two sides to refrain from espionage and reconnaissance activities in any form whatever on each other's territory, to refrain from offensive activities, armed provocations, firing from one territory to the other on land, on sea and in the air and to refrain from any activity endangering the security of the other.

This is another constructive proposal of the Vietnamese side which aims at easing border tensions in the interests of the two peoples and in response to the South-East Asian peoples' desire for peace and stability. It is fully consistent with the requirement set by the Chinese side at the last meeting about "ending the tension and creating a favourable atmosphere for the talks". To our regret, the Chinese side negatively reacted to our proposal right after we made it.

It is necessary to point out that, in order to justify their war of aggression against Viet Nam, the Chinese side claimed that, because of Viet Nam's "armed provocation", China was compelled to "counter-attack in self-defence". Before the two sides sat down for talks, the Chinese side suggested, on six occasions, through its statements and notes of 17 February, 1, 5, 19 and 31 March and 6 April 1979, that, at these talks, the two sides were to discuss "practical measures to ensure peace and tranquillity along their border". Yet, contrary to its own proposal, the Chinese side has failed to put forward any measure whatever to remove armed provocations, prevent renewed hostilities or to ensure peace and stability along the Vietnamese side. This change in the Chinese side's opinion cannot but demand attention from public opinion.

One wonders why the Chinese side adamantly avoids the Vietnamese side's practical proposals aimed at stopping armed provocations and securing peace and stability in border areas, while clamouring continually, even at the last meeting, about so-called "repeated Vietnamese armed provocations and intrusions along the Sino-Vietnamese border". Obviously, the slanderous charges against Viet Nam are designed to cover up its own trouble-making activities and provocations along Viet Nam's border, and its actual scheme of maintaining a permanent border tension as a means of pressure in the talks and in order to give itself an eventual pretext for aggression against Viet Nam at any moment.

Any objective observer can notice that in the current strained and complex state of the Viet Nam-China relations, the most rational way to a settlement is, in the first place, to ease the dangerous situation, which might lead to a new outbreak of the war. In this way, favourable conditions will be created to settle step-by-step other fundamental problems in the relations between the two countries. This is a usual approach in international relations. It is also the approach proposed by China itself to India in 1959 and 1962.

The Chinese side has often professed a desire for a border of peace and friendship with Viet Nam, and an international juncture of peace and stability. Let it match its words with practical deeds and go back to the purposes of the talks, as suggested by itself on six occasions.

The two peoples and world public opinion are demanding from the Chinese side a positive response to the Vietnamese three-point position, first of all to the initiative made by the Vietnamese Government delegation at the last meeting with regard to an immediate agreement between the two sides on refraining from armed provocations in border areas.

The Vietnamese side is constantly animated by a desire of goodwill to bring the talks forward. To enable this second round to enter immediately into practical discussions with an eye to the solution of specific issues, we hope that the Chinese side will respond to our previous proposal to the effect that the two sides will raise, in turn, problems of interest for exchanges of views at each meeting, reach agreement, where this is possible, and leave aside those problems on which agreement is not yet feasible.

Everybody is awaiting the answer of the Chinese side.

## Report of the Security Council Commission established under resolution 446 (1979)

(Original: English)  
[12 July 1979]

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## LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

12 July 1979

In our capacity as members of the Security Council Commission established under resolution 446 (1979), we have the honour to submit herewith the report prepared by the Commission pursuant to paragraph 5 of the resolution mentioned above.

This report was adopted unanimously on 12 July 1979.

(Signed) Leonardo MATIAS, Portugal,  
(Chairman)  
Julio DE ZAVALA, Bolivia,  
Kasuka Simwinji MUTUKWA, Zambia

## I. INTRODUCTION

## A. ESTABLISHMENT OF THE COMMISSION

1. The Commission was established by Security Council resolution 446 (1979) with the following mandate: "to examine the situation relating to settlements in the Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem".

2. By a letter dated 23 February 1979 [S/13115] to the President of the Security Council, the Permanent Representative of Jordan to the United Nations requested the convening of a meeting of the Council to consider the "most ominous and accelerating erosion of the status of Jerusalem and the rest of the occupied Arab territories in consequence of the Israeli occupation authorities' systematic, relentless and deliberate policy and practice of settlements and col-

onization of those territories which constitute a grave threat to world peace and security".

3. In response to that request, the Security Council considered the item entitled "The situation in the occupied Arab territories" at its 2123rd to 2128th, 2131st and 2134th meetings held between 9 and 22 March 1979.

4. The relevant documentation before the Council included, *inter alia*:

(a) A letter dated 7 March 1979 [S/13149] from Jordan transmitting a map and a list of Israeli settlements in the occupied West Bank, along with a letter from the Chairman of the Islamic Commission in Jerusalem to the Prime Minister of Jordan, stating that the Israeli authorities were transforming the Mosque of Hebron into a Jewish synagogue;

(b) A letter dated 2 March 1979 [S/13132] from the Acting Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People to which were annexed a list of press reports, maps and other documents relating to the situation in the occupied territories.

5. Statements made before the Security Council, including those made by Jordan and Israel, may be found in documents S/PV.2123-2128, 2131 and 2134.

6. At its 2134th meeting the Security Council adopted resolution 446 (1979) which reads as follows:

"The Security Council,

"Having heard the statement of the Permanent Representative of Jordan and other statements made before the Council.

"Stressing the urgent need to achieve a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East,

"Affirming once more that the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War of 12 August 1949 is applicable to the Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem.

"1. Determines that the policy and practices of Israel in establishing settlements in the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since 1967 have no legal validity and constitute a serious obstruction to achieving a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East;

"2. Strongly deploras the failure of Israel to abide by Security Council resolutions 237 (1967) of 14 June 1967, 252 (1968) of 21 May 1968 and 298 (1971) of 25 September 1971, by the consensus statement made by the President of the Council on 11 November 1976 and by General Assembly resolutions 2253 (ES-V) and 2254 (ES-V) of 4 and 14 July 1967, 32/5 of 28 October 1977 and 33/113 of 18 December 1978;

"3. Calls once more upon Israel, as the occupying Power, to abide scrupulously by the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, to rescind its previous measures and to desist from taking any action which would result in changing the legal status and geographical nature and materially affecting the demographic composition of the Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, and, in particular, not to transfer parts of its own civilian population into the occupied Arab territories;

\* Incorporating document S/13450/Corr.1 of 14 July 1979.  
\*\* Document S/13450/Add.1 of 10 July 1979 contains the annexes to the present report.

“4. Establishes a commission consisting of three members of the Security Council, to be appointed by the President of the Council after consultation with the members of the Council, to examine the situation relating to settlements in the Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem;

“5. Requests the Commission to submit its report to the Security Council by 1 July 1979;

“6. Requests the Secretary-General to provide the Commission with the necessary facilities to enable it to carry out its mission;

“7. Decides to keep the situation in the occupied territories under constant and close scrutiny and to reconvene in July 1979 to review the situation in the light of the findings of the Commission.”

#### B. COMPOSITION, MANDATE AND ORGANIZATION OF THE WORK OF THE COMMISSION

7. In a note dated 3 April 1979 [S/13218], the President of the Security Council stated that following his consultations with the members of the Council, an agreement had been reached, according to which the Commission established under paragraph 4 of resolution 446 (1979) would be composed of Bolivia, Portugal and Zambia.

8. At its first meeting held in New York on 10 April 1979, the Commission decided that its chairmanship would be assumed by Portugal.

9. In organizing its programme of work so as to fulfil its mandate, the Commission considered the modalities it should follow “to examine the situation relating to settlements in the Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem”.

10. The Commission decided, as a first step, to establish direct contacts with the parties involved in the matter with a view to seeking their co-operation in the fulfilment of its mandate and to enter into consultations with relevant United Nations bodies which might be in a position to supply useful information.

#### C. REQUESTS TO THE PARTIES FOR CO-OPERATION

11. On 13 April 1979, letters were sent to the Permanent Representatives of Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon and the Syrian Arab Republic requesting that the Commission be provided as soon as possible with all available information pertinent to its mandate and informing them that the Commission was contemplating to visit the area during the month of May.

12. Also on 13 April, a similar letter was sent to the Permanent Representative of Israel pointing out in addition that his Government's co-operation in facilitating the proposed visit of the Commission to the territories in question would be greatly appreciated.

13. Requests for information were also addressed to the Chairman of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population in the Occupied Territories and the Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People.

14. On 30 April the Commission sent a letter to the Permanent Observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), drawing his attention to its mandate and requesting any relevant information.

15. In their replies dated 17, 17 and 25 April respec-

tively, the representatives of Lebanon, Jordan and Egypt assured the Commission of their Governments' full co-operation in the implementation of its mandate. The reply from Jordan included a personal message of support from His Royal Highness, Crown Prince Hassan.

16. Assurances of co-operation and assistance were also received from the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People and from the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population in the Occupied Territories.

17. At the 3rd meeting, on 26 April, the Chairman informed the Commission of the results of his efforts to establish contact with the Permanent Mission of Israel, in order to exchange views on the way in which the Commission intended to fulfil its mandate and on the degree of co-operation it might receive from the Government of Israel. In response, the representative of Israel had stated to the Chairman that the Israeli Government had nothing to hide concerning its actions in the territories under its control; that the situation there had been freely examined by numerous impartial observers who had always confirmed the statements made by the Israeli Government, and that his Mission was not prepared to have any contact with the Commission.

18. After examining the serious consequences which might result from the Israeli attitude concerning its work, the Commission decided that its Chairman should report the matter to the President of the Security Council and draw his attention to the fact that in such circumstances, the Commission would endeavour to implement its mandate in spite of Israel's refusal to allow the Commission to proceed with its planned visit.

19. At the same 3rd meeting, the Chairman also reported on his discussions with the Permanent Observer of the PLO, who had stressed PLO's full co-operation with the Commission.

20. At its 4th meeting on 30 April, the Commission met with members of the office of the Crown Prince of Jordan and with the Permanent Representative of Jordan, who reiterated their Government's support and provided the Commission with documents and maps relating to the question of settlements. The Commission met also with the Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, who supplied it with studies prepared by the Committee on the question of the occupied territories.<sup>3</sup>

21. At the 6th meeting on 8 May, the Chairman informed members that in response to his *démarche* concerning Israel's attitude, the President of the Security Council had decided to remind the Permanent Representative in writing that the Commission had not received any answer to its request for co-operation and to ask him of Israel's intentions in that regard.

22. By letters dated 9 May to the Permanent Representatives of Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon and the Syrian Arab Republic, the Commission indicated its plans for a visit to the area and the type of information it was seeking. By another letter of 11 May, the Commission confirmed to the Permanent Observer of the PLO that it would welcome the opportunity to meet Chairman Yasser Arafat during its visit.

<sup>3</sup> A summary of the statements made by the representatives of Jordan and by the Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People is reproduced in annex I.

23. On the day of its departure for the area concerned, the Commission received a copy of the reply sent by the representative of Israel to the President of the Security Council. In that letter dated 17 May, the Israeli representative informed the President that, in consideration of the circumstances in which resolution 446 (1979) had been adopted, the Government of Israel had rejected that resolution in its entirety and accordingly could not extend any form of co-operation to a Commission set up under it.

24. When preparing its report at Headquarters, the Commission realized that, in view of the heavy schedule of the Security Council and also the extensive volume of testimony and other documentary information received by the Commission during its visit to the area, it would be difficult for the Commission to report to the Council by 1 July 1979, as called for in paragraph 5 of resolution 446 (1979). Accordingly, the Chairman of the Commission requested the President of the Council that the time-limit for the report be postponed until 15 July. Following informal consultations with the other members of the Council, the President informed the Chairman of the Commission that no member of the Council had any objection to the Commission's request [S/13426].

25. The present report is based on elements of information which were gathered from various sources both at Headquarters and during the visit to the area. Section I of the present report relates to the establishment of the Commission and its work at Headquarters and section II to the Commission's visit to the area, including its exchanges of views with Government authorities and with representatives of organizations. Section III is devoted to conclusions and recommendations. The annexes deal with the following subjects: annex I, summary of statements made at the 4th meeting of the Commission; annex II, summaries of testimony; annex III, list of settlements; annex IV, Map of settlements; annex V, documentation retained in the custody of the Secretariat.

26. The present report was unanimously adopted at the 19th meeting on 12 July.

## II. VISIT TO THE AREA

### A. ORGANIZATION OF THE VISIT

27. During its visit to the area, the Commission was composed of the following members: Ambassador Leonardo Mathias (Portugal), Chairman; Ambassador Julio de Zavala (Bolivia); Mr. Kasuka Simwinji Mutukwa (Zambia). They were accompanied by two advisers: Mr. Edgar Pinto (Bolivia); Mr. Luis Crucho Almeida (Portugal).

28. A team of staff members from the Secretariat was assigned by the Secretary-General to assist the Commission in its work.

29. The Commission decided that during the visit, it would hold consultations with the Government authorities concerned and also receive, at hearings or individual interviews, oral or written statements or testimony by other authorities, organizations or private individuals.

30. It was also decided that while, as a general rule, the Commission considered it preferable for the hearings, interviews and working meetings to be held *in camera*, it could decide to hold public meetings should circumstances so require. The Commission could also proceed to specific areas within the countries concerned in order to examine the situation on the spot, whenever feasible, to hear state-

ments, to receive testimony and to obtain all possible information relevant to its mandate.

31. It was further agreed that at the beginning of each series of hearings the Chairman would outline the mandate of the Commission and draw attention to the fact that the Commission expected the witnesses to confine their statements as much as possible within the limits of that mandate. Furthermore, the Commission decided to accept requests by witnesses who expressed the wish to remain anonymous for reasons of safety.

32. Finally, a decision was taken that the Commission would keep a record of its inquiry and would consider information particularly relevant to its mandate in preparing its report. It would also decide which documentation it would annex to its report, bearing in mind that other elements of information obtained would be kept in the custody of the Secretariat.

33. The Commission organized its visit to the area as follows: the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, 20-26 May; the Syrian Arab Republic, 26-29 May; Lebanon, 29-30 May; the Arab Republic of Egypt, 30 May-1 June.

34. In accordance with the decisions referred to above, the Commission met in each country with the Government authorities. It also heard a number of witnesses and visited various locations. In Jordan on 23 May, the Commission went to the Jordan River valley, and on 24 May to a refugee camp. In Syria on 28 May, the Commission went to the location of the town of Quneitra.

35. In the course of its visit, the Commission met with representatives of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

36. The Commission received testimony from 42 witnesses: 22 at Amman (including a written statement), 13 at Damascus and 7 at Cairo, and met spokesmen from local associations. It received also some written documentation, photographs and maps.

37. The Commission returned to Headquarters on 4 June.

38. The Commission wishes to state that in the course of its visit to the area, it received valuable assistance from the Governments and all those concerned in carrying out its mandate. It benefited in particular from fruitful exchanges of views and received informative replies to the points requiring clarification raised by its members. The Commission therefore wishes to express its gratitude to the aforementioned for the co-operation extended to it.

### B. VISIT TO THE HASHEMITE KINGDOM OF JORDAN

#### *Meetings with government officials*

39. The Commission arrived in Jordan on 20 May.

40. The following day, the Commission had a working meeting at Amman at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs where it was received by Mr. Hassan Ibrahim, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs; Mr. Adnan Abu Odeh, Minister of Information and head of the Executive Bureau for Occupied Territories Affairs; Mr. Weal Almasri, Director of the Political Affairs Division of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Mr. Faleh Attawel, Director, Department of International Organizations; Mr. Akthem Qusus, Director, United Nations Department; Mr. Shawkat Mahmoud, Director, Bureau of Occupied Territories Affairs; and Mr. George Shamma, of the Permanent Mission of Jordan to the United Nations.

41. The Minister of State for Foreign Affairs welcomed the members of the Commission, wished them success in

their "significant and delicate" mission and expressed the hope that the Commission's efforts would help to bring about effective international action towards a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East. Israel's settlement policy, which was repeatedly condemned by the General Assembly, the Security Council and even Israel's own friends, was a challenge to the United Nations and a violation of international law.

42. The Minister of State expressed the view that the task of the Commission was rendered particularly difficult by the refusal of Israel to allow it to visit the occupied territories. For its part, his Government was determined to do everything possible to assist the Commission in carrying out its mandate.

43. In reply to the statement by the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, the Chairman of the Commission expressed the members' appreciation for the warm welcome afforded them. As an emanation of the Security Council, the Commission shared his apprehensions concerning the situation in the area and would faithfully report its findings to the Council.

44. The Minister of Information then briefed the Commission on the situation concerning the settlements in the occupied West Bank, which so far had reached a total of 78 settlements, covering an area of approximately 370,000 dunums.<sup>4</sup> That was only a part of the 1.5 million dunums of which Israel had taken possession, and which in turn was 27 per cent of the total area of the occupied West Bank.

45. Speaking of the meaning of the settlements for Israel, Mr. Odeh quoted several Israeli sources, including a recent statement attributed to the Minister of the Interior, and others to officials of world Jewish organizations which indicated that Israel's policy of settlements was a step towards the realization of the primary Zionist goal, i.e., the creation of a purely Jewish State in the Middle East. That goal required that space be readily provided for new immigrants until the local Arab population could be outnumbered. The settlements, he said, had always been a "value" in the creed of Zionism.

46. As to the methods used by the Israeli authorities to acquire the land, they included acquisition by virtue of the "restricted area" by-law, which authorized the restriction of land for "security" reasons; the application of the "State domain" policy to the *miri* lands, which are private lands outside city limits with a different legal status; the application of the "absentee owner" policy, under which any Arab who was absent from the West Bank at the time of the Israeli invasion had his property seized; false transactions with Arab inhabitants; a policy of "green zones" which permits land to be frozen and thereby prevents its use by the legal owners; and expropriation for public use, the expropriated property being sold later to private Jewish settlers. Approximately 329,000 dunums have been seized so far under that policy.

47. Turning to the question of policy-making with regard to the settlements, the Minister of Information indicated that for the fiscal year 1979/80, the Israeli Government had allocated a sum of \$US 200 million for the settlements. Those settlements were under the control of the Government or non-governmental organizations.

48. Concerning governmental settlements, a ministerial committee chaired by the Israeli Minister of Agriculture was

in charge of determining the sites for new settlements, finding the financial support and building the infrastructure.

49. Non-governmental settlements were built under the supervision of various organizations, including the paramilitary Nahal movement for agricultural and military settlements built close to the cease-fire lines, the Gush Emunim, the Settlements Department of the Jewish Appeal Fund, the Moshav and other organizations.

50. Mr. Odeh then spoke of Israel's policy on the allotment of water resources in the occupied West Bank. The West Bank depended mostly on ground water. The policy of Israel in that regard was to consider the area as one geological basin. Accordingly, it had adopted certain restrictive policies against the Arab farmers, such as the interdiction of drilling artesian wells without a special permit. By contrast Israeli authorities had drilled 24 wells for the exclusive use of Jewish settlers, mostly in the Jordan Valley, thus reducing considerably the amount of water available to Arab farmers. Furthermore, Arab farmers were forced to install meters on their own wells to restrict the amount of water they could use.

51. Regarding the work of the Commission, Mr. Odeh said that Israel had resorted to all kinds of intimidation to prevent potential witnesses from coming to Amman from the occupied territories. Nevertheless, a few people from various walks of life had succeeded in coming from the West Bank in spite of threats of reprisals.

52. Finally, Mr. Odeh gave further information in particular regarding Israel's intimidation policies involving school children.

53. On 21 May the Commission also paid a visit to the Prime Minister, Mr. Mudar Badran, who expressed Jordan's eagerness to make the mission of the United Nations body a success. Mr. Badran emphasized that Jordan had strong ties binding it with the Palestinians, whose problem was the core of the Middle East conflict. He described Israel's settlement policy as a challenge to the United Nations and a violation of international law. The Prime Minister also emphasized that his Government was adhering to the Security Council resolutions which are relevant to the mandate of the Commission. Finally he stressed that the time had come for a solution to the conflict, a solution which would be just and comprehensive.

54. On 22 May the Commission was granted an audience by His Majesty King Hussein of Jordan. King Hussein emphasized in particular the far-reaching consequences of Israel's settlement policy which, he said, was aimed at the eviction of the Arab inhabitants from their lands. This was also part of Israel's attempts to alter the character of the occupied Arab territories in complete disregard of United Nations principles and decisions.

55. King Hussein also explained Jordan's position vis-à-vis the Middle East question, stressing that a just and comprehensive peace could not be achieved without the restoration of Arab Jerusalem to Arab sovereignty, the withdrawal of Israeli forces from all occupied territories in implementation of United Nations resolutions and the safeguarding of Palestinian rights, including the right to self-determination in Palestine.

56. The Chairman expressed the gratitude of the Commission for the words of welcome stated by His Majesty and assured him of the Commission's determined will to implement its mandate with total objectivity.

<sup>4</sup> 1 dunum = 1,000 square metres; 1,000 dunums = 1 square kilometre.

57. On 24 May, His Highness Crown Prince Hassan received the Commission. On that occasion an extensive exchange of views took place, essentially on Jerusalem and its surroundings. In that connexion Prince Hassan recalled that Jerusalem in addition to being a prestigious centre of the world, was spiritually one of the most sacred places of the Moslem faith. Turning to the question of Israeli settlements he pointed out that, through the establishment of three successive belts of settlements, Israel was creating protective pockets between Jerusalem and the Jordan River. As a result of this, it was "compartmenting" the Arab population. That this action was intentional appeared from the fact that the same policy of fragmentation of the Arab population was also being pursued on the Lebanese border in an effort to balkanize the area.

58. The Crown Prince said that since 1967, it had been the official policy of Israel that Jerusalem should stay Jewish, united under Jewish rule. In implementation of that policy many Arab houses had been destroyed and their inhabitants expelled, while settlements had been established all along the eastern side of the Holy City. This settlement policy had had the result of isolating the Arabs living inside the walls and confining them in a ghetto surrounded by hostile groups of settlers. This was no doubt a powerful means of pressure to make them leave.

59. Other means of pressure were being used, some brutal, others financial, such as a 20-year levy raised from Arabs and used to erect new buildings for the Jews. Israel was also modifying the city limits in order to take full advantage of the composition of the population.

60. Prince Hassan reminded the Commission that the position of Jordan concerning Jerusalem and the West Bank had been repeatedly stated. The question was how to proceed towards the return to "Arab Jerusalem", an expression which defined a situation of mutual respect with freedom of worship for every faith.

61. The case of Jerusalem was a very special one which, once solved, could lead to a comprehensive solution. It should be deplored therefore that the question of Jerusalem at its present stage had not been the subject of any complete and impartial study. That should be remedied.

62. The Crown Prince pointed out that an international organ should be requested to make a survey of the various aspects of the situation of Jerusalem—political, religious, social, demographic, economic and any others.

63. He also indicated that the question of Arab properties confiscated by Israel in that area should be examined in detail. In that connexion, the excellent work done by the Conciliation Commission for Palestine with regard to Arab properties confiscated in territories occupied by Israel before 1967 should be kept in mind, as well as in fact the extensive mandate of that commission which was still in force.

64. In conclusion, Prince Hassan emphasized that the road towards a solution might be long and difficult but that, in order to avoid further despair which would inevitably lead to further violence, the present situation should not be allowed to remain frozen.

65. The Chairman thanked Crown Prince Hassan for his most informative briefing and assured him that the contents of his statement would be reflected in the Commission's report.

#### *Visit to the Jordan River Valley and to a refugee camp*

66. On 23 May, the Commission went to the Jordan Valley area. It stopped over at the King Hussein Bridge and, passing through the villages of Shouna and Karamah, it reached the village of Deir Alla, which overlooks the Jordan River Valley.

67. In the course of a briefing given by a spokesman for the Jordan River Valley Authority, the attention of the Commission was drawn to the intensive exploitation by the Israelis of the water resources in the valley. It was stated in particular that the drawing of water from the Lake of Tiberias and from the Jordan River to irrigate Israeli settlements along the valley and southward to the Negev Desert had not only diminished considerably the flow of the river but noticeably increased its salinity. At the same time, the intensive pumping of underground water through deep artesian wells dug by Israeli settlers was depleting the water resources of the valley, which is a single geological entity.

68. It should be noted that when the Commission departed from Deir Alla at night the Jordanian authorities pointed out, on the West Bank, lines of lights which they said were successive belts of Israeli settlements.

69. On 24 May, the Commission visited Schneller refugee camp, where its members were received by Mr. Abdel Rahim Jarrar, Under-Secretary of the Ministry of Reconstruction; Mr. Mohammed Al-Azzeh, Camp Services Officer; and an official of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA). In his welcoming statement, Mr. Jarrar said that the camp housed 30,000 refugees, some of whom had been displaced three times. Even 31 years after displacement, the refugees and the displaced persons were still steadfast in their resolution to return to their homeland. Mr. Jarrar noted that Israel, on the other hand, was continuing its settlement policy and the judaization of the occupied territories in defiance of the United Nations resolutions on the matter. He cited Jerusalem as the best illustration of that policy.

70. The Chairman of the Commission explained the mandate entrusted to the Commission by the Security Council. He emphasized that the mandate of the Commission was to examine the problems, i.e., to determine what they were, in order to get a better understanding and to report back to the Council. The Commission had come to the area, the Chairman observed, because of the conviction of its members that the United Nations could contribute to a just solution of the problem. The Commission believed in the rights of the refugees and displaced persons to return to their homeland in conformity with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the relevant resolutions of the United Nations.

71. Mr. Al-Azzeh, the camp services officer, welcomed the Commission and stated that in view of Israel's oppressive policies in the occupied territories, he was not surprised that Israel had refused the Commission entry.

72. Mr. Abu Jameel, speaking on behalf of the refugees in the camp, wondered how long it would still take for the world to be aware of the cause of the Palestinian people who had been expelled from their homeland. He wondered also why so many resolutions and decisions of the United Nations on this question had not been implemented and why Israel was still able to persist in its policy of defying the United Nations. He emphasized that Palestinians would

never accept Jerusalem as an exclusively Jewish city; nor could they accept any form of trusteeship, self-rule or partition. They could not accept any alternative to Palestine. Mr. Abu Jameel further emphasized that Palestinians did not mandate anyone except the Palestine Liberation Organization to speak on their behalf. He wished the Commission success in its endeavours and expressed the hope that that would be the last time that the United Nations would have to send a fact-finding mission to the area.

73. In response to questions put to the Commission by one of the elders of the camp who inquired why the United Nations was not able to compel Israel to recognize the rights of the Palestinian people, the Chairman stated that while he and his colleagues in the Commission understood the despair of the refugees, they were also aware that the question of Palestine was a complex problem, the just and peaceful resolution of which would take time. He recalled in that context the actions conducted at the United Nations by the Arab States. Some progress had already been achieved and the United Nations was continuing its efforts to find a just solution.

74. Mr. Abboud, an officer of UNRWA, said that the despair of the refugees was compounded by the financial crisis in UNRWA. Brigadier Mohammed Sarreef, Executive Secretary of the Supreme Ministerial Committee for Displaced Persons, gave an overview of the situation concerning the movement of refugees and displaced persons from the West Bank to the East Bank. He indicated that the Schneller Camp and five others had been set up by the Jordanian Government in 1968 to accommodate the refugees and the displaced persons who had been forced to leave the Jordan Valley area. The Jordan Government is spending \$36 million a year for the subsistence of the refugees, housing, salaries and water supply, as indicated in the last report of the UNRWA Commissioner-General.

### *Hearings*

75. During its stay in Jordan, in addition to meetings with government officials, the Commission held five meetings devoted to the hearing of witnesses. A total of 21 witnesses took the floor. An additional witness presented a written statement which was incorporated in the Commission's records. A number of witnesses asked to remain anonymous, a request which was granted in accordance with a decision previously taken by the Commission.

76. In the course of the hearings, most of the witnesses responded favourably to the Chairman's appeal to confine their statements to the situation in the settlements in the Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem. A number of them, however, expanded their remarks to include grievances of a personal or collective nature which the Commission considered as falling within the purview of human rights violations, rather than within the scope of its mandate (e.g., witnesses Nos. 3 and 10). It should be noted in that connexion that a similar situation occurred at subsequent hearings at Damascus and at Cairo.

77. Most of the witnesses were Palestinians. Some of them—such as Sheik Abdul Hamid El-Sayeh, head of the Islamic Court of Appeal, who was deported from the West Bank in September 1967, Mr. Ruhi El-Khatib, Mayor of Jerusalem, expelled in 1968, Mr. Nadim S. Zaru, Mayor of Ramallah, expelled in 1969 and Mr. Shawkat Mahmoud

Hamdi, current Director of the Executive Office of the occupied territories in the Jordanian Government—informed the Commission of their experience while serving in the occupied territories. A church leader, Archdeacon Elya Khoury, referred to his experience in the Anglican Diocese of Jerusalem until his expulsion in 1969. Other witnesses such as Mr. Ibrahim Bakr, a practising lawyer who indicated that he had been expelled in December 1967 from the West Bank, drew particular attention to certain legal aspects of the situation. Most of the other witnesses presented views based on their individual or family experience.

78. Keeping in mind the scope of the mandate established by the Security Council, the Commission would like to draw particular attention to a number of points which were reported by witnesses during its stay in Jordan.

### *Settlements in the occupied territories*

79. According to an Arab publication referred to by a witness (No. 15), between 1967 and 1977 the Israelis established in the West Bank, including Jerusalem, 123 settlements, of which 33 were not publicly announced because they were Nahal military settlements.

80. According to another witness (No. 20), it should be noted that while in the past those settlements were established mostly close to the line of the pre-1967 border, the new trend would be to divide the West Bank into large squares, subsequently criss-crossed with roads. As perceived by the inhabitants, the aim of that policy was to divide the whole occupied territory into a number of squares and to build settlements on the corners of each of them in order to isolate the main Arab agglomerations.

81. According to other witnesses, the policy referred to above applied whether the land was publicly or privately owned. In that connexion, a witness (No. 4) challenged what he called an Israeli claim that only public land was being used for those settlements. He pointed out that under the Geneva Convention and the relevant United Nations resolutions, the establishment of a settlement in occupied territories was illegal whether it was set up on public or private land. He then gave an informative briefing on the various categories of private lands under Jordanian law.

82. The witness stated also that out of an estimated 125,630 dunums of cultivable land which were taken by the Israelis for the exclusive use of civilian settlements (thus excluding areas kept for military purposes), 9.4 per cent were public lands and 90.6 per cent private.

83. The pattern and process of land seizure seems to have varied with time. Some witnesses (among them, Nos. 6 and 8) stated that in the wake of the 1967 war, people were expelled from their villages and sometimes their houses were destroyed in front of them. One witness (No. 13) in particular said that, after being expelled from their village to the town of Ramallah, located at a distance of 34 kilometres away, the inhabitants were finally authorized to return. But after walking back approximately 32 kilometres, they were stopped close to their village and saw it being blown up.

84. Since then, according to another witness (No. 4), the land seizure process generally goes as follows: first, the Israeli forces set up boundary markers or barbed wire fences to define the area. Secondly, the leaders of the village are informed that for security reasons the inhabitants are no

longer allowed to enter the closed-in area. Thirdly, crops are destroyed and fruit-bearing trees are defoliated and uprooted. That process was confirmed by another witness (No. 14).

85. Concerning the legal aspects of the matter, a witness (No. 21) mentioned the following instruments under which, he said, most of the confiscations of Arab lands were conducted:

(a) The absentee property law, adopted by the Knesset on 14 March 1950, which replaced the emergency decrees concerning absentee property issued on 19 December 1948;

(b) The law of acquisition of land for the public interest, issued in 1943 under the British Mandate and still in use;

(c) Defence and emergency decrees of 1945, also issued under the British Mandate. Under those decrees, the Military Governor can order the deportation of people and the expropriation of property;

(d) Emergency regulations on the exploitation of barren lands, published on 15 October 1948, under which the Minister of Agriculture is empowered to seize barren lands if he is "convinced" that its owner does not intend to utilize it for agricultural purposes;

(e) A law relating to the expropriation of real estate during the 1949 emergency period, under which an *ad hoc* authority may seize any real estate which it believes to be necessary for the national security.

86. With regard to the implementation of the absentee property law mentioned above, it was stated (No. 11) that according to the law, all lands whose owners were not present on 5 June 1967 were considered absentee lands, even when the owner had returned thereafter. All such lands, the witness said, had been put under the authority of the Israeli Custodian of Absentee Property, who collects the rent from the absentee houses.<sup>5</sup>

87. In that connexion some witnesses (Nos. 5 and 17) referred to some cases which had come before an Israeli court. In a recent case, Israeli settlers near Hebron had taken a large piece of land to build 500 housing units. At the request of the Arab owners, the Israeli court had decided that the decision was illegal, but nevertheless, the settlers had kept the land.

88. Another case in which the Israeli judicial system was involved was reported in the village of Anata near Jerusalem. Following the villagers' refusal to lease 4,650 dunums of land, the military authorities had closed off the zone with barbed wire. The case had been submitted to the Israeli High Court of Justice which, on 15 January 1979, had agreed to a reduced demand from the army resulting in the expropriation of 1,740 dunums of fertile land. According to the witness (No. 19), the villagers had not been informed of that decision until 18 March 1979, that is after the 30 days' limit to appeal the decision.

89. As to the use of the land seized, witnesses (Nos. 1, 2 and 4) enumerated a number of settlements which they said had been established on the former location of Arab villages.

90. It was also stated (Nos. 1 and 17) that the military authorities or the settlers themselves resorted to various means of pressure to compel the landowners to leave the area, such as repeated imprisonment linked to an offer to release the person concerned if he agreed to depart from the

area, obstacles to children's schooling, confiscation and destruction (under the "absentee law") of houses belonging to Palestinians living abroad, an action sometimes matched with the imprisonment of the tenant who had protested against it (No. 1). Several witnesses referred also in that regard to the control of water as a most powerful means of pressure to compel the inhabitants to leave their property.

91. In that connexion, the water resource policy pursued by the Israelis was frequently mentioned. A witness (No. 4) indicated that to date the Israelis had drilled some 20 deep boreholes from 300 to 600 metres deep in the Jordan Valley and were pumping an estimated 15 to 17 million cubic metres per year exclusively to irrigate the lands seized for their settlements. A number of those wells had been drilled in close proximity to local Arab springs, contrary to Jordanian laws regulating the drilling of new wells. The impact of those practices had been felt all over the West Bank. In Jericho, the saline content of the water pumped from pre-1967 Arab wells (not as deep as the new wells) had noticeably risen while in many areas the flow of water had drastically diminished, such as in the Wadi Fara basin, the Bardala Basin and the region of Al-Anja, where the spring which used to give 11 million cubic metres per year was now down to a trickle, thus threatening the end of any cultivation for the village.

92. In addition, it had become common practice for the Israeli authorities to limit the amount of water which could be pumped from pre-1967 wells by installing water meters (Nos. 1 and 9). To emphasize the importance of water resources, another witness (No. 7) referred to military actions conducted by the Israelis before 1967 across the border against the village of Qalqilia, at which time, he said, 11 artesian wells had been destroyed. Since 1967 when the village was occupied, the Israeli authorities had installed meters on all the wells, thus imposing strict limitations on the use of water. As a result, it was impossible for the Arab inhabitants to carry on any farming but at the same time two Israeli settlements were established in the area. Those settlements, each of them with approximately 150 houses, were now equipped with an artesian well with a motor engine and a set of pipelines.

93. The question of whether compensation was given to the deprived landowners was discussed on several occasions. One witness said that the amount offered was merely a tenth of the real value of the property (No. 9); he also added that, furthermore, that was not the point, since the owners did not want to sell it. That latter view was also expressed by another witness (No. 15). Another witness (No. 22) mentioned two relevant cases. In the first one, the owner had refused any compensation which might be construed as an agreement, but the land had nevertheless been used for a military camp and then gradually transformed into a settlement for civilians. In the second, which referred to an area of 400 dunums, no compensation had been paid to the individual owners.

### Jerusalem

94. The situation in Jerusalem was described more extensively by four witnesses (Nos. 15, 16, 18 and 21). One of them (No. 21) recalled that the Knesset had adopted on 28 June 1967 a decision of "annexation" on the basis of which the following measures were taken:

(a) Abrogation of the Arab Municipal Council of Jerusalem;

<sup>5</sup> This question was raised on other occasions, in particular at Cairo by the Chairman of the International Law Association (see para. 176).



(b) Elimination of certain municipal services and amalgamation of others with their Israeli counterparts;

(c) Application of all Israeli laws to Arab citizens;

(d) Closure of the Education Department and transfer of all Arab public schools to the authority of Israel's Ministry of Education, this leading to the use of Israeli curricula including the reading in primary schools of a book entitled *I am an Israeli*;

(e) Issuance of Israeli identification cards to all inhabitants;

(f) Non-recognition of Jerusalem Islamic Courts;

(g) Obligation for professional individuals to register their names with Israeli professional associations;

(h) Closure of Arab banks and exclusive use of Israeli currency;

(i) Physical transfer to Arab Jerusalem of a number of Israeli ministries and departments.

95. As to the methods used by Israel to Judaize the Arab sector, the same witness (No. 21) said that, immediately after the 1967 war, Israel resorted to the demolition, in four different quarters of Jerusalem, of 1,215 houses, 427 shops, 5 mosques, 3 monasteries and 4 schools, i.e., a total of 1,654 buildings. As a result, the witness said, 7,400 inhabitants were forced to leave (another witness, No. 15, referred to "more than 5,000" people). Then a "Jewish Quarter" was established, which as of today contains 320 housing units built on 116 dunums and inhabited by a Jewish settler population of 1,300 persons. Finally, 94,564 dunums of Arab lands situated within the limits of the municipality of Arab Jerusalem were confiscated.

96. Another witness (No. 15) stated that the aim of those expropriations in Jerusalem was to surround with Jewish settlers three specific areas still mainly occupied by Arabs. Such a policy, he said, was a threat to the very presence and existence of Arabs in the city.

97. A number of witnesses (such as No. 18) referred to the archaeological excavations which, he said, although repeatedly condemned by UNESCO, were still continuing, thus inflicting serious damages to Islamic shrines.

98. As to the number of settlements in Jerusalem, a witness (No. 21) indicated that nine of them had been built within the boundaries of Arab Jerusalem and 10 more within the framework of so-called greater Jerusalem. The same witness concluded his statement, saying that through the policy of settlements Israel's aim was to seize the land and gradually expel its inhabitants. That view was also expressed in various terms by a number of other witnesses.

99. The Commission departed from Amman by road on 26 May.

### C. VISIT TO THE SYRIAN ARAB REPUBLIC

#### *Meetings with government officials*

100. The Commission arrived at Damascus on 26 May and was received the following day at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs by Mr. Abdul Halim Khaddam, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs. He was accompanied by Mr. Haitham Keylani, Director of the International Organizations Division and other officials from the Foreign Ministry.

101. The Deputy Prime Minister welcomed the Commission and assured it of the full co-operation of his Government in the implementation of its mandate. All that Syria expected from the Commission's efforts, he said, was that

the truth be established, because truth was more powerful than military force. In that connexion he described Israel's policy of settlements as nothing but the continuation of the aggressive and expansionist practices which had characterized the Zionist movement since its very beginning and which remained the real obstacle to peace. Mr. Khaddam blamed Israel for the current situation and the United States which, he said, bore a share of the responsibility for facilitating Israel's policy of settlement. He also deplored that the United Nations could not take a stronger stand in that regard.

102. Referring to the policies pursued by Egypt and the United States, Mr. Khaddam emphasized that they did not serve the cause of peace in the area. The so-called autonomy envisaged for the Palestinians of the occupied territories in the peace treaty between Israel and the Egyptian régime would apply only to the inhabitants but the land and its resources would remain indefinitely under the authority of Israel. For the Syrian Government, it was clear therefore that such an agreement which did not tackle the real problem could not serve the cause of peace in the area. Mr. Keylani noted in that regard as a further proof of it that the number of Israeli air raids over Lebanon had increased 10 times since the signing of the treaty.

103. In his reply, the Chairman expressed the Commission's appreciation for the welcome extended to it and assured the Deputy Prime Minister that the contents of his statement would be reflected in the Commission's report. He recalled the precise terms of the Commission's mandate and, in that context, stressed the position of all three Governments represented on the Commission as to the question of settlements. Their vote in favour of resolution 446 (1979) was a clear indication of that position.

104. On the same day, 27 May, the Commission held an open meeting with a Syrian delegation composed of Mr. Haitham Keylani, Major-General Adnan Tayara, head of the Syrian delegation at the Mixed Armistice Commission, Mr. Taker Houssami, Mr. Bechara Kharou and Mrs. Razan Mahfouz, all from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

105. Mr. Keylani stated that, in the view of the Syrian Government, resolution 446 (1979) was a further evidence of the concern with which the international community viewed the explosive situation in the Middle East and that situation was the result of Israel's occupation of Arab territories and its refusal to recognize the national inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. As he pointed out, his Government considered that, in a matter which was related to the maintenance of peace and security, it was imperative for the Security Council not only to express concern but to take the relevant measures provided for in Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

106. Mr. Keylani observed also that Israel's practices in the occupied territories—in particular the Golan Heights, where towns and villages had been replaced by Israeli settlements—were consistent with the aims of Zionism which involve annexation of occupied territories and the enslavement of the local population.

107. In his reply, the Chairman noted that the purpose of the Commission in coming to Syria was to fulfil to the greatest possible extent the mandate entrusted to it by the Security Council. It had been the intention of the Commission to visit all the parties concerned in the area. However, the possibility for the Commission to go to the occupied Arab territories had to be ruled out because of the attitude of the Government of Israel in that respect. In order to

accomplish its task, the Commission resorted to other means of obtaining information. It was in that spirit that the Commission had come to Syria. The information to be provided by the Syrian Government, as well as by the witnesses, would make it possible for the Commission to provide the Council with additional information so that the Council, in its persistent efforts to solve the problems of the Middle East, might in the future adopt appropriate measures.

108. A closed meeting was held at which Mr. Keylani presented the position of the Syrian Government with regard to Israeli policy and practices in the occupied Arab territories, in particular the Golan Heights. Following a historical review of the occupation of Palestine by Zionist elements, Mr. Keylani pointed out that immediately after its invasion of the Golan Heights in 1967, Israel started implementing its plan to control the whole area and to expel its inhabitants.

109. The Golan Heights before the occupation had been one of the most prosperous areas in Syria, inhabited by 142,000 people, living in 163 towns and villages. After the occupation, Israel completely destroyed all those towns and villages with the exception of five, namely Majdal-Shams, Akaata, Massaada, Al-Ghajar and Ein-Kena, and with the stones from the ruins, Israel built in their place 29 settlements for military and other purposes. The destruction of the town of Quneitra which the Commission was going to visit was an example of what had happened in the 1,770 square kilometres still occupied by Israel.

110. Mr. Keylani pointed out that, of a total of 142,000 Syrian inhabitants in the Golan Heights, only 8,000 had remained while 134,000 had been expelled and compelled to take refuge in other parts of Syria, where there were also approximately 250,000 Palestinian refugees. The Golan Heights was ruled by a military governor with unlimited authority, including the right to appoint local councils and village mayors and to dismiss them at will. By comparison, in the West Bank, those officials were still elected by the population. In an attempt to annex the occupied area to Israel, the occupation authorities were constantly trying to sever all links between the Syrians remaining in the Golan area and their kin elsewhere in Syria. In fact, the freedom of movement of the remaining inhabitants was restricted even within the five villages. To visit another village, the inhabitants had to obtain from the military governor a special authorization, which had to be applied for a month in advance and was valid only for a few hours subjecting the holder to imprisonment and heavy fines in case of violations. Among the measures taken by the occupation authorities which affected more specially the conditions of life in the occupied territories were the imposition of all Israeli laws, the expropriation of large areas of agricultural land for so-called reasons of security, and the refusal to respond to humanitarian appeals by the International Red Cross, among others, for the reunification of families.

111. Commenting on the education policies of the occupation authorities in the Golan Heights, Mr. Keylani said that all Arabic curricula had been replaced with Israeli curricula and the teaching of Hebrew imposed in primary schools. Of the many primary and secondary schools which existed before, only seven primary schools and one secondary school had been allowed to continue functioning. Syrian graduates of the secondary school were not permitted to pursue their higher education in Syrian universities be-

cause the aim of the Israeli authorities was to channel these youths into the labour force needed in Israeli factories. Only after repeated efforts and intervention by the International Red Cross were a few students allowed to register in the Syrian universities. Other measures taken by the occupation authorities in the field of education in the Golan Heights included the intimidation and dismissal of qualified Arab teachers; and educational courses which were compulsory for the 8,000 Syrian inhabitants and aimed at indoctrinating them to serve the aims and purposes of Zionism and the Israeli policies. Further information, said Mr. Keylani, on the educational system imposed by the Israelis in the Golan Heights could be found in the reports published by UNESCO, in particular, in documents 104 EX/52 of 31 May and 20C/113 of 28 September 1978.

112. Turning to the question of the geographical changes that had taken place in the Golan Heights as a result of the occupation, Mr. Keylani stated that the whole area had been turned into a military fortress with 29 settlements, a synagogue, a military museum, as well as new roads which are used essentially for military purposes. He recalled by comparison the agricultural prosperity of that area before Israel's occupation.

113. On the question of military rule in the Golan Heights, Mr. Keylani noted that Israel had established a military court at Tiberias to administer Israeli laws over the Golan Heights. Ninety-five per cent of the judgements, he said, delivered by the court related to so-called security matters for which the sentence was life imprisonment or hard labour for life with no possibility of appeal.

114. As to the settlements, Mr. Keylani stated that the 1979 budget of Israel showed the allocations set aside for expanding 11 of the existing 29 settlements. In that connexion, according to a statement by the Israeli Chief of Administration of Settlements, Israel intended to establish, in 1979, 20 new settlements, 5 of which would be in the Golan Heights and it would take over all the necessary land in order to settle 58,000 families thereon over a period of five years.

115. To be able to pursue that policy Israel had succeeded in expelling most of the inhabitants of the Golan Heights through various means, including restriction of movement, threats, intimidation, burning of crops, depriving them of their means of livelihood and imposing on them heavy taxation beyond their means. Mr. Keylani also pointed out that those settlements were all military fortresses and that the settlers, who were from Al-Jadna, a military-agricultural organization that worked in liaison with the Israeli army, were of military age. That, he said, was an additional means of pressure on an unarmed population.

116. With regard to the nature of the Israeli settlements, he expressed the conviction of his Government that those settlements were meant to be permanent, as confirmed by statements made by various Israeli officials and by the slogan which Israel had applied to the Golan Heights since 1967, namely "Security before peace". Although the Golan Heights area was included in the security and defence plans of Israel, Mr. Keylani said, security was only a pretext to annex the region since all the relevant United Nations documents indicated that before 1967 the Syrian Army artillery fired only on Israeli military bulldozers entering the no-man's land between Israel and Syria and not on any Israeli settlements.

117. Referring to the differences in the policy of Israel regarding the various Arab territories under occupation, Mr. Keylani observed that Israeli practices varied according to Israel's goals and to the size of the population in each territory. In the Golan Heights, Israel had achieved the following objectives: evacuation of the area by almost all its inhabitants; thwarting of any armed resistance by the remaining inhabitants; reduction to a minimum of the number of violations of human rights, given the small number of inhabitants remaining in the area; exploitation of expropriated fertile lands for Israel's benefit; and establishment of a military zone to defend Israel against Syria. In connexion with the evacuation of inhabitants, he recalled that in 1967 the Syrian inhabitants wanted to stay in the Golan Heights but that they had been forcibly driven out. For example, in the town of Quneitra, Israel had compelled the inhabitants to leave the area at night through minefields, thereby causing heavy casualties.

118. In the course of the exchange of views that ensued, Mr. Keylani said that between 1967 and 1973, Israeli authorities had attempted to impose Israeli citizenship on the Syrian inhabitants. Having met with categorical resistance in that regard, they had continued to deny them the attributes of Syrian citizenship and, furthermore, since 1973, they had imposed Israeli citizenship on the Syrian children born under occupation, in the belief that with time the opposition would disappear.

119. On the question of religion, Mr. Keylani noted that the deliberate destruction of the mosque, particularly in Quneitra, was meant to humiliate the inhabitants and leave them with no choice but to conduct their prayers at home.

120. As to Jerusalem, it was, he said, a sacred Arab Moslem city with the same status as that of any other part of the occupied territories. That occupied city must be liberated and returned to the Palestinian people. Syria would not accept that a single inch of Arab territory, including Jerusalem, remained under Israeli occupation and, in that regard, it supported the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council on the matter.

#### *Visit to Quneitra*

121. On 28 May, the Commission visited the location of the town of Quneitra in the Golan Heights.

122. Major-General Adnan Tayara who led the visit recalled that Quneitra and the surrounding area had been taken over by Israel in June 1967 and were returned to Syria in 1974.

123. During the visit through the ruins of the city, the Commission was acquainted with the situation that was reported in 1977 to the General Assembly by the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories in its "Report on damage at Quneitra".<sup>6</sup> It was on the basis of that report that the General Assembly, on 13 December 1977, adopted resolution 32/91 by which it condemned the "massive, deliberate destruction of Quneitra perpetrated during the Israeli occupation".

124. During that visit, the Syrian authorities pointed out to the Commission several Israeli settlements beyond the area of separation which, they said, were established on land belonging to the city of Quneitra where agricultural work was in progress.

<sup>6</sup> A/32/284, annex II.

125. In addition to the working meeting with the Syrian delegation, the Commission held a number of hearings. Among the witnesses who appeared before the Commission there were three members of the Palestine Liberation Organization, whose statements are reported in part F below.

126. Thirteen other witnesses testified. Among them, a professor of geography (No. 23) briefed the Commission on the economic situation of the Golan Heights before 1967. He pointed out that the region was one of the most prosperous of Syria. The number of inhabitants was about 150,000, with a density of 90 per square kilometre. The arable area amounted to 107,000 hectares. The witness gave figures concerning the various kinds of soil cultivation, fruit-bearing trees and livestock to bear out his assertion that the region, despite its small size, used to produce 10 per cent of the total output of the country.

127. The other witnesses were former inhabitants of the Golan Heights, most of them from Quneitra. Seven of them (Nos. 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34 and 35) were municipal officials at the time the Israeli forces entered the region. They concurred in saying that all sorts of pressure including threats of death had been used by the Israelis to make the inhabitants leave the area. Villages had been destroyed, sometimes in the presence of the inhabitants (Nos. 31 and 32) and people had been taken in motor vehicles and dropped at the separation line (Nos. 31, 32 and 33) to compel them to leave.

128. A witness (No. 24) who said that he had seen Israeli bulldozers destroy Arab agglomerations, reported also that he had seen a number of Israeli settlements built on the former location of Arab villages, of which he gave the names.

129. Another witness (No. 29) said that even now, Arab students from the occupied area in the Golan Heights were prevented from pursuing their higher education in Syrian universities. He added that those who, through the mediation of the Red Cross, had been allowed to do so had been prevented from returning to their homes.

#### D. VISIT TO LEBANON

130. From Damascus, the Commission flew to Beirut on 25 May.

131. The same morning the Commission was received by Mr. Fouad Boutros, Minister for Foreign Affairs. Three members of the Foreign Ministry were also present.

132. The Foreign Minister welcomed the Commission and expressed the hope that its report would assist the Security Council in its efforts to promote the law of equity and justice, the right of peoples to self-determination and the compliance of Member States with their obligations under the Charter and international law.

133. Although not directly involved in the tasks of the Commission, Lebanon welcomed any effort that could facilitate the return of the Palestinians to their homeland. For its part, Lebanon had felt it its duty to receive on its soil many Palestinian refugees and it was satisfied to have been in a position to assist them in their plight. However, the present disruption which Lebanon was experiencing was linked to that very hospitality. This was therefore one more reason for the Lebanese Government to assure the Commission of its wishes of success in the implementation of the mandate assigned to it by the Security Council.

134. Regarding the situation in Southern Lebanon, Mr. Boutros said that the continuous intensive bombardment by Israel was causing a human tragedy of disastrous dimensions at that time. About 100,000 persons had been forced to flee to the north from the Tyre area. In the present circumstances, Lebanon welcomed the presence of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon; it only wished that the mandate of the Force were such that it could better tackle the situation.

135. Summing up the position of his Government, the Foreign Minister emphasized that Lebanon had no problem of frontiers with Israel or of directly occupied territories. However, it could not be indifferent to the question of Israeli settlements established in occupied Arab territories—given the very large number of Palestinians who had taken refuge in Lebanon—or to that of the over-all solution of the Middle East conflict, to which it was a party.

136. The Lebanese Government entirely supported the position of the Arab States concerned. It considered that the establishment of settlements, which in itself was contrary to the norms of international law, aggravated the situation prevailing in the region, gave rise to new causes of discord and new human problems and constituted an obstacle to the return of the Palestinians to their homeland.

137. It also considered that the return of the Palestinians to their homeland, apart from being a necessity for a country like Lebanon, which could not absorb the large number of refugees living in its territory, was the first of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, respect for which was called for in Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) and in the Soviet-United States communiqué of 1 October 1977.

138. For those reasons Lebanon, which had already on several occasions officially proclaimed, through its Head of State and its accredited representatives in international forums, its refusal to accept the settlement of Palestinians in its territory, reaffirmed its position and its point of view concerning the need to overcome all obstacles, including settlements, that were likely to impede the exercise of the right of the Palestinians to return to their homes.

139. The Chairman said that the Commission had taken due note of the position of Lebanon stated by the Foreign Minister, which would be reflected in its report. He added that although, as stated by the Foreign Minister, the mandate of the Commission did not in a precise way directly apply to Lebanon, it had a bearing on it because Lebanon was a neighbouring country to the occupied territories and gave refuge to an ever-increasing number of Palestinian refugees. The Chairman thanked, therefore, the Foreign Minister for the interest shown by the Lebanese Government in the Commission's efforts.

140. On the same day, the members of the Commission were also received by the Prime Minister of Lebanon, Mr. Salim Al Hoss.

141. Mr. Al Hoss welcomed the Commission and said that Lebanon was concerned by its mandate inasmuch as it dealt with the general situation in the Middle East. Noting with regret that all efforts aimed at settling the Middle East problem, and most particularly the Palestinian question which was at its core, had been unsuccessful, the Prime Minister pointed out that Israel's policy with respect to settlements was still complicating the problem. Such a settlement policy was significant not only in its immediate effects on the occupied territories, but even more so in its

future implications in that it made it clear that Israel's intention was to settle in those territories on a permanent basis.

142. At the present time, Lebanon was the country most directly affected by the situation in the Middle East. The acute human problem created by Israel's actions in Southern Lebanon was no less tragic than its policy of settlements in the occupied territories. The Israelis no longer even looked for pretexts, as was the case in the past and, contrary to their allegations, Lebanese civilians were their daily targets.

143. Expressing again his wishes for the success of the Commission, which he saw as a renewed effort toward peace, the Prime Minister assured the members of the full support of his Government and offered any assistance which the Commission might need in the performance of its tasks.

144. The Chairman expressed appreciation for the welcome received by the Commission and assured the Prime Minister of the desire of the Commission to implement as fully as possible the mandate assigned to it by the Security Council.

145. During its stay at Beirut, the Commission also met Mr. Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization. That meeting is reported upon in part F below.

#### E. VISIT TO THE ARAB REPUBLIC OF EGYPT

##### *Meetings with government officials*

146. The Commission arrived at Cairo on 30 May. In the evening of the same day, the Commission was received by Mr. Boutros Ghali, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, who was accompanied by Mr. Ahmed Khalil, Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Ezz Eldin Sharaf, Director, Palestine Department, Mr. Ahmed Maher, Chef de Cabinet of the Foreign Minister, Mr. Ala Eldin Khariat, Chef de Cabinet of the Minister of State, Mr. Amre Moussa, Director, International Organizations Department, Mr. Abdel Moneim Ghoneim, Cabinet of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Said El Masri, Cabinet of the Minister of State, Mr. Mohamed El Dinang, and Ms. Leila Emara, both from the Foreign Ministry.

147. The Minister of State for Foreign Affairs said that Egypt welcomed the Commission most warmly, not only because of Cairo's interest in the United Nations and its role in the achievement of peace but also because of the Commission's mandate, which matched Egypt's concern regarding the settlement policy of Israel.

148. Mr. Boutros Ghali stated that the Egyptian Government had informed the United States and Israel that it condemned the settlement policy and insisted that those settlements should be removed. This had been achieved in the case of the settlements established in the Sinai, and for its part, Egypt would endeavour to have them removed from all the Arab territories, including Arab Jerusalem.

149. Mr. Ghali emphasized that Egypt's aim in the peace process was not the conclusion of a bilateral peace treaty with Israel but a comprehensive peace treaty in the area and the attainment of the settlement of the Arab-Israel conflict in all its aspects. In that connexion, he noted that the Camp David framework agreement set out the principles and procedures for a series of negotiations leading to peace

between Israel and each of its Arab neighbours. In the Egypt-Israel peace treaty, Israel had accepted resolution 242 (1967) and thereby the principle of the dissolution of its settlements. That principle had to be applied also in other peace treaties to be concluded between Israel and its other Arab neighbours.

150. In the course of the exchange of views which ensued, Mr. Ghali stated that Arab Jerusalem was an integral part of the West Bank and that Israel must withdraw therefrom. He said that the attainment of a comprehensive peace in the area involved two types of negotiation: negotiation regarding withdrawal of Israel from the Sinai and negotiations concerning the future of the West Bank, including Arab Jerusalem, and of the Gaza Strip. Until a Palestinian authority could be created, what was required was a moratorium on Israeli declarations that there would be more settlements.

151. In conclusion, the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs summed up Egypt's position regarding the problem of settlements as follows: (a) the establishment of the settlements constituted a fundamental obstacle to peace and Egypt condemned that policy; (b) the Geneva Convention signed in 1949 stipulated that it was inadmissible to change the character of the occupied territories and any contrary measures were illegal; (c) Egypt had confirmed that position during the first Camp David discussions and had sent an official letter in that respect to President Carter of the United States on 17 September 1978 requesting his support to obtain the removal of all the settlements; and (d) Egypt had demanded and would continue to demand during the coming negotiations on autonomy that the settlements be stopped and removed from the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

152. The Chairman expressed the appreciation of the Commission's members for the welcome they had received and reiterated the position of the Commission concerning its mandate and the problems which derived from the fact that the Commission could not go to the occupied territories. The Commission, he added, was grateful to the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs for the data thus provided to it and for stating the position of his Government with regard to the Israeli settlements.

153. On 31 May, the members of the Commission were received by the Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Mostafa Khalil. Also present at the meeting were Mr. Ahmed Tewfik Khalil, Under-Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Ms. Leila Emara, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

154. The Prime Minister declared that Egypt regarded the establishment of the settlements as an illegal act incompatible with the resolutions of the United Nations and in no way conducive to the cause of peace and stability in the region. Israel had no right to establish those settlements, and their creation in the West Bank and Gaza Strip constituted a serious problem and impeded the efforts currently being made to bring about a just and comprehensive peace in the Middle East.

155. Referring to the Israeli settlements in the Sinai on land previously reclaimed from the Egyptian Government, which he said were to be removed after the second phase of Israeli withdrawal from the Sinai, the Prime Minister observed that those settlements could serve no military purpose as the area would be demilitarized. If those settlements were to serve a civilian purpose, the Prime Minister drew

attention to the difficulties the settlers would face once Egypt resumed the exercise of its full sovereignty over the Sinai, since, under Egyptian law, foreigners could not own agricultural lands. Noting that the number of settlers in the Sinai was somewhere around 4,300 to 4,500 people, he pointed out that in comparison to Egypt's population of some 40 million, that number of settlers was insignificant. The real question was the meaning and intention behind those settlements, the question of the right of the settlers to retain their identity and the question of establishing a precedent.

156. Mr. Mostafa Khalil recalled that international law and United Nations resolutions forbade the retention of territories acquired by conquest and also proscribed the exploitation of the resources of such territories during the period of occupation. He pointed out that the framework laid down in the Camp David agreements was based on resolutions 242 (1967) and 338(1973); this clearly meant that Egypt rejected the pretext of retaining territory in order to obtain security since security could be guaranteed in accordance with agreed arrangements, as was happening in the Sinai, without recourse to the establishment of settlements.

157. The Prime Minister expressed his concern that the settlements would constitute a future obstacle to the negotiations on self-determination which he said the Palestinians were to conduct three years after the establishment of autonomy in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

158. Regarding the present status of Jerusalem, the Prime Minister told the Commission that Arab Jerusalem was part of the West Bank and that the area containing the holy places should be open to all faiths. He affirmed that the Palestinians alone, and no other party, should decide their future and he expressed his conviction that, for the Palestinians, the negotiations on autonomy would represent the beginning of the road towards self-determination.

159. The Chairman thanked the Prime Minister for the opportunity afforded the Commission to acquaint itself with the position of the Egyptian Government on the question of settlements and assured him that the substance of his statement would be reported to the Security Council.

### Hearings

160. On 31 May the Commission held a meeting at Cairo during which it heard seven witnesses.

161. In their statements, the first two witnesses introduced themselves as Mr. Yehia Aboubakr, Information Director, League of Arab States (No. 36) and Mr. Ibrahim Shukrallah, Director of the Political Department, League of Arab States (No. 37). Both emphasized that the destruction of Arab villages and the establishment of Jewish settlements were interrelated. According to the figures available to their organizations, some 500 Arab villages had already been destroyed for that purpose. They gave specific cases as examples of that policy particularly in the Gaza Strip. They emphasized that that policy, which was a flagrant aggression against human rights, constituted a major obstacle to the establishment of peace. The situation was specially grave because of the clear intention of Israel to establish new settlements.

162. That intention had been stated in particular by the Israeli Minister for Agriculture—also Chairman of the Ministerial Committee for Settlements—who had spoken about several plans such as the increase from 25 to 50 in the

number of Israeli settlements in the Jordan Valley; to establish a belt of settlements between the occupied Gaza Strip and the liberated Egyptian Sinai and to encircle Jerusalem with Jewish settlements in order to increase the population of the city to 1 million inhabitants.

163. In addition to the establishment of new settlements, the witnesses noted that the policy to strengthen and enlarge the existing settlements had been advocated repeatedly by Israeli officials. Thus the Israeli Minister of Defence, Mr. Weizman, had recently announced a plan for the creation between Jerusalem and Ramallah of a large settlement town to be called Gabaon.

164. That official attitude was still reinforced by the actions of private groups such as the Gush Emunim group, which acquired lands for further settlements. That group, they said, worked hand-in-glove with the Government, and the financing of its operations was partly provided by official Government circles. As to the method used for that purpose, the group would send some of its members during the night to the location concerned. They would build primitive housing in which they would establish residence and gradually would increase their number to the moment when a fait accompli had been established.

165. By implementing that policy, Israel had forced the Palestinians into dispersion, so forfeiting their right to return. Some of those who had remained had been thrown into jail under various pretexts. As to the peasantry, they had been turned into a mobile army of unskilled or semi-skilled labourers that could easily be persuaded to emigrate.

166. But while the Israelis numbered a little over 3 million, Arabs were still the majority in the north, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Therefore, to fail to redress such a grave injustice would just keep the cause of contention alive.

167. The Chairman stated that the Commission had taken due note of the statements made by the two witnesses as it had taken note of statements made during its visits to other Arab countries when other witnesses were presented to it. The fact that the witnesses had stated that they belonged to the Arab League would not imply, however, on the part of the Commission any involvement in the dispute related to the location of the League headquarters.

168. The four other witnesses (Nos. 38, 39, 40 and 41) referred essentially to the situation in Gaza. One of them (No. 38) described the area as being 45 kilometres long and 8 kilometres wide; half of it, he said, was built up with houses, another quarter bore citrus plantations and the remaining quarter was inhabited by some 500,000 Arabs.

169. Another witness (No. 41) stated that five Israeli settlements had been established on some 12,000 dunums of land. Roads had also been built on Arab land and the owners, said another witness (No. 38), rejected any offer of compensation.

170. Some witnesses referred to different sorts of pressure exerted against the inhabitants to compel them to leave. A witness (No. 41) said that, for example, an Israeli would knock at a door at night, saying that he was an Arab commando and asking refuge. He would stay one hour or two and later on the inhabitant would be arrested and expelled. Another possibility was for the Israeli authorities to grant an authorization to visit relatives outside the Gaza Strip but not let the inhabitant return. A reference was made also to

the control of water through meters fixed on wells to limit the supply; the water would be completely shut off if the consumption exceeded the fixed limit (No. 38), thus compelling the inhabitant to leave.

171. The same witness recalled that when Israeli troops entered the Gaza Strip in 1967, they encircled the villages, put the men aged 15 to 30 on trucks and took them to Egypt, thereby expelling some 12,000 young men who were never allowed to return.

172. Another witness (No. 39) stated that the purpose of the settlements in addition to changing the demographic nature of the area was to terrorize the inhabitants. Those settlements were heavily armed while the local inhabitants had no weapons. Friction and clashes among the two groups left many victims among the Palestinians.

173. As to the procedure followed by the Israeli authorities to establish or extend their settlements, a witness (No. 41), who said that he had left Gaza one month before, stated that when the Eretz settlement had decided to build a road leading to the seashore, the Israelis confiscated his land with its vineyards and also took over several buildings which the United Nations had built for the refugees. In one of those buildings which, the witness said, still belonged to UNRWA, the inhabitants were given 24 hours to leave before it was destroyed.

174. Mr. Ali Khalil, representative of the United Nations Association (No. 42) made an appeal to the Commission to help the Security Council deal with the question of settlements which he emphasized was an obstacle on the road to peace.

#### *Private meeting*

175. During its stay at Cairo, the Commission had an opportunity to exchange views with Mr. Hafez Ghanim, Chairman of the International Law Association, and other members of the Association.

176. Among other points, Mr. Ghanim and his colleagues drew particular attention to the illegality of the establishment of settlements in occupied territories with regard to international law. They also questioned the validity of the status and functions of the Office of the Custodian of Absentee Property, which was established in Israel by law in 1950. Mr. Ghanim emphasized that that official was given a free hand over such properties, which could then be disposed of at his whim.

177. The Chairman expressed appreciation to Mr. Ghanim and to the other members of the Association for their informative briefing.

#### **F. STATEMENTS BY THE CHAIRMAN OF THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION AND OTHER OFFICIALS OF THAT ORGANIZATION**

178. In the course of its visit, the members of the Commission had several exchanges of views with representatives of the PLO. At Damascus, on 27 May, the Commission heard a statement by Mr. Najib Al Ahmad, Special Representative, Political Department and, the following day, statements were also made by Mr. Habib Kahwaji, and Mr. Abdul Muhsen Abou Meizar, both members of the Executive Committee. Moreover, at Beirut, on 30 May, the

Commission had a private meeting with Mr. Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

179. In his statement, Chairman Arafat said that the Israeli Defence Minister had recently confirmed his previous declaration that the Israelis wanted to destroy the Palestinians and that the shelling in Southern Lebanon would not stop as long as that goal had not been reached. This explained the daily killing of children and destruction of schools by fragmentation bombs, although their use was forbidden by international law.<sup>7</sup>

180. As a result of those developments, the number of refugees in Lebanon had increased to some 600,000 of which 150,000 were Palestinians and 450,000 Lebanese. The PLO had to fight not with a view to attacking but just to defend its people. Inside Palestine, the Palestinians who were still there were treated like slaves. They were under the control of the occupation forces for every way of life including the amount of water they were allowed to use in their villages, because water was allocated by priority to Israeli settlements. Meanwhile, the Palestinians who were compelled to leave their country were now used as experimental targets for all new types of those weapons provided to Israel by the United States.

181. Chairman Arafat pointed out the distress of the Palestinian refugees who had been uprooted from their own land and stripped from their national identity. He referred to their daily problems concerning, for instance, the obtaining of a passport or how their children could go to school. Many new-born children, he said, were not even reported because their parents lacked the necessary papers. It was sad indeed that in such circumstances the international community did not take the sort of strong action which could remedy the situation.

182. As to the Camp David agreement, Mr. Arafat said that while it specified that the Israelis should not attack the Jordanians or the Syrians, it did not mention the Palestinians. That omission implied an invitation to Israel to attack the Palestinians; clearly the Israelis were responding to it.

183. More trouble would come up, he said. But in the long run, PLO would succeed just like the many other leaders who, after acting as liberation fighters were now representing their own countries at the United Nations.

184. In the present context the development of Israeli settlements was the centre of the matter, he said. Most of the refugees had to leave their country because Israelis wanted their lands. And now the trend was increasing and the establishment of new settlements demonstrated Israel's policy of colonizing the occupied territories and banning for ever the return of the Palestinian refugees, in violation of United Nations resolutions. For that reason, PLO was hoping very sincerely that the Commission would be successful in its tasks which, it was to be hoped, would bring peace despite Israel's refusal to co-operate with it.

185. The Chairman of the Commission thanked Mr. Arafat for his informative briefing and assured him that the Commission would do its utmost to fulfil faithfully its mandate.

186. When at another meeting at Damascus, Mr. Najib Al Ahmad, special representative of the PLO addressed the Commission, he pointed out that for the establishment of

the settlements on Arab lands in the West Bank, the Israeli Government had allocated half a billion Israeli pounds for the year 1979. Moreover, it had been decided, he said, to build 20 Israeli settlements in the West Bank in 1980 and 45 within the next five years to accommodate 58,000 Jewish families.

187. Mr. Al Ahmad then gave an account of the practices used by authorities to compel Arab inhabitants to leave their lands. Thus the Arabs were prevented from digging any artesian wells without a special authorization, which was difficult to obtain. The owners of the wells were compelled to install water meters and could irrigate their land only with the amount of water allocated to them and only during specified hours. That practice led to a decrease in agricultural production, which compelled the owners to abandon their lands. He referred also to acts of destruction or damage to Arab water pumps perpetrated by the Israeli settlers to prevent the Arabs from irrigating their land and further noted that Arabs in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip needed a special authorization to plant trees or replace those previously planted.

188. Mr. Al Ahmad challenged the Israeli Government claim that it established the settlements only on public lands. He referred to his own experience in 1948 when Israel occupied 90 per cent of the land of his native village, Romana, and in 1967 when it occupied the rest. Mr. Al Ahmad was then put in jail, for security reasons, and after spending 13 months in prison he was expelled with his family.

189. In that connexion, the witness gave some information on the treatment of prisoners in the occupied territories. He also noted that more than 2,000 Arabs had been forcefully deported without even the use of indirect ways of pressure. A large number of these deported people, he said, were professionals such as physicians, engineers, teachers and lawyers.

190. Mr. Al Ahmad also drew attention to the fact that 2,875 Arab houses had been blown up for so-called security reasons.

191. Mr. Habib Kahwaji, member of the Executive Committee of the PLO who indicated that he had been expelled from the West Bank, said that, under the pretext of maintaining security, the Israeli authorities had embarked upon a programme of gradual judaization of the occupied territories. This was pursued through the creation of a wall of settlements between those territories and neighbouring Arab States; the fragmentation of the territorial unity of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip into small areas isolated from each other by Jewish settlements; and the isolation of major Arab cities in the area from their natural Arab surroundings.

192. Over the past 12 years, in order to acquire the lands needed for its settlements in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, Israel had seized an area equivalent to more than one quarter of the total area of both territories.

193. The various ways resorted to by the Israeli occupation authorities to seize Arab lands included the following:

(a) Acquisition of public lands allocated for public facilities or for the expansion of municipal zones;

(b) Expropriation of privately owned lands by invoking the Emergency Law introduced by the British Mandate Government; that law as revised by Israel, authorized mil-

<sup>7</sup> Part of a fragmentation shell was shown to the Commission.

itary governors to declare certain areas as zones closed for military purposes;

(c) The use of the Absentees' Property Law of 1950;

(d) The compulsory purchase of Arab lands, which consisted of seizing privately owned land, then having the owners appear before the military administration official to sign the sale contracts, prepared in advance;

(e) The purchase of land through firms set up abroad either by the Jewish National Fund (JNF) or the Israeli Real Estate Department, such as the Rimanotha firms, an American enterprise owned by the JNF;

(f) The seizure of lands under the pretext that they used to be owned by the JNF before 1948.

194. Through these various methods of seizure and confiscation, over 60 per cent of the arable lands of the Jordan Valley, namely, 95,000 dunums, had been seized. In the Hebron area, in addition to public lands, the occupation authorities had expropriated 1,000 dunums in 1968 to set up the settlement of Kiryat Arba, another 1,000 dunums of the Samou' village lands, 230 dunums belonging to the Bani Naeem village in 1975 and about 160 dunums at Hebron itself in 1979.

195. Several thousand dunums had also been seized in the Gosh Etzion area on the Bethlehem-Hebron road, where five settlements were set up. The latest confiscation in that area had happened in the Sheikh Abdulla hill, to the east of Kfar Etzion and south of Bethlehem, where several hundred dunums were seized to be used for a new Jewish town called Efrat. Last year, an area of 60,000 dunums in the Beit Sahor area, to the south of Jerusalem, was closed and fenced.

196. When Israel made its decision to annex Arab Jerusalem in 1967, the outskirts of the city, including an area of 70,000 dunums were also annexed. In the autumn of 1971, Israel closed other lands covering about 70,000 dunums. Those lands ranged from Beit Sahor in the south, through Al-Khan Al-Ahmar on the Jerusalem-Jericho road in the east, to the village of Anata in the north. Inside the city of Jerusalem itself 18,000 dunums were seized. In 1976, a 1,000-dunum area in the Abu Dais village and 750 dunums in the village of Aizariah were expropriated, and 1,000 dunums in the Beit Or village and 800 dunums in the Jila mountain near Beit Jala were closed. Several thousand additional dunums had already been closed in the village of Salwan. Last year the Israeli authorities closed and fenced some 4,000 dunums of the lands of the Anata village to the north of Jerusalem.

197. The same happened in the Ramallah area where, since 1970, the occupation authorities had closed 2,400 dunums in the Al-Beera vicinity, to which were added 1,500 dunums at Jabal El-Taweel, near Al-Beera. In July 1978, lands totalling 7,000 dunums were closed in the same area, half of them belonging to Al-Beera and the other half to the villages of Yabrood and Dora El-Qar'a. Meanwhile, some 600 dunums had been expropriated in the village close to the Ofira settlement to the east of Ramallah and other areas, in the village of Qaryoot and Tar Mas'iyah, were expropriated and annexed to the settlement of Shila. Almost at the same time, about 200 dunums in the Nabi Salih village, to the northwest of Ramallah, were seized for the purpose of setting up a new settlement there. The same also happened in the Nablus area. In the same year about 1,000 dunums in the village of Tobas were seized.

198. As to the Jewish settlement plans for the future, the witness stated that the Minister of Agriculture and head of the Ministerial Committee for Settlements, Mr. Ariel Sharon, had stressed the necessity of transforming Jerusalem into a city with 1 million Jewish inhabitants within 20 years, surrounded by other smaller Jewish towns.

199. Last year, he said the head of the Settlement Department of the Jewish Agency, Mr. Paanan Weitz, submitted to Israeli Prime Minister Begin, a comprehensive plan for the establishment of 102 settlements by 1983, half of which were to be established in the occupied territories. Mr. Weitz expected that plan to absorb 10,000 Jewish families. Mr. Metitiah Droblless, the Co-Chairman of the Jewish Agency's Settlement Department, explained that, according to the plan, 46 new settlements would be established within five years in the West Bank alone.

200. The witness went on to say that last February, the Israeli Government approved a plan set by the Planning Office in the Jewish Agency's Settlement Department for supplying water from the Lake of Tiberias to a Jewish settlement site in the Jordan Valley and developing a main road to connect the northern part of occupied Palestine with Jerusalem across the eastern slopes of the Nablus Mountains. That plan aimed at the implantation of a wide range of Jewish settlements on the eastern slopes of the Nablus Mountains and the establishment of 33 settlements to absorb 20,000 settlers within four years. The cost of such a plan was estimated by the Israelis at £1 5 billion.

201. For 1979, the Israeli circles were considering the establishment of 10 new settlements in the West Bank and one south of the Gaza Strip. An Israeli official source had announced on 5 December 1978, that by the end of the settlement freezing period, two new settlements would be established in the Jordan Valley and another in the Latrun area—that is on the boundary between Jaffa and Jerusalem—at the first stage. At the second stage, it was intended to establish three further settlements in the Jordan Valley. The Israeli Government had approved a budget of £1 711 million for the improvement and expansion of the present settlements in occupied territories. Later on, the Israeli Government had approved an extra budget of £1 1 billion for further care of the settlements in the occupied territories.

202. Mr. Abdul Muhsen Abou Meizar, member of the PLO Executive Committee, said that, as a Jerusalem attorney, he had been a member of the municipality of that city and a member of its town planning committee. Until his deportation he also had been a member of the High Islamic Council.

203. The witness described some of Israel's practices in the occupied Arab territories, which were in clear violation of the 1949 Geneva Conventions,<sup>a</sup> in particular of articles 2, 4, 27, 47 and 49 of the fourth Convention. As to the settlement policy, it was in flagrant contravention of article 4. Similarly, the annexation of Jerusalem in 1967 was in contradiction to article 47.

204. Contrary to Israel's allegation that the Jewish settlements constituted a private activity of the part of Israeli citizens, it was clear, from the many official statements on the matter, that it was in fact the policy of the Government. Its aim was the judaization of Palestine through the annexation of lands, the expulsion of the Palestinian inhabitants, and the containment and isolation of the remaining Palestinian agglomerations.

<sup>a</sup> United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 75, Nos. 970-973.



### III. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### A. CONCLUSIONS

205. When it set out to accomplish the task entrusted to it by the Security Council, i.e., "to examine the situation relating to settlements in the Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem", the Commission sought as a matter of priority to secure the co-operation of all the parties concerned in order to carry out its mandate objectively and comprehensively.

206. The Commission felt in that connexion that a visit to the area would be most useful to its work.

207. The Commission, although aware of the views already expressed by the Israeli Government in the matter, made persistent efforts at various levels to secure the co-operation of that Government. As related in section I of the present report, the Commission was much disappointed by Israel's negative response to its approach. It noted in that regard that Israel's attitude deprived the Commission not only of the possibility of examining *in situ* the situation relating to settlements in the occupied territories but also of any opportunity to receive from the Government of Israel the explanations and comments which would have been useful to the Commission in its efforts to assess the situation.

208. The Commission feels compelled to state that it considers such a lack of co-operation on the part of a Member State as an act of disregard for a decision of the Security Council.

209. Having spared no effort to obtain information from a variety of sources, the Commission believes that the present report contains a fairly accurate assessment of the prevailing situation it was entrusted to examine.

210. In its endeavour to fulfil its mandate, the Commission felt that it could assist the Security Council *inter alia* by: (a) bringing up to date the basic information already at the disposal of the Council; (b) determining the consequences of the settlement policy on the local Arab population; and (c) assessing the impact of that policy and its consequences with regard to "the urgent need to achieve a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East" stressed by the Council in the preamble of resolution 446 (1979), under which the Commission was created.

211. In drawing its conclusions the Commission did not attribute the same value to every piece of information it had obtained, but evaluated its significance freely and critically, in accordance with: its relevance to the accomplishment of the mandate of the Commission and its accuracy as determined by its coherence and by the documentary evidence rendered by the witnesses as a supplement to their statements.

#### *Recent information on the settlements*

212. According to the figures obtained, there are altogether in the occupied territories 133 settlements, including 17 in and around Jerusalem, 62 in the West Bank, 29 in the Golan Heights and 25 in the Gaza Strip and the Sinai.

213. The population of those settlements varies in number, probably depending on the policy purposes predetermined for each settlement. In the area of Jerusalem and the West Bank where the establishment of settlements has been the most intensive, the number of settlers has reached approximately 90,000, while in the Sinai their number would be under 5,000.

214. The land seized by the Israeli authorities as a whole, either specifically for the establishment of those settlements or for other stated reasons, covers 27 per cent of the occupied West Bank and the quasi-totality of the Golan Heights.

215. On the basis of the information received, the Commission is convinced that a number of settlements were established on privately owned land and not only on public land.

216. Many of those settlements are of a military nature, either officially placed under the control of the Israeli army or *de facto* with a settler population of military age. Moreover, those settlers are said to have at their disposal military weapons in the midst of an unarmed Arab population.

217. According to several witnesses, the location of the settlements is determined in accordance with agricultural designs, and also with what Israel considers to be "security" purposes. That may explain, for instance, the existence of three successive belts of settlements reported to have been established between Jerusalem and the Jordan River and which would be aimed at "compartmenting" the local population.

218. Supported by the strong influence of various private groupings, the settlement policy is an official government programme which is implemented by a number of organizations and committees representing both the Government and the private sector inside and outside Israel.

219. In addition to private contributions coming mostly from outside Israel, the financing of the settlement policy is essentially a governmental matter. In that connexion, the Commission was told that the Israeli Government has set aside the equivalent of \$US 200 million for expanding and establishing settlements during the fiscal year 1979/80.

220. The Commission found evidence that the Israeli Government is engaged in a wilful, systematic and large-scale process of establishing settlements in the occupied territories for which it should bear full responsibility.

#### *Consequences of the settlement policy on the local population*

221. The Commission is of the view that a correlation exists between the establishment of Israeli settlements and the displacement of the Arab population. Thus it was reported that since 1967, when that policy started, the Arab population has been reduced by 32 per cent in Jerusalem and the West Bank. As to the Golan Heights, the Syrian authorities stated that 134,000 inhabitants had been expelled leaving only 8,000, i.e., 6 per cent of the local population in the occupied Golan Heights.

222. The Commission is convinced that in the implementation of its policy of settlements, Israel has resorted to methods—often coercive and sometimes more subtle—which included the control of water resources, the seizure of private properties, the destruction of houses and the banishment of persons, and has shown disregard for basic human rights, including in particular the right of the refugees to return to their homeland.

223. For the Arab inhabitants still living in those territories, particularly in Jerusalem and the West Bank, they are subjected to continuous pressure to emigrate in order to make room for new settlers who, by contrast, are encouraged to come to the area. The Commission was told also that in the Golan Heights Israeli authorities imposed

Israeli citizenship on all new-born children in an effort to assimilate the remaining population.

224. The settlement policy has brought drastic and adverse changes to the economic and social pattern of the daily life of the remaining Arab population. As a mere example of that evolution, the Commission was informed that a number of Arab landowners were now compelled to earn their living and that of their family by working on their own land as the hired employees of the Israeli settlers.

225. The Commission considers that the pattern of that settlement policy, as a consequence, is causing profound and irreversible changes of a geographical and demographic nature in those territories, including Jerusalem.

226. The Commission has no doubt that those changes are of such a profound nature that they constitute a violation of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, and of the relevant decisions adopted by the United Nations in the matter, more specifically: Security Council resolutions 237 (1967), 252 (1968) and 298 (1971); the consensus statement by the President of the Council on 11 November 1976 [1969th meeting]; as well as General Assembly resolutions 2253 (ES-V) and 2254 (ES-V), 32/5 and 33/113.

*Impact of the settlement policy and its consequences  
on the search for peace*

227. While fully aware of the extreme complexities inherent in the Middle East problem and at the same time recognizing the limitations in the scope of its mandate, the Commission none the less had the opportunity to note a genuine desire for peace in the capitals it visited as well as among the leaders of the Palestine Liberation Organization whom it met.

228. Unfortunately, the Commission has also perceived a deep sense of despair and helplessness, primarily among the Palestinian refugees. That stems from the realization that Israel's policy with regard to the occupied Arab territories and more particularly its policy of continuing to establish more settlements is unabated and undaunted either by United Nations decisions or any other external factor. The Commission would like to state clearly in that regard that in the course of its various meetings it felt that this settlement policy was widely regarded as a most negative factor in the achievement of peace in the area both by the refugees themselves and all those who support their cause, including the neighbouring Governments for which that policy generates at the national level economic and social problems of grave consequences.

229. Consequently, after examining the situation relating to settlements in the Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, the Commission wishes to reaffirm the determination made in resolution 446 (1979), according to which "the policy and practices of Israel in establishing settlements in the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since 1967 have no legal validity and constitute a serious obstruction to achieving a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East".

**B. RECOMMENDATIONS**

230. On the basis of the conclusions reached, the Commission would like, therefore, to recommend that the Security Council, bearing in mind the inalienable right of the Palestinians to return to their homeland, launch a pressing

appeal to the Government and people of Israel, drawing again their attention to the disastrous consequences which the settlement policy is bound to have on any attempt to reach a peaceful solution in the Middle East.

231. In the view of the Commission, as a first step, Israel should be called upon to cease on an urgent basis the establishment, construction and planning of settlements in the occupied territories. The question of the existing settlements would then have to be resolved.

232. The Security Council might further wish to consider measures to safeguard the impartial protection of property arbitrarily seized.

233. As to Jerusalem, the Security Council should also call upon the Government of Israel to implement faithfully the resolutions it has adopted on that question as from 1967. Moreover, recalling that Jerusalem is a most sacred place for the three great monotheistic faiths throughout the world, i.e., Christian, Jewish and Moslem, the Council might wish to consider steps to protect and preserve the unique spiritual and religious dimension of the Holy Places in that city, taking into account the views of high-ranking representatives of the three religions.

234. In view of the magnitude of the problem of settlement and its implications for peace in the region, the Security Council should keep the situation under constant survey.

**ANNEX I**

**Summary of statements made at the 4th meeting of  
the Commission**

**A. STATEMENTS BY THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF JORDAN TO  
THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE CROWN  
PRINCE OF JORDAN**

Mr. NUSEIBEH (Jordan) expressed his Government's satisfaction at the Security Council's decision to deal with the problem of Israeli settlements, which more than any other issue impinged on the achievement of a just, comprehensive and lasting peace in the Middle East. He hoped that in its forthcoming visit to Amman, the Commission would have the opportunity to talk to many witnesses who could give a first-hand description of the situation in the West Bank and Jerusalem.

It was important to realize that, in addition to the original inhabitants of Jerusalem and the West Bank who had been displaced by the Israeli occupation, there were from 300,000 to 400,000 people who considered the occupied territories their home, although they had been working outside the area at the time of the occupation. Those people had been sending their earnings back to relatives in the West Bank and Jerusalem and had built homes there with a view to returning. He was a displaced person himself, since he was not allowed to visit his home in Jerusalem.

It was important to clarify the situation with regard to the occupation of land that fell within the category of "State domain". Israel claimed that such land had been the property of the Jordanian Government and that, as a result of the occupation, it currently belonged to Israel as successor to the Jordanian Government. That simply was not true. The State domain lands were the common property of the people of the area and had never been controlled by the Government of Jordan. Their status was similar to that of the Israeli kibbutzim. The cities and villages of the area did not consist only of houses and buildings, but also of the surrounding communal land. The native inhabitants who lived and worked abroad also had an interest in those communal lands. Therefore, it was not sufficient to ask how many people had been displaced by the Israeli occupation. The question was much more complex than that.

The Israeli practices in confiscating land in the West Bank and Jerusalem were arbitrary and contrary to the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949. The Israelis simply sent a notice to each property-owner stating that they were taking over the land and that the owner was to go to the bank to collect the price thereof. There were cases, for example, where the Israeli Government had offered the equivalent of \$US 50 to \$US 70 for property in Jerusalem that was really worth \$US 350,000. Nevertheless, even if the Israeli Government offered \$US 500,000 for a property, 99 per cent of the people would not even consider accepting money. There were, of course, exceptional

cases where an individual had taken the money and moved to the United States or some other country. However, that was illegal under international law and the Geneva Convention, according to which such land must remain, for the duration of the occupation, under the care of the custodian of the absentee or of the enemy owner. The inhabitants whose land had been expropriated knew that they must not give up their claim to ownership under any circumstances.

It was important to understand the extent to which the entire territory of the West Bank had been vivisectioned so that every town was surrounded by Israeli settlements. Under the current circumstances, for example, if the mayors of Nablus and Hebron wished to meet, they would not be able to travel from one city to the other in a straight line.

He hoped that during its visit to the area, the Commission would get as complete a picture of the situation as possible. He felt that the Commission should extend its visit to Amman for more than three days. He also wished to express a word of caution about the need to exercise discretion about publishing the identity of witnesses who might testify before the Commission. Some witnesses might not want their names divulged for fear of reprisals.

The fact that Israel had refused to co-operate with the Commission should not deter it from its work. The use of the term "incomplete" in the Commission's report would not be accurate, although it would, of course, be an indictment of Israel for hindering the Commission's work.

In conclusion, he reiterated his Government's willingness to place at the Commission's disposal the large volume of data and maps that it had compiled. The representatives of the office of the Crown Prince would be willing to provide additional information and explanations to the Commission.

Mr. SAKET (office of the Crown Prince of Jordan) said that there were numerous mechanisms by which the Israelis had been confiscating land and evacuating Arab inhabitants and property-owners during the Israeli occupation of the West Bank, whether the pretext was security, the establishment of settlements or ecological considerations.

In a recent issue, the *The New Republic* magazine had published information supplied by an Israeli columnist on the Israeli process of establishing settlements, which he divided into four stages. The first step was for a group of Israelis to occupy a particular area of land, which gave rise to clashes between the Israeli system and individuals. Then a compromise could be reached, whereby those settlers could be invited to Israeli military camps for a short period while negotiations between the settlers and the military personnel were conducted. In the meantime, those settlers commuted to certain cities in the West Bank or Israel, while at the same time starting to establish kindergartens and schools on the temporary site that they were occupying. The military authorities then selected land nearby, which they considered a closed area for security purposes, and moved the settlers into a new adjacent area. At that stage, financing would materialize from various sources to support construction of housing for the new settlers.

He wished to quote a number of figures and hoped that supporting documents would be distributed subsequently. According to Israeli sources and his country's estimates, confiscated land constituted 27.1 per cent of the total area of the West Bank and settlements constituted 6.3 per cent of the area of the West Bank, most of the settlements consisting of agricultural land. The greatest density of settlements was in Arab areas such as Hebron, Bethlehem and Jericho (33.4 per cent) and the Jordan Valley (23.2 per cent), in the latter case owing to the availability of water and cultivable land. The greatest concentration of settlers was in the Jerusalem area (84.3 per cent), owing to Israel's unilateral decision to separate that area from the West Bank and annex it as Greater Jerusalem.

In addition to the concentration of settlers around Jerusalem, certain other characteristics of the settlements reflected Israeli policy in the occupied West Bank. There were 19 settlements in the Jordan Valley, particularly agricultural and military settlements. Those settlements relied on the water in the area and the electricity network that had already been established in the West Bank. Moreover, the settlements were distributed in such a way as to encircle the Arab inhabitants and at the same time ensure a source of cheap labour.

Besides using the land, the Israelis sold their agricultural produce to the West Bankers, thereby competing with the Arab farmers of the West Bank. The Israeli authorities also restricted use of water by Arabs. Four basic factors of production, namely land, water, electricity and labour, were thus being used by the Israelis.

#### B. STATEMENT BY THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE EXERCISE OF THE INALIENABLE RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE

Mr. FALL (Senegal), speaking as Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, said that no just and lasting peace in the Middle East was possible without resolving

the question of Palestine. The Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People would therefore be glad to receive information from the Commission regarding its plans and how its work was proceeding. It no doubt planned to visit and consider the Israeli settlements in question, including Jerusalem. It would no doubt also wish to meet not only Israeli military governors in occupied Arab territories, but also elected officials and other representatives of the Palestinian people both inside and outside the occupied territories. The Committee would strongly endorse such steps, and it felt that the Commission might also wish to meet the appropriate representatives of the Governments of Jordan, Syria, Lebanon and Egypt.

The Israeli Government's consistent refusal to comply with the provisions of the Geneva Convention of 1949 constituted an integral part of the Israeli settlement problem, as did the question of the violation by Israel of human rights in the occupied territories. The Commission might therefore also contact the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories.

With regard to documentation, the Commission might wish to use the documents submitted during recent Security Council debates and those obtained from the various Governments concerned and appropriate United Nations bodies. He wished to draw attention to the letter of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People and its annexes, dated 2 March 1979 [S/13132], which described the strategic and military implications of Israeli settlements in the West Bank. Earlier letters issued in 1977 and 1978 in documents S/12377 [July 1977] and A/33/154\* might also be useful to the Commission.

He would also provide the Commission with two studies prepared by the Committee: one on the right of return of the Palestinian people, an issue on which the United Nations had taken a position as early as 1948 and which underlay the problem of the settlements; and the other on the right of self-determination of the Palestinian people, an equally important issue that impinged on the settlements problem. Unless that problem was solved, it was difficult to see how the Palestinian people could regain their rights.

In addition to useful background information on the Israeli settlements in the West Bank and Gaza, the Committee would provide the Commission with its recommendations, including those regarding Israeli settlements, which had been endorsed repeatedly by the General Assembly. He drew attention to the fact that when the Committee had presented its basic report to the Security Council, the majority of members of the Council had been in favour of adopting it, despite the fact that one permanent member had voted against it.

He wished the Commission success, in particular, in reminding the Government of Israel that it was futile to persist in defying international opinion and United Nations resolutions by continuing to strengthen and expand its illegal settlements and to ignore the provisions of the 1949 Geneva Convention. He emphasized how appropriate it would be for the Israeli Government to allow the Commission to visit not only the settlements but also the Holy City of Jerusalem, which formed part of the occupied Arab territories in the United Nations sense of the words. The Israeli authorities had recently allowed a mission from the International Labour Organisation to visit the occupied Arab territories and therefore could not deny similar access to a Commission of the Security Council, the most important peace-keeping body of the United Nations.

In visiting both the occupied Arab territories and the battlefield countries, the Commission would meet with representatives of the Palestinian people. He drew attention to the fact that the sole recognized representative of the Palestinian people was the Palestine Liberation Organization; no one could refuse to accept that fact, since its representative had attended Security Council discussions with the same rights as the representatives of Member States.

Israel's arrogant and aggressive attitude must not be allowed to distract the Commission. The Security Council had decided to send a mission at the current point in time, and the Israeli authorities must allow it to conduct its work properly. That task would not be easy, but he was confident that the Commission would do everything possible to present all the elements of the problem.

#### ANNEX II Summaries of testimony

In the course of its visit to the area, the Commission held discussions with government officials in each of the four countries concerned. The

\* Document relating to item 31 of the agenda of the Thirty-third Session of the General Assembly.

Commission also met with the Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

The substantial part of those discussions has been reflected in the body of the report. Also in the report can be found an analysis of the testimony received in each country.

Individual summaries of the testimony have been prepared by the Secretariat. They are reproduced in this annex in the order in which the witnesses appeared before the Commission, i.e., 22 at Amman; 13 at Damascus (plus 3 statements from officials of the Palestine Liberation Organization); and 7 at Cairo as follows:

#### I. AMMAN, JORDAN

21 May

- Witness No. 1: Mr. Nadim S. Zaru  
Witness No. 2: Anonymous  
Witness No. 3: Miss Tawaddad Abdul Hadi  
Witness No. 4: Anonymous  
Witness No. 5: Anonymous

22 May

- Witness No. 6: Anonymous  
Witness No. 7: Anonymous  
Witness No. 8: Mr. Ali Dhib Omciri  
Witness No. 9: Anonymous  
Witness No. 10: Anonymous  
Witness No. 11: Mr. Ibrahim Bakr  
Witness No. 12: Archdeacon Elya Khoury  
Witness No. 13: Mr. Ibrahim Mustafa El-Sheikh  
Witness No. 14: Anonymous

23 May

- Witness No. 15: Mr. Ruhi El-Khatib  
Witness No. 16: Anonymous  
Witness No. 17: Anonymous

24 May

- Witness No. 18: Sheikh Abdul Hamid El-Sayeh  
Witness No. 19: Anonymous  
Witness No. 20: Anonymous  
Witness No. 21: Mr. Shawkat Mahmoud Hamdi

25 May

- Witness No. 22: Anonymous (written statement)

#### II. DAMASCUS, SYRIA

27 May

Statement by Mr. Najib Al Ahmad, Special Representative, Political Department, Palestine Liberation Organization

- Witness No. 23: Mr. Adel Abdul Salam  
Witness No. 24: Mr. Yassin Ribab  
Witness No. 25: Mr. B'rtas B'rtas  
Witness No. 26: Mrs. Ain Al-Hayat Daghout  
Witness No. 27: Mr. Merri Chjair  
Witness No. 28: Mr. Turki Saad El-Din

28 May

- Witness No. 29: Mr. Hosein Haj Hosein  
Witness No. 30: Mr. Abdulla El-Kadry  
Witness No. 31: Mr. Ibrahim El-Nimr  
Witness No. 32: Mr. Mohammad Kheir Fayez  
Witness No. 33: Mr. Radwan El-Tahhan  
Witness No. 34: Mr. Hosein Sami El-Ahmad  
Witness No. 35: Mr. Salama Said El-Mohammad

Statements by representatives of the PLO:

- Mr. Habib Kahwaji (Member of the Executive Committee)  
Mr. Abdul Muhsen Abu Meizar (Member of the Executive Committee)

#### III. CAIRO, EGYPT

31 May

- Witness No. 36: Mr. Yehia Aboubakr  
Witness No. 37: Mr. Ibrahim Shukrallah  
Witness No. 38: Mr. Abd Allah Mchana  
Witness No. 39: Mr. Ragab El Rahlawy  
Witness No. 40: Mr. Mohammed Kassem  
Witness No. 41: Mr. Mesbah Kresam  
Witness No. 42: Mr. Ali Khalil

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#### I. JORDAN

Witness No. 1—Mr. Nadim S. Zaru, Mayor of Ramallah

1. The witness gave an account of incidents that had taken place between 5 June 1967 and 6 October 1969 when he was expelled from his

home town. One month after the invasion in 1967, Israeli authorities had evacuated the inhabitants of three villages, Omwas, Beit Nouba and Yallo, in the Ramallah area in order to establish a new city to accommodate new settlers, approximately 100,000 people. The villages were then completely demolished. Six to eight thousand residents who had been displaced had not been offered alternate housing. They had even been forced, in some instances, to leave the Ramallah area and to cross the bridge to the East Bank.

2. In another incident, which occurred in the Jericho area five months after the occupation, the Israeli authorities cut the water, then expelled the families and confiscated the land. Most of the inhabitants had come to the Ramallah area where they received help from the municipality. But the mayor had been ordered by the Israeli military governor to stop any kind of assistance because the Israeli authorities wanted those people to leave the area. Despite petitions to the United Nations, foreign embassies and press conferences, Israel had refused to let the displaced persons return to the area. Some of the families had settled in the Ramallah area and some had gone to Amman.

3. The witness referred to various types of pressure used to force Palestinians to leave their homes, including the cutting-off of water; repeated imprisonment of landowners or leaders of refugee camps with the offer to release them if they would sign a paper agreeing to leave the area; refusal to allow their children to attend school, and confiscation and destruction of houses owned by Palestinians living abroad.

4. Mr. Zaru also cited numerous instances of confiscation of land, totalling 74,750 dunums altogether, supposedly because it had become a military zone, which had nevertheless been given to settlers. He also enumerated various areas totalling more than 32,000 dunums which had been confiscated in his area.

5. The witness stated further that Israel refused reunion of families in disregard of the Geneva Convention.

Witness No. 2 (Anonymous)

6. In 1967 the witness was living in the village of Deir Jareer, which comprised 33,161 dunums of land. Immediately after the 1967 war, close to 11,000 dunums of land were confiscated by Israel as a military zone. In 1975, a military camp was established on 2,000 dunums of one of the most fertile lands. The witness had personally owned six dunums there. Roads had been built and electricity and water extended to the area which was called Negmet as-Sabah. But in fact it became a settlement and many Arab inhabitants had had to leave for other towns while the occupation authorities were leasing the confiscated lands to new settlers.

Witness No. 3—Miss Tawaddad Abdul Hadi

7. The witness had been director of the preparatory school of Jenin for girls. As a result of her peaceful resistance, she had been accused of collaboration with the fedayeen, arrested on 11 January 1968, released 10 days later but dismissed from her position and forced to leave the Aghwar zone and sign documents stating that she would never cross over to Israeli territory.

8. In her testimony, the witness gave detailed accounts of the treatment given to male and female prisoners, minors as well as adults, subjected to torture aimed at proving that those prisoners were members of the resistance. Referring to constant and frequent administrative arrests, fines, custody and expropriation of lands, the witness emphasized that the complete evacuation of occupied territories was the major Israeli aim.

Witness No. 4 (Anonymous)

9. The witness concentrated on four particular aspects of the question of Israeli settlements: (a) whether the settlements were constructed on State or private land; (b) the pattern and process of land seizure; (c) the exploitation of the underground water resources of the West Bank by the Israelis for the exclusive use of the settlers; (d) the impact of the Israeli settlements on the Arab population.

(a) Whether the settlements are constructed on State or private land

10. The Israelis claimed that settlements were established only on State land and that no privately owned land was seized for their establishment. Although the establishment of settlements, whether on State or private land, is illegal under article 4 of the Geneva Convention and relevant United Nations resolutions, the witness had carried out a survey of most of the lands seized after 1967 and currently under direct control of the Israeli civilian settlements, in order to verify that assertion. Those land estimates did not include areas seized for military bases or fenced off for military purposes, such as the Zhor Area (that land next to the Jordan River) or large areas closed off, again for undefined security purposes, in the highlands of the West Bank overlooking the Jordan Valley.

11. As stated by the witness, the categories of land ownership considered as private were the following: (a) *mulk* land or private land where

the owners have clear title deeds; (b) *miri* land which has been actively cultivated for generations by the farmers and registered at the Ministry of Finance for land tax purposes; (c) *jiftlik* or *mudawwar* lands which have been also actively cultivated by Palestinian farmers and which, in the nineteenth century, were nominally under the title of the Ottoman Sultan and were recognized by the British and Jordanian Governments as private lands.

12. The categories of land included under State ownership or what are called "public domain" lands included the following: (a) *mawat* lands or waste land including desert, forests, and rocky cultivated mountain tops not owned by individuals; (b) lands which were the sites of British Mandate Taggart forts and Jordanian police or army camps; (c) lands which have been designated for community purposes such as parks and hospitals.

13. Based on the above criteria, the witness had found that out of an estimated 125,630 dunums of cultivable land taken by the Israelis for the exclusive use of the civilian colonies, 11,816 dunums, that is 9.4 per cent, were State lands and 113,814 dunums (90.6 per cent) were private lands. The witness submitted a document providing details of estimated land areas of settlements in the West Bank, West Bank Highlands and East Jerusalem.

(b) Pattern and process of land seizure

14. The process by which lands under cultivation by Palestinians were seized and transferred for use by Israeli civilian colonies began with the erection by the Israeli armed forces of boundary markers or barbed wire fences which defined the area to be grabbed. The military governor then informed the leaders of the village which owned the land that for security reasons they were not allowed to enter the closed-in areas. If it happened that the closed area had crops or fruit-bearing trees, the Israelis, over the last 11 years of occupation, had systematically destroyed, bulldozed, defoliated, uprooted, and cut down such crops and trees. That planned destruction had taken place invariably in almost all the areas that included seizure of privately owned cultivated land. In fact, the destruction of Palestinian homes and crops began right after the 1967 war with the seizure of 20,000 dunums of cultivated land in the Latrun salient belonging to three villages (Beit Nuba, Yalu, and Amwas) which were completely erased. The witness noted that Israeli colonizers of the settlement of Mevo Horon, built on the ruins of Beit Nuba, were now cultivating the lands of those three villages.

15. Similarly, the destroyed villages of El-Ajajreh and Jiftik were replaced by the settlement of Massua; Makhrouk by Argamon; Artas by Allon Shevot; Frush Beit Dajan by Hamra; wheat fields defoliated by planes in Akraha were now cultivated by the settlement of Gitit which, furthermore, was in the process of expansion through additional confiscation; 600 plum trees were cut down on Beit Ummer, land now cultivated by Migdal Oz; and in Beit Furik, the bulldozed land had passed under the control of the settlement of Mekhora.

16. Furthermore, it should be noted that land seizure was not a static process. As the settlement grew and more settlers were brought in, additional land in the nearby vicinity was taken in the same manner; thus, every settlement was a continuous threat to the surrounding Palestinian villages.

(c) Exploitation of the underground water resources of the West Bank by the Israelis for the exclusive use of the settlers

17. The witness noted further that the Israeli colonization process in the West Bank had not been restricted to land seizures. It had also involved the exploitation of the scarce underground water resources by the Israeli authorities who had been drilling deep bore holes and installing powerful pumps in all areas of the West Bank. The pumping of the underground water had taken place mostly in the Jordan Valley in favour of the Israeli agricultural settlements, for domestic and irrigation purposes. To date, the Israelis had drilled some 20 deep boreholes (from 300 to 600 metres deep) in the Jordan Valley and were pumping an estimated 15-17 million cubic metres per year to irrigate exclusively the lands seized for the Israeli settlements. A number of those wells had been drilled in close proximity to local Arab springs contrary to Jordan laws regulating the drilling of new wells. For example: two wells in the Jericho area above Ain Sultan spring, three wells drilled on the site of Al-Auja spring, two wells drilled on the site of the Phasa'el spring, four wells drilled in the Wadi Fara basin, and two wells drilled in the Bardala basin. Already the impact of these well-drilling practices had been felt in Jericho where the salinity content of the water, being pumped from pre-1967 Arab wells, had noticeably risen in the past two years. The outflow of the Al-Auja spring which was on average 11 million cubic metres per year was presently down to a trickle. Informed hydrologists linked the drastic reduction in the outflow of the Al-Auja spring to the three Israeli wells dug on the site of that spring. The depletion of the Al-Auja spring was presently threatening the destruction of all cultivation for the village of Al-Auja. To alleviate a disaster, the farmers of Al-Auja had asked the military authorities either to stop pumping from

their new wells, to supply the Arab farms with water from the Israeli wells, or to be allowed to drill for the village a new well which could complement the water supply of the spring. The Israelis had categorically rejected these requests.

18. Another example of the impact of those Israeli wells could be seen in the Bardala region, where two wells dug by the Israelis had completely dried up all springs and wells in the region belonging to farmers from three villages: Bardala, Ain al-Bayda, and Kardala. Recently, the Israeli military authorities had accepted the responsibility for the drying up of the Arab wells and had agreed to supply water from the Israeli wells to the villages. This outcome placed the Palestinian villagers in a position of total dependence upon the Israeli settlers for their water supply.

19. Not only had the Israelis been freely developing new wells and thus stealing the scarce water resources for their own exclusive use, but they had also since 1967 placed a ban on any new Arab wells for irrigation purposes. They had also restricted the amount of water the Palestinians could pump from pre-1967 existing wells by forcing water meters to be placed on those wells. In brief, the occupation forces were not only using a resource that did not belong to them, but they were also preventing the indigenous population from developing their own.

(d) Impact of the Israeli settlements on the Arab population

20. The impact of the colonization process on the local Palestinian population had been devastating, the witness said. Thousands of farmers had been displaced from their lands, from their source of livelihood, their work, and their natural resources. The villages that had been most hard hit by those land seizures were those located on the eastern highlands overlooking the Jordan Valley, mainly Majdal Beni Fadal, Akraha, Beit Furik, Beit Dajan, Tammun, and Toubas. For example, the village of Beit Dajan had lost an estimated 80 per cent of its cultivable prime land with the result that 90 per cent of its population of 2,000 inhabitants had become partially or completely landless farmers. The same had happened in the nearby village of Beit Furik where an estimated 60 per cent of its land holdings had been seized or closed off for the settlement of Mekhora and some 80 per cent of the village population of 4,000 had become partially or totally landless. As Israeli settlements were now being built everywhere on the West Bank, their adverse effects were affecting more and more villages. Then some of the landless farmers had to become wage labourers sometimes in the Israeli settlements established on their own lands. Many of them had had to go elsewhere.

*Witness No. 5 (Anonymous)*

21. The witness referred to expropriations of land, violations of human rights, sacrilege committed against religious areas, settlements established in the Hebron area and individual land seizures. In 1968 a group of people had established a settlement in the Hebron area. In 1971, Israeli military authorities had by decree closed 3,000 dunums of agricultural lands with houses on them ostensibly for security reasons. The authorities had started a building for border police and then 1,500 houses and a synagogue. Small industries had been established in the area and some 2,000 Israelis were living there at present.

22. Detailing the pressures exerted on the Arab population, the witness referred to a number of instances of harassments and imprisonment of adults and children and to a recent proposal to unify the municipalities of Hebron and Kiryat Arba, the new settlement, under a Jewish mayor. In 1979, the settlers of Kiryat Arba had taken an additional piece of 500 dunums of land to build 500 housing units. The people of Hebron had gone to the Israeli Court to ask that that decision not be implemented. The Court had decided that the decision to build houses for the purpose of establishing a settlement was illegal. Nevertheless, the establishment of the settlement had continued. The witness also gave a detailed account of sacrileges committed against various religions.

23. With regard to individual seizures of land and buildings, the witness cited among others an instance in which the settlers at Hebron, using as an excuse an old synagogue, which had been in ruins for 500 years, had destroyed a building belonging to the municipality of Hebron. He noted that letters and cables to newspapers from the people of Hebron were censored by the military authorities and that, meanwhile, Israeli settlers continued to survey other areas for new settlements at Hebron, as elsewhere.

*Witness No. 6 (Anonymous)*

24. The witness said that his statement would relate to the village of Amwas where he had lived for 30 years.

25. The village is located 25 kilometres west of Jerusalem. Before the events of 5 June 1967 the village had 800 houses, with 3,500 to 4,000 inhabitants, two mosques, one Carmelite convent under the protection of the French Government, and two schools. It was equipped with two wells

for drinking water and an installation providing running water for 280 homes. Amwas is an agricultural area with olive trees and fruit trees.

26. That village was destroyed in 1967, without any military justification. The Arab Legion had withdrawn from the area two hours before the arrival of Israeli troops; none of the inhabitants had any weapons and therefore there was no military or armed resistance. Nevertheless, on 6, 7 and 8 June 1967, after the occupation of the Israeli army, one third of the village was dynamited and all the houses were blown up. Then on 24 June, the Israelis began to destroy two thirds of the village by the use of bulldozers. Only the two mosques, the cemetery and the Carmelite convent were spared.

27. During all the events connected with the destruction, which lasted about one month, the entire area was closed to everyone except the Israeli army. A French priest, Paul Gauthier, got the closest to the village and made a report, protesting against what had happened, and addressed it to the Israeli army.

28. Returning to the ordeal suffered by the inhabitants, the witness said that during the first day of war, about 100 or 150 villagers from Amwas had taken refuge in the monastery. But at the end of the fighting when they tried to return, the Israeli soldiers did not let them enter their houses. On 12 June, two buses with Israeli armed soldiers arrived at the monastery and the refugees were ordered to leave the monastery. They refused but the Israelis came into the monastery and pushed the refugees by force outside. They were then taken to the village of Beit Sira. The witness pointed out that most of those refugees were in night clothes and that they had nothing with them, not even food or water. It was impossible to establish any kind of contact with them for almost two months. At the beginning of July, the person in charge of the monastery met at Ramallah with the chief of the district of Amwas and the leaders of Amwas. They asked the Israeli authorities to allow the refugees at Ramallah to return and reconstruct their village. But that request was rejected.

29. The witness gave as a reference the book *A Lost Victory*, written by Amos Kenaa, who was the head of the group that the Israeli Army had entrusted with the mission of destroying the village. The book was published at Tel Aviv in 1970 by Abraham Publications and it is a first-hand report of an impartial witness. According to the witness, he had heard from a great number of people that during the destruction of the village some elderly people who were not able to leave their homes were killed under their houses when they were blown up.

30. After the war two thirds of the villagers moved to Amman and one third remained at Ramallah, Jerusalem and other villages. Never until now have any of those villagers been able to return to that village to live or work. The Israeli authorities transformed that village into a leisure park, planted trees and called it Canada Park. Asphalt roads had been built in the village and around it. The witness outlined that the only remaining part of Amwas now was the Carmelite convent, which was located in the middle of the village and used to be surrounded by many houses. He noted that if there had been any battles, that convent would have been destroyed too, due to its location. It was not and it proved that the village was destroyed deliberately. All the lands of the village had been seized and were now being exploited by the Israeli foundation, Kerin Kismet, and by the inhabitants of the nearby Israeli settlements. All the area was irrigated and the irrigation network was established. Two kilometres away from Amwas, the Mevo Horon settlement was founded. An artesian well dug near this settlement provides a great amount of water to irrigate the lands in the area. Arab workers are used to exploit those lands but not one Arab has any property in the area or can in any way become an owner.

31. Replying to questions the witness said that he could not give any precise reason for that destruction. According to his knowledge no one received any indemnity. He also noted that two thirds of the houses in the village were still intact on 13 or 14 June 1967. Furthermore, no settlement had been created in this particular way. However, that area may have been considered as important strategically and commercially because it is the key to Bab el-Wad and to the roads to Ramallah, Gaza, Jerusalem and Tel Aviv.

*Witness No. 7 (Anonymous)*

32. The witness, who lived at Qalqilia about 1948, said that most of the land in that area was in the hands of Jews but that the houses and the highest areas belonged to the Arabs. The local people, being very active in the field of agriculture, had succeeded in transforming the rocky land into a prosperous and fruitful area, in particular, by digging some 50 artesian wells. That is a real motive why Israel had led various attacks in that area before 1967, in particular on 10 October 1956 and 5 September 1965, when 11 artesian wells were destroyed by Israel.

33. During the 1967 war, 60 per cent of the houses in the village were destroyed and its inhabitants compelled to leave for a period of 25 days.

The villagers formed a committee that established contact with various consulates and finally, the inhabitants managed to return to their village. Land of about 22 dunums which belonged to different owners had been taken over by the Israeli authorities and surrounded with barbed wire.

34. Since then, in 1976, the Israeli authorities installed some sort of equipment in the artesian wells to control and limit the quantity of water which could be used. Those water restrictions forbade the villagers to make use of the rest of their property and even compelled them to leave their land. The witness said he had with him photocopies of the orders of the Israeli Water Supply Authorities establishing strict limitations for the use of water for each well during the current year. Since farming was the villagers' only source of livelihood they were in serious need of water.

35. Referring to the settlements, the witness said that on the road between Nablus and Qalqilia the Israeli authorities established two settlements at Kafr Lakef and Kafr Kaddum. The first one was founded in 1976 in a wooded area where bulldozers had uprooted all the trees. The second settlement was built on the land of villagers of Kafr Kaddum, which had been levelled by bulldozers. Both settlements started with about 20 houses; now they have approximately 150 houses each and are surrounded by barbed wire. The authorities built some new roads and equipped an artesian well with a motor engine and pipelines to supply the two settlements with water.

36. Responding to various questions, the witness said that only a few of the original owners had been paid for the houses that had been destroyed. The amount paid for each house was about one quarter of its real value.

*Witness No. 8—Mr. Ali Dhib Omeiri, Mukhtar of Beit Nuba*

37. Mr. Omeiri said that on 6 June 1967, Israeli authorities occupied his village. On that day the people of the village were asked to leave without being given any explanation. After three days at the outskirts of the village, the inhabitants of Beit Nuba were asked through loudspeakers to return to their homes and raise a white flag on their houses. As the inhabitants came close to their village, they were stopped by military personnel and their homes were destroyed in front of them. As Mukhtar of the village, the witness appealed to the military commander of the area, who confirmed that the people of the village could not return to their village, which had been destroyed.

38. Describing the village of Beit Nuba, in the West Bank highlands, Mr. Omeiri stated that it was approximately 25,000 dunums in size with a population of approximately 4,000 persons; it had two schools, and a medical clinic. It was equipped with an artesian well and a flour mill. He added that 650 houses had been blown up and gave the names of 14 people who had lost their lives in that destruction.

*Witness No. 9 (Anonymous)*

39. After giving an historical background of Zionism and explaining the various mechanisms utilized by Israeli authorities to acquire the land of the Arabs, the witness talked about his own experience with Israeli settlements. He said that at the beginning of 1977 a project for a settlement started in the Salfit area, located between the so-called green belt and the Jordan River. The new settlement called Messha, 20 kilometres from Salfit, started with 20 prefabricated houses on land that had been confiscated from the village of Tefoa (between Nablus and Jerusalem). In February 1978, the Israeli authorities expropriated another 500 dunums of land in the villages of Salfit, Kofar El-Harish and Marda for a new settlement which was built by the Gush Emunim group with the approval and help of the Committee on Settlements headed by the Israeli Minister of Agriculture. It started with 80 families and there are plans of settling 1,500 more families there within the next 5 years. Protests led nowhere.

40. In April 1979 the local councils in the Salfit district were informed of a new expropriation decision concerning 3,500 dunums between the settlements of Alyeh and Tefoa. The occupying authorities took control of the only artesian well which is located in the village of Zawiya, in order to supply the above-mentioned two settlements with water, while the local inhabitants of those villages were prevented from using it. The witness said that he was a farmer and that Israel had expropriated 80 dunums of his land, which was the main source of living for his family. Regarding the expropriation of land by Israeli authorities, the witness noted that in some cases Israeli authorities offered as barter other lands which belonged to families abroad whose properties had become known as the land of absentee owners. However, the farmers had rejected that offer on the grounds of its illegality and in the knowledge that it would engender hatred among the Arabs involved.

41. Replying to questions, the witness said that seldom were reasons for the expropriation given. However, in some cases security reasons were cited. In reply to another question relating to the offer of compensation by the Government of Israel, the witness stated that any compensation

which was offered was merely one tenth of the real value of the land, but that this was not the point since he wanted to keep his land. He added that while he was still farming the remaining part of his land, he lived in the constant fear of being expropriated from it.

*Witness No. 10 (Anonymous)*

42. The witness said that after being expelled from his house in 1948 he had lived until 1967 at Hebron. When the Israeli occupying forces entered Hebron on 9 June 1967, many inhabitants, having heard of the atrocities committed at Jerusalem and Nablus, decided to leave. During the first three months, conditions compelled other inhabitants to take refuge at Amman. The witness said that he was a teacher and that at the beginning of the academic year, Israeli authorities intervened in the teaching curriculum. The Arab teachers protested that intrusion and organized a labour union to defend their views. Then they were accused of relationship with Israel's enemies.

43. The witness was arrested. He was subjected to various sorts of brutal treatment during his interrogation, including burning with flames and beating, in an effort to compel him to make false confessions. Transferred from one prison to another, he was also threatened by his interrogators with harm to the women and children of his family if he did not co-operate. He was informed of the appointment of a lawyer for his defence who, after noting his physical condition, arranged with prison authorities for a doctor to examine him. A medical report of his condition was included in the file of his trial. The trial went on for about one year. He was sentenced to 15 years. He remained more than five years in prison and became seriously ill.

44. Largely as a result of the efforts of the members of his family abroad, the military authorities agreed to release him on two conditions: that he should move to Amman, and that his family, including his parents, should give up their properties and go with him. He first refused, but finally moved to Amman.

45. In replying to questions, the witness said that the Israeli authorities interfered in the curriculum of the school by imposing the deletion of any references to nationalistic and/or religious enrichment, for example passages of the Koran and poetry and songs referring to the Palestinian homeland. As to information sought by his interrogators, he said that they had accused him of collaboration with Jordan and with actions aimed at changing the status of occupation. He added that his lawyer had written a book outlining the particulars of his case in full detail under the title *With My Own Eyes*.

*Witness No. 11—Mr. Ibrahim Bakr*

46. The witness, a lawyer, had been the legal adviser of the waqf Department of the West Bank, including Jerusalem. He had been and continued to be the Secretary of the Makassed Society, a charitable institution in Jerusalem, and a member of the Jordanian Bar Association.

47. On 5 June 1967, he was living at Ramallah, near Jerusalem. On 30 December 1967, he had been expelled from the West Bank owing to his active opposition to the regulations passed by the Israeli military authorities concerning absentees' lands. At the outset of his testimony, Mr. Bakr referred to the situation in Palestine prior to and after the establishment of Israel. In that connexion, he noted that when the British Mandate was established, the Jewish population of Palestine was approximately 45,000 to 50,000, while the majority of the population of Palestine was made up of Arabs, both Christian and Moslem. He noted further that from the beginning of the British Mandate until 1948, the percentage of land which had passed into the hands of the Jews was six per cent. Furthermore, 16 per cent of the land in Palestine was Moslem waqf lands, that is a public trust in Islamic law. After 1948, land was confiscated by Israel under different Israeli laws, such as the law of expropriation for security purposes, the law for reconstruction and the absentee law. In particular, a law was passed by the Knesset which applied to the Arab part of Jerusalem whereas the rest of the West Bank was governed by military ordinances. At Jerusalem, the law considered all lands whose owners had not been present on 5 June 1967 as absentees' lands even if the owners had returned thereafter. All such lands had been put under the authority of the Custodian of Absentee Property who, *inter alia*, collected the rents from the absentees' houses.

48. Following the occupation, the witness was called in as legal adviser by the Director of the Islam Waqf Department to be present during the visit to that department by the Israeli Director of Waqf at Jerusalem. The latter had requested a list of all the Islam waqf real estate which at Jerusalem constituted 25 per cent of the real estate on the grounds that the Israeli Government, as successor to the Jordanian Government, considered itself to be in charge of such real estate. Mr. Bakr had opposed that position, indicating that although the Islam Waqf Department had been linked with

the Jordanian Government, the waqf real estate had never belonged to Jordan. Rather, the Islam waqf belonged to all the Moslems. At the time, Mr. Bakr had convened a meeting of the leaders of the West Bank, including the Arab Mayor of Jerusalem, and they had jointly opposed the Israeli annexation of Jerusalem as being contrary to international law and to the relevant United Nations resolutions and as constituting an act of aggression against a sovereign State, i.e., Jordan. A statement signed by 20 people, including Mr. Bakr, had been sent to the Ministry of the Interior of Israel. Severe measures had been taken against the signatories; four, including Mr. Bakr, had been exiled to different parts of Palestine for three months. Mr. Bakr had thereafter been expelled from the West Bank. Those events were fully documented in a book entitled *Jerusalem Without Walls* written in 1970 by an Israeli named Ouzi Benziman.

49. The witness also referred to the measures taken by Israel to impose its authority on those parts of Jerusalem invaded in June 1967. In particular, he mentioned those taken at the governmental and municipal levels to change the legal and administrative structure of Jerusalem, such as the dissolution of the Arab Municipal Council of Jerusalem and the taking over of its duties by the Municipal Council of West Jerusalem, the closing of the Arab courts of appeal, the district courts and the attorney-general's office and the establishment of Israeli courts in their stead, the replacement of Arab banks by Israeli banks, the confiscation of the cash held by Arab banks, the levying of an income tax and of a tax on purchases and the imposition of excise duties. As to other brutal measures, the witness also stated that Israel had demolished many Arab houses and sometimes entire Arab quarters within the walls of the Old City of Jerusalem before replacing them with new settlements in order to change the nature of the population and make Jews the majority in Arab Jerusalem.

*Witness No. 12—Archdeacon Elya Khoury*

50. The witness, a priest in the Anglican church of the diocese of Jerusalem, related his personal experiences right after the 1967 occupation until he was put in prison and then his own experiences in prison and when he was deported.

51. He was the vicar of St. Andrews Episcopal Church at Ramallah in 1967. At a meeting of the Military Governor of Ramallah with the heads of churches to discuss the needs of the Christian communities, he brought up the question of persecution by Israeli soldiers of 7- to 9-year-old school-children whom he had seen beaten in the street and school yards for expressing their anti-occupation feeling in words and slogans. The Military Governor had pointed out that it was not occupation but liberation, which, the Archdeacon noted, signified the fact that what Israel had in mind was to "liberate" the land from the original population of the country, which would be replaced by Jewish immigrants from all over the world.

52. On 2 March 1969 the Israeli soldiers had searched his house, the church building and grounds and taken him to the Military Governor of Ramallah and then to Jerusalem for interrogation. During three days they had endeavoured to find out whether he had links with El Fatah, the PLO, the Popular Front or any other Palestinian organization. Then he had spent two months in a Ramallah prison in solitary confinement and had witnessed others being tortured. On 16 April 1969, he had been released and deported immediately to Amman. Since then he had not been allowed to go back to Jerusalem. He emphasized that Israel's ultimate aim in the imprisonment and deportation of leaders was to deprive the owners of their land in order to build Israeli settlements on it.

*Witness No. 13—Mr. Ibrahim Mustafa El-Sheikh*

53. The witness was a resident of the village of Amwas with a population of 1,450 at the time of the occupation. On 6 June 1967, the Israeli troops entered the village with artillery, arms and tanks. Four hours later the inhabitants were ordered via loudspeakers to go to the house of the community leader (mukhtar) and then told to leave the village for Ramallah. Only the very old people and the very young children remained in the village; the rest, under the threat of being shot, were forced to leave without being allowed to take any belongings with them. After a two-day walk they reached Ramallah. On 11 June they were told via loudspeakers to return to their village. They walked back 32 kilometres and as they approached the village, at a distance of two kilometres, they saw the village being blown up. The witness stated that all the houses and their contents had been blown out, with the old people and the very young children that had been left behind still inside. They were then told by Israeli officials to go back to Ramallah as their village was now declared a forbidden area for security purposes. At Ramallah, the villagers pleaded with the Military Governor to allow them to return to their village but in vain. The abbot of the Latrun Monastery tried to intervene on the villagers' behalf and offered to the Military Governor to bear the expenses for rebuilding the village, but was told that the matter was beyond his competence, as the

village had been blown up by special order of Moshe Dayan. Mr. El-Sheikh recalled that in 1967, Amwas village had 40,000 dunums of agricultural lands, 800 houses, a primary school for boys with 600 pupils, a special primary school for girls with 400 pupils, special secondary schools, two mosques, a post office, a network of drinking water and 2,000 dunums of land planted with olive trees, walnut trees and other fruit trees. After the occupation, the village, where the Jews had not owned any property prior to 1967, was turned by Israel into a park, which was called Canada Park. The whole area was called Nakhshoun, including the land which Israel had had since 1948 with the settlements of Nakhshoun on it.

*Witness No. 14 (Anonymous)*

54. The witness gave an account of how the Israelis expropriated about 1,000 dunums of agricultural land in his village of Northern Assira, situated between Assira and Nablus.

55. Two months before, he said, the Israelis had informed the village mukhtar that the land in question was to be seized. They showed him a list in Hebrew of the owners of that land and asked him to inform them that the land was to become Israeli property. They told him that anybody who wanted compensation should see the Military Governor.

56. Naturally, said the witness, the owners were upset to hear about the expropriation of their land, since it was their sole means of livelihood, and decided that they would not yield except under duress.

57. Two weeks later, the Israelis started building a road 10 metres wide and 4 kilometres long in an area covered with wheat fields and almond and olive trees. As a result, the owners sustained substantial losses.

58. Next, the Israelis divided the land into parcels of 50 dunums, installed telephone poles and brought prefabricated walls.

59. When the mukhtar went to the assistant military governor for an explanation of what was happening, he was told that the land expropriated was barren, to which the mukhtar replied that the assistant governor could come and see for himself that the land in question was indeed agricultural land. Since then, any shepherd or any one of the villagers who ventured on to the expropriated land has been fired at by Israeli soldiers.

60. In conclusion, the witness expressed his belief that Israel's aim in taking over the land was to deprive the villagers of their livelihood in order to force them to leave.

61. Among the 93 people who had lost their land, many had families to sustain, including widows and small children. When the villagers heard about the Commission of the Security Council coming to the area, they chose him to represent them in putting their case before it.

62. In reply to a question, the witness reiterated that the decision to expropriate their land had been communicated to them two months before the expulsion took place and that two weeks later the construction work had started.

*Witness No. 15—Mr. Ruhi El-Khatib, Mayor of Jerusalem*

63. The witness said that he belonged to an Arab Moslem family that had lived in Jerusalem continuously for hundreds of years. As Mayor of Jerusalem before the occupation of the city by Israel, he had performed his duties until 29 June 1967, when Israeli authorities dissolved the Council of the Municipality of Jerusalem, elected by the Arabs of the city. After the illegitimate annexation of Jerusalem to Israeli administration, the witness was replaced as Mayor by a Jew. In response to the protests made by the Arab residents of the occupied territories, the United Nations adopted a resolution which refused to recognize that annexation and all the measures that followed it.

64. The witness stated that on 7 March 1968—nine months after the Israeli occupation of Jerusalem—he was taken out of his house by force during the night and moved under Israeli military guard to King Hussein Bridge on the Jordan River. He was just informed that his expulsion was because his presence in the country was undesirable. No specific accusation was made, no protest or trial was allowed. According to the witness, the number of people who were expelled by Israeli authorities in the same arbitrary way runs to some 1,200 persons. The purpose of the expulsions was to eliminate the Palestinians from their land and to facilitate the Israeli plan for the colonization of Palestine, a plan which, said the witness, was established at the first Zionist meeting in Switzerland in 1897.

65. The witness gave an account of the Israeli measures taken after the war of 1967 in the annexed city of Jerusalem as follows: (a) terrorism and intimidation (300 Arabs were killed) forced more than 5,000 residents to flee from their houses and property which were expropriated under the "absentees' law"; (b) the destruction of Arab property, which on the pretext of reorganization had the result of expelling some 1,000 more inhabitants and preparing the way for new Israeli installations; (c) the administrative and political annexation of Jerusalem to Israel; (d) the Judaization of the Arab economy at Jerusalem by replacing the Jordanian

currency by Israel currency, closing the Arab banks, confiscating their assets and prohibiting at Jerusalem the Arab agricultural, industrial and commercial products, thus paralyzing the Arab production and creating large unemployment among the Arab population while, at the same time, the installation of many Israeli factories inside and around Jerusalem contributed to the continuous process of colonization; (e) the taking of a census of the residents of Jerusalem on 25 June 1967 and the registration of the Arabs; those actions were aimed at depriving the absentees of their properties, which were confiscated in accordance with the Absentees' Law of 1950.

66. After expropriating about 70 per cent of Jerusalem's land and property belonging to some 60,000 Arab inhabitants who had left Jerusalem in 1948 after the massacre at Deir Yassin, the Israeli authorities began in 1967 a new series of expropriations. In that connexion, Mr. El-Khatib referred to two of his sons who were studying abroad and relatives who being away had been prevented from coming back while their property had become part of an Israeli settlement.

67. The witness emphasized that all the expropriation operations were carried out under the pretext of serving the public interest, but instead of hospitals, schools or roads, Israeli settlements had been built. He then gave a detailed account of the successive expropriation operations performed after the war of 1967 inside and outside Jerusalem, as a result of which a sharp reduction in Arab ownership had taken place. According to the figures provided by Mr. El-Khatib, before the British Mandate, Christian and Moslem Arabs' properties accounted for 94 per cent and Jewish properties 4 per cent, while 2 per cent were owned by foreigners. After thirty years of British Mandate, Arab properties accounted for 84 per cent and Jewish properties for 14 per cent, while 2 per cent were still owned by foreigners. Between 1948 and 1966, as a result of the Israeli policy of expropriation based on the Absentees' Law in the occupied part of Jerusalem, the ownership of properties had changed to 25 per cent for the Arabs, 73 per cent for the Jews and 2 per cent for the foreigners. In 1978 the figures were 14 per cent for the Christian and Moslem Arabs, 84 per cent for the Jews, while the foreigners had kept their 2 per cent.

68. The witness emphasized that the policy of expropriation at Jerusalem aimed mainly at surrounding with Jewish settlers three specific areas: the Mosque of the Dome of the Rock; another area still mainly occupied by Arabs; and some Arab villages just outside Jerusalem. That, he said, constituted a threat to the very presence and existence of Arabs in the city. Although after each operation of confiscation or expropriation the Israeli occupation authorities stated that compensation would be paid to the owners of the land and that the owners should meet with the officials in order to carry out the transaction for the compensation, no Arab had agreed to give up his rights to his land and property.

69. Mr. El-Khatib further stated that under the pretext of discovering Jewish historical sites the occupation authorities had started excavating under Arab quarters, thus causing the collapse of buildings which the Arab inhabitants had to vacate and the destruction of landmarks of historical, cultural, religious and commercial nature. Those facts were well known since, in the past 11 years, UNESCO had adopted 13 resolutions condemning Israel for those activities and asking it to stop such excavations. In order to organize and expand those operations, the Israeli authorities had created the Company for the Restoration and Urbanization of the Jewish District of the Old City of Jerusalem, which was entrusted with the evacuation and demolition of Arab buildings and properties within the city walls, that is, the area which includes not only the Jewish quarter, as the Israelis claim, but also four Arab quarters which were expropriated on 14 April 1968. That Company had sent evacuation notices to about 6,000 Arab inhabitants who, when they refused to leave, were called before Court. In order to ensure the evacuation, the Company also resorted to such action as excavations in the streets supposedly for repairs, but which in fact caused the houses concerned to collapse. They also cut the water supply and took other measures which caused hazardous health conditions for the inhabitants and compelled them to leave. On the whole, 740 families including 4,125 persons had been expropriated.

70. According to the witness, that Company and other Israeli organs were co-ordinating their actions to replace the historical remains, buildings and other property in Arab quarters with new buildings in which some 500 Jewish families were living. Mr. El-Khatib then spoke of the question of Israeli settlements in the occupied territories in general and at Jerusalem in particular. Referring to the Lebanese magazine *Arab Week* of 10 October 1977, he cited that between 1967 and 1977 the Israelis had established 123 settlements of which 33 were not publicly announced because they were Nahal settlements which belonged to military organizations, with their own rules, regulations and statutes. Furthermore, he had heard on the Israeli television a statement according to which within the past five years the Government of Israel had created 36 new settlements, of which 28 were in the West Bank, 5 in the Golan Heights and 3 in the Gaza Strip.



After 7 June 1967, the authorities had been building new Jewish quarters at Jerusalem on confiscated or expropriated Arab lands with a population density higher than that of any other settlement in the occupied territories. The witness cited a report in *The Jerusalem Post* of 8 November 1974 which under the title "On building a fortress Jerusalem" gave an account of wide-scale construction on the expropriated Arab lands.

71. Mr. El-Khatib also referred to a book by Mr. Mehdi Abdal-Hedi, who had personally visited the location of every quarter and settlement built recently on the occupied territories. According to that author, the new quarters built in and around Jerusalem after 1967 included about 15,000 apartments, inhabited by some 100,000 Israeli newcomers, and about 100 factories, employing some 5,000 workers, all of whom were living there illegally.

72. The witness mentioned various actions taken by the occupation authorities against the Arab educational system and the transfer of the remaining administrations in the field of public health and social affairs; against Arab organs such as the Arab electricity company and the Arab water supply stations. He referred in that connexion to a book he was writing on the judaization of Jerusalem.

73. Mr. El-Khatib cited also some figures showing the changes in the population proportion in Jerusalem. At the end of the British Mandate in 1948, the population of Jerusalem, its surrounding villages and Israeli settlements around Jerusalem was 240,000 inhabitants, of whom 140,000 were Arabs and Jews represented 100,000—which means 58.2 per cent Arabs, as against 41.8 per cent Jews. When Israel occupied and annexed the second part of Jerusalem in 1967, the total population was 279,000 inhabitants: 80,000 Arabs—Christians and Moslems—and 190,000 Jews, in other words, 30 per cent Arabs and 70 per cent Jews.

74. According to the Israeli newspapers, by the end of 1978 the population of Jerusalem increased to about 400,000, of whom 100,000 were Arabs and 300,000 were Jews—which means 25 per cent Arabs and 75 per cent Jews.

75. In response to questions, the witness said that many people had been killed after the cease-fire—some in their homes, some in the streets of Jerusalem. When the curfew was lifted, Mr. El-Khatib went around the town. He himself saw the bodies in the streets and talked to the families of the victims.

76. The witness said also that a number of Arab workers who had lost their previous jobs had been compelled to work for the Israelis in order to earn a living and not to leave their homes. As to the Arab schools at Jerusalem, they had been put under Israeli control and followed Israeli curricula. There were only 15 Arab religious and private schools left at Jerusalem.

*Witness No. 16 (Anonymous)*

77. The witness stated that he was from the Al-Magharba quarter at Jerusalem. After the occupation of this area by Israeli troops during the first half of June 1967, 135 houses were demolished, and their inhabitants were expelled from the area. The inhabitants of the demolished homes were not allowed to remove personal property of any kind. In April 1968 an expropriation decision was issued concerning 116 dunums, on which were 16 houses which had been spared. All requests to return to houses and properties were refused. When appeals were made, they were denied, and any inhabitant refusing to leave his home was forcibly ejected by the Jewish housing authority. The witness further stated that he was one of the people expelled from his home for the second time in 1976, the first time being in 1967.

78. Several pretexts were used for the demolition of the area, in one instance that the houses were not safe, and in another instance that it was for archaeological purposes. The people displaced by that expropriation are now scattered in different parts of Jerusalem.

79. After 1968, lessees lost the protection of a law that was issued to protect tenants from landlords' whims. Under the present law a tenant is protected only for a one-year period. After that period the landlord may refuse to renew the lease or has the right to increase the rent without limit. Since most Israelis own their property and do not rent, the force of that law falls mainly on the Arabs.

80. In response to questions, the witness stated that his first lawyer was Jewish, but that under pressure from Israeli authorities the lawyer had abandoned his case and advised him to retain an Arab lawyer, which he did. He added that subsequent appeals were all dismissed.

*Witness No. 17 (Anonymous)*

81. The witness stated that he was appearing before the Commission to represent the municipality of Hebron, because the military authorities had prevented the Mayor of Hebron from leaving his city and coming to be a witness before the Commission. The witness stated that he lived in

Hebron in 1970 when the Israelis created the settlement of Kiryat Arba, one of the largest settlements in the West Bank area.

82. In 1970, the occupying authorities and their troops encircled an area of about 500 dunums of the municipality of Hebron with barbed wire. When the citizens protested, Israeli Defence Minister Moshe Dayan attended a public meeting with them and the former Mayor of Hebron. He swore on his honour that there would be only one camp established in the area. A few days later the Governor of the West Bank issued a military order expropriating 3,000 dunums of Hebron land from the internal limits of the community.

83. In 1973, the Governor of the West Bank, together with the Military Governor of Hebron, issued an order forbidding the Arabs from building anything on their lands or houses within the municipal boundary of Hebron. On 12 December 1978, 38 Arab inhabitants and the witness himself were summoned to the military headquarters where they were informed that their area had been declared as a closed-off area and that the inhabitants could not leave it without previous permission from the military authorities. The area concerned comprised 38 houses inhabited by more than 400 people. In addition to closing off the area, the inhabitants were continuously subjected to harassment by nearby settlers of Kiryat Arba. Soon after that military order, the Mayor of Hebron received a letter accompanied by a map showing a plan for the establishment of 500 new houses to be built on land and properties belonging to Arab inhabitants (the witness submitted a copy of that letter and a map). Houses included in the plan were demolished to make room for new homes.

84. Speaking of the ordeal of the people of Hebron, the witness stated that children were forbidden to go to school and that, at night, Jewish settlers from Kiryat Arba shone floodlights and spotlights on windows of homes to frighten the women and children. Those settlers were in military uniform; they belonged to the Gush Emunim group and were the same settlers who had killed the children in the demonstrations that occurred at Halhoul.

85. The witness indicated that the inhabitants complained to the United States Consul at Jerusalem, who promised them that the Secretary of State of the United States would visit their area. After the visit had taken place, the inhabitants enjoyed some freedom of movement in and out of their area. In another attempt to stop land expropriation, the witness indicated that a case on behalf of the municipality of Hebron and in the name of 39 Arab landowners was submitted to the High Court of Justice, which by its decision had nullified the expropriation of only 530 dunums, out of a total of 3,000 dunums which was the amount of land that had been expropriated from its Arab owners at Hebron. After the Court decision, Arab inhabitants, with the help of 4,000 Jewish Israeli citizens—members of a group called Israeli Peace Movement—tried to plant or replant the area but were prevented by the military authorities.

86. In response to questions, the witness stated that the amount of land expropriated by Israel from Arabs at Hebron was 3,000 dunums. The settlement of Kiryat Arba was established on 500 dunums. Also 38 buildings were built on 530 dunums. Four hundred and fifty persons lived there. The Israelis uprooted the trees, which constituted the inhabitants' means of livelihood and until the present have prevented the Arab inhabitants, in spite of Court decisions, from any building on that land.

87. In response to another question about the incident that took place in the village of Halhoul in which two children were killed by one of the settlers, the witness stated that at that time the Military Governor of Hebron imposed a curfew on the village of Halhoul for 15 days, forbidding anyone from bringing anything to the village. In order to obtain food and milk for the people, a matter which was refused by the Military Governor, the witness said, they complained to the Red Cross and also sent a cable to the United Nations Secretary-General. Replying to another question aimed at finding out if any actions had been taken by the Israeli authorities against him as a result of his complaint to the United States Consulate, the witness said that in fact all embassies in Israel had been approached for help through telegrams and also through the Mayor of Hebron. As a consequence, he had been summoned by military officers every week since then for interrogation.

*Witness No. 18—Sheikh Abdul Hamid El-Sayeh*

88. The witness at the time of his deportation from Jerusalem on 23 September 1967 was the head of the Islamic Court of Appeal for the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan with both the East and the West Banks under its jurisdiction. He was also the head of the High Islamic Organization at Jerusalem which supervised the Al Aqsa Mosque, all the waqf property and the Islamic Courts in the West Bank. After his deportation, Sheikh El-Sayeh had been made responsible for the Waqf Ministry at Amman and had been appointed Chief Judge of the High Islamic Court and Minister for Islamic Affairs at Amman. At the time of his testimony, he was teaching

at the Jordanian University and was the President of the Committee for the Salvation of Jerusalem.

89. The witness referred to the defiance by Israel of international law, of the Geneva Conventions and of the resolutions of the United Nations, in particular General Assembly resolutions 2253 (ES-V) and 2254 (ES-V) of 4 and 14 July 1967 respectively, and Security Council resolution 252 (1968) of 21 May 1968. Despite these resolutions, he noted, Israel continued its excavation, expropriation and demolition activities. He referred in particular to the excavation activities around and under the Al Aqsa Mosque, which had special significance for the entire Moslem world, and near the Western Wall, also known as the Wailing Wall. He stated that the alleged purpose for excavating around the Al Aqsa Mosque was to search for the Temple of Solomon which, Israel claimed, was somewhere around that vicinity even though neither the historians nor the Jewish holy books indicated a specific location for that temple. The witness gave an account of Israeli attempts to put an end to the Al Aqsa Mosque as a special cultural centre for the world Moslem community. He also mentioned the damages to the central door of the Al Aqsa Mosque, as well as the damages to the dome of the Holy Rock and the minaret of Bab-Al-Asbat during the war. He said further that Israel had demolished a whole quarter near the Holy Wall in spite of the fact that the quarter belonged to the Moroccan waqf, which received charity from Moslems and was inhabited by a great number of people. He related how the Rabbi of the Israel Defence Army had come with 20 people to the Al Aqsa Mosque in 1967 and chanted religious Jewish songs provoking the Moslem population. In view of the declared intention of the Rabbi to return the following week to pray in another area of the Mosque and to build a synagogue on the premises, the witness had written to the Military Commander and informed him of his intention to order all the doors of the Al Aqsa Mosque closed to all Moslems, Christians and Jews and that the Military Commander would bear the responsibility for that action. A liaison officer between the Government of Israel and the Islamic religious authorities had come to inform him, on behalf of Messrs. Eshkol and Dayan, that Jews would be prevented from praying on the premises of the Al Aqsa Mosque. That promise had been kept until the deportation of the witness, but thereafter Jews came to pray and chant on the premises of the Mosque despite the impact of such action on the Moslem population. Israelis had by force taken the key for the door known as Ban El-Magharba and were allowing people to enter the premises of the Al Aqsa Mosque at any time. In fact, the man who had set the Mosque on fire had used that door for entry. That fire had destroyed the chair of Salah Ed-Din inside the Mosque, which had a particular importance for the Moslems, and had damaged the Eternal Dome of the Mosque. Up until the present day, the Israeli occupation forces were trying to eliminate that centre of Islamic civilization, as witness the continuing excavations around and under the Mosque which could expose it to demolition. Israel had demolished some parts inside the Mosque and near the Haret El-Magharba quarter.

90. The witness also provided the Commission with background information on the Western Wall. In that connexion, he observed that in 1929 the conflict between the Moslems and the Jews around that Wall had led to fighting, and the Government of the British Mandate had sent a committee to look into the matter. On the recommendation of that committee, the matter had been referred to an international committee. The latter's unanimous decision that the place was an Islamic charitable waqf and that Jews could only perform their religious rites in that place in accordance with its customs had been agreed upon by the British Government and further recognized by the League of Nations. Since the matter had been settled by an international organization, it should not be raised again.

91. The witness stated that Israel was perpetrating other violations at Jerusalem, carrying out considerable expropriation of waqf property and profaning the holy shrine of Ibrahim at Hebron. That shrine, he noted, was an Islamic mosque built by the Ommiads. The mosque had been seized by the Israelis, who not only prevented the Moslems from praying there but also committed sacrilegious acts inside.

92. The witness further noted that the Israeli military authorities were committing violations against the Christian churches, such as the removal of the jewelled crown from the statue of the Virgin Mary in one of the churches. In that connexion, he pointed out that the keys to the main church at Jerusalem, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, had been entrusted to the Moslems.

*Witness No. 19 (Anonymous)*

93. The witness talked about an agricultural village, Anata, located 2 kilometres north-east of Jerusalem. The village had an area of 13,000 dunums with a population of 3,500 who depended on agriculture for their livelihood. The area of the village appeared in the district file of Tabu during both the Ottoman and the British Mandate rules. It had also been

surveyed during Jordanian rule. The witness submitted to the Commission a list of landowners in the village, each of whom had his own separate file for property ownership.

94. In 1971 and 1972, the Israeli military authorities had undertaken, without giving a reason to the villagers, a new survey of the lands on the eastern side of the village, which had continued until 1975. In January 1975, the Military Governor of Ramallah had called in the witness to inform him that the village had been divided into three zones: the western part was linked to the municipality of Jerusalem; the northern part to the municipality of Ramallah; and the southern part to the municipality of Bethlehem. One of those zones with an area of 4,650 dunums, which included 40 inhabited houses, was marked as a military zone access to which was completely forbidden. Copies of the plan had been distributed to the registration administration of Tabu and to the municipal administrations of villages and towns in order to forbid any selling of the lands or other transactions on them and to stop issuance of building and construction authorizations. On 5 May 1977 the Military Governor had informed the villagers that they would not be allowed to harvest their crops in the closed-off areas. Access to the areas would be granted by a special authorization from the military authorities only and violators would be taken to military court. On 19 September 1978, the Military Governor had met with the village notables and had proposed to lease the land from the villagers at the rate of 5 Jordanian dinars for each dunum in the first category, 3 Jordanian dinars for each dunum in the second category and 2 Jordanian dinars for each dunum in the third category. That offer having been refused, the Military Governor had proposed to pay compensation to the villagers according to the report of the Committee of Agricultural Experts. That proposal had also been rejected. Three thousand and five hundred people were still living in the village of Anata. On 8 October, the Israeli military authorities had summoned the workers under military guard and had closed off the zone with barbed wire and iron gates. On 14 October, the witness had requested the Jordanian Government to intervene and raise the question of the expropriation of their lands at the international level. The Jordanian Government had raised the question in the Security Council. On 25 October, the witness had sent cables to the Secretary-General, the President of the United States of America, the President of Egypt and the United States Ambassador to Israel, requesting their intervention against the expropriation of the village lands. On 14 November, the villagers had submitted their case to the Israeli High Court of Justice, which on 10 December had given a temporary judgement forbidding the army to work on the land until the Court had made a final judgement. On 15 December, General Shlama Tagner had submitted a statement to the High Court indicating that 1,740 dunums, not 4,650 dunums, were needed as a military zone and had requested that the temporary judgement be nullified. The High Court had not allowed enough time for the villagers to respond to the new situation and had met on 17 December. On 15 January 1979, the Court had issued its judgement, agreeing to the expropriation of 1,740 dunums of fertile agricultural land. The villagers had not been informed of the decision until 18 March, that is after the period of 30 days legally allowed to appeal such a judgement. The witness submitted to the Commission, among other relevant documentation, a list of the landowners in the 1,740 dunums of land. Noting that he himself was the owner of 1,200 dunums out of the 1,740 dunums of land, the witness stated that he had been left with only 300 dunums without any possibility of access. On 11 April, he had submitted a request to the Israeli authorities for permission to reach his land, but there had been no answer. He stated further that on 5 April, the Israeli army had started surveying the remaining lands in order to establish an industrial zone thereon. The army was then building roads and organizing the new zone.

*Witness No. 20 (Anonymous)*

95. The witness said that, unlike other occupations in the past, Israeli occupation had as its ultimate aim to take possession of the land and drive its inhabitants away.

96. An important new facet of Israel's settlement policy was that unlike past policy, which consisted of establishing settlements mostly close to the green line which separated Israel from its pre-1967 borders, the new trend was to divide the West Bank into large squares, then criss-cross them with roads in all directions. As perceived by the inhabitants, the aim of that policy was to divide the whole occupied territory into four or six squares in order to isolate the main cities and towns by building settlements on the corners of each square; thus "balkanizing" the territory in such a way that it would not be a viable entity.

97. The witness also gave a number of incidents involving the mistreatment of Arab youngsters by some of the Jewish settlers, especially in the area of Kiryat Arba.

98. In reply to various questions, the witness said that the new trend which he described in his statement would result in the loosening of trade

and other ties between the towns and the outlying villages because the settlers would start taking the law into their own hands and set up check points wherever they saw fit. Furthermore, the occupied West Bank being a small territory, the land lost as a result of the building of wide roads and streets would deprive several families of their property.

99. The witness said that some check points were permanent, especially at the entrance of Jerusalem and other major cities. Waiting time at those check points could be as much as one hour and 45 minutes.

100. All settlements, he also said, were of a permanent nature, even when they started as temporary shelters. The population in settlements ranged from 200 to 2,000. The only Arabs allowed to enter them were poor labourers doing menial jobs.

101. As to the extent of the land taken so far by Israel, it amounted to 36 per cent of the area of the occupied West Bank. He believed that as a result of the road construction, the percentage would soon reach 39 per cent.

*Witness No. 21—Mr. Shawkat Mahmoud Hamdi*

102. The witness said that, while the establishment of settlements in the occupied territories was initiated in mid-1968, the measures concerning Jerusalem started only a few hours after the occupation and on 28 June 1967 an annexation decision was passed by the Knesset, by which Israel attributed to itself the right of control over Arab Jerusalem to satisfy its interests only and in defiance of international law.

103. The following measures were taken:

(a) Abrogation of the Arab Municipal Council and linking of Arab Jerusalem to Israeli Jerusalem;

(b) Elimination of certain municipal services and amalgamation of others with the Israeli services;

(c) Application of all Israeli laws to Arab citizens;

(d) Closing down of the Education Department of Arab Jerusalem and putting all Arab public schools under Israel's Ministry of Education, forcing them to follow the curricula of Israeli schools, which included the reading in primary schools of a book entitled *I Am An Israeli*;

(e) The issuing of Israeli identification cards to the inhabitants of Arab Jerusalem;

(f) Non-recognition by Israel of the Jerusalem Islamic Court;

(g) Obligation for Arab professional individuals to register their names with Israeli professional associations if they wanted to practice their professions;

(h) The closing of Arab banks and the imposition of the exclusive use of Israeli currency;

(i) The transfer to Arab Jerusalem of a number of Israeli ministries and departments.

104. As to the methods used by Israel to colonize the Arab sector of Jerusalem, they included the following.

105. First, immediately after June 1967 Israel resorted to the demolition of 1,654 buildings in four different quarters, including 427 shops, 1,215 houses, 5 mosques, 3 monasteries and 4 schools. As a result, 7,400 inhabitants of Arab Jerusalem were forced to leave. Israel then established a "Jewish quarter" which as of today contains 320 housing units on 116 dunums, with a settler population of 1,300.

106. Secondly, the Israeli authorities resorted to the confiscation of Arab lands situated within the municipality of Arab Jerusalem, totalling 94,564 dunums. That was carried out by various methods including the application of Israeli laws issued before 1967. Among those laws were:

(a) The "absentee property" law, adopted by the Knesset on 14 March 1950, which replaced the emergency decrees concerning absentee property issued on 19 December 1948. Under that law, the citizens of Arab Jerusalem were regarded as absentee owners whether their property was in eastern or western Jerusalem.

(b) The law of acquisition of land for the public interest issued in 1943 under the Mandate Government. Under that law, the Israelis expropriated land and buildings by claiming that they were to be used for the public interest and established on them settlements for Jewish emigrants. An example was an area of 11,860 dunums expropriated under a decision of the Ministry of Finance issued on 30 December 1970 and published in the *Official Journal* on 30 August 1970.

(c) Defence and emergency decrees of 1945, issued under the British Mandate and still in force today. Under those decrees, the Military Governor could issue instructions to deport people from Palestine and expropriate property. Under the British Mandate the Jews themselves were opposed to those decrees, including a lawyer named Jacob Shapiro, who had said that those decrees "did not exist even in Nazi Germany". But

after the creation of the State of Israel, things were reversed and the decrees continued to be implemented, even by Mr. Shapiro, when he became Minister of Justice in 1966. Under those decrees four Arab quarters were destroyed in old Jerusalem and 7,400 of its inhabitants expelled. Those decrees also give the right to the Military Governor to declare any area closed for security purposes. In that way, very large areas of Arab lands were closed and included in the plan for Greater Jerusalem, including 70,000 dunums in the Beit Sahur area, 100,000 dunums in the Assabkia area, and 1,194 dunums in the village of Anata.

(d) Emergency regulations, exploitation of barren lands published in 15 October 1948 in the *Official Gazette*. In accordance with those regulations, the Minister of Agriculture was empowered to seize barren lands if he was "convinced" that their owner did not intend to utilize them as agricultural lands.

(e) The law relating to the expropriation of real estate during the 1949 emergency. In accordance with that law, the Israeli Government gave itself the power to designate a special authority with the right to issue orders to seize any real estate which it believed to be necessary for the national security.

107. Most of the Arab lands which were seized by the occupying authority under those laws and regulations, were later sold to Jews in the real estate market.

108. Another method used by the Israelis to acquire land consisted of the falsification of documents and files, as reported in articles published in the Israeli newspaper *Ma'ariv* from 9 July to 15 August 1978.

109. Turning to the question of settlements at Jerusalem, the witness indicated that nine of them had been built within the boundaries of Arab Jerusalem. One, the so-called Jewish quarter, was built within the Old City and the other eight, although outside the walls, were still within the boundaries of the Arab municipality.

110. He further indicated that 10 settlements were built within the framework of so-called "Greater Jerusalem". Before the 1967 war, Arab Jerusalem had an area of 13 square kilometres. Since then the area has been increased to 67 square kilometres and the project for Greater Jerusalem called for an area of 555 square kilometres.

111. The establishment of settlements at Jerusalem was accompanied by repeated violations of the sacred places, both Christian and Moslem, and of the historical and cultural heritage of the Old City. Those violations included in particular a fire in the Al Aqsa Mosque on 21 August 1969, the excavation operations around Moslem buildings and premises, resulting in heavy structural damage, the desecration of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the theft of the crown of the Virgin Mary and the seizure of Moslem Palestinian historical objects and scrolls.

112. As to the impact of the settlements on the economic, financial and cultural life of the Arab population, the witness said that before 1967, Jerusalem had been the spiritual capital of Jordan and the financial and commercial centre of the West Bank. After the occupation, the Arab population, which had been 96,000 in 1966, decreased to 78,000 in 1978 despite the fact that the birth-rate was between 3 and 3.5 per cent. This shows the efficiency of the deportation measures to which the Arab inhabitants are subjected. The fact that all economic activities in Arab Jerusalem had fallen under the control of Israeli laws and regulations, including taxation laws, had had a negative effect. Arab companies are now placed in a position of unfair competition, especially in such important services as transportation and tourism. Meanwhile, on the social level, the Jewish inhabitants of the new quarters have introduced practices which are contrary to Arab social customs and moral behaviour.

113. In conclusion, the witness said that the objective pursued by Israel through its policy of settlements could be summarized in one sentence: seizure of the land and gradual expulsion of its inhabitants.

114. Replying to questions, the witness stated that there were in fact several Israeli authorities who made the decisions regarding the establishment of new settlements and the selection of the settlers. He cited the Ministerial Committee presided over by the Minister of Agriculture, an official committee of the Jewish Agency presided over by Professor Ra'anan Weiz, special bodies in every political party and special organizations such as the Gush Emunim.

115. The witness said also that since the occupation Arab judges had remained unemployed since Arab citizens had to submit their cases for trial to Israeli courts and tribunals which did not include Arab judges.

*Witness No. 22 (Anonymous)*

116. Testimony submitted in writing stated that Silwad is a town located 15 kilometres north of the city of Ramallah in the West Bank. The witness added that Israeli practices towards the landowners of Silwad were the following:

(a) Land expropriation. After 1967, the Israeli occupation authorities expropriated 1,650 dunums in the area called Al-Thaher. That land was owned by individual farmers of Silwad. They objected to this action to the Israeli Military Governor, who offered to pay for the land, but the owners refused to sell. A small local airport was built on it with a military camp. The camp was transformed gradually after 1974 into a settlement for Israeli civilians;

(b) The Israeli Settlement of Ofra. Before the 1967 war, the Government of Jordan was in the process of using an area of 300 dunums south-east of Silwad as a military camp. When the 1967 war broke out, no compensation was paid to their individual owners. In March 1974, an Israeli settlement called Ofra was established in the area. The area was expanded to include an additional land of 100 dunums. The owners objected to this action to the Governor but with no success;

(c) Restricted area. A total area of 5,000 dunums was fenced and restricted by the Israeli occupation authorities. That area belonged to individual owners of Silwad and the neighbouring town Ein Yabroad.

(d) Eight houses were demolished in 1968 by the Israeli authorities who claimed that one of the owner's or renter's family resisted occupation. In 1978, the Israeli occupation authorities ordered the demolition of four other houses. However, the owners pursued the matter before the Israeli Supreme Court, which decided against the demolition. Nevertheless, the Israeli authorities bulldozed the house of Mr. Abdel Fatah Abdel Rahman, disregarding the position of their own court;

(e) Six inhabitants from Silwad were expelled by the Israeli occupation authorities.

## II. SYRIA

117. At Damascus on 27 May the Commission heard the statement of Mr. Najib Al Ahmad, Special Representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

118. Mr. Al Ahmad told the Commission that for the establishment of the settlements on Arab lands in the West Bank the Israeli Government had allocated half a billion Israeli pounds for the year 1979; it was decided to build 20 Israeli settlements in the West Bank in 1980. During the following five years it was planned to establish 45 settlements in the same area to accommodate 58,000 Jewish families.

119. He gave an account of practices of the Israeli authorities aimed at compelling the Arab people to leave their lands. Thus, the Arab inhabitants were prevented by the authorities from digging any artesian wells without authorization, which was very difficult to obtain. The owners of the wells are compelled to install water meters and they can irrigate their land only with that amount of water to which they were restricted by the Israeli agricultural authorities and only during specific hours. Therefore limitation of water for irrigation led to decrease of production. Finally the Arab owners were compelled to abandon their lands, which were then seized by the Israelis. The Israeli authorities often used the pretext of security reasons for expropriation of the Arab lands, as in the Bettine village at Ramallah.

120. Mr. Al Ahmad further said that no Arab in the West Bank or in the Gaza Strip had the right to plant trees or replace those previously planted unless he had a special permit, which was very difficult to obtain. He referred also to many acts of destruction or damage to Arab water pumps perpetrated by the Israelis to prevent the Arabs from irrigating their land.

121. Mr. Al Ahmad argued against Israeli Government claims that it established the settlements, or some of them, on lands which were not owned by the Arab citizens but were the property of the State that preceded Israel. He referred to the historical background of the problem of land ownership and land registration in Palestine during the Ottoman rule and during the British Mandate. He told of his own experience when, in 1948, Israel occupied 90 per cent of the land of his native village Romana and in 1967, when it occupied the rest of the land. Mr. Al Ahmad was then put in gaol for security reasons and after spending 13 months there he was expelled with his family.

122. He mentioned also some historical facts related to the attacks on Palestine and cited the statements made by the founders of Israel. The next part of Mr. Al Ahmad's statement was devoted to the prisoners and prisons in the occupied territories. He also spoke about Israel's violations of the Holy Places, emphasizing that they made no difference between Christians and Moslems.

123. Referring to the deportation of Arab citizens, the special representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization noted that until the present, more than 2,000 Arabs had been deported by the Israeli authorities directly without the use of indirect ways of compelling them to leave. A large number of those deported people were professionals such as physicians, engineers, teachers and lawyers.

124. Concluding his statement, Mr. Al Ahmad gave yet another example of Israeli actions in the occupied territories—he mentioned their blowing up Arab houses for so-called security reasons. A total of 2,875 houses had been blown up on that pretext.

125. Mr. Al Ahmad then submitted to the Commission the full text of his written statement, as well as various documents, maps, photos and letters.

### *Witness No. 23—Mr. Adel Abdul Salam*

126. As a professor of geography at the University of Damascus, the witness had conducted, before the 1967 war, a field study on the Golan Heights area. The Golan Heights, which covers some 1,800 square kilometres, enjoys heavy rainfall and a rather fertile volcanic soil. The number of inhabitants in 1966 was about 150,000 with a density of some 90 persons per square kilometre. There were 310 agglomerations, the biggest of which was the town of Quneitra which, in 1966, had about 27,000 inhabitants, mainly Arabs.

127. About 500 big or small economic establishments were flourishing in Quneitra in 1967, but the main economic activity in the Golan area was agriculture, which covered approximately 107,000 hectares privately owned. The witness gave some figures concerning the various kinds of soil cultivation, fruit-bearing trees and livestock, which illustrated his assurance that, owing to its climatic and geologic conditions, that area used to produce between 9 and 11 per cent of the total production of Syria.

128. As to the industries in the Golan Heights, they were mainly those that responded to the needs of the inhabitants—farmers and peasants—such as repairing engines for pumps and tractors, 41 flour mills and other local activities related to the textile and tanning industries.

### *Witness No. 24—Mr. Yassin Rikab*

129. The witness said that he was the head of a preparatory school in his village of Haddar, when Israel occupied it in 1973 and started to shoot at civilians, killing six men and three children.

130. After three to four days of the occupation, an Israeli officer called upon a number of inhabitants and told them that the land was not theirs any more. After three months of occupation, Israeli authorities declared that they would register people wishing to work and harassed the inhabitants with humiliating practices. The witness with some other inhabitants wrote an article which they sent to Haifa to be published.

131. Four months after occupation, some permits to leave the village were issued for those wanting to get food supplies. During that period the witness went to the northern part of Golan to visit some of his relatives in the villages of Majdal-Shams, Messaada and Bekaatha. Some of the villages in the north of Golan, where he used to teach, had been razed with bulldozers.

132. At the beginning of June 1974, the witness had visited the city of Quneitra, where he saw a large number of Israeli bulldozers destroying the town and the surrounding areas. Another town that had been razed by bulldozers was Schita in which, meanwhile, Israeli teams had carried out excavations for archaeological research.

133. On 20 June 1974, the witness said, he was arrested and accused, among other things, of having written articles against Israel. He was taken successively to eight prisons where he was subjected to mistreatment.

134. The witness said that he had seen a number of Israeli settlements in the Golan Heights. One of those settlements, a kibbutz called Nevi Ativ, had been built in place of the village of Jubatha Al-Zeit, which had been completely razed. Another kibbutz called El-Rom was built on a former apple grove, west of the village of Bokatha. The main activity of those settlements was farming and some of the local inhabitants were used as labourers.

### *Witness No. 25—Mr. B'rjas B'rjas*

135. The witness said that he came from the village of Haddar, which was occupied by Israel from 11 October 1973 to 24 June 1974. After recalling how the Israeli invasion of his village began, the witness said that the Israeli authorities imposed on the inhabitants various obligations designed to render their life difficult, such as curfews, repeated arrests, nightly investigations, refusal to let the inhabitants go and see their own land, calls to appear before the Military Court, where they had to wait in the bright sun and heat for two or three hours before being sent back. He continued by stating that Israeli authorities had started what they called "the registration of the workers" while preventing people from working their own land.

136. On the occasion of his arrest, he was taken out of his village for interrogation and saw Israeli troops destroying the village of Ainsova.

137. The witness said that she would have liked to come before the members of the Commission after they had visited the martyred city of Quneitra, where she was born and educated, and had seen for themselves the destruction and ruins left there by the Israelis. At Quneitra, the Israeli army had destroyed everything including the trees. They had desecrated the graves in the cemetery and used the hospital as a shooting ground.

138. Those actions had led to the condemnation by the United Nations of Israel's destruction of Quneitra as stated in General Assembly resolution 3240 (XXIX) of 29 November 1974.

139. In reply to questions, the witness said that in 1973 she was compelled to leave Quneitra for Damascus, where she was now a school teacher.

*Witness No. 27—Mr. Merri Chjair*

140. The witness said that he had been teaching English in the schools of the Quneitra district for more than 15 years. When Israel's aggression of 1967 started, he was in the town of Sweida observing the standardized examinations that were given throughout the country for secondary school students.

141. Mr. Chjair, like many others, tried to no avail to return to Quneitra, which was under heavy bombardment by Israeli planes. It was only in 1974, when Israel evacuated the city, that he was able to return.

142. Speaking of the conditions prevailing in the Golan Heights before 1967, Mr. Chjair said that he used to teach in a town called Feiq, close to the truce line that existed before the 1967 war. During that time, the exchange of fire across the border was a daily matter because in its efforts to gain more land, Israel used to send its tractors to till the area in the no man's land, which they then claimed as their own.

143. Talking of Quneitra, Mr. Chjair said that after the evacuation of the city by Israel in 1974, he discovered that his house, like many others, had been completely razed. He also pointed out that in contradiction to Israel's allegations that the Golan Heights were an area where only nomads or semi-nomads used to live, the population of the whole Golan Heights before it was occupied by Israel was somewhere between 130,000 and 140,000, with a density of 90 to 100 persons per square kilometre.

*Witness No. 28—Mr. Turki Saad El-Din*

144. The witness said that in 1967 he was living with his father, mother and children in the city of Quneitra. When Israel declared its war on the Arabs on 5 June 1967, it wanted only to fulfil its dreams of swallowing up Arab territories without their inhabitants. The Israeli troops struck at the city of Quneitra on the first day of the war. They shot at trade shops and houses with people living in them. In the few following days after Israeli troops entered the city of Quneitra, most of the inhabitants were still living in it, but pressure mounted to compel them to leave. For instance, Israeli authorities used to gather the youth in one place and would accuse them of being in the military service; they also gathered the inhabitants in one spot and compelled them to kneel on the ground with their hands above their heads, with no consideration whatever for old people, women or small children. They also took away the wives, whose reputation is of great importance in Arab families.

145. After a few days of occupation, most of the inhabitants were gathered in a small part of the city. The Israelis prevented the inhabitants from going back to their homes on the pretext of security reasons and they started looting. Then the inhabitants were called to sign personal statements that they would leave Quneitra of their own free will. Finally, the Israelis took the inhabitants in trucks and dropped them outside the city boundaries. People were warned not to return under threat of being shot. As a result, there were many human tragedies, including premature births, heart attacks and nervous breakdowns.

146. The witness said that he and many other inhabitants tried to return to their homes, but were prevented from doing so by Israeli troops. Israeli authorities stole many archaeological remains and stones. They destroyed the trees, the vineyards. They burned all the crops which had already been harvested.

147. The Israeli troops entered also the village of Mesehara where the witness had taken refuge. They used loudspeakers to urge the inhabitants to leave immediately if they did not want to be killed. The villagers were then gathered and expelled, with tanks following them. Some old people, however, remained behind. They have never been heard of since then.

*Witness No. 29—Mr. Hosein Haj Hosein, Chairman of the Quneitra Municipal Council*

148. The witness stated that the heavy density of the population in the province of Quneitra had led to the development of economic life, urbanization, education and commerce. The province was well known for its trees and grain, grazing grounds and high quality cattle. The human stability

in the area accounted for the economic conditions, the educational level—which was high compared to that of the surrounding areas—and the commercial development. Referring to Israel's destruction of villages in the province, expulsion of the inhabitants, and their replacement by Israeli settlements, he refuted the Israeli claim that the area was uninhabited and that the Israelis were establishing a new human stability and new economic and social activity on uninhabited land. He said that what Israel wanted was occupation of the land and expulsion of its inhabitants.

149. The witness mentioned that as head of the municipality, he had received numerous complaints from the inhabitants of the area regarding the bad treatment they had received from the occupation authorities including attempts by Israel to expel them from the area. In that context, he referred to the problems faced by the students from the occupied areas. Not only were they prevented from carrying out their higher education in Syrian universities, but those who had been able to do so through the intermediary of the Red Cross were prevented from returning to the occupied areas once their studies were over in the Syrian universities.

*Witness No. 30—Mr. Abdulla El-Kadry, member of the Quneitra Municipal Council*

150. The witness gave an account of his experience at Quneitra during the occupation. He said that there had been no military activity as the inhabitants of the area were all civilians and that their only intention was to stay in their town. The witness's home had been completed only one week before the hostilities began. It had been destroyed by the occupation forces. After the invasion, the Israelis had declared a curfew for 24 hours and thereafter had gathered the inhabitants in a large square in the town. They had blindfolded the youth and had started shooting in the air to scare the population. Once the blindfolds were removed, the people realized they were fewer in number and did not know what had happened to the rest. The youth were separated from the rest and put in other places. The people were encouraged to leave. Since the use of a car had been prohibited, many people had left with only what they could carry and even that had been taken away from them by the Israeli patrols. The occupation forces had robbed the shops and had made the people carry what they had stolen from the shops.

*Witness No. 31—Mr. Ibrahim El-Nimr, Vice-Chairman of the Municipal Council of Quneitra*

151. The witness recalled the events that had taken place during the occupation in a village 20 kilometres south-west of Quneitra, called Ten-nouria. After the occupation, the people had decided to establish a small representative committee of the elderly people of the village to go and meet the Israeli commander. When the committee had arrived, the Israelis had placed them in a row, searched them and had taken everything they had on them. The committee had been told that the people had one hour to leave the village and that if they did not leave, the village would be destroyed around them. When the hour had passed, even as the people were leaving, the Israelis had started blowing up the village. Five kilometres away from the village, the villagers had met the population of the surrounding villages. The inhabitants of those villages, who had also been expelled, had to pass through two lines of tanks and were robbed by the soldiers.

*Witness No. 32—Mr. Mohammad Kheir Fayez, member of the Executive Bureau of the Municipal Council of the province of Quneitra*

152. The witness spoke about the methods used by the Israeli authorities to achieve the evacuation of the population, the destruction of homes, and about the psychological state of mind of the inhabitants after they had been evacuated. Among the methods used by the Israeli authorities to get people to leave their homes, the witness said, was the psychological method of telling the villagers that the occupation authorities would help them carry their belongings away with them and even drive the villagers up to the demarcation line. Once the villagers reached the frontier, the Israelis would drop them off and keep their belongings. The Israeli soldiers would also warn the villagers of dire consequences unless they left at once. Furthermore, the occupation authorities would declare a curfew all of a sudden over the loudspeakers and then start shooting in the air. Also, the Israelis had taken away the young people of the village, without their parents or any other relatives knowing where they had been taken.

153. With regard to the destruction, the witness stated that the Israelis had taken away the stones of the destroyed houses, in order to build their own military fortresses. Everything had been taken away, so that one could no longer recognize where the villages used to be.

154. Referring to the new life of the refugee inhabitants, the witness stressed that the evacuated inhabitants had had psychological breakdowns because of everything they had lost, including their land, their houses, property and their stability.

155. In response to a question put to him by the Chairman, the witness stated that the young people had been taken by the Israelis and compelled to move furniture from one village to another. The inhabitants had had the feeling that the young people were to be killed and that they would never be seen again. About one or two months after the occupation, the Israelis had brought them back through the International Red Cross. Some of the young people had been expelled not from their own villages but from other villages so that they did not know where they had been expelled from when they were put on the demarcation line. While some had been united with their families, others had been shot dead in front of all the inhabitants.

*Witness No. 33—Mr. Radwan El-Tahhan, member of the Executive Bureau of the Municipal Council of the province of Quneitra*

156. The witness referred to two incidents, involving a child and a young man, both his relatives, after 15 June in 1967. In the first instance, an 11-year-old boy, named Ghazi El-Zamel, had been shot dead by the Israelis for running into the street in a village called Rafid. His grandfather, who had tried to help him, had been beaten by the Israeli soldiers. In the second instance, a young man named Soleiman El-Hoama had sought authorization from the occupation authorities to remain in his home in the village of Ash-Sha. He had been refused and forced to leave his home for Damascus. On route he had been shot by the Israelis and had been crippled as a result of that shooting. He was no longer able to walk.

157. Responding to a question, the witness indicated that the incidents involving his relatives, which had taken place after his expulsion from the area, were not tied with war hostilities but with occupying forces.

*Witness No. 34—Mr. Hosein Sami El-Ahmad, member of the Municipal Council of the province of Quneitra*

158. The witness stated that during June 1967 unarmed civilians, including the witness, hiding in a ditch, had heard first on the Israeli radio and subsequently on the Syrian radio that both the Arabs and the Israelis had accepted the Security Council cease-fire. One hour after the news bulletin, they had come out of the ditch and had been bombed by Israeli aircraft. During that bombing, the witness's sister had given birth to a baby in the street and had had to leave the baby on the ground and go back to the ditch for refuge. She had not been allowed by the Israeli soldiers to go back to fetch the baby. Because of that she had fallen on the ground, become completely paralysed and had subsequently died for lack of emergency help.

159. The witness told of Israeli acts of violence, including an incident in which the Israeli forces had entered a mosque and beaten the people in prayer. He said also that Israeli authorities took everything and left the people with nothing. All the cattle the witness and his family had were taken by the Israelis for the needs of their defence army and he and his family had been compelled to work in hard labour camps with the Israelis in order to get some means of livelihood.

*Witness No. 35—Mr. Salama Said El-Mohammad, member of the Executive Bureau of the Municipal Council of the province of Quneitra*

160. The witness noted that during the 1967 war, he was living in a village named Sel Jeet, located five kilometres to the north of Quneitra. He had stayed there until the cease-fire had been declared. After the cease-fire, the Israeli force had entered the village, gathered the inhabitants, put them in special cars and for three days had compelled them to pick up dead bodies of all the people that had been killed. They would gather the bodies in some place and burn them up. They had also forced the inhabitants of the village to take everything in the shops and put it in Israeli cars. Furthermore, they had told the villagers to fetch their belongings because they were going to be expelled to Damascus. Cars had been put at the disposal of the villagers to carry them and their belongings to the demarcation line. There the villagers had been ordered to get out of the cars, but without their belongings. The witness pointed out that the Israelis had taken photographs of the villagers with their belongings so that people would get the false impression that they had left the country with their belongings.

*Mr. Habib Kahwaji, member of the PLO Executive Committee*

161. Mr. Kahwaji said that he had lived for many years under Israeli occupation and spoke fluent Hebrew. All his references with respect to Israeli settlements would be Israeli documents themselves.

162. Under the pretext of "maintaining security," the Israeli authorities had embarked upon a programme of gradual judaization of the occupied territories, which was to be achieved through the creation of a wall of settlements between those territories and neighbouring Arab States, the fragmentation of the territorial unity of the West Bank and Gaza into small areas isolated from each other by Jewish settlements, and the isolation of major Arab cities in the area from their natural Arab surroundings. The

basic goal of the settlement, as stated by Israeli officials, was to turn the Arabs in the West Bank and Gaza from a majority into a minority. That was evidenced by the extension of the settlements from those areas considered as security zones, i.e., the Jordan Valley, to the densely populated areas, particularly the area of Nablus.

163. Over the past 12 years, Israel had established about 70 Jewish settlements in the West Bank and 7 in the Gaza Strip. In order to acquire the lands needed for those settlements, the occupation authorities, using various means and pretexts, had seized about 1.5 million dunums, an area equivalent to more than one quarter of the total area of both territories.

164. The various ways resorted to by the Israeli occupation authorities to seize Arab lands included the following:

(a) Acquisition of the public lands allocated for public facilities or for the expansion of municipal zones. The pretext used for that acquisition was that the occupation administration was the heir of previous Governments. Lands seized by that method were estimated at 1 million dunums in the West Bank and 120,000 dunums in Gaza.

(b) Expropriation in 1965 of private-owned lands by invoking the Emergency Law introduced by the British Mandate Government and revised by the Zionist occupation authorities to justify the seizure of Arab lands. That law authorizes military governors to declare certain areas as zones closed for military purposes, meaning that it is forbidden for their owners to enter or use them.

(c) Making use of the Absentees' Property Law of 1950, introduced by Israel originally to seize the properties of Palestinian refugees in the territories occupied in 1948. Scores of thousands of dunums were seized in this way in the West Bank.

(d) Compulsory purchase of Arab lands which consisted of seizing privately owned land, then having the owners appear before the military administration officials to sign the sale contracts, prepared in advance. Such was the case, for example, of the 150 inhabitants of the village of Hazma, to the northeast of Jerusalem, as reported by the Israeli newspaper *Davar* a few months ago.

(e) Purchase of land through firms set up abroad either by the Jewish National Fund (JNF) or the Israeli Real Estate Department, such as the Rimanota firms, an American enterprise owned by the JNF. By using tricks and deception the Israeli Real Estate Department had bought, in 1978 alone, 60,000 dunums in the Ubaidiah area, to the south-east of Jerusalem.

(f) Seizure of lands under the pretext that they used to be owned by the JNF before 1948. Thus, as reported by the Israeli newspaper *Ha'aretz*, the Israeli Real Estate Department had, in the period 1967-1976, regained possession of some 32,000 dunums.

165. Through those various methods of seizure and confiscation, over 60 per cent of the arable lands of the Jordan Valley, namely, 95,000 dunums, had been seized. In the Hebron area, in addition to public lands, the occupation authorities had expropriated 1,000 dunums in 1968 to set up the settlement of Kiryat Arba, another 1,000 dunums of the Samou' village lands and 230 dunums belonging to the Bani Na'eem village in 1975 and about 160 dunums at Hebron itself in 1979.

166. Several thousand dunums have also been seized in the Gosh Ezzion area on the Bethlehem-Hebron road, where five settlements had been set up. The latest confiscation in that area had happened on the Sheikh Abdulla hill, to the east of Kfar Etzion and south of Bethlehem, where several hundred dunums had been seized to be used as the grounds for a new Jewish town called Efrat. Last year, an area of 60,000 dunums in the Beit Sahor area, to the south of Jerusalem, was closed and walled.

167. When Israel made its decision to annex Arab Jerusalem in 1967, the outskirts of the city, including an area of 70,000 dunums, were also annexed. In the autumn of 1971, Israel closed other lands covering about 70,000 dunums. Those lands ranged from Beit Sahor in the south, through Al-Khan Al-Ahmar on the Jerusalem-Jericho road, in the east, to the village of Anata in the north. Inside the city of Jerusalem itself 18,000 dunums were seized. Lands continued to be seized and closed at Jerusalem and its outskirts. In 1976, a 1,000-dunum area in the Abu Dais village and 750 dunums in the village of Aizariah were expropriated, and 1,000 dunums in the Beit Or village and 800 in the Jila mountain near Beit Jala were closed. Several thousand additional dunums had already been closed in the village of Salwan. Last year the Israeli authorities closed and walled some 4,000 dunums of the lands of the Anata village to the north of Jerusalem.

168. The same happened in the Ramallah area, where the occupation authorities have, since 1970, closed 2,400 dunums in the Al-Beera vicinity, to which have been added 1,500 dunums at Jabal El-Taweel, near Al-Beera. In July 1978, lands totalling 7,000 dunums were closed in the same area, half of them belonging to Al-Beera and the other half to the villages of Yabrood and Dora El-Qar'a. Meanwhile, some 600 dunums were expropriated in the village close to the Ofira settlement to the east of

Ramallah, and other areas, in the villages of Qaryoot and Tar Mas'ya, were expropriated and annexed to the settlement of Shila. Almost at the same time, about 200 dunums in the Nabi Salih village, to the north-west of Ramallah, were seized for the purpose of setting up a new settlement there.

169. The same also happened in the Nablus area. In the same year about 1,000 dunums were seized in the village of Tobas.

170. As to the Jewish settlement plans for the future, the witness stated that the Minister of Agriculture and head of the Ministerial Committee for Settlements, Ariel Sharon, had stressed the necessity of transforming Jerusalem into a city with 1 million Jewish inhabitants within 20 years, surrounded by other smaller Jewish towns.

171. Last year, the head of the Settlement Department of the Jewish Agency, Mr. Raanan Weitz, submitted to Israeli Prime Minister Begin a comprehensive settlement plan for the establishment of 102 settlements until 1983, half of which were to be established in the occupied territories. Mr. Weitz expected the plan to secure the absorption of 10,000 Jewish families. Mr. Metitiah Drobless, the Co-Chairman of the Jewish Agencies Settlement Department, explained that, according to the plan, 46 new settlements would be established within five years in the West Bank alone.

172. Last February, the Israeli Government approved a plan set up by the planning office in the Jewish Agency Settlement Department for supplying water from the sea of Galilee to the Jewish settlement site in the Jordan Valley and developing a main road to connect north occupied Palestine with Jerusalem across the eastern slopes of the Nablus Mountains. The plan aims at the establishment of a wide range of Jewish settlements on the eastern slopes of the Nablus Mountains and the establishment of 33 settlements to absorb 20,000 settlers within four years. The cost of such a plan is estimated by the Israelis as £1 5 billion.

173. For 1979, the Israeli circles are considering the establishment of 10 new settlements in the West Bank and one south of the Gaza Strip. An Israeli official source announced on 5 December 1978 that, by the end of the settlement freezing period, two new settlements would be established in the Jordan Valley and another in the Latrun area—that is on the boundary between Jaffa and Jerusalem—at the first stage. At the second stage, it was intended to establish three further settlements in the Jordan Valley. The Israeli Government also approved a budget of £1 711 million to be spent on improving and expanding the present settlements in occupied territories. Later on, the Israeli Government approved an extra budget of £1 1 billion for further care of the occupied territories' settlements.

174. On a point of clarification raised by the Chairman, the witness stated that he was speaking both in his own individual capacity and as representative of the PLO.

*Mr. Abdul Muhsen Abou Meizar, member of the PLO  
Executive Committee*

175. Mr. Abou Meizar said that he was testifying in his capacity as a Palestinian citizen who had lived under Israeli occupation until 10 December 1973. As a Jerusalem attorney, he had been a member of the municipality of that city and a member of its Town Planning Committee. Until his deportation, he also had been a member of the High Islamic Council for the West Bank and Gaza.

176. After a brief historical review of the Zionist colonization of Palestine and the United Nations involvement with the Palestinian question, the witness described some of Israel's practices in the occupied Arab territories which, he said, were in clear violation of the 1949 Geneva Conventions, in particular of articles 2, 4, 27, 47 and 49 of the fourth Convention. Israel's whole settlement policy, he said, was in flagrant contravention of article 4, which stipulates that the occupying authority has no right to compel the inhabitants of those areas to leave so that it can replace them by its own people. Similarly, the annexation of Jerusalem in 1967 was a flagrant contravention of article 47.

177. Contrary to Israel's allegations that the Jewish settlements constituted a private activity on the part of Israeli citizens, it was clear from the many official statements on the matter that it was in fact the policy of the Government of Israel. Its aim was the judaization of Palestine through the annexation of lands, the expulsion of the Palestinian inhabitants and the containment and isolation of the remaining Palestinian agglomerations.

178. The Israeli Government resorted to various methods for the acquisition of land, including the so-called Emergency Defence Regulation of 1945 and the absentees' property law.

179. The Emergency Defence Regulation stipulates that any area could be declared a "closed zone" for "security reasons", without any specification of what might constitute "security reasons". That was the only terrorist law applied during the British Mandate. Israel adopted it and applied it to the Palestinian Arabs, exclusively.

180. The absentees' property law was applied in fact to persons who had been deported or expelled by the occupation authorities and to those who were not present in any area where a conflict had taken place.

181. As part of his testimony, the witness submitted various documents to the Commission.

### III. EGYPT

*Witness No. 36—Mr. Yehia Aboubakr, Information Director  
of the League of Arab States*

182. The witness stated that the Israeli settlements in occupied territories constituted a flagrant aggression against human rights in those territories, and could lead to dangers and obstacles on the way to a just, complete and permanent peace in the Middle East, and to a solution for the Palestinian cause within the framework of the Charter and the resolutions adopted by the United Nations at all levels. The philosophy of the establishments was in fact a forgery of the historical facts and constituted a change by force of the demographic nature of those territories. Those dangers were not limited to the settlements which had already been established by Israel in the Sinai, Golan, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip or in the attempts at the judaization of Jerusalem; they also included Israeli intentions to implement that policy in the future. In that connexion, he referred to a declaration by the Israeli Minister for Agriculture who, at the same time, was the Chairman of the Ministerial Committee for Settlements. The Minister had declared that there were plans for the intensification of the Israeli settlements, to increase the number in the occupied Jordan Valley from 25 settlements to 50 settlements. He had also declared the intention to establish a belt of settlements to isolate the occupied Gaza Strip from the liberated Egyptian Sinai, as well as plans to establish settlements to encircle Jerusalem with a number of Jewish settlements, increasing the number of inhabitants of the Holy City to 1 million. The witness also referred to the Israeli Government's attitude of deliberately not intervening in the attempts by private groups, like the Gush Emunim group, to establish settlements in the occupied territories. The obvious and declared objective of that policy was to change the demographic nature of the occupied territories by force and to place them under military occupation, thus hoping to annex those territories to Israel illegally. The state of grave tension resulting from those Israeli practices did not help to create an adequate atmosphere to achieve a solution of the problem; on the contrary it led to more friction. For example, according to the Israeli broadcasts, recently some Jewish groups were brought to Hebron in the occupied West Bank to implement that policy; they had attacked the homes of the Arab inhabitants and started beating them, while the occupation authorities looked on. The confirmed information received from the occupied Arab territories, according to the witness, indicated that the illegal process of establishing settlements was still going on. The Israeli Government, according to what one of its Ministers had stated, intended to continue carrying out that policy for the next 20 or 30 years. Those intentions and practices could not possibly help to enhance the chances for peace in the region. The witness, on behalf of the General Secretary of the Arab League, appealed to the United Nations to take action to stop those attempts, to put an end to the Israeli policy of establishing settlements, to put an end to the occupation in order to maintain the historical Arab nature of Jerusalem, without altering its demographic nature, so that Jerusalem could be returned to its legitimate owners.

183. In response to a question regarding the procedure by which private groups acquire land to establish settlements, the witness referred in particular to Gush Emunim, the main group in this regard, which acted according to an established plan agreed to by the Israeli Government, in spite of the fact that there had been some cases in which the Israeli Government had intervened to stop the establishment of some settlements. He said further that the financing of the operation carried out by that group was partly provided by some official Government circles. The method that had been followed by the Gush Emunim group was to send some members of the group during the night to some points in the occupied territories, claiming that those were part of Judea and Samaria, and to build some very primitive houses on those territories and inhabit them. The number of the people and the buildings on those territories would gradually increase until the whole area turned into a new settlement. That was done if not with obvious agreement on the part of the Israeli Government then with its full awareness.

*Witness No. 37—Mr. Ibrahim Shukrallah, Director of the  
Political Department of the League of Arab States, Cairo*

184. The witness said that the two issues of the destruction of villages and towns by Israel and the consequent act of establishing settlements were interrelated. The figures that were available to the political department of the Arab League indicated that 500 villages and towns had been destroyed by Israel in order to make it possible to establish new settlements. For

example, the village of Netzarim had been established in February 1972 in the Gaza Strip on land expropriated by the Government of the State of Israel from the Abu Madyan Arab tribe in early 1971. Similarly, Netzer Hazani had been established in May 1973 in the Gaza Strip, north of Khan Yunis. It had been a Nahal unit and then it became a religious moshav, on a 30,000 dunum State land area. Morag had been established in May 1972 in the Gaza Strip on the coast between Khan Yunis and Rafah. It had been a labour nahal and would become a kibbutz. There were 12,000 dunums, partly cultivated. The land had been expropriated from Umm Kalb in early 1971. El Arish had been established in 1967, expropriated from El Arish residence. It was the former site of an Egyptian Government plantation.

185. The witness stated that the Gush Emunim group was working hand in glove with the authorities. They would move in and establish a new site, and on certain occasions the Government would move in and declare it a military site in order to lend it credence and permanency. Later on, it would turn into a moshav or a kibbutz or whatever. By its settlement policy Israel was trying to establish new *faits accomplis*, destroying the villages and then building Jewish settlements in order to bring up the population of the State of Israel to 5 or 7 million, thus to lend it demographic viability and, consequently, economic viability. The main characteristics of the recent trends in the Israeli settlements were to strengthen and enlarge the already established settlements, to replace small and temporary settlements by large and heavily populated towns. That had been underlined many times by official spokesmen of the State of Israel. For example, Mr. Weizman, the Minister of Defence, had declared that his Ministry was planning to build a large settlement town on the road between Jerusalem and Ramallah, to be called Gabaa, and to establish new settlement organizations. The witness noted that Israel had a number of organs for implementing that particular policy, such as the Gush Emunim, the West Bank Land Purchase Company and a number of banks and organizations belonging to the Ministry of Agriculture, which headed the enterprise. Israel was doing its utmost to wipe the Palestinians off the geographical and political map of the world, in order to occupy their place. Under the tremendous pressure of the world community and world public opinion, Israel conceded and was negotiating self-rule for the West Bank and Gaza—but with a very important modification: that self-rule, in the words of the Prime Minister of Israel, extended only to the inhabitants and not to the territory or the land. Israel had destroyed all the Palestinian hamlets and towns. It had forced the Palestinians into dispersion, depriving them of their right to return. Some of those who had remained had been thrown into gaol under various pretexts, while the peasantry had been turned into a mobile army of unskilled or semi-skilled labourers that could be easily persuaded to emigrate.

186. Jewish settlements had mushroomed wherever Arabs used to live. Jerusalem had undergone a change in its historical and Moslem-Christian character, in a bid to make it the capital of Israel. The Palestinians remained the cardinal and central issue in the whole of the Arab-Israel conflict. While the Israelis numbered a little over 3 million—after strenuous, continued efforts to increase their number—the number of Palestinians all over the world exceeded 3 million, half of them still living in the land of Palestine. The Arabs were still the majority in the principal regions of Palestine: Galilee, the West Bank and Gaza. To fail to redress such a grave injustice would keep the bone of contention alive.

187. The Chairman stated that the Commission had taken due note of the statements made by the two witnesses in the same way, indeed, as it had taken note of statements made during its visits to other Arab countries when other witnesses were presented to it. The fact that the witnesses had stated that they belonged to the Arab League would not imply, however, on the part of the Commission any involvement in the conditions in which that body, which was an Arab regional organization, was or was not accepted by Arab States as having its headquarters at Cairo. It should be clear that that was a conflict of which the Commission was not a part.

*Witness No. 38—Mr. Abd Allah Mehana*

188. The witness said that Israel had established five settlements in the Gaza Strip, which was 45 kilometres long and 8 kilometres wide, from the sea-shore to the Israeli frontier. Half that area was composed of houses, another part was composed of citrus plantations. The remaining quarter of the area was inhabited by 500,000 Arabs. Israeli settlements had been established by force on approximately 10,000 dunums of land belonging to the local inhabitants. There were about 4,000 inhabitants. Such a limited area could not be sufficient for 500,000 Arab inhabitants plus the Israeli settlers. Israel had also built a road for those settlements on the land of Arab inhabitants. The road had also been built by force since the inhabitants had not agreed to Israel's offer to pay compensation. The witness referred to different types of practices and pressures aimed at compelling the local

population to leave, including the placing of meters on the wells in the orange groves of the Arab inhabitants in order to limit the water supply to them which was only 10 cubic metres per dunum. Any Arab who was entitled to only 10 cubic metres and took more was punished by having his water supply cut off. The witness said also that when it entered the Gaza Strip in 1967, Israel brought in its troops, encircled the villages, called together all the young people, from 15 to 30 years of age, placed them on lorries and took them to the desert area in the Sebba region, kept them there for three or four days without anything to eat or drink, and then took them to Egypt, thereby evacuating some 12,000 young men from the Gaza Strip, to which area they were forbidden to return.

*Witness No. 39—Mr. Ragab El Rahlawy*

189. The witness, who was from the Gaza Strip but now lived at Cairo, said that in spite of the fact that the entire Gaza Strip consisted of only 400 square kilometres and was inhabited by half a million persons, the Israeli authorities had succeeded, through repression, in seizing some of the Arab land in the area and had established five settlements there.

190. The aim of the establishment of the settlements, in addition to changing the demographic nature of the area, was to terrorize the inhabitants. The settlements were heavily armed and the local inhabitants did not have any weapons. That led to friction and many clashes between the Israelis and the inhabitants and left many victims among the Palestinian inhabitants. The Israeli settlements were illegal and should be removed from the occupied Palestinian lands. The witness said that a Palestinian State should be established in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, and those two areas should be linked by a road through the Palestinian territories.

*Witness No. 40—Mr. Mohammed Kassem*

191. The witness stated that the Gaza Strip was a heavily populated area even though it was only about 450 kilometres square. It contained about half a million people, so the rate would go up to 1,000 people per square kilometre. It could not take any more. Whatever settlements were built there, the Arabs would try to take them over, either by peace, in which case they could maintain good relations later on with the Israelis, or by war, in which case it would be very difficult to have good relations. If Israel wanted peace, she should abide by United Nations decisions and stop immediately the formation of new settlements and abandon or abolish the old ones.

*Witness No. 41—Mesbah Kresam*

192. The witness, who had left the Gaza Strip approximately a month before, said that the total area which had been seized by the Israeli forces amounted to 12,000 dunums. That area had been divided into five settlements in the Gaza Strip. Among those settlements were the settlement of Eretz, which was an industrial settlement established in the truce-line area, and the settlement of Zikim, which had been linked to the Eretz settlement. Zikim settlement had facilities for the repair of vehicles and cars. In the Eretz settlement Israel had built a road leading to the seashore and in the process they had confiscated land belonging to the witness with vineyards on it. In constructing the road, Israel had also taken buildings which had belonged to the United Nations and which the United Nations had built for the refugees in the area. Among those buildings was one belonging to UNRWA and the inhabitants of that area had been given only 24 hours to leave before the building was destroyed. In the case of some inhabitants who would not leave, Israelis had gone inside the homes and turned everything upside-down. Some inhabitants had organized demonstrations but the more the demonstrations increased, the more roads were built: instead of one road, they would build three roads in the camp on the grounds of ensuring some security against the saboteurs in the area.

193. The witness also referred to another settlement called Nahlat Sharim which was built on an area belonging to Abu Madin. That settlement was an agricultural settlement built on an area of 3,000 dunums. It had been linked to another settlement called Katif which had been built on land belonging to Al Abadla. That settlement had been enlarged after the Camp David agreements and the first Katif had been followed by two other settlements: Katif-2 and Katif-3. The witness noted that Israel had built another agricultural settlement, called Mirage, between Khan Yunis and Rafah. The settlement of Deir El-Balah had also been expanded.

194. The witness also mentioned some methods used by the Israelis to force the inhabitants to leave the area. He noted that Israel would send gangs at night and someone would knock at a door asking for refuge, saying that he was a commando when he was in fact a Zionist. He would stay for about an hour and then leave. A couple of days later, the authorities would come to the inhabitant and accuse him of giving refuge to a commando and not informing the authorities. He would be told that the only



alternative left to him was to leave the area. The witness said also that when he asked for authorization to leave the sector to visit relatives, Israel would give him the authorization but at the end of the visit he would not be allowed to return. That method had been used with many families, leaving them no choice but to go to Jordan or other Arab countries after the visit was over. Another method used by the Israelis was to take some Arab inhabitants in the Gaza Strip in cars with the troops to pretend to other Arab inhabitants that they were collaborating with the Jews. After that, those Arab inhabitants would be killed by the Arabs for collaborating with the Jews.

*Witness No. 42 — Mr. Ali Khalil, representative of the United Nations Association of the Arab Republic of Egypt*

195. The witness stated that the United Nations Association of the Arab Republic of Egypt was a representative segment of the population of the country. The association deemed it to be its duty to promote the philosophy of the United Nations and to make the world Organization better understood among Egyptian citizens. For that reason, the Association hoped that the Commission would help the Security Council to deal with the question of the Israeli settlements which was an obstacle on the road to peace.

ANNEX III  
List of settlements  
ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS IN THE WEST BANK

Name	Date founded	Location	Type	Economic base	Local need (in dunams)	Original landowners
<i>A. Area of Jerusalem and environs</i>						
1. Atrot . . . . .	1970	Jerusalem: north edge, near airport	Industrial zone	61 factories	10 000	Arab residents of Beit Hanina village
2. Neve Ya'acov . .	1973	Jerusalem: north of town	Residential suburb	2 500 housing units	10 000	Arab residents of Beit Hanina village
3. Ramot . . . . .	1973	Jerusalem: north-west, near Nabi Samwil	Residential suburb	750 housing units (8 000 units planned)	30 000	Arab residents of Beit Ikse village; 100 Arab homes demolished
4. Ramat Eshkol . .	1968	Jerusalem: north side	Residential area	1 700 housing units	600	Arab land (expropriated)
5. French Hill . . . .	1969	Jerusalem: north side, along Jerusalem-Ramallah road	Residential area	2 100 housing units	15 000	Arab land; land from Catholic convent
6. Nahalat Dafna . .		Jerusalem: north side	Residential area	250 housing units	270	Arab families and waqf properties
7. Gilo Sharafat (Gilo) . . . . .	1973	Jerusalem: south side, near Beit Jala	Residential suburb	1 200 housing units out of 10 000 planned	4 000	Palestinian residents of Jerusalem, Beit Jala, Beit Safafa and Sharafat
8. East Talpiaz . . .	1973	Jerusalem: east side, south of Jabal Al-Mukabber where United Nations headquarters was situated	Residential suburb	1 000 housing units (3 000 planned)	20 000	Arab residents of Jerusalem, Sur Bahir, Sheikh Sa'ad and United Nations enclave expropriated
9. Jewish Quarter (Old City of Jerusalem) . .	1967	Jerusalem: "Old City" between western wall of Al Aqsa Mosque and Latin Convent	Residential area	320 housing units and shops		160 Arab houses demolished, 600 homes expropriated, 6 500 Arab residents evacuated
10. Hebrew University . . .	1969	Jerusalem: north side	University campus	Offices, classrooms, dormitories and hospital		Expansion of pre-1948 university for which land was expropriated
11. Sanhedria extension . . .	1973	Jerusalem: north side	Residential area	250 housing units		Former demilitarized zone, entirely expropriated
<i>B. Area of Ramallah and El-Beireh</i>						
12. Shiloh . . . . .	1976	East of Nablus-Ramallah road	Gush Emunim		15 000	From villages of Turmus Ayya, Qaryut, Abu-Elfalah and El-Maghireh
					80 to 90	Dunums closed off, almond trees cut down
13. Kochav Hashahar	1975	North-east of Taiyyibe village	Nahal, then kibbutz	Agriculture	4 000	Land from Deir Jarir and Kufur Malik; water from Ain Samia, Ramallah's sole water source

14.	Ofra (Ba'al Hatzor) . . . . .	1975	East of Ramallah on Jericho road	Gush Emunim	Workshops and agriculture	350	100 dunums from Ain Yabrud village, 250 dunums from Silwad village
15.	Mevo Horon . . . . .	1969	Latrun salient	Moshav	Agriculture, 2 wells	16 000	Land from Yalu, Imwas and Beit Nuba villages, destroyed by Israel after 1967 war
16.	Beit Horon . . . . .	1977	Mid-way on Ramallah-Latrun road, near Tira	Gush Emunim		150	Initial takeover of Arab land
17.	Mevo Horon Dalet (Matityahu) . . . . .	1977	Latrun area, 3 km from armistice line		Agriculture		DMZ (Midya Arab village prior to 1948)
18.	Kfar Ruth . . . . .	1977	Latrun area; 1 km south-east of Shayelet settlement		Agriculture		DMZ (site of Midya village), thousands of dunums of irrigated lands
19.	Givat Hamivtar . . . . .	1975	On north side of Jerusalem		350 housing units		Land area entirely expropriated
20.	Canada Park . . . . .	1976	Latrun salient: on Latrun-Ramallah road	Jewish National Fund Park		4 200	Land of destroyed villages of Yalu, Imwas and Beit Nuba (including 1 500 dunums of orchards)
21.	Ramonim . . . . .	1977	North-east of Taybeh and Rammun villages, north of Ramallah-Jericho road	Nahal		300	Residents of Taybeh village (expropriated lands)
22.	Beit El . . . . .	1977	North of Ramallah-Nablus road	Gush Emunim		35	Arab land. Settlement to expand on 250 dunums of expropriated land
23.	Giv'on . . . . .	1977	North-west of Jerusalem; near El-Jib village	Gush Emunim			Previously Jordanian military base. 5 000 dunums needed to be expropriated from El-Jib village
24.	Shayelet (Mevo Hori'im) . . . . .	1977	Latrun area	Moshav	Agriculture		DMZ land (site of Arab village of Midya)
25.	Neve Zuf (Nabi Saleh) . . . . .	1977	North-west of Ramallah; near Beir Nidham	Gush Emunim		400	Closed off, including 100 dunums of wheat fields and almond trees of Nabi Saleh villagers
<i>C. Jordan Valley and other areas</i>							
26.	Mehola . . . . .	1968	Jordan valley: north end of West Bank	Nahal until Nov. 1969, then moshav	Field crops, metal factory, 1 well, 1 reservoir	3 000	Residents of Bardala and Ain el-Beida villages. Water supply of villages depleted by wells of Mehola
27.	Argaman . . . . .	1968	Near end of Damya-Nablus road	Nahal until May 1971, then moshav	Agriculture, 5 absentees' wells, 1 reservoir	5 000	Arab agricultural land, including 1 000 dunums from Marj al-Naja
28.	New Massuah . . . . .	1976	Jordan valley: south of Nablus-Damya road			800	Residents of Arab villages of Al-Ajajra and Jiftlik
29.	Massuah . . . . .	1970	Jordan valley: just south of settlement No. 28	Nahal until May 1974, then kibbutz	Vegetables, fishpond, water from Hamra, 1 well, 2 reservoirs	3 000	Residents of Al-Ajajra and Jiftlik villages, "expropriated land"

## ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS IN THE WEST BANK (continued)

Name	Date founded	Location	Type	Economic base	Land used (in dunums)	Original landowners
30. Phatza'el B	1977	South of settlement No. 29	Rural settlement		1 500	Arab land
31. Phatza'el	1970	End of south-west road from Aqraba	Moshav	Vegetables, 3 wells, "600 cubic metres per hour", 1 reservoir Hothouse vegetables	3 000	Residents of Fazayil village
32. Tomer	1976	Jordan valley: south of settlement No. 31			Unknown as construction still going on	
33. Gilgal	1970	Jordan valley: south of settlement No. 32	Nahal until May 1973, then moshav	Vegetables, citrus, field crops	3 300	Arab land; "plan to pump water from Jordan river"
34. Netiv Hagdud	1976-1977	South of Gilgal settlement (No. 33)	Nahal to become moshav		Unknown as construction still going on	
35. Mivsom (Na'aran)	1977 began construction	Jordan valley: near Arab village of Awja	Nahal to become moshav			Land expropriated from residents of Awja village
36. Yitav	1970	West of Awja village	Nahal until Oct. 1976, then kibbutz	Vegetables, field crops	2 000	Arab land from Awja village "including that of absentee owners", water from Ain Al-Awja and two wells nearby
37. Almog	1977	Jordan valley: north-west of Dead Sea	Nahal			Water supply drawn by 12-inch pipeline from well near Aqbat Jaber, Jericho refugee camp
38. Kalia	1968	Jordan valley: north-west of Dead Sea	Nahal until 1975, then kibbutz	Vegetables, dairy, vineyards, fish-ponds		Previously Jordan army camp; water supply from Wadi Keit west of Jericho
39. Mitzpe Shalem	1970	Dead Sea: west shore	Nahal, then kibbutz	Date palms, vegetables	over 50	
<i>D. Israeli settlements on the hills overlooking Jordan valley</i>						
40. Malki Shua	1976	North edge of West Bank: south of Mt. Gibboa; access road from Beit Shean	Nahal			
41. Ro'i	1974	"Limit of settlements" road (LS); north end	Nahal; moshav by 1978	Agriculture	2 500	Tubas village residents, land cultivated with wheat
42. Bega'ot	1972	LS road, north end: south of Ro'i (No. 41)	Moshav	Poultry, vegetables, citrus	5 000	Tamun village, land closed off
43. Hamra	1971	LS road: on east of West Nablus-Damya road, in lush valley. Farm land	Moshav	Vegetables, flowers, citrus, poultry; 1 well, 2 reservoirs, 12-inch water pipeline to Massuah (No. 29) in Jordan valley	450	Land from Bab al-Nagab village, valley land near Damya Bridge; 450 dunums of "absentee owner groves"
44. Mekhora	1973	LS road: south of Hamra (No. 43)	Nahal until July 1976, then moshav	Vegetables, fruit	4 000	From Bab al-Nagab, Beit Dajan and Beit Furik villages; water supply includes 1 well, 3 reservoirs

45.	Gitit	Aug. 1972	LS road: near east-west Aqraba valley road	Nahal until Dec. 1975, now kibbutz	Vegetables, field crops	5 000	Land from Aqraba closed off, sprayed with defoliants early 1972
46.	Ma'ale Ephraim	1972	LS road: on east-west Aqraba valley road	Regional centre		200	Arab land
47.	Nevo Shiloh (Givat Aduma)	Nov. 1976	South of Ma'ale Ephraim settlement (No. 46)			1 300	Residents of Turmus Ayya, Abu-Fallah and al-Mughayyir villages
48.	Mishor Adomin (Ma'ale Adomin)	Nov. 1974	Dominates Jericho-Jerusalem road	Industrial estate and army base; Gush Emunim settlers	Industry	(81 000)	70 000 dunums closed off Oct. 1972 by Israeli army; additional 700 dunums expropriated from villages of Abu dis, Umaryya and Issawyya, 10 000 dunums from Silwad, 300 dunums from Silwad and Anota
49.	Mizpeh Jericho	Early 1978	East of Mishor Adomin settlement (No. 48) overlooking Jericho				Land expropriated from above-mentioned villages
50.	Reihan (Nei'ami Bet)	1977	North-west of Jenin, 3 km beyond armistice line	Nahal, 1978 kibbutz	Agriculture		Arab land
51.	Dotan (Sanur)	Oct. 1977	Along Nablus-Jenin road in Sanur valley	Gush Emunim			Land of pre-1967 Jordanian police station near Sanur village
52.	Natal Ma'ale	Jan. 1978	East of Nablus-Jenin road	Gush Emunim		550	Land confiscated from Silat Al-Dhaha village including 25 olive trees
53.	Shomron	Oct. 1977	On Nablus-Jenin road			1 680	Kufr Sur village
54.	Sal'it (Tsur Nathan Bet)	Aug. 1977	South-east of Tulkarm	Nahal		1 000	Kufr Sur village, half of land privately owned (cultivated), half common land for grazing
55.	Elon Moreh (Qaddum)	Dec. 1975	Near Nablus-Qalqilya road	Gush Emunim		300	Arabs of Kufr Qaddum village
56.	Qamey-Shomron	Oct. 1977	South side of Nablus-Qalqilya road, near Jinsafut village	Gush Emunim		150	Taken from villages of Jinsafut, Hajj and Kufr Laqif
57.	El Qana (Mes'ha Pe'erim)	April 1977	South-east of Qalqilya	Gush Emunim nahal		10 300	Site of former Jordanian police station from Mes'ha village
58.	Tafuah (Bareget)	Jan. 1978	Along Nablus-Ramallah road 13 km south of Nablus			150	Arab villagers of Yasuf
59.	Haris	Feb. 1978	2 km west of Nablus-Ramallah road, near Salfit junction	Nahal; 2 km access road built		800	300 dunums expropriated for military camp; 500 dunums of pasturage closed off from villages of Kufr Haris, Harda and Salfit
60.	Har Gilo	1976	In Beit Jala village area	Residential suburb		400	Grapevines and fruit trees expropriated from Beit Jala residents, June 1976
61.	Efrat	1978	On road south of Bethlehem			7 000	Expropriated land, most of which cultivated

## ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS IN THE WEST BANK (continued)

Name	Date founded	Location	Type	Economic base	Land used (in dunams)	Original landowners
62. Tekoa	June 1975	South-east of Bethlehem near Hebron	Nahal		3 000	Land expropriated from Rafidiya village
63. Elazar	Oct. 1975	South of Bethlehem	Religious moshav	Chemical laboratory, electronics	350	Vineyards expropriated from Hadar village, 1973
64. Rosh Tzurim	July 1969	North of Hebron (Etzion bloc)	Kibbutz	Poultry	3 000	Including site of pre-1948 settlement plus expropriated land from Nahalin village
65. Alon Shvot	July 1969 settlers, 1972	North of Hebron (Etzion bloc)	Regional centre for religious Jews	Yeshiva students plus families commute to Jerusalem	1 200	Land expropriated in 1969 from Arabs
66. Kfar Etzion	Sept. 1967 first settlement on the West Bank	North of Hebron (Etzion bloc)	Kibbutz	Some agriculture, a factory		Site (1943-1948) of Jewish settlement and cultivated land (vineyards)
67. Migdal Oz	1977	West of Hebron (Etzion bloc)	Kibbutz	Agriculture	1 000 to 2 000	Residents of Beit Umar village, closed first as military area; 600 plum and almond trees uprooted in Dec. 1977
68. Kiryat Arba	1970	Adjoins town of Hebron	Urban settlement	Factories, services, some commute to Jerusalem, 401 housing units	4 250	Individuals from Hebron and Halhoul (1 500 dunams expropriated)
69. Yattir	July 1977	South of Hebron, near armistice line	Gush Emunim moshav		17 000 planned to be fenced	Pasture land
70. Zahar						
71. Sailat Dhahr	1978	On Nablus-Jenin road			550	Expropriated from Arab residents of Sailat Dhahr
72. Anatot	Late 1978	North of Jerusalem			3 000	Expropriated from residents of Anata village
73. Ya'afu Horom	1978	Near Arab village of Yatta; west of Hebron				
74. Tretsch						
75. Jericho	Approved 1978	Jericho area				
76. Zif	1978	South of Hebron	Under construction			
77. Neweimeh	1979	Near Jericho				
78. New Kfar Etzion	1979	On road between Bethlehem and Hebron				
79. Huwara	1979	Few miles east of Nablus	600 settlers already live there			

Source: List of settlements, map, information supplied by the Government of Jordan (S/13149 of 7 March 1979).

ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS IN THE GOLAN HEIGHTS  
(June 1967-February 1979)

Name	Date founded	Location	Type	Economic base	Land used (in dunams)	Original landowners
1. Neve Ativ	1971	South slope of Mount Hermon	Moshav	Ski-station/400 dunams apple trees at Denia's spring	Total land of village	Syrian village, dab'at azzayat
2. Snir	1967	Edge of ex-DMZ; pasture on Golan	Nahal up to 1968, then kibbutz	Agriculture		Syrian village lands

3.	Har Odem	1976	Mount Oden, between Mas'ada and Bugatha villages	Moshav	Industrial base established	200	Syrian nature reserve 200 dunums from Bugatha
4.	El Rom	1971	North, near Bugatha	Kibbutz	Agriculture (apples)	Total land of Ainkharja, some land of Bugatha	Syrian village of Ainkharja and some land from Bugatha
5.	Merom Golan	July 1967	North, west of Quneitra	Kibbutz	Cattle, 6 000 dunums field crops	6 000	Agricultural land west of Quneitra
6.	Ein Zivan	1968	North, west of Quneitra	Kibbutz	Agriculture, 340 dunums orchards in Quneitra valley	340 dunums of orchards	Agricultural land west of Quneitra; near former Syrian village, Ain Ziwane
7.	Katzrin	1973	Centre-west; near Yaacov Bridge across Jordan River	Industrial centre, field-school	Industries (200 housing units under construction)		Near Syrian village, Qasrine
8.	Keshet	1974	Originally at Quneitra then at Khusniya	Religious moshav; Gush Emunim settlers	Plans for field-school, botanical garden, wood-working, agriculture		Syrian town, Khusniya
9.	Ani'am	1976	South of Katzrin (No. 7)	Industrial moshav	Industries		Syrian village land, Qasrine
10.	Yonatan (Yonati)	1975	Tel Faraz, south of Keshet (No. 8)	Bnei Akiva religious youth movement	Agriculture		
11.	Sha'al	1976	Centre	Moshav	Agriculture, industries planned		Syrian village
12.	Gamla	1976	Overlooks Lake Tiberias	Moshav	Agriculture		Syrian village land
13.	Ramot	1969	Overlooks Lake Tiberias	Moshav	Agriculture		Syrian village land
14.	Merkaz Hisfin (Khisfin)	1973	South Golan	Rural centre			Syrian town, Khisfin
15.	Ramat Magshimim	1968	South-east, 1.8 km from buffer zone	Moshav	Agriculture, cattle		Former Syrian army base
16.	Avni Eitan	1976	South Golan	Moshav	Agriculture		
17.	Nov (Nab)	1972	South Golan	Moshav	Agriculture, reservoir nearby		
18.	Geshur	1969	South; moved west due to 1974 disengagement	Nahal	Field crops		
19.	Eli-Al (El-Al)	1968	South Golan	Nahal until May 1973, then moshav	Agriculture		
20.	Givat Yo'av	1968	South Golan; adjoins No. 21	Histadrut moshav	Field crops, poultry, cattle		
21.	Merkaz Bnei Yehuda	1972	South Golan; joint entrance with No. 20	Rural centre			
22.	Ne'ot Golan	1968	South, overlooks Lake Tiberias	Moshav	Agriculture	100 dunums field crops	Near Syrian town Fiq
23.	Afik	1967	South Golan	Nahal until 1972, then kibbutz	Agriculture		
24.	Kfar Haruv	1973	South, overlooks Lake Tiberias	Kibbutz	Agriculture		Near Syrian village Kafr Hared
25.	Mevo Hamma	1968	South, overlooks Lake Tiberias	Kibbutz	Agriculture, tourism at Hamma Springs, pasture	25 000	Syrian village at Hamma Springs
26.	Urtal	1978	Centre-west	Kibbutz	Industries planned		Syrian village land
27.	Ramath Shalom						
28.	Har Shifon						
29.	Dalhmiya						

## ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS IN THE GAZA STRIP

Name	Date founded	Location	Type	Economic base	Land used (in dunums)	Original landowners
1. Netzarim	1972	4 km south of Gaza City, between north-south highway and coast	Nahal became moshav	Agriculture	700	Land expropriated from Abu Madyan Arab tribe, early 1971
2. Kfar Darom	1970	South of Mughazi refugee camp, east side of north-south highway	Nahal until 1978, then kibbutz	Glasshouse vegetables	200	
3. Netzer Hazani	1973	North of Khan Yunis	Nahal until 1977, then moshav	Glasshouse vegetables	300	State land
4. Katif A	1973	West of Netzer Hazani settlement (No. 3), between Deir El Balah and Khan Yunis	Moshav	Glasshouse vegetables	400	
5. Katif B	1978	Close to Katif A settlement		Glasshouse vegetables	150	
6. Morag	1972	On coast between Khan Yunis and Rafah	Nahal, then kibbutz	Agriculture	12 000	Land expropriated from Umm Kalb village, early 1971
7. Eretz Azot	1969	North-east of Gaza City		Industries	800	

Source: List of settlements and map showing the location—Najib Al Ahmad, Special Representative, Political Department, Palestine Liberation Organization; information on settlements—Ann Lesch, former representative in the Middle East of the American Friends Service Committee, part of a hearing before the Sub-Committee of the Committee on International Relations, United States House of Representatives, 19 October 1977.

## ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS IN THE SINAI

Name	Date founded	Location	Type	Economic base	Original landowners
1. Yamit	1973; first settlers, Sept. 1975	Rafah area: on coast 7 km south of Rafah town	Urban settlement	Beach resort	Bedouin lands, most evicted in 1971-1973
2. Talmci Yosef	1977	Rafah area, near Yamit (No. 1)	Moshav	Tomatoes grown in glass hothouses (2 dunums per family)	Bedouin lands, including almond groves
3. Pri'el	1977 started	Rafah area: near Yamit (No. 1)	Moshav	(Under construction)	Bedouin lands
4. Merkaz Avshalom	1973	Rafah area; junction of Gaza Strip-Sinai highway	Rural centre	Gas station, shops, services	Adjoins area where bedouins resettled
5. Netiv Ha'asara	1973	Rafah area: 7 km south of Rafah	Moshav	Tomatoes, flowers; 40 dunums and 20 000 cu m water yearly per family; hire bedouin labourers	Bedouin lands, including school and cement houses (demolished)
6. Ogda	1975	Rafah area: 1 km south of settlement No. 5	Moshav	Glasshouse tomatoes; 8 dunums and 9 500 cu m water yearly per family	Bedouin lands
7. Sufa (Succot)	1974	Rafah area: between Yamit settlement and main highway	Nahal until Jan. 1977, then kibbutz	Field crops, mangoes, glasshouse vegetables	Bedouin lands; almond and peach groves uprooted in 1974-1975
8. Holit	1977 started	Rafah area: on highway east of Sufa	Nahal	Glasshouse tomatoes, 100 dunums mangoes	Bedouin lands
9. Sadot	1971	Rafah area: just west of No. 5	Moshav	Tomatoes, citrus	Bedouin lands
10. Nir Avraham	1977 started	Rafah area: 1 km south of Sadot (No. 9)	Moshav	Glasshouse tomatoes	Bedouin lands
11. Dikla	1969	Rafah area: 11 km south of Rafah town	Nahal until March 1971, then moshav	Tomatoes, packing shed; 10 000 cu m water yearly per family	Site of former Egyptian desert development company



12.	Haruvit	1975	Sinai coast: 18 km south-west of Dikla (No. 11)	Nahal	Tomatoes, vegetables, fishing	
13.	Sinai	1967	Sinai coast: east El Arish city	Nahal	Cultivated 1 000 dunums olives, citrus Fishing	Partly expropriated from El Arish  Egyptian fishing site
14.	Yam	1967	Sinai coast: lake Bardawil, 70 km south-west of El Arish	Nahal until May 1973, then kibbutz		
15.	Kadesh Barnea	Planned in 1977	Sinai: oasis near the 1967 border	Nahal	Archaeological site	Bedouin oasis
16.	Neviot	1971	Gulf of Aqaba: coast road, 60 km south of Eilat	Moshav	Resort area	Nuweibeh oasis
17.	Di-Zahav	1971	Gulf of Aqaba: coast road; 60 km south of Neviot settlement (No. 16)	Moshav	Resort area	Dhahab village, at mouth of Wadi Nasib
18.	Ophira	1967	Gulf of Aqaba: Sharm al-Sheikh	Urban settlement	Military base, port: 190 families (completing 5 000 unit housing project), mostly military	

Source: List of settlements and map supplied by the Egyptian Government (in Arabic).



## ANNEX V

### Documentation retained in the custody of the Secretariat

#### A. DOCUMENTS RECEIVED BY THE COMMISSION DURING ITS VISIT TO THE AREA

AMMAN, JORDAN

Government of Jordan

— Report on Israeli Settlements in the Occupied West Bank, including Arab Jerusalem since 1967

— Israeli documents relating to Confiscation of Land and Homes in the West Bank, May 1969 (annex to report submitted by the Government of Jordan to Security Council Commission)

— *Economic Development of Jordan in the Regional Context*. Government of Jordan, Amman, January 1978

Witness No. 5 (Anonymous)

— Paper on "The Arabism of Jerusalem", 10 pages

— Copy of memorandum dated 7 April 1978 from P. W. Lapp to R. Chase regarding the "Treatment of Cultural Property and Antiquities Sites in Occupied Jordan", 4 pages

— List of West Bank Settlements dated 9 April 1979 which was compiled by two persons who have travelled extensively in the area (anonymous)

— Clipping from *The Jerusalem Post* showing dead vines on Ja'abari Hill, Hebron; some 550 vines on the hill were cut down systematically in an apparent protest against a government decision not to allow Kiryat Arba settlers to build on the hill

— Copy of telegram sent to President Carter regarding Hebron and Beit Sahour

— Map showing Hebron Municipality borders and confiscated area for Kiryat Arba settlement

Witness No. 15 (Ruhi El-Khatib)

Annex 1. Notice published in *Israel Official Journal* No. 1425 of 11 January 1968 relating to confiscation and expropriation of Arab lands

Annex 2. Order issued by the Israeli Finance Minister and published in the *Israel Official Journal* No. 1443 of 14 April 1968 relating to confiscation and expropriation of land amounting to 116 dunums, with 700 buildings on it

Annex 3. Order issued by the Finance Minister and published in *Official Journal* No. 1443 of 14 April 1968, relating to expropriation of Arab lands outside the walls of Jerusalem

Annex 4. Order relating to expropriation of an area of 11,680 dunums

Annex 5. Map indicating all the sites of expropriated land (above-mentioned 11,680 dunums)

Annex 6. Map showing location of excavations in various places under Arab quarters which had been expropriated, especially in areas near the west and south walls of the Mosque of the Dome of the Rock at Jerusalem

Annexes 7 and 8. Photos showing an Israeli bulldozer striking the last of the remaining real estate neighbouring the south and west sides of the Al Aqsa Mosque

Annex 9. Photo showing a Moslem girls' school which had been demolished

Annex 10. Photocopy of notice sent to all Arab inhabitants asking them to evacuate the area

Annex 11. Clipping from a newspaper, *Al Quds*, reporting the case of an Arab inhabitant who was expelled on 8 August 1973

Annex 12. List of families expelled, names received up to 30 June 1976

Annexes 13 and 14. Copy of map and list of names of Israeli settlements which appeared in *Arab Week*, a Lebanese Arabic magazine

Annex 15. Clipping from *The Jerusalem Post* entitled "On building a fortress Jerusalem", a report full of photographs, documentation and maps concerning the settlements established by the Israelis

Annex 16. Abdul-Hadi, Mahdi. *Israeli Settlements in Occupied Jerusalem and West Bank (1967-1977)*. Jerusalem, 1978

Annex 17. El-Khatib, Ruhi. *The Judaization of Jerusalem*. Amman, Jordan, Al-Tawfiq Press

— Cattan, Henry. *Palestine, the Arabs and Israel*. London: Longmans, Green and Co., Ltd., 1969.

— El-Khatib, Ruhi. *Memorandum regarding the continuation of Israeli acts of aggression towards changing the status of Jerusalem and the surrounding towns and villages*. Amman, Jordan, 1977.

— List of deportees compiled by El-Khatib

— Report No. 35, "Deportations from the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, 1967-1976", compiled by Ann M. Lesch

Witness No. 17 (anonymous)

— Map showing the boundaries of Hebron and the boundaries of the limitation of the area taken away from the Mount of Hebron by a military order

— Photos showing bulldozers demolishing houses and opening new roads

Witness No. 19 (anonymous)

— Land survey of Anata during Hashemite Kingdom rule

— Map of lands in Anata village which had been divided into three zones in accordance with order received from Military Governor of Ramallah on 20 January 1975

— Plan, list of names of landowners at Anata whose lands had been expropriated

— Copy of telegram sent to President Sadat by Anata village Mukhtar requesting him to intervene in order to stop expropriation of villagers' lands

— Copy of a letter addressed to the Military Governor of the West Bank concerning land expropriated from Anata

— Military order confiscating some lands, together with a map showing the area involved

— Israeli map of Anata showing industrial zone planned by Israel

— Order forbidding inhabitants to enter closed zones

— Legal documents from the Israeli High Court pertaining to expropriation of villagers' lands

Witness No. 21 (Shawkat M. Hamdi)

— Copy of his testimony before the Security Council Commission

— Report on the "Policy of Settlements and its Implications for Arab Jerusalem"

— A study on some Israeli violations of human rights in occupied Arab territories

— A study on the major violations and contraventions on the part of the Israeli authorities

— Map 1, showing the ruins and sacred places of Islam

— Map 2, relating to excavation operations

— Map 3, settlements in the West Bank and at Jerusalem

— Map 4, the "Greater Jerusalem" project

DAMASCUS, SYRIA

Haitham Keylani, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Map showing location of 29 settlements and location of the Arab Syrian towns and villages which have been destroyed and replaced by new settlements

Najib Al Ahmad, Special Representative, Political Department, PLO

— His written statement to the Security Council Commission

— List of Israeli settlements on the West Bank from 1967-1979

— Map showing Israeli settlements on the West Bank since 1967

— Map of the British Archaeological School at Jerusalem (Burgoyne, M. H., *Some Mameluke Doorways in the Old City of Jerusalem*. Reprinted from "Levant III, 1971")

— Plan for building fortress Jerusalem

— Photos of Al Aqsa Dome taken during the fire and when fire was being put out

— Photo of synagogue built under the Al Aqsa Mosque taken during its installation

— Data on excavations

— List of prisoners who obtained winter clothing during 1978 from the Union of Charitable Organizations at Jerusalem

— Names of prisoners who obtained winter clothing from the Red Cross

— List of Arab inhabitants whose lands have been confiscated in the villages of Majdel and Beni Fadal in the region of Nablus

- List of houses blown up, with description and location of each house
- List of people deported from each village
- Translation of a notice of expropriation as published in Hebrew in *Official Gazette* No. 1656 of 30 August 1970
- Letter of complaint from the Moslem community at Jerusalem concerning the rights of the Palestinian people
- Letter of complaint from Islamic waqf at Jerusalem addressed to the Military Governor of the West Bank concerning acts of desecration committed in Al Aqsa Mosque
- Sample of forgery used to expropriate Arab land
- Report on the Ibrahimi Mosque at Hebron

*Witness No. 23 (Abdul Salam)*

*Le Golan avant l'agression: une étude illustrée*

*Habib Kahwaji, Member of the Executive Committee, PLO*

- Copy of his statement to the Security Council Commission
- Paper on "Racial Discrimination against the Arabs in the Occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip since 1967" (prepared by Kahwaji)
- List of Israeli Settlements in the Occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip (prepared by Kahwaji)
- Paper on "Education in the Occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip since 1967" (prepared by Kahwaji)
- Paper on "Jewish Settlement Plans for the Future" (prepared by Kahwaji)
- Translation by Saif Eddin Zubi, Arab member of the Knesset, of an article on "The König Memorandum" which was published in the Israeli newspapers *Davar* of 25 July and *El Hamishmar* of 7 September 1976

*Abdul Abou Meizar, Member of the Executive Committee, PLO*

- Report on Political Deportations Carried Out by the Israeli Authorities against Palestinian Citizens
- A booklet which details some activities conducted by the PLO concerning the "Day of the Land" in occupied Palestine
- Deportees from the West Bank

CAIRO, EGYPT

*Mr. Boutros Ghali, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs*

- Map of Israeli Settlements in the Occupied Arab Territories
- Report on Israeli Settlements in the Occupied Arab Territories, including Jerusalem since 1967 up to the present

*Witness No. 36 (Yehia Aboubakr)*

- Written statement by the witness

*Witness No. 37 (Ibrahim Shukrallah)*

- Paper on "Israeli Settlements in the Occupied Arab Territories"
- "Israeli Settlements in the Occupied Territories", compiled by Ann M. Lesch, *Journal of Palestine Studies*.

**B. LIST OF DOCUMENTS DELIVERED TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL COMMISSION IN NEW YORK ON 30 APRIL 1979 BY THE PERMANENT MISSION OF THE HASHEMITE KINGDOM OF JORDAN TO THE UNITED NATIONS**

1. *The Significance of Some West Bank Resources to Israel*, Economics Department, Royal Scientific Society
2. *Information on the Resources of the Occupied West Bank*, Economics Department, Royal Scientific Society
3. Eight maps

4. *The Jerusalem File (1967-1972)*, Council for the Advancement of Arab-British Understanding
5. *The Desecration of Christian Cemeteries and Church Property in Israel*, Beirut, Lebanon, The Institute for Palestine Studies, 1968
6. Background Memorandum on Jerusalem: The Islamic World and Jerusalem
7. Israeli Plans for Jerusalem—The Merip Report
8. David Hirst, "Rush to Annexation: Israel in Jerusalem", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, vol. 5, No. 2 (April 1974)
9. Ann Mosley Lesch, "Israeli Settlements in the Occupied Territories, 1967-1977", *Journal of Palestine Studies*
10. A Survey of Israeli Settlements—The Merip Report
11. Israeli Settlements—The Merip Reports
12. Paul Quiring, "Israeli Settlements and Palestinian Rights", *Palestine Digest*, No. 9
13. Thesis on "The Legal Status of Jerusalem", The Royal Committee for Jerusalem Affairs

**C. DOCUMENTS RECEIVED FROM UNITED NATIONS BODIES**

(a) *Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People*

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| S/12377  | Letter dated 28 July 1977 from the Chairman of the Committee to the President of the Security Council                             |
| A/33/154   | Letter dated 21 June 1978 from the Chairman of the Committee to the Secretary-General   |
| S/13132  | Letter dated 2 March 1979 from the Acting Chairman of the Committee to the President of the Security Council                      |
| ST/SG/SER.F/1  | <i>The Origins and Evolution of the Palestine Problem</i> (Part I: 1917-1947, and Part II: 1947-1977)                             |
| ST/SG/SER.F/2  | <i>The Right of Return of the Palestinian People</i>  |
| ST/SG/SER.F/3  | <i>The Right of Self-Determination of the Palestinian People</i>  |
| A/31/35, A/32/35, A/33/35 and Corr.1 and Corr.1/Rev. 1 | Reports and recommendations of the Committee to the General Assembly at its thirty-first, thirty-second and thirty-third sessions |

(b) *Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories*

- |  |   |  |
|--|---|--|
| A/8089<br>A/8389 and Corr.1 and 2 and Add.1 and Add.1 /Corr.1 and 2<br>A/8828<br>A/9148 and Add.1<br>A/9817<br>A/10272<br>A/31/218<br>A/32/284<br>A/33/356 | } | Reports submitted by the Special Committee since its establishment |
|--|---|--|

- A/AC.145/R.158 (December 1978), A/AC.145/R.163 (January 1979), A/AC.145/R.165 (February 1979)  
Map showing Israeli settlements as of April 1979

(c) *Secretariat*

- |                 |   |
|-----------------|---|
| S/AC.21/PV.9-17 | Verbatim records of the Security Council Commission during its mission to the Middle East |
|-----------------|---|

**Telegram dated 23 June 1979 from the Secretary-General of the Organization of American States to the Secretary-General**

[Original: English/French/Spanish]  
[11 July 1979]

In conformity with Article 54 of the Charter of the United Nations, I have the honour to transmit to you the text of the resolution adopted today at the Seventeenth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs:

“Whereas:

“The people of Nicaragua are suffering the horrors of a fierce armed conflict that is causing grave hardships and loss of life, and has thrown the country into a serious political, social and economic upheaval,

“The inhumane conduct of the dictatorial régime governing the country, as evidenced by the report of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, is the fundamental cause of the dramatic situation faced by the Nicaraguan people and,

“The spirit of solidarity that guides hemisphere relations places an unavoidable obligation on the American countries to exert every effort within their power to put an end to the bloodshed and to avoid the prolongation of this conflict which is disrupting the peace of the hemisphere,

“The Seventeenth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs,

“Declares:

“That the solution of the serious problem is exclusively within the jurisdiction of the people of Nicaragua;

“That in the view of the Seventeenth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs this solution should be arrived at on the basis of the following:

“1. Immediate and definitive replacement of the Somoza régime;

“2. Installation in Nicaraguan territory of a democratic government, the composition of which should include the principal representative groups which oppose the Somoza régime and which reflects the free will of the people of Nicaragua;

“3. Guarantee of the respect for human rights of all Nicaraguans without exception;

“4. The holding of free elections as soon as possible, that will lead to the establishment of a truly democratic government that guarantees peace, freedom and justice;

“Resolves:

“1. To urge the member States to take steps that are within their reach to facilitate an enduring and peaceful solution of the Nicaraguan problem on the bases set forth above, scrupulously respecting the principle of non-intervention and abstaining from any action that might be in conflict with the above bases or be incompatible with a peaceful and enduring solution to the problem;

“2. To commit their efforts to promote humanitarian assistance to the people of Nicaragua and to contribute to the social and economic recovery of the country;

“3. To keep the Seventeenth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs open while the present situation continues.”

## DOCUMENT S/13452

**Letter dated 11 July 1979 from the representative of Lebanon to the President of the Security Council**

[Original: English]  
[11 July 1979]

A month ago, the Security Council, considering the renewal of the mandate of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL), debated the situation in Southern Lebanon in a manner that left no doubt as to the unanimous concern of the international community for peace and security. Resolution 450 (1979) was adopted with the understanding that measures were going to be taken within the context of the United Nations to create conditions that would be conducive to the total restoration of Lebanese sovereignty, the preservation of the territorial integrity and independence of Lebanon, and the full exercise of the Government's authority. The General Armistice Agreement of 1949 between Lebanon and Israel was confirmed and all parties were called upon to observe strictly the dispositions of the relevant resolutions and decisions.

Yet, ever since resolution 450 (1979) was adopted, and notwithstanding the universal climate of concern and urgency, Israel has consistently rejected all United Nations action and engaged in acts of defiance and aggression. At

all levels of authority, the Israeli Government has been constantly announcing its intention to pursue military action inside Lebanon, which it did by land, sea and air, causing destruction and the death of innocent civilians. More seriously still, Israel's forces seem to have become determined to ignore totally the mandate, prerogatives, and inviolable character of the mission of UNIFIL. Constant harassments were reported daily and incursions into the area of operation of UNIFIL reached, in the period between 6 and 10 July, an absolutely inadmissible level of defiance and violent behaviour: UNIFIL check-points were attacked, whole areas invaded, villages subjected to aggression, houses searched and civilians abducted and killed.

It is most unfortunate that a general climate of violence and counter-violence has been created which, if left unchecked, might lead to the total deterioration and an erosion beyond repair of the United Nations Forces' credibility and capacity to act efficiently, a danger that the Secretary-General had cautioned us all against, and that members of the

Security Council and representatives of the troop-contributing States had all taken note of in their interventions during the debate.

Discussions between the appropriate United Nations and Lebanese authorities have, since the vote on resolution 450 (1979), been conducted intensively at all levels, with the hope that a practical framework of co-operation could be further developed within which total implementation of resolution 425 (1978) could be attained in the best possible conditions. Such discussions, while continuing with determination on the part of both the United Nations and Lebanon, will have no real chances of success if Israel continues its consistent policy of defiance of the Security

Council, aggression against Lebanese sovereignty, and harassment of UNIFIL.

I am under instructions from my Government to bring the matter to the attention of the Council, protesting in the strongest terms against Israel's policy and repeated acts of aggression. While reserving our right to call for an urgent meeting of the Security Council if conditions should deteriorate any further, I have the honour to request that the text of the present letter be circulated as a document of the Council.

(Signed) Ghassan TUÉNI  
Permanent Representative of Lebanon  
to the United Nations

## DOCUMENT S/13454\*

### Letter dated 16 July 1979 from the representative of Democratic Kampuchea to the Secretary-General

[Original: French]  
[16 July 1979]

I have the honour to transmit herewith, for your information, a report on developments in areas temporarily controlled by the enemy, issued by the Ministry of Information of Democratic Kampuchea.

I should be grateful if you would arrange for this text to be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) THIOUNN PRASITH  
Permanent Representative of  
Democratic Kampuchea  
to the United Nations

#### ANNEX

##### Report on developments in areas temporarily controlled by the enemy, issued by the Ministry of Information of Democratic Kampuchea

International public opinion has vigorously condemned the Hanoi authorities, whom it regards as contemporary Hitlerites for their criminal policies of deportation, trafficking in and massacre of refugees and their policy of aggression, expansion, annexation and extermination directed against the Kampuchean race. In the eyes of the people of Kampuchea, the Hanoi authorities are the greatest murderers of all time, massacring and destroying everything that is Kampuchean in an effort to exterminate the Kampuchean race, and settling in Kampuchean territory Vietnamese nationals sent from Viet Nam. In the face of the massacres, plunder, destruction and deportations perpetrated by the Vietnamese occupation forces, the population of the areas temporarily under enemy control, including the "self-defence guards" and those who have been forced to serve the Vietnamese administration, are rising up against the Vietnamese and are going in ever-increasing numbers to the liberated area.

##### 1. Kompong Cham province

###### (a) Town of Kompong Cham

Towards the middle of last May, 20 Vietnamese soldiers arrived to dismantle machinery at the weaving mill at Kompong Cham to be carried off to their country. Some 100 residents from the surrounding area gathered and, outraged by this act of piracy, attacked the Vietnamese. Fourteen Vietnamese were killed and their weapons were handed over to our guerrillas.

###### (b) Prey Chhor district

On 25 June, a group of Vietnamese soldiers entered the area intending to steal manioc belonging to the inhabitants. Three self-defence guards and 15 inhabitants joined forces and attacked the Vietnamese aggressors. Nine enemy were killed and a tenth fled. The 10 weapons captured were handed over to our guerrillas.

###### (c) Chamkar Loeu district

On 20 June, 15 Vietnamese soldiers seized a young village girl and savagely abused her. Twelve self-defence guards and 21 inhabitants set upon the Vietnamese soldiers, killing 13 of them. They then entered the liberated zone and handed over to our guerrillas the 13 weapons captured from the enemy.

##### 2. Prey Veng province

In the Au Reaing Auv district in early June, Vietnamese troops launched an all-out effort to drive the inhabitants of the areas temporarily under Vietnamese control from their homes and villages and settled in their place Vietnamese nationals brought from Viet Nam.

In mid-June, the members of the village committees established by the Vietnamese led the people under their control in an uprising against the Vietnamese invaders, killing 36 of them. They then went to the liberated zone, bringing with them 31 weapons which they handed over to our guerrillas.

##### 3. Battambang province

###### (a) Bovel district

Towards the end of June, the Vietnamese ordered the Khmer soldiers they had forcibly recruited to execute five villagers guilty of having relatives in the revolutionary army of Kampuchea. But the soldiers, numbering an entire company, refused to carry out the order and instead turned their weapons against the Vietnamese occupiers, killing one officer and six soldiers. The survivors then fled.

After releasing the five villagers, the soldiers went to the liberated area and asked to be incorporated into the ranks of our guerrillas.

###### (b) Phnom Srok district

The Vietnamese aggressors no longer trust the members of the administrative committees which they themselves established, or the self-defence guards whom they forcibly recruited. On 21 June, Vietnamese soldiers arrested three members of a village committee in Phnom Srok district and led them away to be executed. The people opposed this act and rose up, killing 10 Vietnamese aggressors and setting the three committee members free. The village inhabitants subsequently went to the liberated area.

###### (c) Sisophon district

At the end of June, more than 100 Khmer soldiers whom the Vietnamese had forcibly recruited rose up against the occupation forces, killing 20 aggressors and capturing 10 weapons. They subsequently went to the liberated area.

##### 4. Siemreap province, Svay Loeu district

On 4 July, 27 young men and women who had been forcibly recruited by the Vietnamese opened fire on the Vietnamese, killing three officers and six soldiers. They subsequently reached the liberated area, bringing with them seven rifles, which they handed over to our guerrillas.

##### 5. Kratié province

On 25 June, the inhabitants of the commune of Sandan in Sambaur district rebelled against the Vietnamese troops. Three villages were liberated, 75 Vietnamese soldiers were killed and 72 weapons were seized.

\*Circulated under the double symbol A/34/366-S/13454.

## Letter dated 16 July 1979 from the representative of Kuwait to the President of the Security Council

[Original: English]  
[17 July 1979]

I have the honour to enclose herewith an unflattering catalogue of the behaviour of the Government of Israel. It hits home the necessity for putting an end to such dastardly acts.

I request you to circulate the enclosed text as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Abdulla Yaccoub BISHARA  
Permanent Representative of Kuwait  
to the United Nations

## ANNEX I

## Letter dated 16 July 1979 from the observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization to the President of the Security Council

With reference to Security Council resolution 446 (1979), I am instructed by the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization to bring the following to your immediate attention.

In a blatant attempt to intimidate and harass West Bank mayors opposing the Zionists' so-called plan for "self-rule", the Israeli Prosecutor General submitted to an Israeli court in occupied Jerusalem a list of fictitious accusations against Karim Khalaf, Mayor of Ramallah, and Ibrahim Su-leiman Al-Tawil, Mayor of Al-Bireh, claiming that they had assaulted an Israeli policeman while he was performing his duty last November.

The reported incident supposedly occurred while the court was reviewing the request of the Palestinian residents of the Ramallah area to cancel the Israeli authority's order to purloin Palestinian land to build a new neo-fascist Zionist settlement.

Karim Khalaf strongly denied the Israeli charges arguing that it was the Israeli policeman who had beaten him and the Mayor of Al-Bireh and had prevented them from entering the court-room while their district's case was being reviewed.

Well-informed sources in the West Bank commented on the Israeli authority's renewal of the case after an eight-month delay, by saying that the Zionist conspiracy to try the two mayors was a prelude to their dismissal from their posts, since the same tactics had been used earlier by the Zionists against Bishara Daoud, the Mayor of Beit Jala.

The Mayor of Al-Bireh stated that: "Not only are the Israelis trying to remove the two of us, they want to liquidate all the nationalist Palestinian mayors."

There is no doubt that this blatantly provocative and racist act is further confirmation that the fascist Zionist entity in occupied Palestine intends to pursue its policy of intimidation and harassment of the Palestinian people under occupation. This prolonged wave of menacing and bullying tactics employed by the Zionists is not only a violation of the very fundamental of human rights but also a contravention of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, which is applicable to Palestinian territory occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem.

In drawing your attention to this serious situation, I express the hope that you will take immediate and effective measures to put an end to these racist policies and ensure the safeguarding of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

(Signed) Zehdi Labib TERZI  
Permanent Observer of the  
Palestine Liberation Organization  
to the United Nations

## ANNEX II

## Letter dated 16 July 1979 from the observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization to the President of the Security Council

On instructions from the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization, I would like to draw your attention to the following information which was published in the *Washington Post*, the *Christian Science Monitor* and *The New York Times* of 5 June 1979 regarding the murder

of four Palestinian civilians by an Israeli army officer during the Zionist invasion of Southern Lebanon in 1978.

Details of the murders have been placed under censorship but it has been disclosed that the murderer, originally sentenced to 12 years' imprisonment by a military court, had his sentence reduced to eight years by a military court of appeals and, in June 1979, a top Zionist military officer reduced the sentence to two years including the 15 months already served.

Another case of sentence reduction was mentioned in which a Zionist reservist in "civil defence" had his 10-year sentence for murdering a Palestinian civilian in occupied Jerusalem reduced earlier this year to three years.

According to press reports, those revelations have supposedly started a so-called wave of public indignation amongst the Zionists. Over 30 years of bitter experience with the Zionists, their campaigns of hate and violence, prove it cannot be the case.

Where is public indignation over the thousands of Palestinian men, women and children, the sick and the elderly who have been mercilessly slaughtered for over 30 years? One of the most dastardly and savage massacres was at the Palestinian village of Deir Yassin on 9/10 April 1948. On that infamous night a force of the Zionist terrorist group led by the terrorist Menachem Begin, the Irgun Zvai Leumi, attacked the unsuspecting village and began the indiscriminate massacre of the inhabitants, butchering 254 unarmed peaceful men, women and children. The mutilated and dismembered corpses were thrown down the village well. The 150 who survived were herded onto trucks and paraded naked through the streets of Jerusalem. There was no public indignation; instead Zionists greeted their victims with a barrage of rocks and obscenities, spitting on them as they passed by.

It is worth while to mention here some comments on the massacre. Jacques de Renier, chief representative of the International Red Cross at Jerusalem called it "a deliberate massacre" by Zionists "disciplined and acting under orders". The British Secretary of State of the Colonies told the House of Commons: "This barbarous aggression is proof of savagery. It was a crime that added to a long list of atrocities committed by the Zionists to this day." Historian Arnold Toynbee described it as "comparable to the crimes committed against Jews by the Nazis". But terrorist Menachem Begin boasted that "The massacre was not only justified, but there would not have been a state of Israel without the 'victory' at Deir Yassin."

The massacre had immense repercussions. The news of the massacre spread everywhere and terror was built up—a terror astutely fostered and manipulated by the Zionists. Using loudspeakers, Zionists roamed the streets of Palestinian towns and cities, warning the Palestinians. Menachem Begin gloated that Zionist gangs "proceeded to advance through Haifa like knife through butter; the Arabs began to flee in panic shouting, 'Deir Yassin, Deir Yassin'." Undoubtedly, the massacre was meant to intimidate the indigenous Palestinian population since Deir Yassin was not occupied for any strategic and tactical military purpose; it was simply meant to scare the Palestinians and make them flee. It was a pre-planned act of terror to expel the Palestinians from their country.

The Deir Yassin massacre, however, was not the only massacre of innocent, unarmed Palestinians. It was but one incident in a systematic policy by which the Zionists are pursuing their "final solution" for the Palestinian people, exactly as Hitler sought a "final solution" for the Jewish people.

Even at this very moment Palestinian men and women, of all ages, lie dying in Zionist concentration camps from wounds inflicted at the hands of Zionist torturers.

It is imperative to recall another case of calculated cold-blooded murder—a mass murder—where the murderers were all but exonerated of their massacre of 43 Palestinian villagers.

On 29 October 1956, a curfew was imposed on the village of Kafra Qasem. Since the mukhtar was informed of the curfew just half an hour before it was due to go into effect, it was impossible for him to inform the villagers who would be returning from their various places of work. In the first half hour of the curfew between 5.00 and 6.00 pm Zionist soldiers murdered 43 villagers. *Ha'aretz*, on 11 April 1957, reported on the trial:

"Eleven officers and soldiers who are on trial for the massacre in

Kafr Qasem have all received a fifty per-cent increase in their salaries. A special messenger was sent to Jerusalem to bring the cheques to the accused in time for Passover. A number of the accused had been given a vacation for the holiday . . . The accused mingle freely with the spectators; the officers smile at them and pat them on the back; some of them shake hands with them. It is obvious that these people, whether they will be found innocent or guilty are not treated as criminals, but as heroes."

It was strictly a *pro forma* trial. The sentences were *pro forma*, too. Two of the accused, Melinki and Dahan, received sentences of 17 and 15 years respectively. In response to appeals for a pardon, the Supreme Military Court decided to reduce the "harsh" sentences; and, following this example, the Chief of Staff, then the Head of State, and a Committee for the Release of Prisoners all made contributions, so that within a year of their sentence Melinki and Dahan were free men. A Special Military Court found the Officer in Charge, Brigadier Shadmi, guilty of a "merely technical" error, and reprimanded him; he was fined the sum of one piastre.

It is interesting to mention a twist in the tale: nine months after his release from prison, murderer Dahan, convicted of killing 43 Palestinian villagers in an hour, was appointed "officer responsible for Arab affairs" in the town of Ramleh.

The Palestinian people are not easily swayed by reports of a "wave of public indignation"; our daily experience with the Zionists shows us otherwise. Over 30 years of being dispossessed, deported, thrown into concentration camps without cause or trial, napalmed, bombed and murdered with the most highly sophisticated weaponry known to man prove to us that the brutal murder of four Palestinians last year in Southern Lebanon is but an example of the Zionist plan for the genocide of the entire Palestinian people—the Zionists' "final solution".

(Signed) Zehdi Labib TERZI  
Permanent Observer of the  
Palestine Liberation Organization  
to the United Nations

## DOCUMENT S/13458\*

### Letter dated 18 July 1979 from the representative of Democratic Kampuchea to the Secretary-General

[Original: French]  
[18 July 1979]

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith, for your information, the statement made on 17 July 1979 by the spokesman of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea on the refugee problem.

I should be grateful if you would have this text circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) CHAN YOURAN  
Acting Permanent Representative  
of Democratic Kampuchea  
to the United Nations

#### ANNEX

##### Statement made on 17 July 1979 by the spokesman of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea on the refugee problem

The entire world is at the present time deeply concerned at the fate of the millions of refugees from Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea who are experiencing dreadful suffering and are every day in danger of meeting a particularly horrible death. The refugee problem is now reaching a critical point which seriously threatens the political, social and economic stability and the security of the countries belonging to the Association of South-East Asian Nations. An international conference on the refugee problem will be held at Geneva on 20 and 21 July 1979 under the auspices of the United Nations. The spokesman of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea has been authorized to make the following statement on that occasion.

The people of Kampuchea and the Government of Democratic Kampuchea welcome the holding of this international conference on the refugee problem and express the hope that it will adopt appropriate measures to bring an effective and speedy solution to this particularly alarming and distressing problem. In this regard the Government of Democratic Kampuchea shares the opinion expressed by the Governments of many countries, including those of South-East Asia, that it is important to identify the basic causes of the problem and take measures to deal with it at its very roots.

The policy of exploitation, oppression and genocide practised by the Hanoi authorities against their own people and their policy of aggression and expansion against neighbouring countries are what lie at the origin of the exodus of millions of Vietnamese refugees, hundreds of thousands of Laotian refugees and tens of thousands of refugees from Kampuchea.

The fate of the tens of thousands of inhabitants of Kampuchea who have been forced to seek refuge temporarily in Thailand is still more tragic and distressing than that of the "boat people". The fact is that all these innocent people are direct victims of the war of destruction and genocide perpetrated by the Vietnamese aggressors. Wherever they go, the Vietnamese aggressors abandon themselves to massacres and brigandage, looting and

destroying everything—harvests, rice, livestock and dwellings. Those refugees who have escaped being massacred the first time must again flee before the Vietnamese troops in order to seek temporary refuge in Thai territory, not once but many times without any end in sight. All these Kampuchean refugees will certainly return to their country when the Vietnamese troops end their aggression against Kampuchea and withdraw from it completely.

However, there is another aspect of the refugee problem which has no precedent in history and to which world opinion has not yet given sufficient attention. That is the systematic dispatch of Vietnamese nationals by the Hanoi authorities to Kampuchean territory and their settlement there to replace the Kampuchean inhabitants whom those authorities have previously massacred or forced to flee the country.

Thus, by the latter part of May 1979 the Hanoi authorities had settled almost 200,000 Vietnamese nationals in Kampuchean territory, dividing them up among the coastal provinces and those of the east. Now, while they continue to practise genocide against the people of Kampuchea and force them to leave the country, the Hanoi authorities are systematically introducing and establishing Vietnamese nationals in Kampuchean territory. The Kampuchean people are therefore currently facing a mortal danger in the form of the Hanoi authorities, who are practising a systematic policy of extermination against the Kampuchean race and trying to wipe Kampuchea off the world map.

This, then, is another aspect of the policy of exporting refugees which not only is repugnant to but indeed defies the conscience of all mankind.

The people of Kampuchea and the Government of Democratic Kampuchea express the hope of seeing the international conference at Geneva give greater attention to that other aspect of the refugee problem, consider and debate the problem of the Hanoi authorities' systematic dispatch of several hundred thousand Vietnamese nationals to settle in Kampuchean territory, and adopt measures to prevent them from doing so and oblige them to put an end to the practice.

The tragic refugee problem cannot be dissociated from the policy of aggression and expansion of Viet Nam and the Soviet Union in general and the Vietnamese war of aggression in Kampuchea in particular. For that reason many countries throughout the world have expressed their sympathy and given support to the just struggle of the people of Kampuchea to defend independent and sovereign Democratic Kampuchea in its territorial integrity and assure the continued existence of the Kampuchean race.

The people of Kampuchea and the Government of Democratic Kampuchea wish to take this occasion to renew to all Governments, peoples, political parties, mass organizations and individuals friendly to them their heartfelt expressions of deep gratitude. The people of Kampuchea and the Government of Democratic Kampuchea are convinced that they will continue to make their voices heard and will adopt a policy, both during the international conference and thereafter, which will make the Hanoi authorities put an end to their policy of exporting Vietnamese nationals into Kampuchean territory, cease committing genocide against the Kampuchean people, and withdraw all their forces of aggression from Kampuchea in order to allow the people of Kampuchea to settle their affairs for themselves without external interference and bring the enormous suffering of the Kampuchean people to an end.

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/368-S/13458.



## Letter dated 18 July 1979 from the representative of China to the Secretary-General

[Original: Chinese/English]  
[18 July 1979]

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith the text of a speech made by Han Nianlong, head of the Chinese Government delegation and Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs, at the eighth plenary meeting of the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations on 18 July 1979. I request that this speech be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) LAI YA-LI  
Acting Permanent Representative  
of the People's Republic of China  
to the United Nations

## ANNEX

Speech made by Han Nianlong, head of the Chinese Government delegation and Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs at the eighth plenary meeting of the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations on 18 July 1979

We are holding today the eighth plenary meeting of the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations. The Chinese side is prepared to discuss the following question: is it necessary to discuss in earnest in the current negotiations what caused the deterioration of Sino-Vietnamese relations and to seek fundamental measures for the restoration of normal relations between the two countries? That is a question of extreme importance which will determine whether it is possible to break the stalemate in the negotiations and to achieve the normalization of relations between the two countries. It is also the focus of contention in our current negotiations.

At the last meeting, while making another arbitrary attempt to defend its hegemonist acts, the Vietnamese side viciously and slanderously attacked China, trying to attach to China the label of hegemonism. It even declared the occupation of Kampuchea and Laos by Vietnamese troops as "entirely just" and having no bearing on other countries or the Vietnam-China talks. This is a fallacious and fantastic statement and out-and-out gangster logic. The Vietnamese authorities are pursuing regional hegemonism, carrying out aggression and expansion abroad, occupying Kampuchea by armed force, controlling Laos, wantonly violating the sacred sovereign rights of Kampuchea and Laos, trampling on their national independence and attempting to turn the whole of Indo-China into an anti-China base, thus creating tension and unrest in Indo-China and South-East Asia and gravely menacing the security of many countries in this region. However, the Vietnamese side asserts that this has nothing to do with other countries and that it should not be discussed in the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations. May we ask what logic is this? The Chinese delegation solemnly pointed out long ago that the seriously damaged Sino-Vietnamese relations were in the main the outcome of the pursuance of regional hegemonism by the Vietnamese authorities and that, if normal relations between China and Viet Nam are to be restored and peace and tranquillity preserved in South-East Asia and Asia as a whole, we must proceed from the crux of the matter, that is, opposition to hegemonism. That is a conclusion drawn from the painful process of the deterioration of Sino-Vietnamese relations in the past few years and fully reflects the objective reality in its essence. It will be impossible to imagine that the relations between the two countries can be improved and restored to normal without resolving that important question of principle.

As everyone knows, the relations between China and Viet Nam had been good for decades. But, in the past few years, Sino-Vietnamese friendship and the relations between our two countries have suffered serious damage as a result of the perfidious acts of the Vietnamese authorities who, treating friend as foe, have frenziedly carried out a hostile anti-China policy and aggravated Sino-Vietnamese relations in an organized and planned way. The Vietnamese authorities have forcibly occupied many islands of China's Nansha Island group and made unreasonable claims to China's Xisha Islands and large sea areas in the Reibu Gulf, have continually made armed provocations and created incidents along the Sino-Vietnamese border, have nibbled at Chinese territory, kept driving refugees

into China, thus making gunshots constantly heard in the erstwhile friendly and harmonious Sino-Vietnamese border areas and creating intranquillity for the people there. Paying no heed to the repeated exhortations of the Chinese side, the Vietnamese authorities have escalated their campaign to oppose and antagonize China. As a result, large-scale armed conflicts occurred in the border areas. The Chinese people have a direct experience of the harm done by the regional hegemonism of the Vietnamese authorities.

The Vietnamese policy of opposition and hostility to China is an organic part of its plan for external aggression and expansion. With the conclusion of the war to resist United States aggression, the Vietnamese authorities hastened to set up an "Indo-Chinese federation" embracing Laos and Kampuchea, with Viet Nam as the overlord, so as to proceed to dominate the whole of South-East Asia. Their China policy is closely related with their wildly ambitious strategic plan. In forming an "Indo-Chinese federation", they want to set up an anti-China base in the region adjacent to China's southern boundary and co-ordinate with Soviet social-imperialism's global strategy and policy of southward drive for world hegemony so as to serve the needs of its anti-China plot, threaten China's security and jeopardize China's socialist modernization.

The Vietnamese war against Kampuchea has brought one to see clearly how the Vietnamese authorities' hegemonist action has drastically disrupted the normal relations between China and Viet Nam, while creating tension in Indo-China and South-East Asia. Towards the end of 1977, having failed to subjugate Kampuchea through political pressure, internal subversion and border provocations, the Vietnamese authorities brazenly launched a large-scale war of aggression against Kampuchea. China's opposition to Vietnamese aggression and its support for the Kampuchean people's defensive war has incurred the hostility of the Vietnamese authorities. At the very time when the Vietnamese authorities were launching the war of aggression against Kampuchea, they had the impudence to ask China to exercise its "influence" to force Kampuchea to submit to the force of the Vietnamese aggressors. These despicable and treacherous acts of theirs were, of course, severely condemned by the Chinese side. In order to oppose China and escape the world people's condemnation of their war of aggression against Kampuchea and divert the attention of public opinion, the Vietnamese authorities began to "purify the frontier" in areas close to the border between China and Viet Nam, deployed massive troops, built defence works, carried out repeated armed provocations and incursions and large-scale persecution and expulsion of Chinese residents, Vietnamese of Chinese descent and other Vietnamese citizens to create tension between China and Viet Nam. Moreover, after the fourth plenary meeting of the Vietnamese party, the Vietnamese authorities whipped up another sinister anti-China wave while stepping up their preparations for a second invasion of Kampuchea. That meeting decided, on the one hand, "to make rapid seizure of political and military victories on the south-west frontier an important task throughout the period" and declared explicitly, on the other hand, that China was Viet Nam's "direct target for combat", clamouring that Viet Nam must rely on the "combined strength" of Vietnamese military strength and experience and Soviet assistance "to prepare the whole nation for a resolute attack as well as counter-attack (against China) within our territory and outside, on land, in the air and sea . . .", so as to "accomplish successfully the mission of defeating the Maoist clique". Some of the Vietnamese leaders went again and again to the military commands and provinces near the Sino-Vietnamese border for anti-Chinese war mobilization. Those were the circumstances in which the situation on the Sino-Vietnamese border became increasingly tense and Sino-Vietnamese relations drastically deteriorated.

It should also be pointed out that, in the past few years, the Vietnamese authorities have tried hard to sow dissension between China and Laos and sabotage their hitherto friendly relations by fabricating and spreading fantastic rumours and creating tension between them. The sudden deterioration in Sino-Laotian relations was entirely caused by the Vietnamese authorities. In a message to the Chinese Government in the latter half of 1978, the Laotian leaders still said,

"Throughout these far-reaching revolutionary transformations we have always received multifarious support and assistance from the People's Republic of China. In particular, Chinese aid in road-building in northern Laos has made an exceedingly important contribution to our victory."

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/369-S/13459.

And yet the Vietnamese authorities have the impudence to declare that China has given no aid to Laos other than the road-building project and that even this has been used to control Laos, build hide-outs and smuggle arms for the Laotian reactionaries etc. The Vietnamese authorities sank to a new low earlier this year when they ganged up with the Soviets to concoct and disseminate the shameful lie about "the concentration of many divisions of Chinese troops on the Sino-Laotian border" and to force this nonsense on Laos in a deliberate attempt to whip up tension on the Sino-Laotian border. Sowing dissension between China and Laos as they did, the Vietnamese authorities are obviously aiming to tighten their control and enslavement of Laos, tying it to the Vietnamese chariot and forcing it to join the Vietnamese in pursuing the policy of opposition and hostility to China so as to threaten the security of China's southern border.

Even in the midst of their aggression and expansion against Laos and Kampuchea, the Vietnamese authorities have not ceased for a moment their attempt to sow discord between the South-East Asian countries and China. They have cooked up many lies vilifying China for alleged "big-Power hegemonist ambitions" towards South-East Asia. Of late, the Vietnamese authorities have been strongly censured by the international community for continuing to create great numbers of refugees and to dump them abroad. And yet they try to shift the blame on China, declaring that the refugee problem has been created by China. The Vietnamese authorities calculate that their policies of hysterical opposition and hostility towards China would advance their expansionist ambitions towards the South-East Asian countries. However, the South-East Asian countries know only too well from where the menace comes. Thailand is now in full alert, ready to repulse any invasion by Vietnamese aggressor troops. The South-East Asian countries are closing their ranks in the face of the Vietnamese menace. They have joined in the denunciation of the Vietnamese military build-up on the Thai-Kampuchean border as "a grave threat to the neutrality of Thailand". The foreign ministers' meeting of the Association of South-East Asian Nations unanimously demanded that Viet Nam promptly withdraw all its troops from the Thai-Kampuchean border and from Kampuchean territory. The meeting also called for a stop to the exodus of refugees and urged the world community to apply sanctions to the Vietnamese authorities for their criminal act of dumping refugees abroad. All this reflects the urgent and just demands of the peoples of South-East Asia.

Many facts amply show that the Vietnamese authorities' frenzied pursuance of regional hegemonism in Indo-China and South-East Asia is by no means an "internal affair" of Viet Nam but a grave issue bearing vitally on China, Laos, Kampuchea, Thailand and the other South-East Asian countries. Suffering greatly from Vietnamese regional hegemonism and witnessing the serious damage to Sino-Vietnamese relations and the threat to its peace and security, China has every reason and right to demand that

Viet Nam stop its pursuance of regional hegemonism. Only by starting with the question of opposing hegemonism in our negotiations can we get to the crux of the matter. Otherwise, the restoration of normal relations between China and Viet Nam and the preservation of peace and stability in Indo-China and South-East Asia will remain empty talk. If this question of principle is not discussed, the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations can only serve to cover up Vietnamese hegemonism and even meet its needs. Under no circumstances will the Chinese side agree to this.

It is regrettable that at our previous meetings, the Vietnamese side tried its utmost to exclude the crucial question of anti-hegemonism from the negotiations. At the last meeting, on the one hand, you spared no effort to oppose the discussion of this basic question in our bilateral relations but, on the other hand, you talked at great length about China's so-called "hegemonism" viciously and slanderously and set forth the so-called five points on anti-hegemonism. This is illogical and self-contradictory. It must be pointed out that your five points totally evade the basic content of not seeking hegemonism, namely, neither side should seek hegemony in Indo-China, South-East Asia or any other part of the world, and each is opposed to efforts by any other country or group of countries to establish such hegemony; neither side shall station troops in other countries, join any military bloc directed against the other, provide military bases to other countries or threaten, subvert or commit armed aggression against the other side or against any other countries. And this only indicates that the Vietnamese authorities are bent on keeping to the road of hegemonism and have no sincerity whatsoever toward the negotiations.

The Chinese side has repeatedly proposed the discussion, first of all, of the five principles of peaceful coexistence and the anti-hegemonist principle. The Vietnamese side, on its part, has said time and again that it does not practise hegemonism. Since it is so, why can't the two sides discuss in depth the question of the anti-hegemonist principle so as to facilitate the progress of the negotiations? Of course, anti-hegemonism has its concrete content and allows of no wilful distortion. Genuine anti-hegemonism must be proved by deeds. We reiterate that the Chinese Government is ready to undertake not to seek hegemony in any form. If the Vietnamese authorities indeed have the sincerity and determination to oppose hegemonism, they, too, should commit themselves to the anti-hegemonist principle and prove their sincerity and determination in deeds by immediately stopping their provocations against and incursions into China's border areas, withdrawing their aggressor troops from Kampuchea and Laos and putting an end to their policy of exporting refugees, which is liable to cause turmoil in the neighbouring countries. We are willing to listen to any constructive opinions of the Vietnamese side and, still more, to see concrete actions taken by it.

## DOCUMENT S/13460\*

### Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Emergency Force for the period 18 October 1978 to 19 July 1979

[Original: English]  
[19 July 1979]

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## ANNEX

Map. "UNEF deployment as of July 1979". (See end of volume.)

## INTRODUCTION

1. The present report describes the activities of the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) for the period 18 October 1978 to 19 July 1979. The purpose of the report is to provide the Security Council with a comprehensive account of the activities of UNEF in pursuance of the mandate laid down by the Council in its resolutions 340 (1973) and 341 (1973) of 25 and 27 October 1973 and extended by its resolutions 346 (1974) of 8 April and 362 (1974) of 23 October 1974, 368 (1975) of 17 April, 371 (1975) of 24 July and 378 (1975) of 23 October 1975, 396 (1976) of 22 October 1976, 416 (1977) of 21 October 1977 and 438 (1978) of 23 October 1978.

\* Incorporating document S/13460 Corr.1 of 20 July 1979.

2. Since my last report of 17 October 1978 [S/12897], the situation in the UNEF area of operation has remained stable and the Force has continued to discharge its functions and responsibilities in accordance with its mandate. With the co-operation of both parties, it has been able to contribute to the maintenance of the cease-fire called for by Security Council resolution 338 (1973) of 22 October 1973. On 25 April 1979 a treaty of peace between the Arab Republic of Egypt and Israel entered into force.

## I. COMPOSITION AND DEPLOYMENT OF THE FORCE

### A. COMPOSITION AND COMMAND

3. As of 16 July 1979, the strength of the Force was as follows:

Australia .....	46
Canada .....	844
Finland .....	522
Ghana .....	595
Indonesia .....	510
Poland .....	923
Sweden .....	591
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>4,031</b>

The strength figures for the Canadian and Polish logistics components assigned to the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF) are not included in the above table. A reinforced company of the Finnish contingent was temporarily detached to the UNDOF on 15 March 1979. Thus, the Finnish contingent is below its regular strength.

4. In addition to the above, UNEF is assisted by 120 military observers, members of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization in Palestine (UNTSO). This group of observers, designated "Observer Group Sinai", is made available by UNTSO within the context of the terms of reference of UNEF, which provide for UNTSO co-operation with the Force. The observers are assigned special tasks entrusted to the Force and come under the operational control of the Force Commander.

5. Command of the Force continues to be exercised by Major-General Rais Abin. Lieutenant-General Ensio Siilasvuo continues as the Chief Co-ordinator of the United Nations Peace-keeping Missions in the Middle East.

### B. DEPLOYMENT

6. During the period under review, there were only minor changes in the deployment of the Force. As of 16 July 1979 UNEF was deployed as follows (see attached map):

(a) Swedish battalion: Base camp at Baluza. It mans three forward command posts and 18 positions in buffer zone 1 in a sector that stretches from the Mediterranean Sea to a line south-east of Ismailia.

(b) Ghanaian battalion: Base camp at Mitla. It mans four forward command posts and 18 positions in buffer zone 1 in a sector that stretches from the southern limit of the Swedish sector to a line south of Mitla.

(c) Indonesian battalion: Base camp at Wadi Reina. It mans one forward command post and eight positions in buffer zone 1 and one forward command post and eight positions along the Gulf of Suez in a sector that stretches from the southern limit of the Ghanaian sector to a line south-east of Ras Sudr.

(d) Finnish battalion: Base camp at Abu Rudeis. It mans three forward command posts and 14 positions along the

Gulf of Suez and in buffer zones 2A and 2B in a sector that stretches from the southern limit of the Indonesian sector to Abu Durba in the south. Two check-points were closed in March 1979 following the dispatch of 151 men to UNDOF. The tasks assigned to those check-points are being carried out by other check-points in the vicinity.

(e) Canadian contingent: The Canadian contingent is based at El Gala Camp at Ismailia. It provides supply, maintenance, communications, movement control, postal services and air transport support to the Force and has supporting detachments spread throughout the UNEF area of operation, including a small group of about 30 personnel deployed at the forward logistics base at El Tasa.

(f) Polish contingent: The Polish contingent is also based at El Gala Camp at Ismailia. A group of about 115 personnel is deployed at the forward logistics base at El Tasa, and one engineering company is deployed at Suez. That company maintains small detachments at Abu Zenima (Finnish battalion area) and check-point Mike (Ghanaian battalion area). The contingent provides maintenance and engineering, including mine-clearing, water supply and purification, construction, road maintenance and transport support. It also operates the UNEF hospital at Ismailia.

(g) Australian contingent: The Australian contingent is located at Ismailia. It provides helicopter support to the Force.

(h) UNEF headquarters: The headquarters of the Force is located at Ismailia. In addition, liaison offices are maintained at Cairo and Suez. Other UNEF elements are located as follows:

- (i) Movement control detachments at Ismailia, Cairo, Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, Damascus and Port Said;
- (ii) Military police detachments at Cairo, Port Said, Suez, Rabah, Eilat, Ofira, Tel Aviv and Jerusalem;
- (iii) Ismailia airfield is the operating base for two Buffalo aircraft, a Skyvan and four Huey Iroquois helicopters. In addition, UNEF has the limited use of a Fokker F-27 aircraft, provided for UNTSO by the Government of Switzerland.

7. UNTSO military observers man six check-points and observations posts, provide liaison with each of the battalions, serve in staff posts and carry out patrols. There are six patrol teams deployed permanently. Observer Group Sinai is also charged with conducting inspections of the areas of limited forces and armaments and the missile restricted zones, as required by the Agreement between Egypt and Israel of 4 September 1975 [S/11818/Add.1]. Observer Group Sinai is led by a Chief Military Observer attached to UNEF headquarters at Ismailia. He has representatives located at offices at Cairo and Jerusalem.

### C. ROTATION

8. With a few exceptions, UNEF personnel are on a six-month tour. The following personnel rotations took place during the period under review:

(a) Canadian contingent: Personnel are rotated in small groups on a weekly basis;

(b) Finnish contingent: Partial rotations of the contingent took place in November 1978, and in January, February and May 1979;

(c) Ghanaian contingent: The main body was rotated twice, in October 1978 and in April 1979;

(d) Indonesian contingent: The entire contingent was rotated in November 1978 and again in May 1979;

(e) Polish contingent: The entire contingent was rotated twice, in November/December 1978 and in May/June 1979;

(f) Swedish contingent: The entire contingent was rotated twice, in December 1978 and in June 1979;

(g) Australian contingent: Personnel are rotated in small groups every six weeks.

## II. ACCOMMODATION AND LOGISTICS

### A. ACCOMMODATION

9. During the period under review, efforts were directed at improving the standard of accommodation at unit and subunit locations. The new UNEF ration depot of Ismailia was completed in February 1979 and is now fully operational.

### B. LOGISTICS

10. Procurement lead times have been considerably reduced in respect of rations by the introduction of long-term contractual provision systems. Steps are being taken to widen the applicability of the systems to cover other areas of recurring requirements. The difficulties with power supply mentioned in my last report [S/12897, para. 16] have been greatly reduced; generators have been installed and shelters constructed for them throughout the UNEF area.

11. Vehicle holdings and establishments have been reduced during the period covered by this report. The rate of vehicles kept off the road for maintenance has been high due to the age of the fleet and delays in the delivery of new vehicles.

12. With the opening of the new ration depot (see para. 9 above), the distribution of and accounting system for rations improved considerably.

13. Water supply to buffer zone I has continued to be a problem. Since April 1979, the pipeline supply has been unreliable. Liaison is being maintained regularly with both the Egyptian and Israeli authorities in an effort to improve the situation. So far, delivery of water by truck has made it possible to maintain supplies to the units when the pipelines failed.

14. The Canadian logistic operations centre at El Gala continues a full 24-hours-a-day operation, and Polish and Canadian logistic resources can be requested as required through this centre. The Polish engineer company continues to perform mine and road clearance, water purification and building repair and construction. In the course of clearance operations, more than 21,000 mines, artillery shells, rockets and other pieces of explosive materials were destroyed.

## III. ACTIVITIES OF THE FORCE

### A. FUNCTIONS AND GUIDELINES

15. UNEF has continued to operate under the functions and guidelines of the Force outlined in my report of 27 October 1973 [S/11052/Rev.1] and it has continued to discharge the specific tasks entrusted to UNEF and to the Chief Co-ordinator of United Nations Peace-keeping Missions in the Middle East by the Agreement between Egypt and Israel of 4 September 1975 and the Protocol thereto [S/11818/Add.5 of 10 October 1975]. The Chief Co-ordinator and the Force Commander have continued the practice of separate meetings with the military authorities of Egypt and Israel on matters concerning the Force.

### B. FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT

16. The existing arrangements concerning the freedom of movement of certain contingents still fall short of what is required for the integrated and efficient operation of UNEF as a military unit and efforts have been continued to achieve full freedom of movement for personnel of all contingents.

### C. PERSONNEL MATTERS

17. The general discipline, understanding and bearing of all members of UNEF have continued to be exemplary, reflecting credit on the soldiers and their commanders, as well as on the countries contributing contingents.

18. During the period under review, three members of the Indonesian contingent and one member of the Canadian contingent died as a result of accidents. Two members of the Finnish contingent, one member of the Polish contingent and one member of the Swedish contingent died from other causes.

### D. OBSERVANCE OF THE CEASE-FIRE AND IMPLEMENTATION OF THE AGREEMENT BETWEEN EGYPT AND ISRAEL OF 4 SEPTEMBER 1975 AND OF THE PROTOCOL OF 22 SEPTEMBER 1975

19. The Force has continued to supervise the observance of the cease-fire and has assisted in the implementation of the Agreement between Egypt and Israel of 4 September 1975 and the Protocol of 22 September 1975.

20. On 25 May, in pursuance of an agreement reached by Egypt and Israel as part of a peace treaty, Israeli forces withdrew from the northern Sinai to the east of El Arish and the Egyptian authorities took over control of that area. UNEF was not involved in that move except by permitting access of Egyptian personnel to the buffer zone and the areas of limited forces and armaments and by providing escorts to the parties within those areas as the Israeli withdrawal was being carried out.

21. In buffer zone I, except for that part of it where Egyptian forces have now been deployed, UNEF has continued to provide a physical separation of the areas of limited forces and armaments. UNEF has also provided escorts to authorized non-United Nations visitors and to personnel of the parties travelling to and from the early-warning-system stations.

22. During the period under review, Israeli mine-clearing teams under UNEF escort removed an estimated 37,000 mines from the southern portion of buffer zone I.

23. In the southern area, along the Gulf of Suez, the Force has continued to supervise the Agreement in the demilitarized area and buffer zones 2A and 2B. UNEF carries out its functions by means of check-points and air and ground patrols. The common roads within the southern area are controlled by UNEF and escorts provided as required.

24. The period under review has seen no major violations of the Agreement by either party. Minor incursions into the buffer zone by land or air have been reported to the parties, and they have acted upon them in a satisfactory manner. Complaints by either party are relayed by the Chief Co-ordinator or the Force Commander to the party concerned.

25. UNEF has continued to conduct inspections of the areas of limited forces and armaments and the missile restricted zones as provided in the Agreement except for the area where the Egyptian forces were redeployed in May 1979.

E. HUMANITARIAN ACTIVITIES AND CO-OPERATION WITH THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS

26. UNEF has continued to assist the representatives of the International Committee of the Red Cross with facilities for family reunions and student exchanges in the north of buffer zone 1. In the period under review, 1,573 persons crossed from Egypt to Israeli-occupied territory and 1,350 crossed from Israeli-occupied territory to Egypt. Since the return of El Arish to Egypt, UNEF is no longer involved in those exchanges.

IV. FINANCIAL ASPECTS

27. By its resolution 33/13 C of 8 December 1978, the General Assembly, *inter alia*, authorized the Secretary-General to enter into commitments for the Force at a rate not to exceed \$6,082,333 gross (\$6 million net) per month for the period from 25 July to 24 October 1979 inclusive, should the Security Council decide to continue the Force beyond the period of nine months authorized under its resolution 438 (1978). Accordingly, the costs to the United Nations in respect of UNEF as from 25 July 1979 will depend on the dispositions that may be taken by the Council.

V. IMPLEMENTATION OF SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 338 (1973)

28. In deciding in its resolution 438 (1978) to renew the mandate of UNEF for a further period of nine months until 24 July 1979, the Security Council also requested the Secretary-General to submit at the end of that period a report on the developments in the situation and the steps taken to implement its resolution 338 (1973).

29. Following the developments outlined in my last comprehensive report on the situation in the Middle East of 17 October 1978 [S/12896], the General Assembly adopted a further resolution emphasizing the need to achieve a comprehensive settlement of the Middle East problem [resolution 33/39 of 7 December 1978].

30. In a letter dated 19 March 1979,<sup>9</sup> the Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Egypt informed me that a treaty of peace had been negotiated between Egypt and Israel. Subsequently, the Permanent Representatives of Egypt<sup>10</sup> and of Israel<sup>11</sup> informed me of the approval of the treaty by the legislative organs of their countries and its entry into force on 25 April 1979. That treaty has also been the subject of communications addressed to me by certain States Members and circulated as official documents of the

<sup>9</sup> A/34/124.  
<sup>10</sup> A/34/214.  
<sup>11</sup> A/34/231.

United Nations [S/13169, S/13189, S/13194, S/13201, S/13216, S/13248, S/13354]

VI. OBSERVATIONS

31. During the period under review, the situation in the Egypt-Israel sector remained quiet and there were no incidents of a serious nature. The Force has continued to exercise its buffer function between Egyptian and Israeli forces and to provide its good offices to the parties in dealing with various problems on the ground.

32. Despite the recent developments in the Egypt-Israel sector the situation in the Middle East as a whole continues to be unstable and potentially dangerous. This situation is likely to continue unless and until a comprehensive settlement covering all aspects of the Middle East problem can be reached. It is my earnest hope that efforts will be pursued by all concerned to tackle the problem in all its aspects, both with a view to maintaining quiet in the region and to arriving at a just and durable peace settlement, as called for by the Security Council in its resolution 338 (1973).

33. It is clear that the original context in which UNEF was created and in which it had previously functioned has basically changed during the period under review. While the Governments of Egypt and Israel have both expressed themselves in favour of an extension of the mandate of UNEF, others have expressed opposition to such a course. In that regard, I would recall the general considerations contained in document S/11052/Rev.1 approved by the Security Council in its resolution 341 (1973), in which it is stated that: "All matters which may affect the nature or the continued effective functioning of the Force will be referred to the Council for its decision". Whatever decisions the Council may reach I shall, of course, be ready to make the necessary arrangements.

34. In concluding the present report, I wish to express once again my appreciation to the Governments contributing troops to the Force. I wish also to take this opportunity to pay tribute to the Chief Co-ordinator of the United Nations Peace-keeping Missions in the Middle East, Lieutenant-General Ensio Siilasvuo; to the Commander of UNEF, Major-General Rais Abin; to the officers and men of the Force and its civilian staff, as well as the military observers of UNTSO assigned to assist UNEF in the fulfilment of its responsibilities. All of them have continued to perform with efficiency and dedication the important and difficult tasks entrusted to them by the Security Council.

ANNEX

[Map. "UNEF deployment as of July 1979." See end of volume.]

DOCUMENT S/13462\*

Letter dated 20 July 1979 from the representative of Democratic Kampuchea to the Secretary-General

[Original: French]  
[20 July 1979]

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith, for your information, the communiqué of the high command of the

Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea concerning the current military geography in Democratic Kampuchea. This communiqué was distributed on 16 July 1979 by the high command of the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea.

\*Circulated under the double symbol A/34/375-S/13462.

I should be grateful if you would have this text circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) CHAN YOURAN  
Acting permanent Representative  
of Democratic Kampuchea  
to the United Nations

## ANNEX

### Communiqué, dated 16 July 1979, of the high command of the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea concerning the current military geography in Democratic Kampuchea

The high command of the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea has been authorized by the Government of Democratic Kampuchea to make public the current military geography in Democratic Kampuchea:

#### I. SITUATION OF THE MILITARY GEOGRAPHY

The situation of the military geography in Democratic Kampuchea around mid-July 1979 is as follows:

##### *Regions under the control of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea*

These represent one quarter of the total area of Kampuchea and include the highland regions, the plains regions, the mountain regions and the most remote areas and extend throughout all parts of the country.

##### *Regions temporarily under enemy control*

These represent one quarter of the total area of Kampuchea and include the cities and towns and the regions along major strategic highways. In April 1979, the territory temporarily controlled by the enemy covered one half of the total area of the country. However, since May, the Vietnamese aggressors have begun to abandon the highland regions. They have been forced to do so, on the one hand, because we have developed our guerrilla activities and resumed control of a considerable part of the most remote areas and, on the other, because we have considerably enlarged our guerrilla zones and guerrilla bases.

##### *Our guerrilla zones and guerrilla bases*

These represent one half of the total area of Kampuchea and include in general the plains regions and those served by communication lines. In April 1979, our guerrilla zones and guerrilla bases were less numerous than at present; they now represent one half of the total area of the country. This development is the result of the increase in and intensification of our guerrilla activities, in co-ordination with the actions and uprisings of the inhabitants of the regions temporarily controlled by the enemy and of the self-defence forces and Khmer soldiers enlisted for service by the enemy.

#### II. THE FOUR CATEGORIES OF FORCES FIGHTING AGAINST THE VIETNAMESE AGGRESSORS

The change in the situation which is currently taking place on the battlefield is due essentially and basically to the fact that, since May 1979, we have combined four categories of forces to combat the Vietnamese aggressors by applying the guerrilla fighting line with daily increasing efficiency and strength. These four categories of forces are as follows:

##### *Our official armed forces*

These comprise the regular forces, the zonal forces and the regional forces, which constitute a major nucleus of our armed forces. After resisting the Vietnamese aggression throughout the whole of the last dry season, in 1978-1979, we proceeded to reorganize these armed forces. We have already largely completed this. They are currently distributed in small groups in order to launch guerrilla activities throughout the country, in the mountains and forest regions and in the plains regions and the regions along large and small communication lines, as far as the outskirts of certain towns. The guerrilla units led by these official armed forces are developing quantitatively and qualitatively and are becoming daily more active and more powerful.

##### *Our base guerrillas*

These come directly from the people and are developing both quantitatively and qualitatively in all zones, regions and districts throughout the country. They are continually gaining strength in guerrilla activities conducted everywhere against Vietnamese aggressors. Our base guerrilla units are also expanding in all areas, with the development and intensification of the increasingly vehement struggle of the population living in the regions temporarily controlled by the enemy.

### *The revolutionary violence force of the whole people of Kampuchea*

The whole people of Kampuchea, both in the regions under the control of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea and in the regions temporarily controlled by the enemy, and particularly in the latter, have risen up in revolt to fight the Vietnamese aggressors with their own hands by recourse to revolutionary violence in the form of revolts, acts of sabotage and localized uprisings, etc. That movement is gaining momentum in all zones, regions and districts throughout the country, including the eastern zone. During last June alone, recourse to violence against the Vietnamese aggressors took many different forms and occurred on several hundred occasions. That development will continue even more vigorously during the current month of July. The Kampuchean people from all social strata and of all ages are rising up and directly confronting the Vietnamese aggressors, motivated not only by national hatred but by personal hatred too. For everyone is the direct object of incredible demands on the part of the Vietnamese aggressors, to the point where they can no longer tolerate them and are rising up to strike mortal blows at the enemy throughout the whole country. The force constituted by this outraged people is magnificent and irresistible.

##### *The Khmer forces enlisted by the Vietnamese occupiers to serve their policy of aggression, expansion, annexation and extermination of the Kampuchean race*

During the past two months, uprisings by the self-defence guards and the soldiers and administrators whom the Vietnamese occupiers have enlisted to serve their policy of aggression, expansion, annexation and extermination of the Kampuchean race have been developing and spreading throughout the regions under their temporary control. All these compatriots can no longer tolerate the unheard of demands and atrocities, the most degrading humiliations and the murders and massacres pure and simple of which they are the direct victims because the Vietnamese aggressors accuse them of assisting the fighting men of the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea. They can no longer tolerate the enemy's arresting, torturing and murdering their relatives and dear ones or ordering them to arrest and shoot innocent inhabitants by the tens and hundreds each time in their own villages and communes.

The third and fourth categories of forces are in full revolt in the regions temporarily controlled by the enemy, including Phnom Penh and the other towns, and are striking mortal blows at the Vietnamese bandits.

All the above-mentioned four categories of forces are proving extraordinarily powerful. They are developing and gaining strength spontaneously and are crashing down strenuously on the aggressor, expansionist, annexationist Vietnamese who are trying to swallow up territory and exterminate the Kampuchean race. The enemy will certainly end up by being annihilated and eliminated.

#### III. THE FORCES OF THE VIETNAMESE AGGRESSORS

At the present they total some 200,000 men.

At the outset, they had only 120,000 for launching invasion attacks and taking over the towns, provincial capitals and major strategic highways. Then, in March, the Vietnamese brought in reinforcements of over 30,000 others to take over our plains regions. In April, they sent more reinforcements of over 30,000 men to take over the mountain and forest regions. Thus, since 25 December 1978 up to the present, the Vietnamese have put in the field more than 180,000 troops for aggression against Kampuchea. During the last dry season in 1978-1979, the Vietnamese aggressors lost over 40,000 men, either killed or wounded, 20,000 of whom they lost in December 1978 and in January and February 1979, when our forces were still concentrated in one group and striking violent blows at the enemy. From May up to the end of June, the Vietnamese lost an additional 10,000 men, either killed or wounded.

Apart from those losses, the Vietnamese troops of aggression in Kampuchea have been affected by several thousand desertions—men returning to Viet Nam through the forest or the mountains, men who have refused to go to the front and preferred to be arrested or imprisoned in the barracks of the major units and those who have sought refuge in Thailand.

The Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea are also affected by diseases such as malaria, typhoid fever and amoebic dysentery. Many of the new Vietnamese recruits are of urban origin, most of them being former high-school and college students; they are therefore highly vulnerable to these diseases. On the Kompong Som and Koh Kong fronts, during the first two months of the current rainy season alone, several thousand Vietnamese soldiers were afflicted with malaria and typhoid fever. Thus, out of the whole of the front in Kampuchea, the number of Vietnamese soldiers immobilized by disease totals some 10,000, at least.

At the same time, the morale of the Vietnamese soldiers has also been seriously affected. They resent the long-drawn-out war of aggression. Daily they have to face guerrilla warfare, wallow in water and mud, live in deep forests and be exposed to the stinging of mosquitoes and other insects and to all kinds of disease. This only increases the aversion which all these soldiers feel towards the war of aggression which they feel is inevitably doomed to defeat. Furthermore, the morale of the Vietnamese soldiers has fallen even lower when they hear news from their country about the famine which is raging there, the exploitation and oppression of the people by the Hanoi authorities and the daily exodus of thousands of Vietnamese refugees and news of the universal condemnation to which the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique is daily subjected.

In such a situation, the Vietnamese aggressors find themselves short of manpower for continuing their offensive, destroying the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea and establishing their control over the whole of Kampuchea. The Vietnamese enemy has assigned the major part of its remaining forces to the defence of Phnom Penh, the other towns and certain positions along the major strategic highways, in the ports and the eastern zone and along the Kampuchean-Thai border. Accordingly, the Vietnamese troops of aggression are short of men in many regions and localities in the interior of Kampuchea.

During the coming months of the current rainy season, with the increasing range and intensity of our guerrilla attacks, the Vietnamese troops will be weakened still further.

However, the successive experiences of the bloodshed suffered by our fighters and people have taught us that the Vietnamese enemy will not fail to exert every effort to muster all the forces left to it in order to launch new attacks against us during the next dry season in 1979-1980. We must be masters of the situation ahead of time, both as regards our position and as regards concrete measures in all areas. Above all, we must continue our offensives against the Vietnamese aggressors by making full use of the four categories of forces, strenuously and continuously during the next few months of the current rainy season, and we must continue them even more strenuously during the next dry season. Only on that condition can we in all circumstances be masters of the situation vis-à-vis the Vietnamese aggressors.

#### IV. THE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND DIPLOMATIC SITUATION OF THE VIETNAMESE AGGRESSORS

It is necessary to examine the political, economic and diplomatic situation of the Vietnamese aggressors in direct liaison with the military front.

By comparison with last May, the situation of the Vietnamese aggressors on the political, economic and diplomatic planes has deteriorated noticeably, both on the Kampuchean front and also in Viet Nam itself and on the international scene.

In Kampuchea, the most striking fact on the political plane during last June and at the beginning of the current month of July has been the unmitigated struggle of the inhabitants, who have had recourse to revolutionary violence, of the self-defence guards and of the Khmer soldiers who were enlisted by force by the Vietnamese and who have risen up against them. That is a special aspect of the war being waged by our people against the Vietnamese aggressors. The latter are not only despised, condemned and scorned by all social strata and all categories of the Kampuchean people, but they are also the object of attacks by the whole people of Kampuchea, who have had recourse to revolutionary violence in order to combat the Vietnamese aggressors directly.

As regards the situation in Viet Nam, it has greatly deteriorated during the past two months, to the detriment of the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique, which is now hard-pressed in every respect:

First, the Hanoi authorities are being forced to have recourse to enforced military service in order to raise tens and hundreds of thousands of new recruits.

Secondly, their economic situation has deteriorated considerably.

Thirdly, the living conditions of the people are becoming increasingly worse.

Fourthly, the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique stinks like a corpse to the whole world because of the problem of hundreds of thousands and millions of refugees.

Fifthly, the population and the young people, particularly in South Viet Nam, are against the Hanoi leaders.

This disastrous political situation is striking a violent blow at the morale of the Vietnamese people and is causing unrest within the Vietnamese army and party. That situation will never return to normal because all areas are affected and systematically so. No one area can compensate for the weakness of other areas. The Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique will have no other course than to enlist tens and hundreds of thousands of more recruits, because it fears the popular uprisings which are striking it from the rear. The situation is deteriorating in all areas in Laos, because Viet Nam, which is swallowing up Laos, is encountering increasing difficulties in that country. And the tense situation on the borders between China and Viet Nam is causing additional difficulties for Viet Nam.

As regards the economic situation of the Vietnamese, it is daily deteriorating further. Agricultural production is collapsing, and industry is short of raw materials. Foreign aid has for the most part been cut off and is being curtailed yet further. In 1977 Viet Nam's food deficit totalled 2 million tons. It rose to over 4 million tons in 1978 and will be at least 5 or 6 million tons in 1979. The deficits are piling up year by year. It should be noted that since 1954, which saw the birth of the "Democratic Republic of Viet Nam", up to the present, the Vietnamese have been begging for food every year. Since 1975, when the two parts of Viet Nam were united, the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique has been hoping to solve the food problem for the whole of Viet Nam by depending on the South Vietnamese economy and provisions. However, the disastrous policy of the Hanoi authorities in Viet Nam itself, their policy of aggression, expansion and annexation in Kampuchea and Laos and their policy of intimidation of the people of South-East Asia have aroused increasing opposition on the part of the Vietnamese people, particularly the people of South Viet Nam. In the circumstances, how do the Hanoi authorities hope to remedy the disastrous economic and financial situation and, in particular, the food shortage? And this situation is deteriorating daily.

As regards the diplomatic situation of the Vietnamese, this is at a nadir and is constantly deteriorating. South-East Asia, Oceania, Africa, South and North America, Western and Northern Europe are opposing Viet Nam more strongly and more resolutely for its aggression against Kampuchea, for the refugee scandal, for its annexation of Laos, for the threats which it makes regarding South-East Asia and for the presence of Soviet military bases on its territory. The international movement against the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique has become widespread and is developing throughout the world.

It thus seems clear that the political, economic and diplomatic situation with which the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique is struggling has a fateful repercussion on the military situation of the Vietnamese. We must take advantage of the development of that situation and redouble efforts to contribute more actively to the struggle on the military front and also on the political, economic and diplomatic fronts against the aggressor, expansionist, annexationist Vietnamese—who swallow up territory and are seeking to exterminate the Kampuchean race—during the current rainy season and the next dry season.

The Vietnamese aggressors and their supporters are engaging in and will continue to engage in sly manoeuvres of every kind. We must not relax our vigilance. But if we deploy all our efforts and make full use of the four categories of forces for the successful accomplishment of our tasks for the current rainy season and the next dry season, in co-ordination with our endeavours on the political, economic and diplomatic fronts, the situation of the military geography will turn very swiftly to our advantage and to the detriment of the Vietnamese aggressors in all areas.

### DOCUMENT S/13463\*

#### Letter dated 20 July 1979 from the representative of Viet Nam to the Secretary-General

*[Original: English]*  
[23 July 1979]

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith for your information the text of the speech by the head of the del-

egation of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, Dinh Nho Liem, at the third meeting of the second round of Viet Nam-China talks on 18 July 1979, and request you to have this letter and its enclosure circulated as an

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/376-S/13463.

official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) CU DINH BA  
Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the  
Permanent Mission of the  
Socialist Republic of Viet Nam  
to the United Nations

#### ANNEX

Speech by the head of the delegation of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, Dinh Nho Liem, at the third meeting of the second round of Viet Nam-China talks on 18 July 1979

Since the large-scale war of aggression against Viet Nam in February 1979, the situation along the border between the two countries has remained very tense due to the Chinese rulers' continued schemes and acts of hostility against the Vietnamese people. To remove the danger of resumed hostilities and bring about a favourable atmosphere for the restoration of normal relations, the Vietnamese side has always held that the two sides should, as an immediate step, discuss the urgent measures to ensure peace and stability in border areas. Point 1 in the three-point proposal [S/13257, annex] and the draft agreement on refraining from armed provocations effective 5 July 1979, submitted by the Vietnamese delegation [S/13434, annex], have embodied that desire of the Vietnamese and are a practical first step to ease the border tension, meeting the aspirations of the two peoples and contributing to the preservation of peace and stability in South-East Asia and world peace.

If the Chinese side had really desired peace and tranquillity in border areas, as it has repeatedly claimed, and if it had abided by the purposes of the talks as laid down by the two sides, it would have positively responded to those Vietnamese initiatives. And had that been the case, the border tension would have relaxed since 5 July 1979, a new atmosphere would have arisen and initial favourable conditions would have been created for the talks to progress. Regrettably, the Chinese side has not acted that way. It has evaded the Vietnamese side's proposal on the urgent measures to ensure peace and stability in border areas, and unreasonably turned down the Vietnamese draft agreement. Furthermore it has stepped up armed provocations and committed repeated and increasingly serious incursions into Vietnamese territory, thus aggravating the border tension. In its note of 10 July 1979 addressed to the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Vietnamese Ministry of Foreign Affairs condemned the recent provocations of the Chinese side. This has borne out the sheer hypocrisy of the Chinese professions of "sincerity" and "hope" to bring the talks forward. The Chinese side's real intention is to maintain a permanent border tension in an attempt to exert pressure in the negotiations and also to give itself a pretext for eventual aggression against Viet Nam at any moment.

While taking this irresponsible attitude and entertaining this dangerous adventurous scheme, the Chinese rulers, working hand in glove with imperialism, have of late initiated a noisy campaign on the so-called "Vietnamese refugees" question, frenziedly slandering and opposing Viet Nam in the international arena. They have used these negotiations as a forum to further that dark design.

Then it should be pointed out that it is none other than the United States imperialists and the expansionist Peking rulers who have provoked an "exodus" of hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese, Laotians and Kampucheans. They must bear full responsibility for the difficulties created by the illegal flow of emigrants and confronting at present Viet Nam, Laos, Kampuchea and a number of other South-East Asian countries. During their flight from South Viet Nam and immediately after the complete liberation of Viet Nam, the United States imperialists, made bitter by the resounding victory of the Vietnamese people, resorted to all kinds of distortions and deceptions about a "bloodbath" and "human rights", all perfidious tricks in a frantic attempt to induce, through instigation or coercion, the departure from Viet Nam of their former collaborators, of those people who did not approve the new régime and of those who did not want to adapt themselves to the life of work in post-war conditions, and they insisted on Viet Nam's letting such people go abroad freely.

From early 1978, while overtly stepping up, through the stooge Pol Pot-Leng Sary clique, their aggressive war at the south-western border of Viet Nam, the Peking rulers circulated reports to the effect that "a Sino-Vietnamese war will break out inevitably" and "whoever fails to return to the motherland will be regarded as a traitor". In that way, they instigated or

constrained hundreds of thousands of Hoa people to leave for China, then fabricated the story of Viet Nam's so-called "persecution and expulsion of Chinese residents". By so doing, they attempted to cause Viet Nam political, economic and social disturbances and difficulties, stir up enmity and hatred between the two peoples, and prepare for an aggressive war against Viet Nam from the north. A great number of Hoa migrants had been organized and trained by Peking as spies, commandos and guides for the 600,000-strong army which invaded Viet Nam in February 1979. At present, the Chinese rulers have not yet stopped using every trick, including the "Hoa people question", to undermine Viet Nam from within. They have continued driving trained Hoa back to Viet Nam or to other South-East Asian countries to reinforce their "fifth columns" already there, in pursuance of their expansionist ambitions. By maintaining continued border tension and repeatedly threatening Viet Nam with one or even many more aggressions, they have caused uneasiness among a number of Hoa, thus led to seek ways and means of fleeing abroad. The wicked United States and Peking campaigns to induce through instigation or coercion a massive exodus of Vietnamese and Hoa people in the past few years have resulted in the separation of hundreds of thousands of families which are now seeking ways to reunite.

Thus it clearly appears that the cause of the flight abroad of a number of Vietnamese lies in the aftermath of the United States imperialists' aggressive war, their former neo-colonialist régime and their past disruptive activities and also in the Peking rulers' aggressive war and extremely perfidious designs and acts.

On the question of Vietnamese going abroad, the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam made clear its policy in the 20 June 1979 statement of the Vietnamese Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

It is necessary to point out that while many countries and international organizations have extended increasing co-operation to that policy and while the work is progressing favourably, the Peking rulers have repeatedly put forward extremely base distortions and slanders in an attempt to arouse public opinion against Viet Nam. They have pronounced themselves against the correct stand for a solution of the question from a humanitarian viewpoint. At the same time, with a familiar hegemonic tone, they have urged "punishment" of Viet Nam in an attempt to spark off an anti-Viet Nam campaign as the United States imperialists did in the past. They have instigated illegal departures and opposed the implementation of the seven points agreed upon between Viet Nam and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees so as to cause Viet Nam difficulties in arranging legal and organized departures and to provoke tensions between countries in the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) and Viet Nam. World public opinion is exposing and condemning the brazen acts and contentions of the Peking rulers who attempt to use the "Vietnamese refugees" issue as they used the so-called "victimized Chinese residents" problem for nasty political purposes, and it is demanding that they put an immediate end to this dirty business. For all their schemes and tricks, they can in no way divert world public opinion from condemning their crime in causing in Kampuchea a genocide without precedent in human history and waging an extremely ruthless and devastating war of aggression against the Vietnamese people, nor can they distort the clear and correct policy of the Vietnamese Government or wreck the efforts the latter is making to work out jointly with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the countries concerned a proper solution of the problem.

Public opinion has also pointed out that Peking itself is driving out Chinese by the thousands daily. According to Western press reports, Chinese refugees going to Hong Kong alone have reached a monthly rate of tens of thousands. As the culprits responsible for the massive exodus of Hoa people from Viet Nam and for the outflow of many Chinese, which has created countless difficulties to the receiving ends, the Chinese rulers have no quality and no right whatsoever to raise a hue and cry about the question of Vietnamese going abroad.

In order to sow division between Viet Nam and other South-East Asian countries, the Peking rulers have also repeated again and again odious distortions of the situation in Kampuchea and the so-called Vietnamese "threat" to Thailand.

Indeed, a tense situation is now prevailing in the Indo-Chinese peninsula and in South-East Asia. The cause of the tension in South-East Asia lies in nothing else but the Chinese rulers' policy of great-Power expansion and hegemony in that region, as was made clear by the Vietnamese side at previous meetings, especially at the meeting of 5 July.

Immediately after the firing of American aggression stopped on the Indo-Chinese peninsula, the Peking rulers, who had made preparations well in advance, took over the United States imperialists' role as international gendarmes and neo-colonialists and brought war back to that part of the world. They feverishly armed the stooge Pol Pot-Leng Sary clique and used them to carry out a genocide in Kampuchea, where 3 million people were



massacred, and the remaining 4 million were subjected to savage treatment. At the same time, they waged by their instrumentality a bloody war of aggression against the Vietnamese people at their south-western border. Following the heavy defeat of their great-Power hegemonistic policy in Kampuchea, they mobilized 600,000 troops and directly embarked on a large-scale war of aggression, devastating six northern provinces of Viet Nam. With these wars and genocide, they have crudely trampled underfoot the fundamental national rights of the peoples of Viet Nam, Kampuchea and Laos, leaving behind untold heavy consequences and seriously jeopardizing peace and stability in South-East Asia. Mankind will remember forever those crimes.

The Chinese rulers are now trying to prop up the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary remnant bandits with arms, ammunition, food and money, and political and diplomatic manoeuvres of all kinds, in an attempt to reimpose their ruthless genocidal régime and their neo-colonialist rule on Kampuchea, which is to serve as a spring-board for aggression against Viet Nam and expansion to other South-East Asian countries. They completely ignore a harsh fact, namely, that the situation in Kampuchea cannot be reversed.

It is they who have taken the place of the United States imperialists in fostering and commanding the bandit groups of Vang Pao, Kongle, etc., organizing stooge groups, massing troops close to the border, indulging in trouble-making, subversive and aggressive activities, seriously threatening the independence, peace, stability and territorial integrity of the Lao People's Democratic Republic.

It is they who are quibbling and refusing to make any commitment whatsoever to South-East Asian Governments which are urging them to stop nurturing and using compliant political and armed opposition organizations, using "fifth columns" recruited from the tens of millions of overseas Chinese in South-East Asia for attempts at domination, trouble-making, interference and subversion against various countries in the region.

It is they who are striving hard to arouse ethnic enmity and hatred among the three peoples of the Indo-Chinese peninsula, seeking by every possible means to undermine the friendship between the Thai and Vietnamese peoples, stirring up anti-Viet Nam feelings among the former and hindering the development of good-neighbourly relations between Thailand and Viet Nam. It is they who are resorting to every base trick to sow division between the ASEAN countries and Viet Nam and maintain a permanent instability in South-East Asia.

Indeed, the Indo-Chinese and South-East Asian peoples are being confronted with a threat—the collusion of Chinese expansionism and hegemonism with imperialism, above all, United States imperialism, against them. However, the South-East Asian peoples have come to realize more and more clearly the true features of Peking's great-Power hegemony.

After their defeat in the unjust war against the Vietnamese people, the Chinese rulers have maintained a very great tension along the Viet Nam-China border. Most recently, after the Chinese side's rejection of the Vietnamese proposal for an agreement on refraining from armed provocations, a Chinese Vice-Premier told the United States magazine *Newsweek* that in February they had not taught Viet Nam a full lesson, and that a new war of aggression could not be ruled out. A deputy chief of the general staff of the Chinese army told the Japanese paper *Mainichi Shimbun* that China might launch another attack on Viet Nam. But that blatant threat, no matter how many times it is repeated, can in no way shake the rock-

like determination of the Vietnamese people and armed forces, who are always ready to cope with any eventuality and who will manage to defend with effectiveness the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of their fatherland and to build socialism successfully.

Obviously, through wars and threats of war, aggressions and threats of aggression, intervention and subversion, and attempts to pit one country against another, the Peking rulers are the very people responsible for provoking tensions, threatening national independence, sowing division, jeopardizing peace and stability in South-East Asia, running counter to the aspirations of the peoples in the region. Misrepresentations of facts, conducting of slanderous campaigns against Viet Nam, are precisely devices to camouflage their dark designs and to prepare for new military ventures against Viet Nam.

Right at these talks, they have refused to discuss any question whatsoever in the relations between Viet Nam and China; instead, they have insisted on discussing and settling the so-called "Kampuchean problem". That is also an attempt to side-track South-East Asian and world public opinion which is condemning them for provoking the genocide in Kampuchea and the aggressive war against Viet Nam. It is an attempt to cover up their continued brazen interference in the internal affairs of Kampuchea and their threats of aggression against Viet Nam and Laos, seriously jeopardizing peace and stability in South-East Asia. On the other hand, it is also a hegemonistic method of negotiation which consists in trying to settle the affairs of other countries behind the latter's back as the Chinese rulers did in the past. Once again, the Vietnamese delegation reaffirms the position of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam: the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea is the sole legitimate and legal representative of Kampuchea; the affairs of Kampuchea are to be decided by the Kampuchean people; the questions relating to Viet Nam and Kampuchea, two sovereign countries, are to be decided by themselves. Nobody has the right to interfere.

It is a constant desire of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to promote relations of friendship and co-operation with the other South-East Asian countries and to contribute actively to the maintenance of peace and stability in the region. Nobody can distort that correct and consistent policy. The Peking rulers' campaign to arouse South-East Asian public opinion against Viet Nam is doomed to failure.

Let the Chinese side turn back to the purposes of the present bilateral talks as have been laid down to solve the problems in the relations between Viet Nam and China. We have put forward a three-point proposal on the main principles and contents of a settlement of the problems concerning the relations between the two countries. In view of the great border tension still prevailing, we have taken the initiative of advancing a draft agreement on the two sides' refraining from armed provocations to ease that tension and create a favourable atmosphere for the talks to progress. Although 5 July 1979 has now gone by, we reiterate this proposal and stand ready to discuss with the Chinese side a new date to make the above agreement effective as soon as possible. We are patiently awaiting a response from the Chinese side. In order to promote the progress of the talks, we are prepared to discuss whatever question in the relations between Viet Nam and China will be raised by the Chinese side, according to the method of the two sides' raising in turn questions of interest for exchanges of views at each meeting. Let the Chinese side prove its professed "sincerity" by deeds.

## DOCUMENT S/13464\*

### Letter dated 23 July 1979 from the representative of Lebanon to the Secretary-General

*(Original: English)*  
[23 July 1979]

Pursuant to my letter of 11 July [S/13452], I am under instructions from my Government to bring to your attention and the attention of the Security Council the continued acts of aggression committed by Israel against Lebanon inside and outside the area of operation of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL), and to protest in the strongest possible terms against such continued violation of the Charter of the United Nations, of the Armistice Agreement and of the resolutions of the Council.

The most recent and most serious such aggression took place yesterday, Sunday, 22 July, in the following manner:

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/378-S/13464.

1. At 1810 hours, an Israeli aircraft formation raided the towns of Al-Damour and Na'ameh, on the road between Beirut and Sidon, six consecutive times. The raids lasted for about 35 minutes.

2. Israeli aircraft formations also raided the villages of Aqbiyah, Sarfand and Khayzaran, between Sidon and Tyre. Those raids continued until 1900 hours.

3. The raids took place in densely populated civilian areas on the main highway south of the capital, at a time of maximum civilian movement on Sunday. There was extensive material damage.

Casualties, all civilian, have not yet been fully determined. According to preliminary reports of yesterday evening, there were 8 killed, including 3 women and 1 child, and 19 wounded, all Lebanese civilians. At the time of writing, the final toll is still unknown, but unofficial reports speak of between 15 and 20 civilians killed.

This ferocious and brutal attack by Israeli aircraft was totally unwarranted and no pretext was given for it. It comes at a time when intensive efforts are being deployed by all concerned to implement the resolutions of the Security Council, particularly resolution 450 (1979), whose objective is the cessation of all hostilities and the establishment of an area of peace in Southern Lebanon. It is needless to say that Israel's action, in defiance of the Council, further undermines such efforts and creates a context of insecurity within

which it is becoming increasingly difficult for UNIFIL to operate efficiently.

I am under instructions from my Government to bring the matter to the attention of the Security Council, condemning those acts and protesting in the strongest possible terms. Every possible action must be taken immediately to put an end to a situation which is endangering peace and security.

I have the honour to request that this letter be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

*(Signed) Ghassan TUÉNI*  
*Permanent Representative of Lebanon*  
*to the United Nations*

## DOCUMENT S/13465

### Letter dated 23 July 1979 from the representative of Kuwait to the President of the Security Council

*[Original: English]*  
*[23 July 1979]*

I enclose herewith a letter from the Permanent Observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

I request you to circulate the enclosure as a document of the Security Council.

*(Signed) Abdalla Yaccoub BISHARA*  
*Permanent Representative of Kuwait*  
*to the United Nations*

#### LETTER DATED 18 JULY 1979 FROM THE OBSERVER OF THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

On instructions from the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization, I am requested to bring the following to your immediate attention vis-à-vis Security Council resolution 446 (1979) of 22 March 1979.

Thirteen Palestinian inhabitants from the occupied Palestinian village of Salfit near Nablus recently went to the so-called Israeli "Supreme Court" to seek an injunction against the expropriation of their land for a neo-fascist Zionist settlement.

Supported by documents and papers proving the Palestinians had inherited the land from their fathers and grandfathers and that the land was properly registered, attorneys Felicia Langer and Abd Assaly asked that the so-called "Supreme Court" issue an order forbidding the occupation authority from expropriating 3,500 dunums of their clients' land.

Their request stated that the occupation authority's Deputy Military Governor of occupied Tulkarm had notified the Mayor of Salfit approximately two months earlier of the occupation authority's intent to expropriate 3,500 dunums of privately owned land belonging to the villages of Salfit, Marda and Sakalea, about two thirds of which belonged to Salfit.

The Palestinian owners of the land were not given any prior written notification of the seizure of their land and a week ago a number of labourers started fencing off their land, it was not until that time that they realized that their

land, like the land of so many other Palestinians has been expropriated.

The requests submitted by the attorneys on behalf of the Palestinians not only confirm that the seizure was illegal but that the Palestinians were in fact tilling the land which was their source of living.

I would like to bring your attention to an article in the Jewish Telegraphic Agency of 13 July 1979, No. 134, which stated that though the so-called "Supreme Court" issued a temporary injunction, local Palestinians had been given 15 days to pin-point their claims, after which the "government" would be required to show cause why the land should not remain open and unfenced.

It is important to be clear about the nature of such "due process of law". The truth of the matter is the law of the Zionists is not so naive as to take the rights of the Palestinians into consideration. The law takes the land of the Palestinians, and the Palestinians have to prove their ownership of the land, not the Zionists who expropriated it.

But even if the Palestinians have proof, it will do them no good. The simple truth is that the acquisition of land in Palestine has always been a central objective of the Zionist movement, there is no Zionist settlement and there is no Zionist State without displacing the Palestinians and without confiscating their lands and property.

The Zionist State with its inherent racist ideology will continue in the future to displace the Palestinian inhabitants by methods not approved or sanctioned by law and order, or civilized man, even if it entails the annihilation of every Palestinian man, woman and child to reach its evil ends.

Given the violent and racist aims of the racist Zionist entity in occupied Palestine, the Palestine Liberation Organization, as I have indicated in previous letters, will take all measures to protect and safeguard the lives and property of the Palestinian people.

*(Signed) Zehdi Labib TERZI*  
*Permanent Observer of the*  
*Palestine Liberation Organization*  
*to the United Nations*

**Letter dated 24 July 1979 from the representative of Democratic Kampuchea  
to the Secretary-General**

[Original: French]  
[24 July 1979]

I have the honour to transmit herewith, for your information, the following documents:

(a) A declaration dated 17 July 1979 from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea demanding that the Hanoi authorities carry out the total withdrawal of Vietnamese troops and forces from Democratic Kampuchea;

(b) An appeal dated 17 July 1979 from the Government of Democratic Kampuchea addressed to all the Vietnamese people and all Vietnamese residents abroad urging them to intensify the struggle and demanding that the Hanoi au-

thorities carry out the total withdrawal of their troops of aggression from Democratic Kampuchea;

(c) An appeal dated 17 July 1979 from the Ministry of Information of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea to the soldiers and officers of the army of the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique.

I should be grateful if you would arrange for these texts to be circulated as official documents of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) THIUONN PRASITH  
Permanent Representative  
of Democratic Kampuchea  
to the United Nations

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/381-S/13466.

#### ANNEX I

**Declaration dated 17 July 1979 from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea demanding that the Hanoi authorities carry out the total withdrawal of Vietnamese troops and forces from Democratic Kampuchea**

During the recent dry season, the Hanoi authorities did their utmost to turn their military superiority to good advantage and to launch repeated attacks with the aim of extracting themselves from the manifold and mounting difficulties that have besieged them as a result of their war of aggression against Kampuchea. But they solved nothing. On the contrary, during only the first two months of the present rainy season, the military situation of the Vietnamese has sharply deteriorated. Their political and economic situation both in Kampuchea and in Viet Nam has rapidly worsened. At the international level, they are the subject of universal denunciation and condemnation. All those factors are having an even more damaging effect on their military situation.

The longer their war of aggression against Kampuchea continues, the more will the military situation of the Vietnamese deteriorate and their political, economic and diplomatic situation worsen. The direction of that trend could not be clearer.

Since their situation on the aggression front in Kampuchea is thus at an impasse, and since the situation in Viet Nam has deteriorated to the point where its inhabitants are fleeing the country in a turbulent stream, to the consternation of the whole world, how could the Hanoi authorities attain their ends in their attempt to engulf Kampuchea, subjugate the Kampuchean people, exterminate the Kampuchean race and cause Kampuchea to be submerged in the "Indo-Chinese federation" so that Viet Nam might become a great Power reigning over Indo-China and over South-East Asia? That course profits neither Viet Nam nor the Vietnamese people. It can lead them only to ruin and suffering.

As to the people of Kampuchea, under the leadership of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, although they must surmount countless difficulties due to the war of aggression and devastation unleashed by the Hanoi authorities, they are fully capable of waging a prolonged people's war to ensure their own defence and that of their territory and their race, and to repel the aggressors. The history of the struggle of the people of Kampuchea and the turn taken in all fields by the people's war now being waged testify to that fact.

Thus, the best solution is the total withdrawal of Vietnamese troops and forces of aggression from Kampuchea; in other words, away from the land frontiers, territorial waters and all the islands of Kampuchea, in order to leave the people of Kampuchea to settle their own affairs. The Government of Democratic Kampuchea places no condition and demands nothing more, not even indemnification for the countless losses and colossal destruction caused by a most barbarous war of aggression perpetrated by the Vietnamese.

The people of Kampuchea have always desired no more than to live in safety within the existing frontiers of a truly independent, peaceful, neutral

and non-aligned Kampuchea. The same applies today. It will always apply in the future.

On this occasion, we urge the Hanoi authorities to take note of the impasse towards which they are heading in many fields. We also urge them to give scrupulous study to the critical situation currently prevailing in Viet Nam and to concern themselves with the tragic fate of the Vietnamese people and their demands. In addition, we urge the Hanoi authorities to take into consideration the requirements of the countries and peoples of South-East Asia, of the entire world and mankind as a whole, calling on them to effect the timely withdrawal of their troops from Kampuchea in the very interest of Viet Nam and the Vietnamese people and in the interest of the security and peace of the countries and peoples of South-East Asia and of the entire world.

On this same occasion, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea appeals to all peace-loving and justice-loving Governments, political organizations, people's organizations and leaders of the world to raise their voices and redouble their activities and pressure at the political, diplomatic, economic, financial, commercial and other levels in order to induce the Hanoi authorities to desist from their fanatic obstinacy and to withdraw forthwith all their troops and forces of aggression from Kampuchea, in the interest of the security, peace and stability of the countries and peoples of South-East Asia and of the world.

#### ANNEX II

**Appeal dated 17 July 1979 from the Government of Democratic Kampuchea addressed to all the Vietnamese people and all Vietnamese residents abroad urging them to intensify the struggle and demanding that the Hanoi authorities carry out the total withdrawal of their troops of aggression from Democratic Kampuchea**

The Hanoi authorities' policy of aggression, expansion and annexation in Kampuchea and of the formation of the "Indo-Chinese federation" to control all of "Indo-China" and then rule over all South-East Asia benefits neither the Vietnamese people nor Viet Nam, because the people of Kampuchea do not accept their country's being swallowed up by another. The people of Kampuchea are more resolved than ever to struggle to defend their national independence, sovereignty and dignity and, under the leadership of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, they are fully capable of continuing to wage a prolonged war against the Vietnamese aggressors. The fact that the war has already lasted more than six months and the Vietnamese troops of aggression are floundering ever deeper in the ocean of the popular war of the people of Kampuchea bears this out.

The war of aggression, expansion and annexation waged by the Hanoi authorities against Democratic Kampuchea can only bring ruin and bereavement to the Vietnamese people and to Viet Nam. Since their war of aggression is thus at an impasse, the Hanoi authorities are continually amending their laws on general mobilization and are impressing new recruits and enlisting all they can, from adolescents 16 years of age up to men of 50. Forcible recruitment is also affecting the students of various

technical establishments and does not even spare those with families to support. This is happening when the war of aggression has not even lasted a year. If the war continues, then what would be the consequences for the Vietnamese people both as regards their living conditions and as regards their emotional reaction and sacrifices? The Vietnamese people have endured painful trials during more than 30 years of war. Now they are still suffering all those trials in the war of aggression against Kampuchea. On the one hand, they are suffering from hunger, which is becoming worse every year, without any solution in sight. On the other hand, death and separation are the daily lot of those who leave for the aggression front in Kampuchea. The same fate awaits those who flee the country by sea. As the Hanoi authorities increasingly find themselves at an impasse, they increasingly apply their Fascist policy ferociously to the Vietnamese people. They do not let them lead a calm and peaceful life. Thus, the poverty, bereavement and separation which the Vietnamese people are currently suffering will never end if the Hanoi authorities are left free to pursue this course.

Furthermore, has Viet Nam ever seen its reputation fall to such a low level as it is today? Has it ever been the object of such universal denunciation and condemnation as it is at present? All that is because the Hanoi authorities are pursuing a policy of aggression, expansion and annexation against Kampuchea and are cherishing the ambition of becoming the master of "Indo-China" with a view to dominating the whole of South-East Asia.

It is in these circumstances that the Government of Democratic Kampuchea urges all the Vietnamese people and all Vietnamese residents abroad to intensify their activities in every form in order to combat the war of aggression being waged by the Hanoi authorities against Democratic Kampuchea and to demand that they withdraw all their troops and forces of aggression from Kampuchea.

That is the only solution if our two peoples and our two countries are to be able to live as good neighbours on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence, in accordance with the interests of Viet Nam itself and of the Vietnamese people, as well as the interests of security, peace and stability of the countries and peoples of South-East Asia and of the world.

The Government of Democratic Kampuchea solemnly declares once again that Democratic Kampuchea and the people of Kampuchea aspire only to live in security and peace forever with Viet Nam and the Vietnamese people and with all countries and peoples, near and far.

### ANNEX III

Appeal dated 17 July 1979 from the Ministry of Information of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea to the soldiers and officers of the army of the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique

For more than 30 years, the people and youth of Viet Nam made innumerable sacrifices for the cause of national liberation.

After the liberation and reunification of their country, the people and youth of Viet Nam aspire to live in peace in order to be able to devote themselves to building their nation and resolving and improving their living conditions.

However, contrary to those aspirations, the reactionary authorities in Hanoi, with the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique in the lead, have forced the people and youth of Viet Nam to go and commit aggression against Kampuchea and massacre its people—a country and people dedicated to peace, independence, neutrality and non-alignment and aspiring only to live in peace and security with all countries and peoples, near and far.

The devastating and barbarous war of aggression, expansion, annexation and extermination being waged by the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique against Kampuchea and its people has already lasted throughout one dry season and is continuing during the current rainy season.

In just over six months alone, the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique has suffered bitter defeats on the Kampuchean front and ignominious setbacks

both in Viet Nam and on the international scene. The Vietnamese strategy of sending vast numbers of troops into the field in order to carry out the "lightning attack, lightning victory" strategy has failed. Several tens of thousands of soldiers and officers of the army of the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique have been killed and wounded. Desertions are increasing. During this rainy season, malaria and other diseases have seriously affected Vietnamese soldiers and officers, who have been transported by the thousands to Viet Nam to receive care there.

The Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique has been making frenetic efforts, but it has nevertheless not managed to gain control of Kampuchea and its people. Everywhere the guerrilla war of the people of Kampuchea is developing and becoming daily more vehement. The guerrillas from the regular units, the base guerrillas and the population, as well as the Khmers enlisted by the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique in its army, its self-defence forces and its administration, are uniting and collaborating closely in order to annihilate the troops of aggression of the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique.

The latter, whose racist policy and policies of aggression and expulsion of refugees are the cause of all the ills afflicting the Vietnamese people, is currently in dire straits.

The victorious guerrilla war of the people of Kampuchea is asphyxiating it, as is the mighty force of the solidarity of the justice-loving peoples of the world.

Thus driven into an impasse on all sides, the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique is nevertheless persisting in forcing the people and youth of Viet Nam to go and die at the aggression front in Kampuchea. It is making feverish efforts to force the Vietnamese to leave and making them perish at sea by the hundreds of thousands. It is persisting in defying world public opinion which is demanding that it put an end to its aggression against Kampuchea, withdraw all its troops from Kampuchea and halt the expulsion of refugees.

Soldiers and officers of the army of the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique, in a situation where, because of the crimes perpetrated by the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique, Viet Nam and the Vietnamese people are enduring immeasurable suffering and disasters and such great dishonour, at a time when this clique is on the verge of collapse and in the face of its fanatical obstinacy you should think seriously about your own future and the future of your families and your country. In that regard, you have but one choice: to unite with the Vietnamese people to struggle in every way against the filthy war of aggression, expansion and annexation being waged by the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique against Democratic Kampuchea and the people of Kampuchea. In particular, you should:

1. Prevent the Hanoi authorities, with the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique in the lead, from sending you instead of them to die on the Kampuchean front.

2. Resist, if you are already in Kampuchea, by refusing to go to the front and by leaving your units in order to return, if possible, to Viet Nam. Otherwise, you may come to live temporarily with the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea and the people of Kampuchea, pending a favourable time for returning to your native country and your homes and rejoining your relatives, wives and children there. Alternatively, if you wish to go and live abroad, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea will give you, as far as possible, all the necessary assistance to achieve your wish.

Soldiers and officers of the army of the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea follows a policy of clemency towards all those among you who quit the ranks of the army of the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique and it will give them, to the best of its ability, all the necessary assistance during their stay with the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea and the people of Kampuchea.

This is the best time for you to seek all means of leaving the ranks of the army of the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique, the great murderer of the Vietnamese nation and people and the great murderer of neighbouring nations and peoples, and to take the path of security and happiness.

The Government of Democratic Kampuchea is ready at any time to receive you with great clemency and without any rancour.

### DOCUMENT S/13467

Letter dated 24 July 1979 from the representative of Kuwait to the President of the Security Council

[Original: English]  
[24 July 1979]

I would like to state the following:

1. The Government of Kuwait dissociates itself from the Security Council's inaction on the continued presence

of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO) in the Egypt-Israel sector.

2. That presence is a *de facto* linkage with the bilateral

treaty signed between Egypt and Israel.

3. The Government of Kuwait is bound by the decisions of the Baghdad Conference which reject the United Nations involvement in that treaty.

4. In the view of the delegation of Kuwait, UNTSO will function within the framework of the bilateral treaty, a fact which we cannot accept.

5. The United Nations involvement in the bilateral treaty could not have come at a worse time. With the escalation of the war of extermination waged by Israel against the people of Palestine and with the uninterrupted bombing

of Lebanon, in utter disregard for the United Nations Charter, for its decisions and for international law, the United Nations involvement in the treaty amounts to a legal baptism of something that almost squashes any hope for a just and comprehensive peace in the Middle East.

I request you to circulate the present letter as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Abdalla Yaccoub BISHARA  
Permanent Representative of Kuwait  
to the United Nations

#### DOCUMENT S/13468

#### Letter dated 24 July 1979 from the Secretary-General to the President of the Security Council

[Original: English]  
[24 July 1979]

I have taken note of the recent Security Council consultations concerning the United Nations Emergency Force. I understand that members of the Council are agreed that there should be no extension of the mandate of the Force, which, accordingly, will lapse at midnight on 24 July. It is my intention, therefore, to make all the necessary arrangements for an orderly withdrawal of the Force.

(Signed) Kurt WALDHEIM  
Secretary-General

#### DOCUMENT S/13470\*

#### Letter dated 26 July 1979 from the representative of Democratic Kampuchea to the Secretary-General

[Original: French]  
[26 July 1979]

I have the honour to transmit herewith, for your information, a report on developments in the areas temporarily controlled by the enemy, issued by the Ministry of Information of Democratic Kampuchea.

I should be grateful if you would have this text circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) THIOUNN PRASITH  
Permanent Representative  
of Democratic Kampuchea  
to the United Nations

#### ANNEX

#### Report on developments in the areas temporarily controlled by the enemy, issued by the Ministry of Information of Democratic Kampuchea

At the beginning of the current rainy season, the guerrilla warfare of the people of Kampuchea was stepped up and deeply penetrated all the areas temporarily controlled by the enemy. Moreover, the antagonistic opposition between the Kampuchean nation and people, on the one hand, and the Vietnamese expansionist, annexationist aggressors and exterminators of the Kampuchean race, on the other, has become fully apparent. The inhabitants of the areas temporarily occupied by the enemy, as well as the administrative agents, self-defence guards and Khmer soldiers who had been forcibly recruited by the Vietnamese enemy, are rising up against that enemy and this movement is gaining strength and scope.

##### 1. Battambang province

On 15 June 1979, in the area of Stung Sangker, a section of Khmer soldiers forcibly recruited by the Vietnamese aggressors attacked the aggressors who were in the process of bringing 35 self-defence guards accused

of collaboration with our guerrilla fighters before a firing squad. After a few minutes of fighting, six Vietnamese soldiers were put out of action and the others fled. The 35 self-defence guards were freed.

##### 2. Kompong Thom province

(a) On 25 May, in the Kompong Svay district, the inhabitants of a village, in co-operation with our guerrilla fighters, intercepted a group of Vietnamese soldiers who had come to steal the villagers' rice. They killed five Vietnamese soldiers and the survivors, as they fled, fell into traps laid by our guerrilla fighters. Five aggressors were killed and four others wounded.

(b) At the end of May, in the Baray district along the national highway, 35 self-defence guards and members of the communal committees established by the Vietnamese occupiers mutinied and killed 10 aggressors, just as the latter were preparing to disarm them because they no longer trusted them. The guards and committee members had been accused of collaborating with our guerrilla fighters.

(c) On 19 June, in the Baray district, 17 self-defence guards and members of communal committees attacked six Vietnamese soldiers, surprising them while they were engaged in extortion against the population. Three of the enemy were killed, and three weapons seized.

##### 3. Kompong Cham province

On 15 June, 109 self-defence guards deserted their ranks and attained the liberated zone. They reported that the Vietnamese aggressors had recently disarmed the self-defence guards in five villages and had brought them before a firing squad because they no longer trusted them.

##### 4. Ratanakiri province

On 4 June, at Nong Pak in the Bokeo-West district, an elderly farmer named Kang decapitated two Vietnamese aggressors who had come to rob the village inhabitants. The survivors scattered ignominiously. The elderly Kang took the two weapons seized from the enemy soldiers and led 10 families to the liberated zone.

##### 5. Mondulkiri province

Towards the middle of June, the inhabitants of four villages, in co-operation with our guerrilla fighters attacked a rice depot, took 10 sacks of rice, killed five Vietnamese aggressors and liberated the four villages.

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/383-S/13470.

#### 6. *Preah Vihear province*

On 20 June, the inhabitants of several villages in the Utumpor district joined forces to set up traps, pikes, snares and caltrops, which they laid out around their villages to keep out the Vietnamese aggressors. They also conducted guerrilla operations against the enemy with a high spirit of initiative and ingenuity. By late June, they had put 20 roving Vietnamese soldiers out of action.

#### 7. *Kompong Chhnang province*

At the end of June, 27 inhabitants of the Kompong Tralach Loeh district killed 13 Vietnamese soldiers who were plundering their maize and sweet potato fields. The survivors scattered, but three of them were caught in traps and snares laid by our guerrilla fighters.

#### 8. *Kompong Speu province*

At the beginning of June, in the Kong Pisei district, a mass meeting was held to welcome our cadres who had come to fight in the area. Several

persons spoke at the meeting to denounce the loathsome crimes committed by the Vietnamese aggressors. The participants resolved to join forces even more firmly in order to give a vigorous stimulus to the tasks that must be accomplished during the current rainy season.

#### 9. *Oddar Meanchey province*

On 29 June, three self-defence guards of the Ampil district intercepted an enemy lorry transporting ammunition and completely destroyed it. Its 11 occupants all perished.

#### 10. *Takéo province*

On 8 July, some 100 inhabitants and self-defence guards of the Tram Kak district co-ordinated their activities with our guerrilla fighters, rose up and attacked the Vietnamese aggressors on national highway 3. Thirty of the aggressors were killed, 10 weapons were seized, and the inhabitants and self-defence guards returned to the liberated zone to escape enemy reprisals.

### DOCUMENT S/13471\*

#### Letter dated 25 July 1979 from the representative of Jordan to the Secretary-General

(Original: Arabic/English)  
[27 July 1979]

Upon instructions from my Government, I have the honour to enclose a most recent account of the illegal Israeli practices in establishing settlements in the West Bank of Jordan, including Jerusalem. It shows without doubt that the Israeli occupation authorities are heedlessly expropriating large areas of Arab land on the alleged pretext of Israel's security, the construction of military airports and the establishment of new settlements. In every case, the lawful Arab owners of those lands resort to the Israeli Supreme Court for the nullification of the expropriation orders.

The attached account is a sample of the unlawful Israeli expropriation of Arab land in the occupied territories, including occupied Palestine.

I kindly request you to have this letter circulated as a document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Hazem NUSEIBEH  
Permanent Representative of Jordan  
to the United Nations

#### ANNEX

##### THE EXPANSION OF THE ARIEL SETTLEMENT AT THE EXPENSE OF LAND IN SALFIT

On 5 July the Israeli Supreme Court held a session to hear the appeal submitted by 13 Arab farmers through the lawyer Felicia Langer and the lawyer Abd Assaly for consideration by the Court of the decision of the occupation authorities to expropriate some 3,500 dunums of land in Salfit and Judge Moshe Landau's deferment of any decision on the case. It was decided that the case should be brought before three judges, in the presence of the legal counsel of the Israeli Government.

A member of the Municipal Council of Salfit, Khamis Hamad, gave testimony before the Court and said that, as a member of the Municipal Council of Salfit, he had not received any notification from the occupation authorities regarding their intention to take over the land. The lawyer, Mrs. Felicia Langer, representing the plaintiffs, said that any expropriation of land without prior notice was an illegal act and therefore null and void. She then affirmed that the expropriated land was privately owned and that its expropriation was impermissible. She drew attention to the fact that the land was used for agriculture and that some 177 persons were living off it, since they cultivated olives, figs and grapes there. Mrs. Langer recalled that the expropriation of land was contrary to the Geneva rules. The Israeli newspaper *Ha'aretz* stated that the Israeli military authorities had announced on 26 March 1979 that the land was to be taken over and that it was not under cultivation, had not been levelled for cultivation and was not registered in the land register (*sapn*), although a part of it was registered in the tax records.

The *Ha'aretz* correspondent observed that this was the largest area of land taken over on the West Bank since the Likud had come to power in

Israel more than two years earlier. The owners of the expropriated land said that most of the land was not pastureland but agricultural land which they cultivated on a regular basis. They said that civilian workmen had come recently to their land and had proceeded to put up signs and erect fences around it. They stated that they had not received from the Israeli authorities any notice of the expropriation of their land.

The newspaper recalled that the heads of the municipalities in the northern part of the West Bank had tried to organize a protest march to demonstrate against the expropriation of the land but the occupation authorities had prevented them from doing so.

On 12 July, the Supreme Court prohibited the Israeli military authorities from continuing fencing-in operations or taking any other measures in the some 3,500 dunums of land in the Salfit area which had been expropriated for the purpose of expanding the Ariel settlement. The Court handed down that provisional decision after the owners of the land had submitted to the Court a sworn statement signed by Reserve General Matti Peled and by a member of the Knesset, Reserve Colonel Meir Pail, testifying that there were no security requirements necessitating the establishment of that settlement. The Court issued an injunction that the owners of the land should submit substantiating documents proving their ownership of the land and made the execution of its decision contingent upon their submission of those documents.

It may be recalled that on 12 July, 16 other citizens submitted another petition to the Supreme Court protesting the confiscation of their land in Salfit, bringing the total number of petitioners in the case to 29.

##### THE REQUISITION OF LAND AT RAMALLAH

On 10 July, the Israeli Supreme Court considered the temporary injunction which it had issued on the basis of a petition from 10 residents of the village of Na'lin in the Ramallah district against the Israeli Minister of Defence and the Israeli military governors in the West Bank area. The inhabitants of the village of Na'lin stated in their petition that the occupation authorities had requisitioned some 600 dunums in the village in order to establish a settlement there, without legally expropriating that land.

General Danny Matt, co-ordinator of the operations of the Israeli military authorities in the occupied areas, submitted a lengthy memorandum to the Supreme Court in which he endeavoured to explain the importance of the elevated land which had been taken over pursuant to an order issued by the occupation authorities for security reasons, according to him, because it dominated a vital and major cross-road and overlooked Lod airport. He said that the land had been requisitioned to form the basis for a settlement complex for security purposes of primary importance. He said further that the authorities had issued their order with the approval of the Israeli Government and he alleged that the expropriated land was not under cultivation but used only as pastureland. The Court deferred consideration of the case for two weeks.

##### THE EXPROPRIATION OF LAND AT BETHLEHEM

On 13 July, three residents of Bethlehem submitted a petition to the Israeli Supreme Court stating that the Israeli military occupation authorities at Bethlehem intended to take over 272 dunums of their land and that the Israeli army had sealed off the land without informing them that it was to be taken over. They also stated that, on 8 July, a number of surveyors arrived at the site and began to survey the area before being asked to leave

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/384-S/13471.

by the owners of the land. On 11 July, two workmen arrived in the company of two soldiers and began to survey the land. The number of soldiers was subsequently increased and two Israeli officers were brought, one from the army and the other from the police. After a long discussion between the owners of the land and the Israeli soldiers, they all went to see the Israeli Military Governor at his headquarters at Bethlehem, but he was not there.

Attached to their petition, the owners of the land also submitted deeds proving their ownership and declared that the land was being used for agricultural purposes. Israeli sources stated that the land had been requisitioned three months earlier and had been earmarked for the establishment of the settlement of Efrat.

#### THE CONSTRUCTION OF HOUSING FOR ISRAELI OFFICERS ON ARAB LAND

The military correspondent of the newspaper *Ha'aretz* stated that a plan for the construction of housing for Israeli army officers in three areas of the West Bank would be discussed at a meeting attended by representatives of the Israeli army, the Israel Lands Administration and the Israeli Ministry of Defence. The newspaper went on to say that the plan had been conceived several months earlier by Mordechai Tzipori, the deputy of Ezer Weizman, the Israeli Minister of Defence.

It is worthy of note that those dwellings are to be constructed in the Omar district of the Hebron area near the 1948 armistice lines, in the Naby Saleh district near Ramallah and in the Abu Qurain district close to the settlement of Karney-Shomron. Mordechai Tzipori claims that suitable

land must be provided for the construction of those dwellings and that the Israel Lands Administration Department had promised to supply the land and make budgetary provision for their construction.

#### EXPROPRIATION OF LAND WITHOUT ALLOWING ITS OWNERS TO APPEAL TO THE COURTS

An Israeli governmental committee under the chairmanship of Menachem Begin, the Israeli Prime Minister, is preparing legislation to empower the Israeli Government to take over lands inhabited by Arab bedouin in the Negev desert and the occupied Arab territories without allowing them the right of appeal in the Israeli courts.

Israel claims that this legislation is necessary for the construction of three Israeli military airports in the Negev desert in occupied Palestine to replace the two airports in the Sinai which are due to be returned to Egypt.

The new Israeli legislation stipulates that the Arab bedouin shall be given 90 days in which to vacate the land but shall not have the right to appeal the take-over decision. The only right that they will be given is that of requesting increased compensation from the Israeli governmental committee. The bedouin leaders have accused the Israelis of using the construction of a military airport as a pretext for achieving in the long term the objective of forcing the Arab bedouin in occupied Palestine, who number around 35,000, to move to areas or towns previously designated by the Israeli authorities.

### DOCUMENT S/13472\*

#### Letter dated 27 July 1979 from the representative of South Africa to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[27 July 1979]

The Minister for Foreign Affairs of South Africa, the Honourable R. F. Botha, has requested me to transmit to you the enclosed statement which he made on 26 July 1979 in reaction to a statement made by the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia on 24 July 1979 [see S/13469].

I should appreciate it if the statement could be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) David W. STEWARD  
Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the  
Permanent Mission of South Africa  
to the United Nations

#### TEXT OF THE STATEMENT

1. The President of the United Nations Council for Namibia has issued a statement in New York in which he accuses the South African Government of all sorts of atrocities in South West Africa.

2. It is doubtful whether any office bearer of the Council for Namibia has ever divested himself of so many untruths. The statement contains the distortions, fabrications and lies for which SWAPO terrorists are notorious and would come as no surprise emanating from that quarter. We have no intention of dignifying the statement by answering the absurdities in it, such as the assertion that 15,000 persons have been arrested in the Territory in the past three months and that the South African Government has devised a plan to reduce the Black population by more than 200,000 persons (i.e. by about 25 per cent).

3. No responsible government will believe such ludicrous claims.

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/386-S/13472.

### DOCUMENT S/13473

#### Note by the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[27 July 1979]

The Secretary-General has the honour to refer to resolution 447 (1979) of the Security Council by which he was requested to submit to the Council information obtained from the People's Republic of Angola on the human casualties and material and other damage resulting from repeated acts of aggression by South Africa.

In that connexion, it should be noted that, at the request of the Government of the People's Republic of Angola, the Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs visited Angola in June 1979 in order to discuss questions relating to the preparation of the report.

Enclosed is the text of a letter addressed to the Secretary-General by the Permanent Representative of the People's

Republic of Angola to the United Nations, transmitting the information requested by the Security Council in paragraph 6 of its resolution 447 (1979).

#### ANNEX

#### Letter dated 25 July 1979 from the representative of Angola to the Secretary-General

On instructions from my Government, I have the honour to transmit herewith a report containing information on the human casualties and the material and other damage resulting from the repeated acts of aggression by the racist régime of South Africa against the People's Republic of Angola.

In the report, the Government has sought to bring together all available information pertaining to those matters. However, the information is by

no means complete because the task of assembling all relevant facts has been complicated by the vastness of the areas affected, the scattered nature of the population and the numerous acts of aggression perpetrated by South Africa.

My Government is continuing to gather additional information, particularly concerning the large number of wounded men, women and children, and this will be made available to the Security Council at a later stage.

I would be grateful if you would submit the present report, in accordance with paragraph 7 of its resolution 447 (1979), to the Security Council.

(Signed) **ELISIO DE FIGUEIREDO**  
*Permanent Representative of Angola  
to the United Nations*

**REPORT PREPARED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ANGOLA ON THE HUMAN CASUALTIES AND MATERIAL AND OTHER DAMAGE RESULTING FROM REPEATED ACTS OF AGGRESSION BY THE RACIST RÉGIME OF SOUTH AFRICA AGAINST THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ANGOLA**

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**INTRODUCTION**

1. South Africa's hostile policy in respect of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the People's Republic of Angola, as shown by the systematic acts of armed aggression against our country, is a deeply rooted attitude which dates back to the colonial era.

2. Before the Angolan people achieved independence, which they won only after a protracted heroic struggle against Portuguese colonialism, the racist South African régime maintained close ties with the colonial régime in a vain attempt to halt the advance of the national liberation struggle and perpetuate the exploitation of the country's economic resources.

3. When it became obvious that the MPLA [*Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola*] was the only movement with the capacity to form a government which would defend the true interests and aspirations of the Angolan people, South Africa, acting as the spearhead of other capitalist interests in flagrant violation of international law and order, endangered peace and security in the world by invading Angolan territory with the aim of putting a puppet government in power.

4. That invasion and the subsequent violations, provocations and acts of armed aggression have resulted in the destruction of our country's basic infrastructures and forced our Government to divert a considerable portion of the national resources from economic reconstruction to the defence of territorial integrity and for the protection and rehousing of the people who have been victims of the attacks. The systematic series of violations, provocations and acts of aggression are aimed at creating a climate of insecurity and fear and are part of a concerted plan for the destabilization of political, social and economic life in the People's Republic of Angola in particular and in southern Africa as a whole.

5. In the present report the Government of the People's Republic of Angola has brought together all available information on the human casualties and material and other damages resulting from South Africa's continuing acts of aggression. Owing, however, to the vast areas affected, the fact that the population is scattered and the large number of acts of aggression perpetrated by South Africa makes it difficult to arrive at a definitive assessment; the Government of Angola is continuing to gather additional information which it will communicate to the Security Council at a later stage. Among other things, the Government of Angola is at present establishing a list of the large number of Angolans who suffered permanent disablement, or who died subsequently as a result of wounds inflicted during those attacks.

**I. GENERAL BACKGROUND**

6. Angola achieved independence on 11 November 1975. As the Security Council and the international community are aware, on that day South African armed forces were occupying part of our national territory, and only on 27 March 1976 were they forced to withdraw because of the defeat inflicted on them by our armed forces. The Security Council in its resolution 387 (1976) condemned the South African aggression against the People's Republic of Angola and called upon South Africa to compensate our country for the damage and destruction inflicted on our State. The racist régime has ignored that resolution in the same manner as it has ignored all other United Nations resolutions concerning southern Africa.

7. Although it might have been thought that the disastrous effects of that invasion would have made Pretoria give up its belligerent intentions, as from 30 June 1976 a further series of acts of aggression started.

8. Those attacks against the People's Republic of Angola affect large areas of the country, involving particularly the provinces of Cuando-Cubango, Cunene, Moçâmedes and Huíla. The areas affected have a combined population of about 1,050,000 inhabitants; in addition, there are thousands of refugees from Namibia who have been forced to leave their homes because of the illegal occupation of their Territory by the South African Government.

9. Those areas are of great economic importance in the fields of agriculture, livestock production, industry and fisheries.

10. In agriculture, mention should be made of the significant role of maize, beans, sorghum and finger millet crops, which, together with milk, constitute the main diet of the people in the areas.

11. With regard to livestock production, it should be pointed out that the country's largest livestock herds, particularly cattle and pigs, are to be found in those areas which are important producers of meat and milk.

12. Directly related to those agricultural and livestock resources, there is an industrial infrastructure for the processing of such produce and in the field of industry mention should also be made of the Cassinga iron mines. It has not been possible to restore production at the mines owing to the permanent instability in the areas where they are located caused by South African aggression.

13. In Moçâmedes Province, the fishing and fish processing industry is of outstanding importance. The province is the country's most productive area, owing to the wealth of fish in its waters.

**II. SOUTH AFRICAN AGGRESSION AGAINST THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF ANGOLA FROM 27 MARCH 1976 TO 11 JUNE 1979**

14. As stated, the South African troops were forced to leave the People's Republic of Angola on 27 March 1976. A detailed report on the economic and social consequences of that illegal occupation of our national territory was drawn up at the appropriate time and sent to the United Nations. That report assessed the damages sustained by our young country at \$6.7 million.

15. The purpose of the present report is to denounce and seek to assess the human and material losses caused by the troops of the South African army between that date and 11 June 1979, a period of about three years during which the South African army has maintained constant military pressure on our borders, characterized by violations and air bombing of our territory, the landing of heliported troops, border provocations, infantry attacks supported by armoured car units, artillery shelling and the mining of agricultural fields, bridges and highways, in addition to the looting and destruction of varied equipment and means of production.

16. In addition to those actions, which have come to be habitual, there have been combined attacks on settlements and towns, in which it can be seen that there is perfect co-ordination between the UNITA [*União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola*] puppets, trained and equipped in military camps situated in Namibia, and the South African troops, which transport UNITA's men and war material inside our national territory and also provide the necessary air cover for such penetration.



## A. CASUALTIES RESULTING FROM SOUTH AFRICAN AGGRESSION

17. In the period under study, the regular South African army caused at least 570 confirmed deaths (see annex IV) and 594 wounded among the Angolan population, most of them peasants. Among the refugees, they killed 3 and wounded 8 South Africans, killed 198 and wounded 600 Zimbabweans and killed 612 and wounded 611 Namibians.

18. The loss of human lives described above was the result of 193 armed mining operations, 94 air space violations, 21 infiltrations on the ground, 21 border provocations, 7 artillery bombardments, 25 attacks by ground forces, 24 aerial bombardments and a large-scale combined operation involving ground and air forces.

19. The number of acts of aggression described below may not be complete, since not all acts of aggression have been detected, especially those which may have occurred in 1976 and 1977, for lack of the requisite facilities.

## B. ATTACKS MADE BEFORE THE ADOPTION OF RESOLUTION 447 (1979)

20. Since the withdrawal of South African invading troops in 1976, the territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Angola has been systematically and repeatedly violated by the racist régime of South Africa. The number and intensity of those attacks has increased considerably, including particularly brutal attacks at Dombondola and Naulila on 8 February 1977, at markers XII and XIII (in the direction of Cuamato) on 5 December 1978, at Cassinga on 4 May 1978 and at Catengue and Cahama on 14 March 1979. Those attacks and others which have caused tragic losses of life and serious material destruction are described in detail below.

21. Annex III to the present report contains a chronological list of the acts of aggression perpetrated by South Africa against Angola from 30 June 1976 to 11 June 1979. The principal attacks by the Republic of South Africa against the People's Republic of Angola between the time of the withdrawal after the failure of the invasion until the date of resolution 447 (1979) were the following:

### *Attack on Dombondola and Naulila*

22. At 0600 hours (GMT) on 8 February 1977, South African troops estimated as constituting two infantry platoons, transported in jeeps and supported by four AML-60 machine-guns, crossed the frontier and attacked the areas of Naulila and Dombondola. They burned 30 houses and killed 16 Angolan farm workers, including four children, and wounded an additional four civilians. That South African force withdrew after five hours.

### *Attack on the Cuamato zone*

23. At 0500 hours (GMT) on 5 December 1978, South African artillery launched a violent barrage against the areas located between markers XII and XIII, in the direction of Cuamato, hitting cultivated fields and destroying 15 houses of farm workers and one supply warehouse of the troops of the frontier guard. Grenade explosions resulted in 14 deaths and 5 wounded, all Angolan civilians.

### *Attack on Cassinga*

24. The attack on the town of Cassinga, which is located in the province of Huíla and had an estimated population of 4,200, occurred on 4 May 1978 when South African troops penetrated Angolan territory and killed 612 persons. More than 600, most of them children and women, were wounded. Many were severely maimed.

25. The victims included Namibian refugees to whom the Angolan Government had given a haven, Angolan civilians from the nearby town and Angolan soldiers who had hastened to the scene to repel the common enemy. In addition to the loss of lives and destruction of homes, community buildings and health centres, about 160 hectares of cultivated land and 100 head of cattle were destroyed. The direct losses in property, equipment and food supplies are listed in detail below.

26. The attack on Cassinga was also documented by international observers, in particular representatives of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the World Health Organization, two United Nations specialized agencies which were involved in assisting the victims of that brutal attack. The report of those observers on their analyses of the consequences of the attack, which was transmitted to the Government of the People's Republic of Angola, the Secretary-General and all diplomatic missions and voluntary agencies in Angola, is annexed to the present report (see annex V).

27. The brutality of the attack on Cassinga will be realized all the more clearly when it is taken into account that it constituted a "search and destroy operation".

28. The aircraft dropped high-explosive bombs, rockets, fragmentation bombs and paralysing gas, followed by parachutists who indiscriminately killed the stunned inhabitants.

29. The attack began at 0530 hours (GMT) and the enemy forces

totalled 200 parachutists, 2 C-130 transport aircraft, 14 Alouette SA-330 "Puma" helicopters, 9 Mirage III aircraft, and F-1 and F-2 Cessna reconnaissance monoplanes. After laying mines at the approaches to Cassinga, the enemy dropped incendiary and fragmentation bombs. The operation ended at 1200 hours when troops of the FAPLA (People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola) opened fire against the parachutists, who hastily withdrew in helicopters; in the encounter 12 Angolan soldiers died and 63 were wounded.

30. In addition, four Namibian women were abducted by the racist forces and taken to an unknown destination. It is still not known what happened to them. Several persons were also found dead from pistol shots in the nape of the neck.

31. The total number of victims of this brutal attack was as follows: 612 Namibians killed (147 men, 167 women and 298 children); 12 Angolan soldiers killed; 3 Angolan civilians killed; 611 Namibians wounded; 63 Angolan soldiers wounded; 15 civilians wounded; 4 Namibian women abducted.

### *Attack on Boma*

32. At 0615 hours (GMT) on 26 February 1979, in a joint Rhodesia/Republic of South Africa operation, jets of the Rhodesian Air Force attacked a refugee school at Boma, situated near the town of Luena, province of Moxico, with a population of 4,000.

33. Seven aircraft, including four Canberra and three Mirage III aircraft, dropped 30 tons of bombs, mostly anti-personnel fragmentation bombs. It was observed that the Canberra fighter-bombers were protected by the South African Mirage III fighters; in any case, two of the Mirage III aircraft fired rockets against the camp. The material losses in installations, including 47 dwellings and one church, equipment, food-stuffs, clothing, medical and school supplies and transport were estimated at \$4,451,957. This does not include the additional costs borne by the Angolan Government for relocating the population elsewhere. The relocation of the population of Boma and of Cassinga, Catengue and other affected areas became imperative for various reasons: the destruction of the infrastructure in the area attacked; the fear of new attacks; the moral and emotional condition of the refugees. Casualties numbered 198 dead and 600 wounded.

### *Attack on Catengue*

34. At 0600 hours (GMT) on 14 March 1979, five South African Mirage aircraft, after a low-altitude approach flight over Angolan territorial waters, attacked and completely destroyed the refugee camp at Catengue, Benguela province, about 500 kilometres from the Angolan frontier with Namibia.

35. As a result of the heavy bombing, three persons died and eight were wounded. After the Cassinga attack, the majority of the refugees at Catengue spent the greater part of each day away from their houses and this precaution proved to be absolutely justified: only 3 of the 600 persons living there lost their lives.

36. However, the material losses were high, for all the equipment at the camp—buildings, adjacent rail line and food-stuffs, clothing and medicines—was destroyed.

37. At Catengue only one wall was left standing, a mute accusation against the racist "way of life".

### *Attack on Cahama*

38. At 1600 hours (GMT) on 14 March 1979, Canberra and Mirage aircraft of the Republic of South Africa bombed the area around Cahama for about 10 minutes.

39. They destroyed two schools, one people's store, 12 field tents, 4 tons of teaching material, 30 tons of rice, 40 tons of sugar, 35 tons of beans, 20 tons of tinned foods, shoes and other merchandise. In response to that attack, the FAPLA anti-aircraft defence brought down four Canberra aircraft and two Mirage III fighters.

## C. FURTHER ATTACKS SINCE THE ADOPTION OF RESOLUTION 447 (1979)

### *Attack in the area of marker XII*

40. At 0600 hours (GMT) on 29 March 1979, two Mirage III aircraft bombed the area of marker XII with napalm bombs, killing two Angolan herdsmen, burning 150 hectares of cultivated land and destroying about 100 accessories for agricultural machinery. The attack lasted five minutes.

### *Attack on Cuamato*

41. At 0945 hours (GMT) on 12 April 1979, four Mirage III aircraft of the Republic of South Africa attacked the commune of Ombala-Yo-Mungo (Cuamato), killing one civilian and one member of FAPLA and also wounding two Angolan soldiers.

42. They partly destroyed the Communal Commissariat and the frontier guard barracks and completely burned three warehouses containing the possessions of 300 persons.

#### *Attack on Humbe*

43. At about 0630 hours (GMT) on 11 June 1979, three Canberra and three Mirage III aircraft of the South African Air Force bombed the population of Humbe, aiming in particular at the civil engineering camp situated there. The attack, lasting about three minutes, killed eight Angolan civilians, including one woman, and wounded 14 civilians, including three women and one child; four of the wounded are in serious condition. The material damage resulting from the attack includes the following: 15 brick houses completely destroyed, 6 residences of permanent construction, 1 two-room school for 180 students partly destroyed (there were no student casualties because the bombing took place 30 minutes before school opened) and a three-section permanent building partly destroyed. Losses of equipment were as follows: two Tatra trucks (with 6,000 km) 16 tons and 20 tons, completely destroyed; one Volvo truck, 10 tons, completely destroyed; one Scania truck, 8 tons, completely destroyed; one 40-ton platform, partly destroyed; one Isuzu truck, 5 tons, partly destroyed; one "Moro-Scraper" 623 partly destroyed; one Mexican 475 P loading shovel partly destroyed.

44. Also destroyed were: 8,000 litres of gas oil; 200 litres of S.3.30 oil; 400 litres of EP.90 valvoline; 400 litres of P.40 valvoline; 600 litres of 10 W oil.

45. The bombing completely paralysed the normal functioning of the civil engineering camp.

### III. SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF SOUTH AFRICAN AGGRESSION

46. A socio-economic assessment of the material and human losses caused by the constant acts of military aggression referred to above is fairly difficult to make, owing to the vastness of the areas affected, which cover about 401,373 sq km (Cuando-Cubango: 192,076 sq km; Cunene: 75,955 sq km; Huíla: 77,393 sq km; Moçâmedes: 55,948 sq km), and also to the complex nature of the elements needed for certain types of calculation.

47. It should therefore be taken into account that the following estimates to a great extent sin by default, since they cover only the most significant attacks and material and other damages.

#### *Agriculture and livestock*

48. The provinces of Huíla, Cunene, Cuando-Cubango and Moçâmedes play an important role in the production of maize, beans, wheat, potatoes, sorghum, finger millet, vegetables and fruit. As a result of the repeated aggressions by South Africa, the areas under cultivation have been reduced, and part of the expected crops, as well as various equipment and agricultural machinery, have been destroyed.

49. The areas attacked are also important for livestock, most of the cattle in Angola being located in those four provinces. The indiscriminate stealing and killing of cattle is delaying the development of meat and milk production, thereby imposing on Angola a high expenditure of foreign exchange for the importation of cattle to reconstitute the herds, and for large imports of food-stuffs to ensure supplies for the population. The damages incurred by our country's agricultural and livestock sector during three years of South African aggression are assessed at \$142,500,000.

#### *Construction sector*

50. The systematic attacks and violations by the South African armed forces have caused enormous material damage by the destruction of equipment used in civil engineering, such as trucks, caterpillar tractors, motor-scrappers and others, and have essentially paralysed the work of the building brigades in the affected areas.

51. The non-completion of newly programmed construction works and the necessary construction, reconstruction and maintenance of roads, bridges, airports, etc. have resulted in enormous losses to the country, estimated at \$21,650,000.

#### *Transport facilities, machinery and diverse equipment*

52. The destruction of trucks, vehicles, tractors, agricultural equipment, construction equipment, railway lines, communications equipment, equipment for the supply of electrical energy, various accessories etc. has resulted in preventing the movement of people and goods, isolating the areas affected from the rest of the country and causing their economic stagnation.

53. Replacement of that equipment, which is essential for the economic reconstruction of those areas and of the country as a whole, will necessitate an expenditure by the Government of the People's Republic of Angola of an estimated \$52,797,000.

### *Fisheries*

54. The fishing sector in the province of Moçâmedes has not sustained any physical destruction of the means of production, but it has suffered from the climate of instability caused by South African armed attacks which have made normal fishing activity impossible. The long periods during which the fishing boats must remain at their moorings has reduced the fish catch and prevented the people from getting regular supplies, thereby depriving them of an important element of their diet.

55. That situation has blocked the development of this sector, which our Government regards as a starting point in economic development. It also forces the Government to expend large sums of foreign exchange for the import of food-stuffs in order to meet the people's nutritional needs. This expenditure is estimated at \$17,750,000.

#### *Commercial sector*

56. The efforts made by the Government of the People's Republic of Angola to re-establish the trade and distribution network with a view to improving the living conditions of the Angolan people, have been completely jeopardized by the destructive actions of the South African army, which prevent the regular collection of the surplus produced by the population and the free circulation of goods. In addition, a large number of commercial establishments, stores and shops have been destroyed, together with stocks of food-stuffs, clothing, footwear and other consumer items.

57. Total losses in the commercial sector are estimated at \$14,285,000.

#### *Administration and public services*

58. Destruction of public buildings, hospitals and schools, including their material and equipment, has deprived the population in the affected areas of such essential services as medical care and medicines, education and administrative services. The destruction of the hospitals in those areas has forced the Government to make special efforts to provide alternative health care for the population, including transport of the victims of aggression to hospitals in other parts of the country for treatment of their wounds, at a cost of about \$3 million. The total of the material damage in this sector is estimated at \$44,322,000.

59. The destruction and damages incurred during the period under study, which are itemized above, amount to an estimated grand total of \$293,304,000. To these losses can be added other losses of a human and social character which, because they are so extensive, cannot be assessed in terms of monetary value. These are, for example: the loss of lives; enforced displacement of the population in the affected areas; interruption of schooling; unemployment caused by the destruction of the means of production; insufficient provision of social services to the population; serious nutritional and material deficiencies among the population of the affected regions; non-completion of socio-economic projects and programmes in the affected regions and its reflection in the national economy as a whole.

### IV. CONCLUSIONS

60. Despite these constant acts of aggression and violations, despite the dead and wounded and the material damages sustained by our country, the Government of the People's Republic of Angola continues to be firmly determined to be governed by the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, particularly as regards peaceful coexistence and non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries.

61. It is the most profound desire of the People's Republic of Angola to continue to be the guarantor of the inalienable right of its people to live in peace, to continue freely to determine their political, economic and social life and to enjoy the benefits of their economic resources.

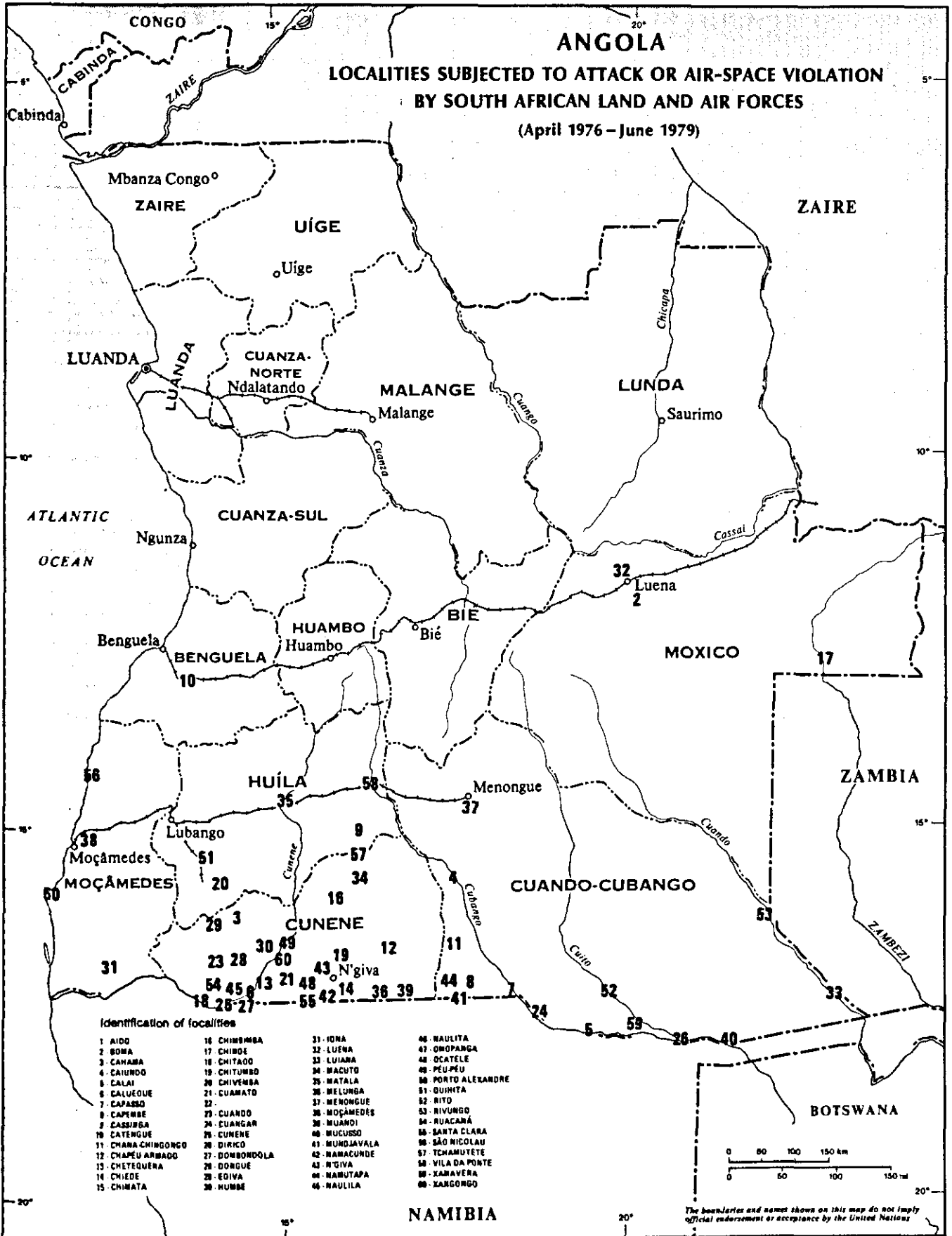
62. Despite the enormous sacrifices they have had to make, the Angolan people reaffirm their intention to give full support to the heroic struggle of the oppressed peoples of the whole world, and particularly of Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa.

63. In conclusion, the Government of the People's Republic of Angola once again calls on the Security Council and the international community to condemn vigorously these acts and take effective measures, using all possible means, to put an end to the aggressive policy of the racist South African régime. The Government of the People's Republic of Angola cannot fail to demand, as its legitimate right, just compensation for all the human and material losses that it has sustained.

64. The People's Republic of Angola will not be deterred from the great and urgent tasks of national reconstruction and nation-building, nor from its devout adherence to the principles contained in the Charter of the United Nations, despite the continued acts of aggression against its territory. The Government of the People's Republic of Angola is confident that, in the pursuit of these objectives, it will receive the support and co-operation of the international community.

ANNEX I

Map of Angola showing localities subjected to attack and/or air space violation by South African land and air forces (April 1976-June 1979)



ANNEX II

Photographs showing some of the devastation caused by South African attacks against Angola\*

1. South African attack at Catengue
2. South African attack at Cassinga
3. South African attack at Cassinga
4. South African attack at Humbe

\* The photographs are not reproduced here; they may be consulted in the Dag Hammarskjöld Library.

ANNEX III

Chronological table of South African acts of aggression, 1976-1979

Date and time	Location	Type of action	Casualties			Remarks
			Dead	Wounded	Missing	
1. 30/6/76 0330h	Cunene	Air violation				One South African aircraft overflew the Ruacaná frontier post.
2. 5/7/76 1700h	Cunene	Infiltration				Some 60 South Africans entered Angola at a point 5 km from Santa Clara. They set fire to five villages and threw 25 hand-grenades.
3. 6/7/76	Cuando Cubango	Infiltration				South African troops proceeded in the direction of Baixo-Longa.
4. 12/7/76	Cuando Cubango	Infiltration				The South Africans set up a base 120 km east of Vila Nova de Armada. They concentrated armoured cars at Savate.
5. 20/7/76	Ruacaná	Provocation				South African troops engaged in provocations along the frontier at Ruacaná.
6. 23/7/76 0900h	Cunene-Ruacaná	Air violation				A South African aircraft overflew the Ruacaná frontier post.
7. 23-24/6/76	Cuando Cubango	Infiltration				A group of 140 armed men entered Angola led by a South African captain and two South African lieutenants.
8. 7/8/76 2200h	Cuando Cubango-Menongue	Air violation				A South African aircraft overflew Menongue.
9. 15/8/76	Cunene	Provocation				A South African company took refuge behind the frontier after an operation by our forces.
10. 25/8/76	Cuando Cubango-Dirico	Air violation				A South African aircraft overflew Dirico.
11. 26/11/76	Cuando Cubango	Provocation				The South African troops at Cuangar received reinforcements.
12. 27/8/76	Cunene-Santa Clara	Provocation				Two South African trucks (carrying soldiers) patrolled the Santa Clara area and placed three AML-90s 500 metres from the Santa Clara frontier post.
13. 28/8/76 0830h	Cuando Cubango-Cuangar	Infiltration				Four armoured vehicles (two AML-90s, one tank and one AML-60) entered Cuangar and then proceeded towards Calai.
14. 30/8/76	Cuando Cubango	Air violation				A light plane overflew the frontier at Cuando Cubango.
15. 30/8/76	Cuando Cubango	Infiltration				Two South African trucks carrying soldiers infiltrated our territory.
16. 28/9/76	Cunene-Ruacaná	Air violation				A South African helicopter overflew the Ruacaná frontier post.
17. 30/9/76 1725h	Cunene-Ruacaná	Air violation				A South African aircraft overflew the Ruacaná frontier post.
18. 1/10/76 2145h	Cunene-Ruacaná	Air violation				A South African aircraft violated our airspace, overflying the Ruacaná frontier post and then withdrawing towards Calueque.
19. 1/10/76	Cunene-Santa Clara	Infiltration				South African troops entered Santa Clara with four 88 mm artillery pieces.
20. 10/10/76 2030h	Cunene-Calueque	Air violation				A South African aircraft violated our airspace to a depth of 10 km in the direction of Calueque.
21. 16/10/76 1730h	Cunene-Ruacaná	Air violation				A South African aircraft violated our airspace and overflew Ruacaná and Chitado.

*Chronological table of South African acts of aggression, 1976-1979 (continued)*

Date and time	Location	Type of action	Casualties			Remarks
			Dead	Wounded	Missing	
22. 26/10/76	Cunene-Ruacaná	Air violation				A South African helicopter overflew the Ruacaná frontier post.
23. 29/10/76	Cunene-N'giva	Air violation				A South African aircraft overflew the N'giva area.
24. 18/11/76 2230h	Cunene-Santa Clara	Ground provocation				South Africans fired on several bungalows on the approaches to our positions at Santa Clara.
25. 22/11/76 2000h	Cunene-Calueque	Ground provocation				South African troops opened fire on our territory and fired flares and mortar shells.
26. 23/11/76 1825h	Cunene-Calueque	Ground provocation				South African troops directed gunfire towards Calueque and fired a number of flares.
27. 1/12/76	Cunene-Calueque	Ground provocation				The South Africans stationed four armoured vehicles at Calueque. Movement of artillery and radio units towards Calueque was noted.
28. 2/12/76	Cunene-Santa Clara	Ground violation				Forty South African vehicles entered our territory at frontier marker XVI and attacked the village of Himbadalunga, where they burned a number of houses.
29. 11/12/76	Cunene-Ruacaná	Ground violation				The South Africans stationed a platoon of tanks 1 km south of Ruacaná.
30. 11/12/76	Cunene-between frontier markers III and IV	Ground violation				South African troops estimated at two platoons crossed the frontier between frontier markers III and IV.
31. 18/12/76	Cunene-Calueque	Air violation				Two Mirage aircraft overflew our positions at Calueque.
32. 21/12/76 1035h	Cunene-Chitado-Ruacaná	Air violation				A Mirage aircraft overflew our frontier from Chitado to Ruacaná.
33. 21/12/76 2200h-2230h	Cunene-Chitado	Ground provocation				South African troops opened fire on our post at Chitado.
34. 22/12/76	Cunene-Chitado	Provocation				South African troops fired eight rounds at our positions at Chitado.
35. 22/12/76 0400h-0800h	Cunene-Ruacaná	Provocation				There was an exchange of gunfire between TGFA* and the South Africans when the latter attacked the frontier post. The South Africans, using loudspeakers, made threats to invade our territory.
36. 22/12/76 0900h-1100h	Cunene-Ruacaná	Shelling	3 civilians	7 civilians		The South Africans fired 90 mm artillery in the Calueque area.
37. 22/12/76	Cunene-Ruacaná	Air violation				A South African Mirage overflew the Ruacaná dam at low altitude.
38. 23/12/76 2030h	Cunene-Calueque	Provocation				Eight armoured vehicles appeared in central Portão, at Calueque, and threatened our forces. They withdrew without incident.
39. 23/12/76	Cunene-Calueque	Provocation				South African forces fired on Calueque with both heavy and light weapons. At the same time, a South African aircraft overflew the position.
40. 24/12/76	Cunene	Provocation				The South Africans fortified their positions, claiming that MPLA was planning an attack.
41. 28/12/76	Cunene-Ruacaná	Ground provocation				South African reconnaissance vehicles crossed the frontier at Ruacaná
42. 9/1/77	Namacunde-Cunene	Air violation			3 TGFA	A helicopter overflew and machine-gunned the national territory
43. 10/1/77	Namacunde-Cunene	Air attack	2 FAPLA	1 FAPLA		Five South African helicopters overflew Namacunde and machine-gunned the post.
44. 3/2/77	Luiana-Cuando Cubango	Concentration				South African troops concentrated in Luiana, to which they also transported UNTTA soldiers.
45. 3/2/77 1430h	Frontier marker III-Dombondola	Shelling	3 civilians	19 civilians		South African troops shelled frontier marker III in Dombondola with artillery and mortars for 90 minutes.
46. 3/2/77	Luiana-Cuando Cubango	Ground violation				South African troops, after violating the frontier, concentrated in Luiana.

*Chronological table of South African acts of aggression, 1976-1979 (continued)*

Date and time	Location	Type of action	Casualties			Remarks
			Dead	Wounded	Missing	
47. 8/2/77	Dombondola and Naulita Cunene	Ground violation	30 houses burned; 16 persons killed, including 4 children; 4 civilians wounded			The South Africans crossed the frontier with armoured vehicles and jeeps; they remained for five hours.
48. 14/2/77	N'giva-Cunene	Air violation				A South African aircraft overflew the town of N'giva at an altitude of less than 3 km.
49. 5/3/77 0941h	Ruacan and Calueque	Air violation				A South African reconnaissance plane overflew Ruacan and Calueque for 20 minutes.
50. 6/3/77 0900h	Cuangar	Land attack	1 FAPLA 1 civilian	13		South African troops attacked Cuangar, wounding one FAPLA.
51. 6/3/77	Quando River	Air and ground violations				South African troops violated our airspace and territory in the area of the Cuando River.
52. 15/4/77	Chindimba and Chimata	Ground attack	2	3		South African troops attacked Chindimba and Chimata with motorized infantry.
53. 24/4/77 1000h	Santa Clara	Frontier provocations	1 TGFA	3 TGFA		The South Africans fired on our positions at the Santa Clara frontier post.
54. 26/4/77	Cunene	Ground attack	8 FAPLA 2 civilians	2 FAPLA 27 civilians		The South Africans attacked the frontier post at frontier marker III, capturing a 75 mm artillery piece and uniforms; they burned food supplies and destroyed the post.
55. 5/5/77	Calueque	Frontier provocations		1 FAPLA		The South Africans appeared at Calueque post No. 1 with three armoured vehicles and a platoon of infantry and fired four rounds.
56. 12/5/77 1400h	Ruacan frontier post	Ground violation				A South African column of 14 armoured vehicles and 4 truck-loads of soldiers crossed the frontier and remained for half an hour.
57. 30/5/77	Cunene-frontier marker III	Air violation				A South African aircraft violated Angolan airspace, entering at frontier marker III and passing over Roadas.
58. 6/6/77	Mucusso	Bombing attack	7 civilians	3 civilians	3	A serious situation prevailed at Cuando Cubango when the South Africans bombed the town of Mucusso and the barracks; there were a number of persons missing after the attack.
59. 11/6/77	Calueque	Concentration				South African troops concentrated along our frontier.
60. 29/7/77	Calai	Air violation				A South African helicopter overflew Calai for 20 minutes.
61. 29/7/77	Frontier at Calai	Air violation				Two South African aircraft violated the frontier at Calai.
62. 31/7/77	Santa Clara	Ground attack	15 civilians	18		The South Africans directed artillery fire at Santa Clara.
63. 10/8/77	Frontier marker II and Santa Clara Calueque	Ground attack	1 TGFA 32 civilians	6 civilians		South African forces supported by armoured vehicles attacked Santa Clara and the frontier post at frontier marker II. At Calueque they carried out a mortar attack lasting 15 minutes.
64. 11/8/77	Dirico	Ground attack	21 civilians	4 civilians		South African infantry supported by armoured vehicles and helicopters bombarded and occupied the town of Dirico. Many people were driven from their homes.
65. 19/8/77 1150h- 1210h and 1300h	Calueque	Ground attack	1 FAPLA 10 civilians	5 FAPLA 9 civilians		The South Africans, covered by infantry and mortar fire, occupied positions near the frontier at Calueque.
66. 20/8/77 0500h	Dirico	Ground attack			2 FAPLA	The South Africans and UNITA launched a joint attack on Dirico.
67. 18/9/77 1900h- 1930h	Ruacan	Ground attack on the frontier	3 TGFA 14 civilians	1 TGFA 3 civilians		The South Africans, using light weapons, fired on the Ruacan post.

*Chronological table of South African acts of aggression, 1976-1979 (continued)*

Date and time	Location	Type of action	Casualties			Remarks
			Dead	Wounded	Missing	
68. 18/9/77 1900h	Frontier marker III	Air violation				A South African reconnaissance plane overflew Calueque.
69. 6/10/77 1400h	Capasso	Concentration of ground forces				Concentration of four armoured vehicles, one transport vehicle and one platoon of infantry near the frontier.
70. 14/10/77 0300h-0900h	Area of frontier marker III	Ground attack	1 TGFA 1 civilian	3 TGFA		The South Africans fired infantry weapons at our position in the area of frontier marker III.
71. 14/10/77 0300h-0900h	South-east of Calueque	Ground attack	4 FAPLA 15 civilians	7 FAPLA 11 civilians		The South Africans directed light arms fire against FAPLA in the province of Calueque, 40 km southeast of the town of Calueque.
72. 15/10/77 0130h	Caiundo	Air violation				A South African aircraft overflew Caiundo for 30 minutes.
73. 5/11/77 0500h	Calueque	Air violation				A South African aircraft overflew the frontier at Calueque.
74. 5/11/77	Santa Clara	Ground attack	2 FAPLA 1 civilian	4 FAPLA 17 civilians		The South Africans fired 8 shells to the east of Santa Clara. During the same day, they changed their observation post.
75. 7/11/77	Calueque	Air violation				A South African aircraft, flying at an altitude of 100 metres, violated Angolan airspace at Calueque.
76. 7/11/77	Frontier marker VI	Ground violation	7 civilians	9 civilians		A South African platoon crossed the frontier and remained in our territory for two hours.
77. 19/11/77	Santa Clara	Air violation				A South African aircraft violated Angolan airspace, crossing the frontier at Santa Clara.
78. 10/12/77	Frontier markers XXII and XXIII	Air violation and attack				South African infantry, supported by helicopter gunfire, entered Angolan territory between frontier markers XXII and XXIII to a depth of 5 km; a number of women were killed or abducted.
79. 21/12/77	Santa Clara and Calueque	Frontier provocation				The South Africans concentrated forces on the frontier with the intention of invading Angola in order to destroy SWAPO, as they announced over loudspeakers.
80. 23/12/77 0800h	South of N'giva	Ground attack	17 civilians	21 civilians		The South Africans attacked a FAPLA platoon between frontier markers XVI and XVII using 21 mm mortars and 106 mm artillery. The shells struck farmers' dwellings.
81. 2/1/78 2200h	Calueque-Chitado frontier marker VI	Air violation				A South African aircraft overflew Calueque, withdrawing towards Chitado at an altitude of 2,000 feet.
82. 6/1/78 0430h and 0500h	Cahama-Cavaláva	Air violation				A South African aircraft overflew Cahama and Cavaláva, entering Angolan territory in the direction of Humbe and leaving at Chitado.
83. 18/1/78	Ruacaná	Bombing attack				
84. 23/1/78	Village of Cunene, province of Moçâmedes	Bombing attack	19 civilians	11 civilians		Three South African Mirage F-1s bombed the village of Cunene.
85. 1/2/78	Tchamutete	Air violation				A South African aircraft overflew the area at an altitude of 500 metres.
86. 14/2/78	Frontier marker VI-Humbe	Air violation				A South African aircraft violated Angolan airspace, entering at frontier marker VI in the direction of Humbe, overflying Calueque and then withdrawing towards frontier marker III.
87. 25/2/78	Along the frontier at Calueque	Concentration				The enemy concentrated a force estimated at 2,000 along the frontier.
88. 5/3/78 0600h	Caiundo	Air violation				A South African aircraft passed over Caiundo and then headed back towards South Africa.

*Chronological table of South African acts of aggression, 1976-1979 (continued)*

Date and time	Location	Type of act	Casualties			Remarks
			Dead	Wounded	Missing	
89. 4/4/78	Calueque-frontier marker III	Ground violation				A number of South African soldiers were hit after violating the frontier at Calueque; they were taken to Namibia by their comrades.
90. 4/5/78	Town of Moçâmedes, São Nicolau-Chapéu Armado	Air violations				A South African aircraft overflew the town of Moçâmedes twice at high altitude, after which it disappeared in the direction of Namibia. On the same day, two aircraft overflew the areas of São Nicolau and Chapéu Armado.
91. 4/5/78	Cassinga	Large-scale attack	612	613		The South Africans attacked the SWAPO refugee camp at Cassinga with 14 helicopters, 4 C-130s, 8 Mirages and 2 Cessna reconnaissance planes, causing extensive damage.
92. 4/5/78	Dombondola, Chetequera and Cuamato	Ground attack				South African troops launched an attack with armoured vehicles and flame-throwers, ruining 990 acres of farmland, destroying 5 IFA trucks and stealing 5,000 head of cattle.
93. 5/5/78 2245h	Porto Alexandre	Air violation				The South Africans violated Angolan airspace, overflying Porto Alexandre and then flying off in the direction of Namibia.
94. 9/5/78	Quihita, Cahama and Vila da Ponte	Air violations				The South Africans repeatedly violated our airspace at high altitude.
95. 24/5/78 0900h	Matala	Air violation				Two South African Mirage aircraft and a South African transport plane overflew Matala.
96. 6/6/78 1845h	Tchamutete	Air violation				A South African Mirage overflew Tchamutete in a south-north direction, returning the way it had come.
97. 21/7/78 2100h	Rito-Cuando Cubango	Air violation				A South African aircraft overflew the position at Rito.
98. 23/8/78 1200h	Frontier post at frontier marker VII	Ground attack	4 civilians	11 civilians		South African troops attacked the frontier post at frontier marker VII.
99. 24/8/78	Post at frontier marker VIII	Ground attack	5 civilians	11 civilians		The South Africans attacked the post at frontier marker VIII with 81 mm mortars from a distance of 3 km from the frontier.
100. 31/8/78 0800h-1400h	Calai	Air violation				The enemy carried out reconnaissance flights over Calai with a small plane and two helicopters.
101. 10/9/78	Frontier markers XXIV and XXV	Ground attack				South African troops stole cattle at a point 10 km inside Angola.
102. 10/10/78 0800h	Matala	Air violation				Low-altitude reconnaissance flight over Matala.
103. 10/11/78 1240h	Frontier marker III Chitado	Air violation				Three South African Mirage aircraft overflew Angolan territory along the frontier. They entered in the direction of frontier marker III, leaving at Chitado.
104. 11/11/78	Calueque	Air violation				A South African Mirage aircraft overflew frontier marker VI, passing over Calueque in the direction of Huíla province.
105. 12/11/78	Santa Clara-Namacunde	Air violation				Two South African Mirage aircraft overflew our frontier from 0800h to 1130h east of Santa Clara, penetrating as far as Namacunde.
106. 14/11/78 1245h	N'giva, Péu-Péu, Ruacaná	Air violation				A Mirage III aircraft violated our airspace, overflying N'giva, Péu-Péu and Ruacaná.
107. 22/11/78 1300h	Ruacaná-Cahama-Chivemba	Air violation				Two South African helicopters coming from Namibia violated our airspace in the direction of Ruacaná, overflew Cahama and headed north.
108. 25/11/78	N'giva and Roçadas	Air violation				Two jet fighter planes overflew N'giva and Roçadas and then flew off in the direction of Calueque.
109. 5/12/78 0500h	Frontier markers XII and XIII	Shelling	14	5		The South Africans fired artillery between frontier markers XII and XIII in the direction of Cuamato.
110. 11/12/78 0820h	Melunga	Air violation				A South African Mirage aircraft overflew the frontier post at Melunga.



*Chronological table of South African acts of aggression, 1976-1979 (continued)*

Date and time	Location	Type of action	Casualties			Remarks
			Dead	Wounded	Missing	
111. 11/12/78 1050h	Melunga-Cunene	Air violation and bombing	10 civilians	10 civilians		Four aircraft coming from Namibia overflew the Melunga post (frontier marker X), bombing it as they left.
112. 17/12/78 1110h	Santa Clara	Air violation				A Mirage aircraft overflew Santa Clara and then proceeded in the direction of N'giva.
113. 8/1/79 0800h	Santa Clara	Ground violation and mine-laying	3	5		South African armoured forces violated the frontier to the left of Santa Clara to a depth of 1 km. While leaving, they laid anti-personnel mines in the area.
114. 8/1/79 0400h	Calueque	Bombing attack	12	3		Bombing attack by three rocket-firing Mirage aircraft which blew up a fuel tank.
115. 8/1/79 1600h	Calueque	Air violation and attack	1 FAPLA	2 FAPLA		Four Mirage aircraft overflew the position at Calueque. A number of helicopters then bombed the position.
116. 8/1/79 1430h	N'giva	Air violation				A South African aircraft overflew N'giva.
117. 8/1/79	Frontier marker XXV-Melunga	Ground violation				While withdrawing to Namibia, the South Africans burned a collection of 300 huts, 200 livestock carcasses and 6 tons of clothing and destroyed a quantity of agricultural equipment.
118. 12/1/79	N'giva	Air violation				A small South African plane violated our airspace, overflying N'giva and even making a landing. It bore the registration No. 28-110.
119. 26/1/79	Chitado-Ruacan	Air violation				South African aircraft violated the frontier, entering south-east of Chitado and leaving at Ruacan.
120. 27/1/79 0830h	Chitado-Ruacan	Air violation				An aircraft entered at Chitado and left at Ruacan.
121. 31/1/79	Santa Clara	Ground attack	10	27		South African ground troops attacked the frontier post at Santa Clara with light weapons, a machine-gun and an 81 mm mortar.
122. 3/2/79 1205h	Omopanda-Namacunde	Ground attack	29	21		South African troops launched a joint attack with UNITA on Omopanda and Namacunde.
123. 3/2/79 1600h	Namacunde	Air violation and ground attack	11	31		At 1600h a small South African plane overflew Namacunde. At 0200h on the same day, UNITA and South African forces attacked the FAPLA post at Namacunde.
124. 5/2/79	Omopanda-Namacunde	Shelling	35	62		South African troops carried out a bombardment with heavy artillery.
125. 6/2/79	N'giva	Air violation				South African aircraft entered at Ochicango, overflying Omopanda and N'giva at an altitude of 5,000 metres.
126. 19/2/79 0700h	Santa Clara-N'giva-Pu-Pu	Air violation				Two South African aircraft entered at Santa Clara and overflew N'giva, Pu-Pu and Cahama, withdrawing towards the south.
127. 23/2/79	Frontier marker XLV	Air violation				A turboprop transport plane entered at frontier marker XLV and proceeded north.
128. 23/2/79	Frontier markers XXVI and XXVIII	Bombing attack	35 civilians	3 civilians		Two South African aircraft entered at frontier markers XXVI and XXVIII and carried out a bombing attack at a point 27 km inside our territory.
129. 26/2/79	Boma	Bombing attack	7 FAPLA 198 ZAPU <sup>a</sup>	13 FAPLA 600 ZAPU <sup>a</sup>		Seven South African and Rhodesian Canberra and Mirage aircraft bombed the ZAPU school at the Boma mission 30 km from Luena.
130. 26/2/79 1500h	Tchamutete	Air violation	24 civilians	47 civilians		Three South African Mirage aircraft overflew the town of Tchamutete and fired two rockets, one of which landed near the airfield.
131. 27/2/79 0400h	Tchamutete	Air violation				
132. 28/2/79 1039h	Tchamutete	Air violation				A reconnaissance device—probably remote-controlled—was detected overflying the area north of Tchamutete.
133. 28/2/79 1720h	Tchamutete	Air violation				Pilotless reconnaissance aircraft overflew the area for two hours.

*Chronological table of South African acts of aggression, 1976-1979 (continued)*

Date and time	Location	Type of action	Casualties			Remarks
			Dead	Wounded	Missing	
134. 3/3/79 1030h	N'giva	Air violation				A Mirage aircraft overflew the area of N'giva in a south-north direction, after which it flew off in the direction of Namibia.
135. 4/3/79 0900h	Calueque and Ruacaná	Air violation				A South African aircraft was detected in the area of Ruacaná and Calueque.
136. 6/3/79 0600h	Santa Clara	Air violation				Two South African aircraft overflew Santa Clara.
137. 6/3/79	Capembe-Namutapa-Muandi	Air violation and bombing attack	43	14		Eight South African Mirage aircraft entered at frontier markers XXXIV and XXXVI and bombed Capembe and Namutapa. On their return flight, they bombed Muandi.
138. 6/3/79	Melunga-Chitumbo	Air violation				Four Mirage aircraft entered at frontier marker XXV and overflew Melunga and Chitumbo.
139. 6/3/79 0605h	Chitumbo	Air violation	2	1		South African aircraft violated Angolan airspace and bombed Chitumbo, partly destroying three houses.
140. 6/3/79	N'giva, Ocatele and Aido	Violation and bombing attack	15	25		South African aircraft overflew N'giva, Ocatele and Aido, dropping seven bombs on the last two localities.
141. 6/3/79 0500h	Santa Clara, Namacunde and Chinde	Air violation				Five South African aircraft overflew Santa Clara and Namacunde, proceeding in the direction of Chinde.
142. 6/3/79	Luena	Air violation				An aircraft coming from Namibia overflew Luena.
143. 7/3/79 1051h	Dongue and Chitado	Air violation				Three Mirage aircraft entered at frontier marker XII and overflew Dongue, Chitado, Calueque, N'giva, Cuamato and the Dombondola area, leaving our airspace at frontier marker VII.
144. 7/3/79	Luena-Moxico	Air violation				A South African aircraft overflew Luena and flew off in the direction of Bié.
145. 8/3/79 1135h	Cuamato-N'giva	Air violation				South African aircraft carried out flights between Cuamato and N'giva, withdrawing towards the south in the direction of Namibia.
146. 8/3/79	Melunga, Dombondola, Chetequera, Ruacaná and Cuamato	Simultaneous air violation and bombing attack	22	21		South African aircraft bombed the areas of Melunga, Dombondola, Chetequera and Ruacaná. Thirteen Mirages and 8 Puma helicopters were used in the attacks, which began on 4 March and continued until 8 March. Two brick houses were totally destroyed, and the roof and interior of a warehouse were demolished, resulting in the loss of 20 tons of rice, 20 tons of sugar and 20 tons of food-stuffs. Three huts were also destroyed.
147. 8/3/79	Macuto	Bombing attack	3 FAPLA			A number of Mirage aircraft bombed FAPLA soldiers, killing three and destroying 10 infantry weapons, three barracks and 20 beds.
148. 8/3/79	Chitumbo	Ground attack				South African infantry units attacked the Chitumbo area, where they stole 200 head of cattle.
149. 9/3/79 1046h	Calueque, Naulila, Chetequera, Cuamato and Mundejavala	Air violation				A South African jet airplane entered at Calueque and overflew Naulila, Chetequera, Cuamato and Mundejavala, passing over the latter locality a number of times.
150. 10/3/79 0900h	Santa Clara	Air violation				Two Mirage aircraft overflew the Santa Clara and Namacunde posts at an altitude of 200 metres.
151. 11/3/79	Cuamato	Air violation				Some 12 Mirage aircraft overflew Cuamato for 30 minutes.
152. 11/3/79	Chana-Chingongo, Cunene	Ground violation				South African troops, supported by helicopters, crossed the frontier at frontier marker VIII and proceeded to Chana Chingongo, setting fire to a village.
153. 12/3/79 0900h	N'giva	Air violation				A South African aircraft overflew N'giva at low altitude.
154. 13/3/79	Namacunde-Xangongo	Air and ground violation	5	7		Four South African Mirage and Canberra aircraft overflew Namacunde and flew on to Xangongo, where they bombed the area. The operation was co-ordinated with an armoured attack on the Namacunde area.

*Chronological table of South African acts of aggression, 1976-1979 (continued)*

	Date and time	Location	Type of action	Casualties			Remarks
				Dead	Wounded	Missing	
155.	14/3/79 1600h	Cahama-Ediva	Bombing attack	5	12		South African Canberra and Mirage aircraft bombed the area of Cahama. FAPLA forces shot down 4 Canberras and 2 Mirages. The planes destroyed 2 schools, 12 barracks, 4 tons of teaching materials, 30 tons of rice, 40 tons of sugar, 35 tons of beans, 20 tons of food-stuffs, shoes and other goods.
156.	14/3/79 0700h	Catengue	Bombing attack	3 ANC <sup>c</sup>	8 ANC <sup>c</sup>		Five South African aircraft bombed the ANC refugee camp at Catengue in Benguela province, totally destroying a school and causing the following losses: 10 10-room houses, 5 8-room houses, 5 6-room houses, 2 warehouses containing a six-month supply of food for 600 persons, 1 land rover, 1 jeep, 1 Mercedes-Benz truck, 1 IFA truck, 1 20-ton Scania truck, 1 10-kw electric generator, 1 20-kw electric generator, 2 hydraulic pumps, 1 air compressor, 1 agricultural tractor, 1.5 tons of gasoline, 1.5 tons of gas oil, 1 small machine repair shop, 500 metres of railway track, 25 radios, 12 amplifiers, 6 radio-tape recorders, 12 cabinets and 1 hospital with 20 suitably equipped beds.
157.	14/3/79	Namacunde	Air violation	1	4		Seven South African helicopters landed at Omuandi, 30 km from Chiede, in Namacunde commune; all the roads and trails were mined.
158.	14/3/79	Chiede	Bombing attack	4			South African helicopters bombed Chiede, killing 4 persons and destroying 100 hoes and 4 carts.
159.	15/3/79 0800h	Cahama	Air violation				A South African aircraft overflew Cahama and headed north.
160.	15/3/79	Xangongo	Air violation				Two South African aircraft overflew Xangongo and flew off towards N'giva.
161.	18/3/79 2000h	Cuangar	Air violation				A South African aircraft overflew Cuangar and then headed for Namibia.
162.	19/3/79	Chiede-N'giva	Mine-laying	7	24		South African troops transported by helicopter laid anti-tank and anti-personnel mines on the Chiede-N'giva road; they attacked a GAZ-66 vehicle, destroying it together with 59 automatic rifles and 6 machine-guns.
163.	19/3/79	N'giva	Air violation				A Mirage aircraft overflew N'giva in a south-north direction at low altitude.
164.	19/3/79	N'giva-Cuamato	Mine-laying	4 FAPLA	3 FAPLA		South African troops transported by helicopter mined the road from Cuamato to N'giva. One ZIL was destroyed.
165.	21/3/79 0500h	Xamavera	Bombing attack	2 FAPLA	7 FAPLA		South African troops supported by helicopters bombed and occupied Xamavera.
166.	21/3/79 1600h	N'giva	Air violation				Two Mirage aircraft repeatedly overflew N'giva for a period of one hour.
167.	23/3/79	Area of frontier marker XII	Infantry and paratrooper attack				South African paratroopers and infantry attacked a village, destroying approximately 20 tons of sugar, 20 tons of beans, 20 tons of rice, 5 tons of clothing, 20 tons of miscellaneous goods, 1,000 pairs of shoes, 1,000 machetes and 1,000 hoes.
168.	24/3/79 1140h	N'giva	Air violation				Two Mirage aircraft overflew N'giva at an altitude of 3,000 metres and then withdrew in the direction of Namibia.
169.	27/3/79	Frontier marker XII	Ground attack		8		South African infantry attacked a village near frontier marker XII and abducted eight farmers.
170.	28/3/79	Cuamato	Air violation				A South African aircraft overflew Cuamato and then withdrew in the direction of Namibia.
171.	29.3/79	Frontier marker XII	Napalm bombing	2			South African Mirage aircraft bombed the area of frontier marker XII with napalm, killing two persons and destroying 400 acres of farmland and 100 farm machinery parts.

*Chronological table of South African acts of aggression, 1976-1979 (continued)*

Date and time	Location	Type of action	Casualties			Remarks
			Dead	Wounded	Missing	
172. 31/3/79	Melunga-Chiede	Bombing attack	2	8		South African Mirage III aircraft bombed the Melunga and Chiede areas, killing two civilians, wounding eight farmers and destroying 300 metres of paved road.
173. 2/4/79	Calai-Cuangar	Air violation				The South Africans continued their daily violations in the Cuangar and Calai frontier areas.
174. 3/4/79 0615h	Santa Clara-Chiede	Air violation	1 civilian	13 civilians		Two Mirage aircraft violated our airspace, overflying Santa Clara and bombing the Chiede area.
175. 6/4/79 1530h	Roçadas and Ruacaná	Air violation				A South African aircraft violated our airspace and overflew Roçadas and Ruacaná.
176. 8/4/79 0700h	Cuangar and Calai	Shelling	3 civilians	9 civilians		South African artillery bombarded Cuangar and Calai. Our forces repelled the enemy attack.
177. 10/4/79	Frontier marker III, Melunga	Bombing attack	5 civilians	5 civilians		Four Mirage aircraft bombed frontier marker III.
178. 12/4/79 1700h	Dombondola	Air violation				Two South African aircraft violated our airspace, overflew Dombondola and bombed a SWAPO camp.
179. 12/4/79 1045h	Cuamato	Bombing attack	1 civilian 1 FAPLA	2 FAPLA		The South African racists bombed the Ombelayo Mungo commune, formerly Cuamato, hitting the police station and the TGFA barracks; they also destroyed three huts containing the possessions of 300 persons.
180. 13/5/79	Cuamato	Bombing attack	1 civilian	2 civilians		Two aircraft—a bomber and a fighter plane—machine-gunned the Cuamato area.
181. 18/5/79 1020h	Xangongo	Air violation				A Mirage aircraft violated our airspace, overflying the area south of Xangongo for an hour and a half.
182. 19/5/79 0730h	Calai	Ground attack	3 civilians	3 civilians		South African troops launched a joint attack with UNITA and captured Calai with air and artillery support.
183. 19/5/79	Xangongo	Air landing	4 civilians	9 civilians		South African aircraft landed special troops 21 km south of Xangongo; mines were laid in the area.
184. 19/5/79	Ruacaná	Bombing and shelling	1 civilian	3 civilians		The frontier post at Ruacaná was subjected to bombing and shelling by the South Africans, who destroyed the entire frontier installations.
185. 21/5/79 1900h	Porto Alexandre	Air violation				Two South African aircraft violated our airspace, overflying Porto Alexandre and then flying off towards the coast.
186. 22/5/79 0800h	Frontier marker III	Shelling and ground attack	3 civilians	9 civilians		South African infantry and artillery attacked and shelled the area of frontier marker III, using AML-60s and mortars of various calibres.
187. 25/5/79	Cuamato and Calucque	Air reconnaissance				A South African reconnaissance plane overflew the area between Cuamato and Calucque.
188. 29/5/79 1919h	Xangongo	Air violation				A Mirage F-1 aircraft was spotted 70 km south of Xangongo while carrying out a reconnaissance flight at an altitude of 1,000 feet.
189. 4/6/79 0200h	Frontier marker XXI	Air violation				A South African aircraft violated our airspace near frontier marker XXI, overflying Namacunde and then withdrawing in the direction of frontier marker VIII.
190. 5/6/79 1203h	Frontier marker IV	Air violation				A South African aircraft violated our airspace near frontier marker IV, overflying N'giva and then withdrawing in the direction of frontier marker XII.
191. 9/6/79	Iona	Bombing attack	1 civilian	5 civilians		A South African aircraft violated our airspace and bombed a shop in the village of Iona.
192. 10/6/79	Frontier markers XX and XXIII	Ground violation	1 civilian	3 civilians		The South African racists entered our territory near frontier markers XX and XXIII, withdrawing after two hours.

*Chronological table of South African acts of aggression, 1976-1979 (continued)*

Date and time	Location	Type of action	Casualties			Remarks
			Dead	Wounded	Missing	
193. 11/6/79	Humbe	Bombing attack	8 civilians	14 civilians		South African aircraft—three Canberras and three Mirage IIIs—bombed the village of Humbe, aiming especially at the civil engineering encampment there. The resulting damage included: 15 brick houses totally destroyed, six permanent dwellings and a two-room school for 180 students partly destroyed, a three-room permanent building partly destroyed, two Tatra trucks (with 6,000 km) of 16 and 20 tons respectively totally destroyed, a 10-ton Volvo truck totally destroyed, an 8-ton Scania truck totally destroyed, a 40-ton platform partly destroyed, a 5-ton Isuzu truck partly destroyed, a 623 P motor scraper partly destroyed, a Mexican 475 P loading shovel partly destroyed. Also destroyed were 8,000 litres of gas oil, 200 litres of S.3.30 oil, 400 litres of EP.90 valvoline, 400 litres of P.40 valvoline, and 600 litres of 10 W oil. The bombing brought operations at the encampment to a complete halt.

\*Troops of the Frontier Guard Force of Angola.  
 †Zimbabwe African People's Union.  
 ‡African National Congress.

**ANNEX IV**

*List of Angolan nationals killed\**

Since the end of the second war of national liberation on 27 March 1976 when the last South African soldier was forced by the action of our glorious armed forces to withdraw from the soil of our country, the People's Republic of Angola has become the target of systematic South African attacks, which up to June 1979 have killed at least 570 Angolan civilians and soldiers and wounded 694. The list includes only those Angolans killed as a direct result of South African attacks. The names of those who subsequently died or who became permanently disabled as a result of wounds received are not readily available and will be included in a further list which the Government is compiling.

Furthermore, in addition to its approved actions against our peaceful population, South Africa has also carried out attacks and bombing raids against camps housing South African, Namibian and Zimbabwean refugees in our country, causing the verified death of 813 men, women and children and the wounding of 1,221; we do not state their identities here, since their families in their respective countries might become the target of reprisals.

**ANNEX V**

*Report on the Cassinga attack prepared by a joint UNHCR/WHO mission on 30 May 1978*

Luanda, 1 June 1978

The specialized agencies of the United Nations system represented in the People's Republic of Angola present their compliments to all the diplomatic missions and voluntary agencies at Luanda and have the honour to transmit, for information, copy of the report on the visit paid by the United Nations representatives to Cassinga after the South African attack of 4 May 1978, report which has been addressed on 30 May 1978 to the office of the Secretary-General of the United Nations and to the headquarters of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), the World Food Programme (WFP) and the World Health Organization (WHO).

**JOINT REPORT OF THE UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES AND WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION REPRESENTATIVES ON THEIR VISIT TO CASSINGA AND TO THE NAMIBIAN REFUGEES (translation)**

**INTRODUCTION**

1. Following attack Namibian refugees Cassinga in Hufla province southern Angola 4 May 1978 and following United Nations interagency meeting with SWAPO President Mr. Sam Nujoma 11 May 1978, as well as consultations Angolan authorities United Nations mission composed of Mr. Bwakira UNHCR representative, Dr. Ortiz-Blasco WHO co-ordinator

\* The list is not reproduced here; it may be consulted in the Dag Hammarskjöld Library.

gramme officer visited Cassinga as well as new sites Namibian refugees proximity city Lubango, provincial capital of Huila, between 24 and 28 May 1978.

2. UNHCR/WHO mission has benefited full co-operation and all facilities Angolan political and administrative authorities at central, provincial and local level as well as excellent co-operation SWAPO. Took part mission representative department external relations MPLA-Workers Party, Mr. Mungo and representative department information SWAPO, Mr. Nyamu. Mission also accompanied by team journalists German Democratic Republic/television Messrs. Schneider and Quade. Team made film Cassinga and new sites Namibian refugees Lubango that could be put disposal United Nations system on basis direct negotiations headquarters specialized agencies with German Democratic Republic/television.

3. Profoundly shocked representatives United Nations system have been able establish on spot Cassinga extreme barbarity and spirit systematic extermination and destruction against a population of refugees under UNHCR mandate and beneficiary assistance United Nations specialized agencies.

4. The civilian character of this population is vouched for by all that United Nations mission has been able verify as was already well established by preceding mission UNICEF realized from 10 to 14 April before attack.

5. The spirit of extermination and destruction of South African aviation and airborne troops from Namibia is manifest through:

(a) Various craters caused by heavy bombs as well as fragmentation and anti-personnel bombs. Members mission have seen more than 10 fragmentation bombs not yet exploded;

(b) Through complete destruction by bombs and fire of at least 100 buildings and huts of which aggression has left but ashes; among those buildings mission has seen remnants of hospital, dispensary, schools and warehouses food-stuffs;

(c) Through destruction medical and social equipment;

(d) Burned carcasses of automobile park, jeeps, trucks, ambulances underline savage character this attack.

6. The destroyed social infrastructures were supplied by host country People's Republic of Angola. Burned social equipment, as well as material assistance were supplied bilateral aid and agencies United Nations system, as vouched for by fragments assistance SIDA/German Democratic Republic/UNICEF found on place and of which mission has taken samples.

7. Cassinga village, which previously housed some 3,000 Namibian refugees living organized social life and having their disposal houses, schools, dispensaries, warehouses and other social installations for population majority composed of children, youth, women and old people, has been completely demolished. According unanimous witnesses and photographic documents number of victims killed by heavy bombs, fragmentation bombs, machine-gun fire as well as paralysing gas amounts more than 600 persons burned two big mass graves. Number wounded more than 400, of which severely wounded presently under care Luanda and Lubango hospitals while light aid given children and women now refugee sites

Lubango. To this should be added unknown number dead and wounded disappeared vicinity Cassinga.

8. All that mission has been able verify could only be qualified as criminal in international law and barbaric moral point of view and reminds darkest episodes modern history. Deeply shocked and in spirit of the resolutions of United Nations General Assembly, World Health Assembly and Africa Regional Committee of World Health Organization as well as recent declarations United Nations Secretary-General, Security Council, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Mr. Bwakira and Dr. Ortiz-Blasco have deposited sheaf of flowers on mass grave making short speech of condolences SWAPO and survivors Cassinga.

9. During the two weeks following attack Cassinga, the survivors as well as other Namibian refugees up to then settled municipality of Jamba at 80 kilometres Cassinga have been transferred by Angolan authorities in co-operation SWAPO new sites located proximity Lubango in order guarantee better security refugees.

#### PRESENT CONDITIONS SURVIVORS CASSINGA AND REST NAMIBIAN REFUGEES

10. A population of approximately 12,000 refugees, majority of whom children and women, presently assembled sites allocated Government People's Republic of Angola. New sites do not have either social infrastructure or shelters and refugees facing severe climatic conditions in coldest area Angola. These conditions particularly severe for babies, of whom 21 born after attack, young children, pregnant women and wounded Cassinga victims.

11. According SWAPO, some 18,000 more Namibian refugees in Angola spread vast area between Lubango and border People's Republic of Angola/Namibia, part of whom spread as consequence South African attack Cassinga and overflights area by South African air force. Also according witnesses, influx refugees from Namibia continues. During sole night between 26 and 27 May 317 Namibian refugees said to have crossed border.

12. This population practically lacking everything. Food, shelter, medicines, clothes, medical facilities, schools and sanitary installations, transport means, ambulances, all these urgently needed. This situation even more serious as high proportion of already limited number Namibian cadres died Cassinga attack. Fields health and education particularly critical. In health field should be stressed that 28 pupils assistant nurses out of 40 and 4 nurses out of 10 were killed. In spite this the survivors have made efforts establish rudimentary care system with support Angolan authorities. Angolan authorities have allocated proximity Lubango six settlement sites which so far lack equipment or installations and make big efforts assisting them. Based on estimation number presently settled new sites Lubango, considerable number refugees spread vast area southern Angola as well as daily influx, mission considers plan assistance Namibian refugees Angola to be based 30,000 persons of whom majority children and women.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS

##### *Emergency phase: general considerations*

13. As immediate emergency measure, mission recommends all concerned parties assist Angolan authorities and SWAPO rapidly deliver on spot different assistance goods that already reached Angola. As goods already in Angola cover far less established needs it is necessary set apart funds immediately for purchase commodities available locally and for importation commodities not available locally. On local level, also strongly recommends support efforts national authorities and SWAPO raise trans-

port capacity by strengthening SWAPO automobile fleet and participating operational costs. In fields of food, shelter and health as well as other specific fields, mission recommends specialized agencies and invites international community contribute following measures.

##### *Food*

14. In order balance donations already given, necessary urgently cover lack animals proteins through contributions in form of meat, tinned or dried fish. Further to this general food assistance, mission would like underline importance food aid specifically directed towards most vulnerable groups, particularly babies and women.

##### *Shelter and community infrastructure*

15. During this emergency phase characterized severe climatic conditions and pending construction infrastructures more durable nature, it is imperatively necessary provide refugees with appropriate shelters, particularly tents in canvas for family units and social services. At same time necessary promote construction of durable collective installations, health centres, schools, warehouses and workshops using as much as possible local material and supplying work-tools. Finally, clothes and foot-wear should not be forgotten.

##### *Health field*

16. Promote delivery medicines most used as antibiotics, anti-parasite, anti-diarrhoea and health equipment. In addition realize immediate improvement water supply. Immediately organize one month crash course in community health.

##### *Domestic means*

17. Promote replacement domestic goods destroyed by attack such as: cooking-pots, pans, dishes, kerosene lamps, jerricans. Likewise necessary supply collective domestic tools such as axes, saws and other tools in order organize settlement sites, gas refrigerators for storage perishable items, etc. In order promote self-supporting socio-economic activities it is desirable *inter alia* replace the 50 sewing-machines destroyed by South African aggression. In order allow individual and collective hygienic conditions, contributions of soap etc. are necessary.

##### *Education*

18. School infrastructures, stationery and teaching equipment having been entirely destroyed, it is imperative and urgent they be replaced.

##### *Transport means*

19. As transports play extremely important role and previous SWAPO fleet of vehicles having completely been destroyed, indispensable to urgently provide a minimum number vehicles, rover type, with spare-parts and tires, particularly for trucks and ambulances.

##### *Short-term actions*

20. In order allow concerted and co-ordinated global short-term action, is suggested undertake soonest United Nations interagency mission in co-ordination Angolan Namibian authorities evaluate impact measures taken emergency phase and plan projects of self-supporting activities pending independence Namibia. These projects should where possible be conceived in order permit their transfer and continuation in independent Namibia.

21. The mission would like to thank national, provincial and local Angolan authorities for protection measures and assistance provided Namibian refugees, as well as for all facilities given to the mission in order fulfil its tasks. Finally mission thanks SWAPO for all co-operation and assistance given throughout the mission.

Luanda, 30 May 1978

## DOCUMENT S/13474\*

### Letter dated 27 July 1979 from the representative of Israel to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[27 July 1979]

I wish to draw your attention to yet another attempt made on 25 July 1979 by the terrorist PLO at the mass murder of civilians in Israel.

At 0900 on Wednesday, a bomb exploded at a bus stop at the Beit Lid junction near the coastal town of Natanya. As a result 12 people were injured.

As is its wont, immediately after this occurrence, the terrorist PLO boasted on its radio in Lebanon of its responsibility for this outrage.

This incident is only one of several which have occurred in the course of the current month:

(a) On 2 July, two bombs exploded, without causing damage or injury, one in the centre of Tel Aviv and the

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other in a suburb of Jerusalem. Another device was detected and dismantled safely in Jerusalem.

(b) On 10 July, a surface-to-air missile was discovered just outside of Jerusalem, aimed at the heart of the city. Providentially, it was dismantled without causing injury or damage.

(c) On 12 July, a large explosive device was discovered in the market at the town of Petah Tikva and was dismantled safely.

(d) On 19 July, two explosive devices went off in a clothing store in the centre of Jerusalem, injuring one woman. Broadcasting from Baghdad the following day, the terrorist PLO took responsibility for this outrage.

(e) On 21 July, a large bomb was discovered on the Natanya beach, where thousands of bathers and vacationers

were gathered. It was dismantled and thus possibly a major tragedy was averted. On the following day, on their radio in Lebanon, the PLO bragged of its responsibility.

In the light of the above, and given the true character and aims of the PLO, the Government of Israel is duty-bound, as has been indicated in previous letters, to take all measures necessary to protect the lives and safety of its citizens.

I have the honour to request that this letter be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Shamay CAHANA  
Chargé d'affaires a.i., of the  
Permanent Mission of Israel  
to the United Nations

## DOCUMENT S/13475

### Letter dated 27 July 1979 from the representative of Egypt to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[27 July 1979]

Upon instruction from my Government, I have the honour to request that the letter addressed to you dated 26 July 1979, a copy of which is attached, be circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Mr. A. Esmat ABDEL MEGUID  
Permanent Representative of Egypt  
to the United Nations

#### LETTER DATED 26 JULY 1979 FROM THE REPRESENTATIVE OF EGYPT TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

With reference to your letter dated 24 July 1979 concerning the consultations of the Security Council held on the same day, I have the honour, upon instruction from my Government, to bring to your attention the following:

The United Nations Emergency Force was established in accordance with Security Council resolution 340 (1973) of 25 October 1973. The position of Egypt with respect to that resolution was stated at the Council meeting of 25 October 1973 [1750th meeting], and in my letter addressed to you on 27 October 1973 [S/11055].

The United Nations Emergency Force carried out its functions in a most exemplary manner. The Government of Egypt wishes to pay special tribute to it and requests you to convey to the Commander, the officers and men of the force and the civilian staff, the appreciation of the Egyptian

Government for their dedication and devotion to the fulfilment of their mandate.

The Government of Egypt also wishes to transmit through you, to the countries that contributed contingents to the Force, its full appreciation.

The Government of Egypt wishes to reassure you that it will extend full co-operation and spare no effort in facilitating the arrangements for an orderly withdrawal of the Force.

With respect to your intention to consult with the Egyptian authorities concerning the continuing presence and future functioning in the area of the military observers of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization, as stated in your letter dated 24 July 1979, the Government of Egypt reiterates its acceptance of the presence and functioning of the military observers and reaffirms Egypt's readiness to extend to you its full co-operation. It is Egypt's established policy to consider the United Nations presence on its territory as a solid manifestation of the United Nations determination to uphold the principles of the charter and in particular to safeguard the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of all Member States.

(Signed) Mr. A. Esmat ABDEL MEGUID  
Permanent Representative of Egypt  
to the United Nations

## DOCUMENT S/13476\*

### Letter dated 30 July 1979 from the representative of Jordan to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[30 July 1979]

Upon instructions from my Government, I have the honour to bring to your attention the following episode concerning a violation of basic human rights by the Israeli occupation authorities in flagrant violation of the provisions

of the fourth Geneva Convention of 1949 and commonly accepted human behaviour.

#### TALE OF TWO CITIES AND A LAST WISH DENIED

Dr. Yassir Amer is one of the most accomplished orthopaedic surgeons at Amman, Jordan. But in addition to his

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professional skills, he is friendly, humane and totally dedicated to serving those among his fellow countrymen most in need. He would refuse to charge medical fees to those who cannot afford them, and does so quietly and without mention. He has a wide circle of friends not only in Jordan but also among members of the community of orthopaedic surgeons in the United States, with whom, prior to the Israeli occupation of the West Bank in 1967, he co-operated in a programme for selfless service for those most in need.

Dr. Yassir Amer hails from Hebron in the occupied West Bank from a highly respected family. About two months ago, the health of his ailing 80-year-old mother, who lives in Hebron and separated from her only son, to whom he meant all that ephemeral life could mean, started to wane, to the point where imminent death became a virtual certainty. Her kidneys were rapidly failing and the doctors gave her one month to live.

She was fully cognizant of the fact and was unafraid of coming to the end of her life's journey. But she only had one overwhelming wish before imminent death. She wanted to see her only son whom she had loved and reared, his father having died when he was mellow of age.

Numerous people interceded on her behalf with the military governor of Hebron to secure a visit by her son to his native Hebron, to fulfil his mother's and his own wish, to bid her farewell to eternity. But all the efforts and intercessions went in vain. Dr. Amer's mother died a few weeks later, a broken-hearted mother, which one cannot but assume must have given the sadistic military governor and his equally sadistic superiors the pleasure which derives degraded and dehumanized characters.

When Dr. Amer's mother died and the Israeli military occupation became satisfied that she was verily dead, they passed on a message through the Red Cross to Dr. Amer that he could attend her funeral, which gesture of such needless magnanimity he declined.

When I visited his home at Amman three weeks ago to pay my condolences, Dr. Amer said to me:

"Life and death are ordained. I accept my mother's death with deep sorrow; but what I shall never forget as long as I live is the callous brutality of refusing a dying woman her only and most cherished wish: a final glance at her son. Is the United Nations, which celebrates every year the Declaration of Human Rights, aware of such inhumanity?"

I would not have singled out this episode for mention were it not generic and an eye-opener, if one were needed, of what Israeli occupation really is to a whole people in terms of human suffering by the victims of occupation and the unspeakable degradation and dehumanization which have befallen the occupiers.

I kindly request that this letter be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Hazem NUSEIBEH  
Permanent Representative of Jordan  
to the United Nations

## DOCUMENT S/13477\*

### Letter dated 30 July 1979 from the representative of China to the Secretary-General

[Original: Chinese/English]  
[31 July 1979]

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith the text of a speech made by Han Nianlong, head of the Chinese Government delegation and Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs, at the ninth plenary meeting of the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations on 30 July 1979. I request that this speech be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) LAI Ya-li  
Acting Permanent Representative of  
the People's Republic of China  
to the United Nations

#### ANNEX

Speech made by Han Nianlong, head of the Chinese Government delegation and Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs, at the ninth plenary meeting of the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations on 30 July 1979

Nine plenary meetings have been held since the beginning of the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations. At the second plenary meeting, the Chinese side put forward the eight-point proposal for handling relations between the two countries [S/13278, annex], and we have since repeatedly suggested that both sides first take up the five principles of peaceful coexistence and the principle of opposing hegemonism with a view to normalizing the relations between the two countries and restoring the traditional friendship

between the two peoples. To date, however, the Vietnamese side fails to respond to our proposals. You arbitrarily refuse to discuss the principle of not seeking hegemony or the five principles of peaceful coexistence. At the same time, you fabricate lies at will, slanderously accusing China of having expansionist and hegemonic designs on Indo-China and even all of South-East Asia. You vainly attempt to confuse right and wrong, sow dissension and cover up your true intentions of gobbling up Indo-China, throwing South-East Asia into chaos and serving the Soviet Union's policy of southward drive. That is why our negotiations have so far failed to make any progress.

The five principles of peaceful coexistence, namely, mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence, have become universally accepted principles guiding international relations. Opposition to hegemonism is now an important principle for safeguarding world peace and combating a war of aggression, a principle accepted by an increasing number of countries. The five principles of peaceful coexistence and the principle of opposing hegemonism are closely related, and they all have well-defined and specific meanings and content. It will not do if one merely pays lip service to those principles, one must observe them in one's deeds.

Since its founding 30 years ago, the People's Republic of China has consistently pursued a foreign policy of peace and made unremitting efforts to safeguard world peace, develop friendly relations and co-operation between nations and promote the cause of human progress.

Upholding proletarian internationalism, China has supported all oppressed nations and peoples in their struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism and for liberation and social progress. China has always endeavoured to strengthen unity with the working class and progressive forces of the world, unity with other socialist and third-world

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countries, and to unite with all the forces in the world that can be united with in a common struggle against the hegemonic policies of aggression and war. China has declared to the whole world that it is willing to establish and develop relations with all countries on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence and that it will never seek hegemony, nor act like a super-Power. China's foreign policy has stood the test of history and won world-wide credence and praise. China has all along abided by the five principles of peaceful coexistence and the principle of not seeking hegemony. This is an objective fact that no slanders or lies can alter.

We have noted that in its three-point proposal [S/13257, annex] the Vietnamese side also refers to the principles of "peaceful coexistence", that is, "respect for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity; non-aggression, refraining from the use of force or the threat of use of force; non-interference in the internal affairs of the other side". Yet, throughout the negotiations, you have been unwilling to discuss these principles, let alone act on them. For you have put forth these principles not with the true intention of acting on them but in order to hoodwink public opinion. It is common knowledge that words must be checked against deeds so as to distinguish the true from the false. This is the way you are being judged by the people of the world and the great majority of countries. A host of facts proves that your actions run counter to the principles of peaceful coexistence you professed. You have planted in all departments of the Lao Party, Government and army thousands of your "advisers" and stationed tens of thousands of troops in the northern, central and southern regions of Laos, placing that country under your total control. You have dispatched close to 200,000 troops to invade and occupy Kampuchea, prop up the puppet régime, massacre and repress in cold blood all Kampuchean who refuse to be slaves and plunge the Kampuchean people in their millions into an abyss of misery. Can one find in your actions the slightest evidence of respect for other countries' "independence and sovereignty"? Betraying your history and your own statements, you have invaded and occupied some of China's Nansha Islands and nibbled at and intruded into China's border. You have forcibly occupied the Way Island of Kampuchea and taken possession of Kampuchean territories you borrowed during the war against United States aggression, which were commonly known as "sanctuaries". You have annexed large parts of the territory of Laos in the name of friendship. Is there any respect for "sovereignty and territorial integrity" to speak of here? You have kept stepping up armed provocations in China's border areas and creating border conflicts. You have massed heavy troops on the Kampuchea-Thailand border, threatening Thailand and the other countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations. You launched a naked war of aggression and put Kampuchea under your military occupation and moved your people *en masse* into that country in an attempt to perpetuate such occupation. Isn't this a threat and use of force and aggression? Is there any "peace" or "coexistence" here? You have carried out a racist policy of ruthless persecution and forcible export of refugees *en masse* to deliberately cause trouble in the adjacent countries. Is this consistent with any of the principles of "peaceful coexistence"? In a word, what the Vietnamese authorities practise is out-and-out aggression, expansion and regional hegemonism and by no means "peaceful coexistence".

It must be further pointed out that, in order to cover up its policy of regional hegemonism, the Vietnamese side has resorted to fabrication and sophistry through its propaganda machine and even at the negotiation table. The plain fact is that the Vietnamese authorities have brought the sovereign State of Laos under their control and that of Kampuchea under their enslavement, yet you have the impudence to assert that there exists a "special relationship". The plain fact is that you have launched a war of aggression, yet you claim that you have gone there to "defend the fruits of socialism". The plain fact is that you are maintaining military occupation of Kampuchea and trying to perpetuate it by moving your people there, yet you claim that you are executing "an honest international duty". The Vietnamese side has even said that "the stationing of Vietnamese armed forces in Kampuchea and Laos fully accords with the Charter of the United Nations and the principles of the non-aligned movement". Here I would like to ask, which Article of the Charter and which principle of the non-aligned movement does your action accord with? This is a downright distortion of the Charter and a great mockery of the non-aligned movement. In fact, this gangster logic is not your own invention. You have taken it over from the big hegemonists, and it is just a Vietnamese version of the notorious theories of "limited sovereignty" and "international dictatorship". The Vietnamese side will not succeed in pitting these fallacies against the principles of peaceful coexistence and of not seeking hegemony. It is only your wishful thinking to use these subterfuges to escape condemnation by international opinion. As early as 1954, President Ho Chi Minh clearly stated that the five principles of peaceful coexistence are fully applicable in consolidating and developing friendly relations among Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea. However, by your above-mentioned deeds you have

completely betrayed the teachings of President Ho Chi Minh. I would like to point out frankly that if the Vietnamese side continues its present course, it will only cause greater disaster to the people of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea, hasten the bankruptcy of the erroneous policy of the Vietnamese authorities and make themselves all the more despised by the international community.

During the negotiations, the Vietnamese side asserted that "all through the past 30 years" China has "consistently plotted to keep Viet Nam divided, weak and dependent on China", and sought to "annex" Viet Nam, and so on and so forth. Never did we expect that you would make such assertions. It is known to all that the sacrifice and contribution made by the Chinese Government and people in support of the Vietnamese people's struggle for independence, liberation and reunification of their fatherland have been such as can be denied by no one of good faith. The Chinese side never likes to dwell on its aid and support to the Vietnamese people. However, the Vietnamese side has so despicably distorted the history of Sino-Vietnamese relations. We need only briefly to recall here a few important facts to prove the absurdity of your distortion.

China and Viet Nam are joined by common mountains and rivers, and their revolutions have deep-rooted historical links. For more than two decades China and Viet Nam maintained a good-neighbourly relationship of friendship and co-operation, a relationship of solidarity as between comrades-in-arms, one at the front and the other in the rear. The Chinese Government and people have fulfilled their internationalist duty. We feel no qualms upon self-examination, for we have never let the Vietnamese people down.

When the Vietnamese people found themselves in an extremely difficult situation, who was the first to come out and give them firm support and all-out aid in their just struggle? Who was the first to extend recognition to the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam? Who helped the Vietnamese people win the "border campaign" in 1950? Who helped the Vietnamese people win the battle of Dien Bien Phu? After the restoration of peace in Viet Nam in 1954, China supported the socialist construction in northern Viet Nam and provided you with tremendous aid, for which your leaders expressed thanks on many occasions. Do you mean to say those expressions were from the first hypocritical lies? The Chinese Government and people gave all-out support and aid to the liberation struggle in southern Viet Nam and to the just struggle of the Vietnamese people to reunify their fatherland. We gave the South Viet Nam liberation armed forces large amounts of arms, ammunition, foreign exchange and logistic supplies; we staunchly supported the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and the provisional revolutionary government of the Republic of South Viet Nam in their diplomatic activities; we helped in every way for Vietnamese leaders to travel between northern and southern Viet Nam when the two parts were still separated. When, after the Beibu (Tonkin) Gulf incident in 1964, the United States started a massive invasion of southern Viet Nam and wanton bombing in the north, we again went all out to help defend the air space of northern Viet Nam. The Chinese people ensured uninterrupted transport to north Viet Nam at the cost of blood and lives. When the United States mined Vietnamese ports, Chinese sailors risked their lives to ship food and other supplies to the Vietnamese people. You are fully aware that the Chinese leaders, in order to help the Vietnamese people win early victory in their anti-imperialist struggle, gave every consideration to your needs and took great pains to meet them. In order to support Viet Nam's struggle against United States aggression, the Chinese Government and people made maximum national sacrifices and willingly suffered privations. The bones of Chinese martyrs in their thousands remain on Vietnamese soil. We gave you arms and ammunition and economic, material and foreign exchange aids amounting to tens of billions of Renminbi yuan to help you defeat the enemy, heal war wounds, rebuild the national economy and maintain adequate military strength. Was all this for "annexing Viet Nam"? Vietnamese leaders once said, "China had supported Viet Nam's revolutionary struggle from the outset. Without China's support, the Vietnamese revolution could not have developed as it had and it would be impossible to carry on the struggle against United States aggression". They also said that "China's great and precious support had contributed immensely to the strengthening of both northern and southern Viet Nam's economic and defence potentials and combat strength". There were many more such statements, too numerous to quote. Yet the Vietnamese side has now so unscrupulously distorted history and even sunk to perfidy and revealed an inveterate hatred against China when it tried to describe the more than two decades of "comradely and brotherly" Sino-Vietnamese relations as a plot to "annex Viet Nam". This shows that you are deliberately trying to fan up nationalist hatred and hostility against China. In point of fact, you have done so only because China does not countenance your regional hegemonism, does not permit your grabbing Chinese territory, does not endorse your control over Laos and invasion of Kampuchea

and does not approve of your attempt to lord it over South-East Asia. We can think of no other motives behind your behaviour.

In the course of these negotiations, the Vietnamese side has heaped vilifications on China, tried hard to twist the facts about the origin of the deterioration of Sino-Vietnamese relations and evade the essence of a solution of the relations between the two countries. It is highly questionable whether there is any sincerity on the Vietnamese side for negotiations.

Besides, it must be pointed out that the Vietnamese export of refugees was condemned by all the participating countries at the Geneva international meeting. In those circumstances, the Vietnamese authorities were compelled to make a show of willingness to consider and exercise temporary restraint. But actually they were still playing tricks and unwilling

to stop the export of refugees. The international community is still very much concerned about the Vietnamese authorities' inhumane policy of exporting refugees and is generally suspicious of their vague promises. The Vietnamese authorities must forthwith solve the problem of refugees at its source by stopping the export of refugees to China and other countries.

The Chinese side would like to reiterate that, for the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations to be productive and our relations to be improved and restored to normal, one must start with the crux of the trouble in these relations. We are willing to discuss with you, in the first place, the five principles of peaceful coexistence and the question of not seeking hegemony, so as to lay a sound basis for the fundamental settlement of the disputes between the two countries.

#### DOCUMENT S/13478\*

#### Letter dated 31 July 1979 from the representative of Kuwait to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[31 July 1979]

I have the honour to refer to my letter of 24 July 1979 addressed to the President of the Security Council [S/13467].

I would like to convey to you that I was authorized by the Arab Group in the United Nations to inform you that the above-mentioned letter represents its position.

I request you to circulate this letter as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Abdalla Yaccoub BISHARA  
Permanent Representative of Kuwait  
to the United Nations

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/392-S/13478.

#### DOCUMENT S/13479

#### Letter dated 26 July 1979 from the Secretary-General to the President of the Security Council

[Original: English]  
[1 August 1979]

I have the honour to refer to the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF) established by Security Council resolution 350 (1974).

For reasons of economy, UNDOF has hitherto relied to a great extent on the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) for third-line logistic support in such areas as transport and maintenance, movement control, postal services and field engineering. With the termination of the mandate of UNEF, this logistic support is no longer available and, consequently, it has become necessary to strengthen the existing Canadian and Polish logistic units of UNDOF. In this connexion, it is proposed that the logistic component of UNDOF be increased by 200 men. This would bring the over-all strength of the Force to about 1,450, all ranks.

While this is over the figure of "about 1,250" given in the Protocol to the Agreement on Disengagement between Israeli and Syrian forces [S/11302/Add. 1 of 30 May 1974, annex II], in the new circumstances this addition to the logistics component of UNDOF is the minimum required to support the Force.

It is my intention, subject to the usual consultations, to make the necessary arrangements to this effect.

I should be grateful if you would bring this matter to the attention of the Security Council.

(Signed) Kurt WALDHEIM  
Secretary-General

#### DOCUMENT S/13480

#### Letter dated 1 August 1979 from the President of the Security Council to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[1 August 1979]

I have brought your letter of 26 July 1979 [S/13479] concerning the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force to the attention of the members of the Security Council, who agree with the proposal contained therein.

The representative of China has informed me that China, not having participated in the voting on resolution 350 (1974) and subsequent resolutions relating to the Force, dissociates itself from the matter.

(Signed) Andrew YOUNG  
President of the Security Council

DOCUMENT S/13481\*

Letter dated 31 July 1979 from the representative of Viet Nam to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[1 August 1979]

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith, for your information, the text of the speech made by the head of the delegation of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, Dinh Nho Liem, at the fourth meeting of the second round of the Viet Nam-China talks, on 30 July 1979, and request you to kindly have this letter and its enclosure circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) CU DINH BA  
Chargé d'affaires a.i.  
of the Permanent Mission of the  
Socialist Republic of Viet Nam  
to the United Nations

ANNEX

Speech by the head of the delegation of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, Dinh Nho Liem, at the fourth meeting of the second round of the Viet Nam-China talks on 30 July 1979

The Viet Nam-China talks were, as laid down by the two sides, to discuss the urgent measures aimed at securing peace and stability in border areas, to restore normal relations and eventually to settle the border and territorial disputes between the two countries. However, since the beginning, the Chinese side has adamantly insisted on dealing with the so-called "Kampuchean problem", going even to the length of regarding this as a pre-condition for the progress of the talks and for the normalization of relations between Viet Nam and China. To justify this arrogant demand, it has cooked up a so-called Vietnamese "regional hegemonism" and misrepresented Viet Nam's correct relations with Kampuchea and Laos. The Vietnamese side has flatly rejected the Chinese slanderous contentions and absurd demands. At the same time, it has pointed out that these bilateral talks have no right to deal with the problem of a third country.

In face of the Vietnamese side's correct and clear-cut position, which enjoys broad approval from public opinion, the Chinese side claimed at the last meeting that Viet Nam was attempting to turn the whole of Indo-China into "an anti-China base" and that "China has every reason and right to demand that Viet Nam stop its pursuance of regional hegemonism", because it "threatens" China's peace and security and is the "cause" of the deterioration of the relations between the two countries. This awkwardly patched-up contention is a new attempt of the Chinese side to side-track public opinion which is condemning its war of aggression in Viet Nam and its genocide in Kampuchea and urging it to stop uttering threats of aggression against Viet Nam, fomenting troubles in and intimidating Laos and interfering in the internal affairs of Kampuchea. It also aims at justifying the arrogant demand that the so-called "Kampuchean problem" be dealt with at the Viet Nam-China talks. Once again, the Vietnamese side firmly demands that the Chinese side stop that hegemonic way of negotiation. The affairs of Kampuchea are to be decided by the Kampuchean people. The situation in that country is irreversible. All schemes and tricks to interfere in its internal affairs are doomed to failure.

Let the Chinese side turn back to the purpose of these negotiations, i.e., to solve the problems in the relations between Viet Nam and China. In order to find a correct solution thereto, right from the start of the talks, the Vietnamese delegation reviewed the process of Viet Nam-China relations, particularly over the recent years, and made it clear that the deep

root and the immediate cause of the tense situation which led to the recent large-scale war of aggression against Viet Nam lie in the great-Power expansionist and hegemonic policy of the Chinese rulers and their policy of hostility to Viet Nam. Nevertheless, the Chinese side has kept quibbling in an attempt to evade its undeniable responsibility; at the same time, it has unceasingly put forward distortions and slanders against Viet Nam, in order to reverse the facts about the cause of the deterioration of the relations between the two countries. The Vietnamese delegation deems it necessary to make clear once again the essence of this problem.

Viet Nam and China are two close neighbours. Being both victims of the feudalist, imperialist and colonialist forces, the Vietnamese and Chinese peoples waged, shoulder-to-shoulder, a protracted struggle full of hardships and sacrifices for independence and freedom, they supported and assisted each other, and promoted their friendship. The Vietnamese people will never forget the support and assistance extended by the Chinese people to their resistance wars against the French colonialists and the United States imperialist aggressors. On the other hand, through their staunch fight full of sacrifices and crowned with victory, they have fulfilled their international duty to the other nations, among them, the Chinese people. With sincere and pure feelings, with practical deeds, they have unceasingly fostered the friendship between the two peoples. To preserve and develop that friendship is a fundamental, long-term policy of the Vietnamese Government and people. Although, over recent years, there have arisen differences between the two countries, the Vietnamese Government and people have always shown self-restraint and tried not to let these differences affect the normal relations between the two States and the time-honoured friendship between the two peoples. They have persistently stood for a negotiated settlement of all disputes between the two sides, and have made important initiatives leading to the previous and the current bilateral talks. All these facts are well known not only to the two peoples but also to the peoples of the world.

In contrast, a number of Chinese leaders, entertaining great-Power expansionism and hegemonism, have for a long time now considered Viet Nam a prime target in their hegemonic ambitions in South-East Asia. At first, they sought by every possible means to induce or pressure Viet Nam into giving up its line of independence and sovereignty and entering China's orbit. They misused the aid and assistance of the Chinese people to the Vietnamese people as an instrument to further this evil design. With their reversal of alliances, turning friends into foes, and vice versa, colluding with imperialism, in the first place, United States imperialism, and the other reactionary forces to oppose revolution and peace, they have carried out with increasing frenzy a systematic policy of hostility to Viet Nam in all respects. An independent, unified and prosperous Viet Nam is an obstacle to the pursuance of great-Power expansionism and hegemonism in South-East Asia. For this reason, immediately after the Vietnamese people's total victory in the patriotic resistance war against United States aggression, and without giving them time to start healing the wounds of war, they launched, through the stooge Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, a war of aggression against Viet Nam at its south-western border, they stepped up armed provocations along its northern border, instigated Hoa people to leave *en masse* and to try to foment troubles and violence to undermine Viet Nam from within and created pretexts to cut off all aid to Viet Nam and sever the normal co-operation between the two countries. At the same time, they sought by every possible means to sabotage the political and economic relations between Viet Nam and other countries, and to induce some to oppose Viet Nam. The culmination of this hostile policy was the ruthless war of aggression they launched on 17 February 1979 against the Vietnamese people. Peking's excuses about their "forbearance being driven to the limits" and about "counter-attacking in self-defence" could in no way cover up its crimes in this unjust war. It is the Chinese rulers who caused the ruin and thorough devastation in the six northern border provinces of Viet Nam.

This war ran counter to the interests of the Chinese people themselves, it made the relations between Viet Nam and China extremely tense, and

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/394-S/13481.

seriously impaired the traditional friendship between the two peoples. After its failure, the Chinese rulers have, on the one hand, made continued efforts to create and maintain a permanent border tension; on the other hand, they are conducting a frantic anti-Viet Nam campaign in the international arena and stirring up anti-Viet Nam feelings among the Chinese people. Thwarted in their attempt to turn the Geneva conference on refugees into an anti-Viet Nam forum, and discontented with the results thereof, the Peking rulers are still trying to use the "Vietnamese refugees question" to further their dark designs. They are doomed to total failure.

As is thus clear, it is the Chinese rulers who have been pursuing with the greatest fury and frenzy a systematic policy of hostility to the Vietnamese people. This is the root cause of the deterioration of the relations between Viet Nam and China. That policy is part and parcel of their overall foreign line of increasingly closer collusion with United States imperialism against revolution and peace; it thoroughly exposes their great-Power expansionism and hegemonism.

However, the Chinese rulers have ceaselessly claimed that they are "not seeking hegemony", they have even posed as more resolutely "anti-hegemonic" than anyone else. Hoisting the anti-hegemony signboard to further hegemonism is their familiar trick which the Vietnamese side repeatedly exposed at the previous meetings, particularly on 5 July 1979. If the Chinese rulers are really not seeking hegemony as they have often claimed, let them take concrete actions in line with the proposals put forward by the Vietnamese side:

(a) Non-expansion of territory in any form whatsoever. Immediate ending of the state of affairs in which territories are grabbed by other countries.

(b) Non-aggression, non-use of force or of threat to use force to "punish" any country or "to teach it a lesson".

(c) Non-imposition of one's own ideologies, views and lines on other countries. Non-use of any trick whatsoever, including economic aid, to compel other countries to relinquish their policy of independence and sovereignty. Non-interference in the relations of one country with another.

(d) Non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries through opposition organizations fostered by oneself, or by the instrumentality of one's overseas nationals, or in any other form whatsoever.

(e) Non-alliance with imperialism and other reactionary forces against peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

The above-recalled elements of anti-hegemonism are fully consistent with the actual situation now prevailing, and meet the imperative demands which are being posed in the relations between China and Viet Nam as well as other countries in Indo-China and South-East Asia. So long as the Chinese rulers try to quibble without taking any concrete actions to prove that they are "no longer seeking hegemony", their professions of "anti-hegemony" are but empty and deceptive talk.

At present, the situation along the border between the two countries remains very tense. The Chinese side is keeping a big military force massed close to Viet Nam's border, making continued war preparations, stepping up armed provocations and indulging in ceaseless violations of Vietnamese territory at different places. On 26 July 1979, a Chinese vice-premier again threatened "to teach Viet Nam another lesson". South-East Asian public opinion is protesting against China's exerting military pressure on Viet Nam and menacing regional peace and security. The Peking rulers have also driven back to Viet Nam a number of people who had fled to China at their instigation for purposes of espionage activities, renewing "contacts", fomenting troubles; this has complicated the border situation which is already strained. At this negotiating table, however, the Chinese side has adamantly tried to deny and justify its border provocations. It has stubbornly evaded and refused to reach agreement with the Vietnamese side on a mutual undertaking to refrain from armed provocations along the border. Obviously, in refusing to respond to this Vietnamese proposal, the Chinese side is attempting to maintain a permanent border tension to jeopardize Viet Nam's security, in order to bring pressure to bear on it and create a pretext to rekindle the war of aggression at any moment. The slanderous contentions demanding that Viet Nam "stop" its so-called "provocations and incursions into Chinese border areas" are merely designed to camouflage their dangerous actions. In its note of 23 July 1979, the Vietnamese Ministry of Foreign Affairs strongly condemned the recent armed provocations of the Chinese side and flatly rejected the latter's fabrications reversing right and wrong about the border situation. At the last meeting, the Chinese side claimed to be "ready to undertake not to seek hegemony in any form". Let it then take concrete action, that is, to discuss and sign immediately with the Vietnamese side an agreement on a mutual commitment to refrain from armed provocations, effective at the earliest date possible. Let the two sides discuss without any delay whatsoever practical measures to secure firmly peace and stability in border areas, thus creating favourable conditions for the restoration of normal relations between Viet Nam and China. Everyone is expecting such action from the Chinese side.

## DOCUMENT S/13482\*

### Letter dated 1 August 1979 from the Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People to the Secretary-General

[Original: French]  
[2 August 1979]

I have the honour to inform you of the deep concern felt by the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People at the statement made by the representative of the United States of America in explanation of his delegation's abstention in the recent vote on Security Council resolution 452 (1979) [2159th meeting]. That resolution relates to the report of the Security Council Commission established under resolution 446 (1979) to examine the situation relating to settlements in the Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem [S/13450 and Add.1]. In his statement, the representative of the United States said that his delegation had abstained because "this resolution, like the recommendations of the Commission which this resolution accepts and incorporates, goes beyond the question of settlements to deal with such matters as Jerusalem".

In fact, it is self-evident that the mandate of the Commission, as stated in Security Council resolution 446 (1979), unquestionably extends to Jerusalem. The report of the Commission contains a description [S/13450, paras. 94 and 95] of testimony heard by the Commission concerning the

measures taken by the Israeli Government in preparation for the establishment of settlements at Jerusalem and its environs. Those settlements themselves are the subjects of paragraphs 96 and 98 of the report. It is therefore difficult to accept the argument that the Commission exceeded its mandate by taking up the question of Israeli settlements at Jerusalem.

Those Jerusalem settlements are obviously illegal under international law, under the 1949 fourth Geneva Convention and under a number of United Nations resolutions, including General Assembly resolutions 2253 (ES-V) and 2254 (ES-V) and Security Council resolutions 252 (1968), 267 (1969) and 298 (1971). According to those resolutions, the measures taken by Israel at Jerusalem are invalid, and Israel is called upon to rescind the measures already taken and to refrain from any action which would change the status of Jerusalem. The Commission's recommendation contained in paragraph 233 of its report simply refers to that status and proposes that the Security Council should once again call upon the Israeli Government "to implement faithfully the resolutions it has adopted on that question as from 1967". Here again, it is difficult to see how the Commission can be accused of having exceeded its mandate, particularly

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when it does not propose any definitive solution to the broader problem of the status of Jerusalem.

The question of illegal Israeli settlements established on land taken from the Palestinian people, including the settlements established at Jerusalem and its environs, is of great importance to our Committee. For that reason, the Committee is concerned at the idea that the statement in question might imply the drawing of a distinction between Jerusalem and its environs and the "Arab territories occupied by Israel in 1967". That would seem to be inconsistent with the position which has long been held by the United

States. Such a development would have profound repercussions and would be a cause for grave concern to the Committee of which I have the honour to be Chairman.

I should be grateful if you would have the text of the present letter circulated as a document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Médoune FALL  
Chairman of the Committee on the  
Exercise of the Inalienable Rights  
of the Palestinian People

## DOCUMENT S/13483\*

### Letter dated 2 August 1979 from the representative of Democratic Kampuchea to the Secretary-General

[Original: French]  
[2 August 1979]

I have the honour to transmit herewith, for your information, a report on developments in the people's war against the Vietnamese aggressors issued by the Ministry of Information of Democratic Kampuchea.

I should be grateful if you would have this text circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) THIOUNN PRASITH  
Permanent Representative of  
Democratic Kampuchea  
to the United Nations

#### ANNEX

#### Report on developments in the people's war against the Vietnamese aggressors, issued by the Ministry of Information of Democratic Kampuchea

The four categories of the forces of the people of Kampuchea—regular guerrillas, base guerrillas, population, self-defence guards and Khmer soldiers forcibly recruited by the Vietnamese aggressors—are continuing and stepping up their attacks against the latter, who have suffered considerable losses everywhere in men and material and have been driven from many places in the country.

##### 1. THE WESTERN ZONE KOMPONG SPEU PROVINCE

On 3, 4, and 5 July 1979, we closely co-ordinated our actions and launched attacks against the troops of the Vietnamese aggressors on various fronts in Kompong Speu. We killed 35 of the enemy on the spot and wounded 20 others. We liberated the main towns in the districts of Amleang, Trapeang Chor, Kantuot, Kbal Toek, Kbal Teahean, etc.

We decimated the enemy forces stationed along national highway 4 and disrupted their communications and transport.

##### 2. THE NORTH-WESTERN ZONE

###### (a) BATTANG PROVINCE

###### (i) Battambang-Maung Russei

On the night of 9 July, the four categories of our forces, working in close collaboration, attacked the Vietnamese troops all along highway N 64, between national highway 10 and Ta Pdé Mountain. Our regular guerrillas co-ordinated their commando raids with harassing attacks by our base guerrillas and revolts by the population, the self-defence guards and the Khmer soldiers forcibly recruited by the enemy. Twenty-two aggressors were killed and six others wounded. Seventeen weapons were seized, in addition to a large amount of military equipment. We are now in complete control of highway N 64, having liberated all of the villages and destroyed all the enemy positions along that highway.

On 10 July, we destroyed four enemy positions located along national highway 5 to the north of Maung as far as Au Tauch. We are in complete control of the stretch of that highway running from Maung to Au Tauch and have liberated all the villages in that area.

On 17 July, we regained control of the section of the highway situated between Phum Pream and Phum Troung Khla in the Samlaut district.

On 20 July, we completely liberated the districts of Banan, Bay Damram and Au Sralao on the Stung Sangke river to the south and east of Battambang. Thirteen Vietnamese soldiers were killed and several wounded.

###### (ii) National highway 10

The Vietnamese aggressors have established numerous positions along national highway 10, between the town of Battambang and Pailin, but they are under continuous attack from our guerrillas and the population. On 17 and 18 July, we attacked the enemy positions located along that highway, killing 25 Vietnamese aggressors and wounding 18 others. We regained control of Treng and Chamkar Daung and also of numerous sections of national highway 10 between the town of Battambang and Pailin.

###### (iii) Sisophon

On 12 July, we liberated four villages—Kaup Thom, Kaup Tauch, Au Chrauv and Samrong—along national highway 5. Thirty of the enemy were killed and 17 wounded.

###### (iv) Koas Krala

At the beginning of June, 100 families from Koas Krala, unable any longer to bear the yoke of oppression and fleeing from the genocide practised by the Vietnamese aggressors, came over to the zone controlled by the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, the representatives of which extended to them a particularly warm welcome. The newcomers reported that the Vietnamese occupiers had increased their acts of repression and pillage, were robbing the population of whatever they still possessed and then leaving them to die of starvation.

###### (b) PURSAT PROVINCE

On 19 June, over 100 Khmer soldiers, forcibly recruited by the Vietnamese aggressors, mutinied at Pursat and demonstrated in protest against being forced to eat mouldy rice bran instead of rice, which is reserved exclusively for consumption by the Vietnamese occupiers or transported to Viet Nam. The demonstrators attacked the rice storage depots of the Vietnamese aggressors and shared the booty among themselves. They subsequently came over to the liberated zone and joined the ranks of our guerrillas in order to fight the Vietnamese aggressors.

###### (c) KOMPONG CHHNANG PROVINCE

On 20 June, about 200 inhabitants of three villages in Kompong Tralach-Loeu caught 32 Vietnamese soldiers in the act of stealing water-melons and other crops belonging to the inhabitants in a field on the edge of one of the villages. They killed four and wounded five of the thieves. They also seized three weapons which they kept in order to protect themselves and to participate, side by side with our guerrillas, in the struggle against the Vietnamese enemy.

##### 3. THE NORTH-EASTERN ZONE

###### (a) RATTANAKIRI PROVINCE

On 9 July, we completely liberated the districts of Svay Rieng and Phum Loeu, situated along the Sé San river. We put 17 of the enemy out of

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/396-S/13483.

action, and seized one B 40, one M 30 and 11 AK-47 rifles, in addition to ammunition and military equipment.

(b) STUNG TRÉNG PROVINCE

On 9 July, we regained control of the areas located on the banks of the Sé San river between Voëun Say in Rattanakiri province and Sré Kor in Stung Tréng province and also of the areas situated between the east bank of the Sé San river and national highway 19.

The people of Kampuchea, of all nationalities, are enthusiastically acclaiming all of these victories and, imbued with deep feelings of gratitude and admiration, are everywhere extending a particularly warm welcome to our revolutionary guerrillas.

4. THE CENTRAL ZONE

(a) KOMPONG THOM PROVINCE

(i) On 14 June, in the district of Staung, the various categories of our forces launched closely co-ordinated attacks against a company of Vietnamese troops stationed in five villages, putting 22 of the enemy out of action and capturing two others. The five villages were liberated: Phum Khtorm, Phum Mon, Phum Kraing Russei, Phum Sambuor and Phum Popork.

The following day, 15 June, we liberated Phum Krasaing, eliminating a further 17 of the enemy.

(ii) On 14 June, in the district of Kompong Svay, we liberated in succession Phum Thom, Phum Nipich, Phum Laak, Phum Kap Dom, Phum Chhoeu Teal, Phum Kleng and numerous other localities. We put 45 enemy soldiers out of action and the survivors entrenched themselves in the town of Kompong Thom.

(b) KOMPONG CHAM PROVINCE

(i) On 27 June, 300 inhabitants of Stung Trang on national highway 13, in co-ordination with the self-defence guards whom the Vietnamese had forcibly recruited, intercepted two trucks transporting rice. They killed eight Vietnamese soldiers and burnt the two trucks, the cargo of which, consisting of 32 sacks of rice, they subsequently distributed among themselves since they had not eaten such food for a long time, the Vietnamese occupiers having given them only rice bran to eat.

(ii) At the end of June, 11 self-defence guards from Chamkar Loeu and about 100 local residents laid an ambush for the Vietnamese soldiers who had taken part in a repression operation against the population; they killed 10 and put the survivors to flight. Five weapons were seized and the inhabitants of the village were liberated.

DOCUMENT S/13484\*

Letter dated 3 August 1979 from the representative of Democratic Kampuchea to the Secretary-General

[Original: French]  
[3 August 1979]

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith, for your information, an editorial entitled "The sublime heroism and enormous sacrifices of the people of Kampuchea will triumph" and a report on developments in the people's war against the Vietnamese aggressors, published by "La voix du Kampuchea démocratique".

I should be grateful if you would have this text circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

Signed) THIOUNN PRASITH  
Permanent Representative of  
Democratic Kampuchea  
to the United Nations

ANNEX I

Editorial from "La voix du Kampuchea démocratique" entitled "The sublime heroism and enormous sacrifices of the people of Kampuchea will triumph!"

Today, more than ever, the people of Kampuchea are displaying sublime heroism and making enormous sacrifices in their struggle against the Vietnamese aggressors.

If they are displaying such heroism and making so many sacrifices it is:

First, for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kampuchea. To defend their country and to preserve the Kampuchean race from the extermination perpetrated by the Vietnamese.

Secondly, to make their contribution to the defence of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the fundamental principles of the non-aligned movement, which are being trampled underfoot by the regional Vietnamese expansionists and the international Soviet expansionists.

Thirdly, to make their contribution to the defence of security and peace for the whole of mankind, which are seriously threatened by the regional Vietnamese expansionists and the international Soviet expansionists.

It is for all these reasons that the valiant and just struggle of the people of Kampuchea and the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, a struggle whose scope is at once national and international, enjoys the support of the overwhelming majority of the countries and peoples of the world. It is true that the people of Kampuchea must make further enormous sacrifices to overcome the various obstacles that will inevitably arise on the road to

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/399-S/13484.

final victory. But the people of Kampuchea and the Government of Democratic Kampuchea are firmly convinced that no enemy force or manoeuvre can prevent their great final victory over the Vietnamese aggressors—the expansionists, devourers of territories and exterminators of the Kampuchean race. The people of Kampuchea and the Government of Democratic Kampuchea will steadfastly continue their struggle against the Vietnamese aggressors. And near and far, small and large, the countries of the five continents, in particular the countries of South-East Asia, will continue to support the just struggle of the people of Kampuchea and the Government of Democratic Kampuchea.

The sublime heroism and enormous sacrifices of the people of Kampuchea will unfailingly triumph over the Vietnamese aggressors, expansionists, devourers of territories and exterminators of the Kampuchean race!

ANNEX II

Commentary from "La voix du Kampuchea démocratique" entitled "Developments in the people's war against the Vietnamese aggressors"

1. KOMPONG THOM PROVINCE (CENTRAL ZONE)

The guerrilla fighters and the people of Sandan district have totally liberated six villages.

From 3 to 24 July 1979, enjoying the active support and collaboration of the population, the guerrilla fighters of Sandan district launched simultaneous attacks on the positions held by the Vietnamese aggressors. They put 63 enemy soldiers out of action, killing or wounding them, and totally liberated the villages of Samrong, Kbal Damrei, Sralao, Sraung, Phum Beng and Phum Leng in the commune of Tumring.

2. KRATIÉ PROVINCE (NORTH-EASTERN ZONE)

On 15 July, the guerrilla fighters and the people of Sambaur district, using a combination of modern and traditional weapons, totally liberated the localities of Phum Khlé Loeu, Phum Klé Krom, Phum Katruk and Phum Kaun Va. Twenty-seven Vietnamese aggressors were killed and a large quantity of weapons, ammunition and military equipment was seized.

3. BATTANG PROVINCE (NORTH-WESTERN ZONE)

On 22 July, after several days of harassing attacks on the enemy, the four categories of our forces—regular guerrilla fighters, base guerrillas, the people, and soldiers and self-defence forces forcibly recruited by the Vietnamese aggressors—closely co-ordinated their action and mobilized all their forces to launch annihilating attacks against the enemy positions established along the Mongkol Borei river, totally liberating the chief town, Bovel, and the localities of Kdol, Tahen, Pongro Loeu, Pongro Krom, Suon Sla, Sangké Vea Loeng and Peam. Twenty of the enemy were killed on the spot, 27 others were wounded and six weapons were seized.

## Assistance to Lesotho: report of the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[22 August 1979]

1. In its resolution 33/128 of 19 December 1978, the General Assembly requested the Secretary-General, *inter alia*, to continue his efforts to mobilize the necessary resources for an effective programme of financial, technical and material assistance to Lesotho, to keep the situation in Lesotho under constant review and to submit a report on the progress achieved in time for the matter to be considered by the Assembly at its thirty-fourth session.

2. In pursuance of the resolution, the Secretary-General arranged for a review mission to visit Lesotho in May 1979 to consult with the Government. The report of the review mission, which is annexed hereto,<sup>12</sup> describes the economic

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/393-S/13485.

<sup>12</sup> The text of the report entitled "Report of the third review mission to Lesotho (10 to 16 May 1979)" is not reproduced here; it may be consulted in the Dag Hammarskjöld Library.

and financial position of the country and summarizes the progress which has been made in implementing the projects included in the special economic assistance programme.

3. In paragraph 8 of resolution 33/128, the General Assembly invited a number of United Nations specialized agencies and organizations to bring to the attention of their governing bodies the assistance they were rendering to Lesotho and to report the results of that assistance to the Secretary-General in time for consideration by the Assembly at its thirty-fourth session. Furthermore, in paragraph 9, the appropriate specialized agencies and organizations of the United Nations system were requested to report periodically to the Secretary-General on the steps they had taken and the resources they had made available to assist Lesotho. The responses of the agencies and organizations will be reproduced as an addendum to the present report.

## DOCUMENT S/13486

## Letter dated 6 August 1979 from the representative of Lebanon to the President of the Security Council

[Original: English]  
[6 August 1979]

On instructions from my Government, and pursuant to my letter of 23 July 1979 [S/13464], I have the honour to draw your attention to the deteriorating situation in Southern Lebanon. Acts of aggression by Israel have been occurring almost daily, affecting the following Lebanese villages:

1. During the night of 24 to 25 July, the villages of Haddatha, Ayta ez-Zitt and Bra'sheet were subjected to heavy machine-gun firing and artillery shelling.

2. On 26 July, the Hasbani river basin and Hasbaya were shelled by Israeli artillery, and so were the villages of Rihan, Aishieyh, Aramta, Daraya and Quttrani.

3. On 31 July, artillery fire was opened against Qlaya, Kawkaba Hills, Mazra'at Beit Nawfal, as well as against the vicinity of Hasbaya.

4. Late during the night of 31 July and 1 August, the Arnoun, Yohmor, Upper Nabatiyeh, Eastern Duwayr, Kfar Rumman, Habboush and Nabatiyeh were similarly shelled.

5. On 1 August, Israeli gunners directed their fire against the area between the Hasbani river and Kawkaba.

6. On 2 August, the areas of Hasbaya, Kawkaba, Burghoz and Qlaya were subjected to a heavy barrage of gun-fire, to give cover to a raiding party of Israeli troops who undertook a massive motorized raid beyond the area of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) which followed a route parallel to the Litani river, towards the heights of the village of Kawkaba.

7. Constant overflights of Lebanese territory are continuing, the last of which being over Beirut, yesterday, Sunday.

These acts of aggression have resulted in the death and injury of many persons—all civilians. There was also extensive damage to property.

As in previous letters, I wish, once more, to protest very strongly against these unwarranted Israeli acts of aggression against Lebanon.

All these attacks have been preceded, accompanied, and followed by acts of harassment and defiant declarations against UNIFIL which seem designed not only to further erode the credibility of UNIFIL, but also to make its whole presence appear ineffective and probably unnecessary. It is particularly disturbing that the most recent and most serious attack launched beyond UNIFIL lines, on 2 August, should have been timed to coincide with Under Secretary-General Mr. Brian Urquhart's leaving the area after he had conducted a series of meetings to review the UNIFIL situation with Israeli as well as Lebanese leaders. Such a disturbing situation prompts my Government to ask what action the Security Council should envisage, particularly under your leadership. It is recalled here that your delegation sponsored resolution 425 (1978) which Israel has been incessantly challenging.

I have the honour to request that this letter be circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Ghassan TUÉNI  
Permanent Representative of Lebanon  
to the United Nations

## Letter dated 6 August 1979 from the representative of Democratic Kampuchea to the Secretary-General

[Original: French]  
[6 August 1979]

I have the honour to transmit herewith, for your information, a statement by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Democratic Kampuchea, dated 2 August 1979, concerning the right to representation of Democratic Kampuchea at the Sixth Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Countries at Havana.

I should be grateful if you would arrange for this statement to be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) THIOUNN PRASITH  
Permanent Representative of  
Democratic Kampuchea  
to the United Nations

## ANNEX

**Statement by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Democratic Kampuchea concerning the right to representation of Democratic Kampuchea at the Sixth Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Countries in Havana**

In view of the vile and crass manoeuvres of the international expansionists and of their supporters, the struggle to defend Democratic Kampuchea's right to representation at the summit conference of non-aligned countries, which is to be held at Havana in early September 1979, constitutes a turning point and a challenge of the utmost importance which our non-aligned movement will have to overcome.

First, the manoeuvre designed to prevent Democratic Kampuchea's participation in the summit conference of non-aligned countries at Havana and to exclude Democratic Kampuchea from the non-aligned movement is part of an intensive and persistent campaign conducted by the international expansionists and their supporters.

In the present circumstances, this manoeuvre is especially abhorrent and constitutes an even more serious danger than before, because one member country, taking advantage of the fact that it is to host and preside over the Conference, and acting in accordance with the policy of its supporters, is grossly violating the right of another member country, thus deliberately ignoring decisions taken previously by various bodies of the non-aligned movement. This is one of the grossest attempts to undermine the principles of non-alignment and to dismantle the non-aligned movement as an independent international force that stands in opposition to all the forces of aggression, expansion, interference, intimidation and subversion in the world. If today a small faction should succeed in preventing Democratic Kampuchea's participation in the Sixth Summit Conference at Havana, this would set an especially dangerous precedent for our non-aligned movement. There would no longer be any principles or rules. In future, nothing could prevent that faction from repeating such manoeuvres to the detriment of other non-aligned countries.

Secondly, the combined efforts of the Vietnamese regional expansionists, the international expansionists and their other supporters to topple Democratic Kampuchea constitute a violation of international law and the Charter of the United Nations. Moreover, at present, they are continuing these combined efforts to topple the Government of Democratic Kampu-

chea, which is leading the entire people and nation of Democratic Kampuchea in a vehement and popular war against the Vietnamese aggressors. They are seeking to prevent Democratic Kampuchea's participation in the summit conference of non-aligned countries at Havana and to exclude Democratic Kampuchea from the non-aligned movement, by exploiting the fact that one of their supporters is to host and preside over the Conference. That is an attempt to force all the non-aligned countries to accept and legalize the gross and arrogant acts committed by all these expansionists.

Thirdly, by dismantling the non-aligned movement and undermining the principles of non-alignment, of the Charter of the United Nations and of international law, the international expansionists and their supporters in every quarter are seeking to eliminate the obstacle hindering their activities of intimidation, domination, interference, subversion and aggression against various countries in the world. This poses a serious threat to the stability, security and peace of all the small and medium-sized countries, as well as to stability and peace in the world. The non-aligned countries, by an overwhelming majority, have clearly realized the harmfulness of these vile manoeuvres, have actively opposed them and completely thwarted them at the last Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries at Colombo.

The Government of Democratic Kampuchea takes this opportunity to pay a tribute to the Governments of all the friendly countries, members of the great non-aligned family, which has adopted a position of resolute and persistent struggle to uphold and safeguard the principles and the true essence of non-alignment and which, in taking this firm position of principle, has resolutely defended Democratic Kampuchea's legitimate right to representation within the non-aligned group. The Government of Democratic Kampuchea wishes to renew to the Governments and heads of State of these friendly countries the assurance of its sincerest gratitude.

In these conditions, the struggle to defend Democratic Kampuchea's right to participate in the summit conference of non-aligned countries at Havana is not only a struggle to protect the rights of a member country which has always respected and resolutely upheld the principles of non-alignment; it is also a struggle to defend the true essence of non-alignment, to defend the Charter of the United Nations and, thus, to protect the stability, security, peace and the right to an independent and sovereign existence of all the small and medium-sized countries in the world.

The non-aligned countries, by an overwhelming majority, have clearly realized the present and long-term implications of that struggle. They have stubbornly maintained their position and have successively thwarted the vile manoeuvres aimed at excluding Democratic Kampuchea from the non-aligned movement.

The Government of Democratic Kampuchea is firmly convinced that these countries will be even more vigilant in opposing a small faction's increasingly feverish efforts to exclude Democratic Kampuchea from the non-aligned movement and hence to divide and destroy our movement.

The Government of Democratic Kampuchea is firmly convinced that all the non-aligned countries which are committed to the principles of non-alignment and which have adopted a position of resolute struggle to defend the principles and the true essence of non-alignment will redouble their efforts to thwart this vile manoeuvre in time.

Democratic Kampuchea is fully entitled to participate in the Sixth Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Countries at Havana, just as it participated in the Fifth Summit Conference at Colombo. The Government of Democratic Kampuchea is firmly convinced that the non-aligned countries cannot, in any case, allow one member country, even though one of its nationals will be president of the conference, to violate deliberately the rights of another member country.

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/400-S/13487.

## DOCUMENT S/13489\*

## Letter dated 7 August 1979 from the representative of Viet Nam to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[7 August 1979]

I have the honour to draw your attention to the fact that on 25 June 1979 the United Nations circulated in document

S/13409 a so-called letter of a man named Khieu Samphan grossly slandering the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. Khieu Samphan and the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique as well

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/402-S/13489.



have committed odious genocidal crimes against the Kampuchean people and they were completely overthrown by the Kampuchean people on 7 January 1979, and the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea is the sole authentic legal representative of Kampuchea.

The Permanent Mission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to the United Nations categorically rejects the above-mentioned Khieu Samphan's slanderous allegations against the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam.

I would like to request you to have this letter circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) CU DINH BA  
Chargé d'affaires a.i.  
of the Permanent Mission of Viet Nam  
to the United Nations

#### DOCUMENT S/13490\*

Letter dated 7 August 1979 from the representative of Israel to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[7 August 1979]

Further to my letter of 27 July 1979 [S/13474], I wish to draw your attention to yet another outrage perpetrated at Jerusalem by PLO terrorists.

At about 0900 hours on Sunday, 5 August, a large explosive device went off opposite the municipal building in the city centre. As a result, six persons were injured, two of them seriously. As usual, the PLO on its radio in Lebanon bragged of its responsibility for this atrocity immediately after its occurrence.

Such PLO acts of terror, irrespective of who the victim is, be it a child or a woman or a tourist or a pilgrim at Jerusalem, underline the ruthless nature of that syndicate of murderers.

That the PLO is a terrorist instrument in the hands of certain Arab Governments engaged in a concerted campaign

against the peace process in the Middle East was demonstrated recently by the appointment of a former Syrian major-general as a director of the so-called "military department" of the PLO.

Facts such as these, rather than the attempts of the PLO at deception or the wishful illusions entertained by others, reveal the true character of the PLO and the aim it serves, and thus oblige the Government of Israel to take all measures necessary to protect the lives and safety of its citizens.

I have the honour to request that this letter be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Shamay CAHANA  
Chargé d'affaires a.i.  
of the Permanent Mission of Israel  
to the United Nations

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/403-S/13490.

#### DOCUMENT S/13491

Letter dated 9 August 1979 from the representative of Kuwait to the President of the Security Council

[Original: English]  
[9 August 1979]

I am enclosing a letter from the Permanent Observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization denouncing the Israeli Government's seizure and confiscation of bedouin lands by force, as part of the total Zionist policy of taking over the Palestinian land.

I request you to circulate the enclosure as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Abdulmohsen EL-JEAAN  
Chargé d'affaires, a.i.  
of the Permanent Mission of the State of Kuwait  
to the United Nations

and the *Daily News Bulletin*, No. 148, of 2 August 1979 of the *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*.

It is reported that a racist law that would permit the seizure of 40,000 acres of bedouin lands without the right of appeal passed its first reading in the Knesset. Since the bedouin lands are being confiscated under a special law which enables the racist Government of Israel to expropriate lands for "vital security interests" and in this particular case in order that three new military air fields can be built, the bedouins have no right of judicial appeal. In fact, the government-sponsored bill bans the right of the bedouins to appeal the confiscation of their land to the courts.

LETTER DATED 6 AUGUST 1979 FROM THE OBSERVER OF THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

On instructions of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization, I am requested to bring to your attention information regarding the seizure of bedouin lands by the racist Government of Israel, which appeared in articles published in the magazine *Time* of 6 August 1979,

The bill provides that the State will acquire title to the lands specified on the date the law takes effect. The bedouins would be given three months to evacuate and turn over the lands to the State. It is likely that the dispossessed bedouins, approximately 10,000 of them, could well have nowhere to go. There is no doubt that this so-called special bill is based on outright anti-Semitic racism because it is directed exclusively at the Palestinian people under occupation.

The continuing Zionist policy of expropriating Palestinian land, intimidation and coercion directed against the Pales-

tinian Arabs under occupation can but increase the international community's awareness that racist anti-Semitic Zionism is an evil ideology based on the perpetuation of division, exclusivism and racial and religious discrimination.

Given the violent and racist aims of the Zionist entity in occupied Palestine, the Palestine Liberation Organization, as I have indicated in previous letters, will take all measures

to protect and safeguard the lives and property of the Palestinian people.

(Signed) Zehdi Labib TERZI  
Permanent Observer  
of the Palestine Liberation Organization  
to the United Nations

## DOCUMENT S/13492

### Note verbale dated 10 August 1979 from the Mission of Botswana to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[10 August 1979]

The Permanent Mission of the Republic of Botswana presents its compliments to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and has the honour to transmit a press release from the Office of the President of the Republic of Botswana relating to yet another series of acts of aggression, sabotage, cold-blooded murder and flagrant violation of Botswana's territorial integrity perpetrated by the illegal minority Muzorewa/Smith régime in Southern Rhodesia. These acts which occurred during 8 and 9 August 1979 are a clear demonstration that the illegal régime at Salisbury in its desperation continues in its attempts to destabilize our region.

The Permanent Mission of the Republic of Botswana kindly requests that the attached statement be circulated as a document of the Security Council.

#### ANNEX

##### Press release dated 9 August 1979

##### RHODESIAN ATTACKS ON BOTSWANA

At 6:15 p.m. yesterday (Wednesday) two Rhodesian Air Force helicopters landed at Bosoli Farm which is about 20 kilometres from Francistown. Members of the Botswana Defence Force went to the area but did not find any trace of the Rhodesians there.

At about 3:00 a.m. this morning a Botswana woman who occupies a Botswana Housing Corporation house in Area M of Francistown was woken by a knocking on her door and demands from some men that she should open it. She refused to do so and shortly afterwards an explosion occurred which virtually demolished the house. The occupant was not injured. At

4:20 a.m. a light delivery van driving along the road to Matsiloje about 40 kilometres from Francistown was challenged by a Botswana Defence Force contingent. When challenged, the men standing on the back of the vehicle opened fire on the Botswana Defence Force men. The Botswana Defence Force returned the fire and the occupants of the van fled into the bush. The van was seized by the Botswana Defence Force.

A Botswana Defence Force aircraft was sent to the scene of the incident early this morning and at about 6:00 a.m. a Rhodesian Air Force helicopter hovering just above the ground was spotted in the vicinity of the Botswana Defence Force air field near Matsiloje. The Botswana Defence Force aircraft attacked the helicopter and was in turn attacked by two other Rhodesian helicopters that were flying at a higher altitude. The Rhodesian helicopters returned to Rhodesia and the Botswana Defence Force aircraft returned to Francistown. At least two bullets fired by the Rhodesians hit the Botswana Defence Force plane.

Early this morning the night watchman at the Botswana National Library at Francistown, which is close to the house that was blown up, was found dead at the library. He had died from a knife wound in his throat. The motor vehicle at the library had been broken into and attempts had been made to steal it. The police are still investigating how the Rhodesian terrorists obtained the motor vehicle which they were driving towards Matsiloje.

It is evident that two white and three black Rhodesian soldiers were landed at Bosoli Farm by helicopter and proceeded to Francistown where they murdered the night watchman at the library in their attempts to steal a motor vehicle. They subsequently blew up the house in Extension M and obtained a vehicle to drive them to Matsiloje. The three helicopters which entered Botswana this morning had been sent to pick them up.

The motive for this further outrage by Muzorewa's terrorists is not known but it is obvious that the flagrant violation of Botswana's territorial integrity, cold-blooded murder of its citizens and wanton destruction of property is still the policy of the present Salisbury régime.

## DOCUMENT S/13494\*

### Letter dated 15 August 1979 from the representative of China to the Secretary-General

[Original: Chinese/English]  
[15 August 1979]

#### ANNEX

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith the text of a speech made by Han Nianlong, head of the Chinese Government delegation and Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs, at the tenth plenary meeting of the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations on 14 August 1979. I request that this speech be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) LAI Ya-li  
Acting Permanent Representative  
of the People's Republic of China  
to the United Nations

Speech made by Han Nianlong, head of the Chinese Government delegation and Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs, at the tenth plenary meeting of the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations on 14 August 1979

Owing to obstruction and sabotage by the Vietnamese side, the negotiations between the Government delegations of China and Viet Nam have made no progress and remained stagnant till this date. At the seventh plenary meeting, the Vietnamese side dished up another proposal which was called "five points" on opposing hegemonism [S/13449, annex]. People with a discerning eye will know at once that it was playing a new trick and did not at all wish to discuss the principles of not seeking hegemony and of opposing hegemony, but deliberately confounded right and wrong in order to create confusion, camouflage its hegemonic actions and place new obstacles in the way of the negotiations. Therefore, we deem it necessary to reiterate our views

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/412-S/13494.

For some time, the Vietnamese side has concocted many lies asserting that China harbours "big-Power hegemonist ambitions" in an attempt to put the label of hegemonism on China. In your so-called "five points" on opposing hegemonism, you accuse China by innuendo of carrying out "territorial expansion", "aggression", "interference with the relations between one State and another", etc. These are nothing but nonsense. The People's Republic of China has always pursued a peaceful foreign policy and established and developed its relations with other countries on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence. It does not seek hegemony or act like a super-Power and, at the same time, it is opposed to hegemonism in all its forms and firmly supports the struggles of all peoples in defence of independence and sovereignty and world peace against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism. These are plain facts long acknowledged by world opinion, and nobody can obliterate them. Now, masquerading as opponents of hegemonism and attempting to attach the label of hegemonism to China, the Vietnamese authorities can only make a laughing-stock of themselves and become more discredited.

People today know better and better what hegemonism means and have deeper experience of it. Opposition to hegemonism has its objective content and definite meaning which brook no distortion. The "five points" on opposing hegemonism proposed by the Vietnamese side in the negotiations actually try to cover up hegemonism while purporting to be anti-hegemonist; they make no mention of, and dare not touch on, the key issue of sending no troops to a foreign country and the need of withdrawing troops already stationed abroad. The Vietnamese authorities dispatched 200,000 troops to invade Kampuchea, and those troops are still hanging on there, continuing their massacre of patriotic army men and civilians of Kampuchea and enforcing a policy of colonial enslavement. This is a typical case of Vietnamese regional hegemonism condemned by the whole world. World opinion and the leaders of many States have pointed out that the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea and maintenance of its troops there constitute the "key factor" in the present situation in Indo-China and South-East Asia. So long as the Vietnamese aggressor troops stay in Kampuchea and Laos, there can be no peace and stability in Indo-China and South-East Asia. Why has the Vietnamese side kept silent on that key issue if it is genuinely prepared to discuss the question of opposition to hegemony? How can your proposal be described as one "opposing hegemonism"? The Vietnamese authorities have subjected Laos and Kampuchea to their political, military and economic control and enslavement, setting up "an Indo-Chinese federation", turning Indo-China into an anti-China base and threatening the security of the countries in South-East Asia. Yet they evaded the questions of refraining from using other countries' territories or bases for threats, subversion and armed invasion against the other side or any other countries. Betraying the interests of their own people and ignoring their national dignity, the present Vietnamese leaders have linked their regional hegemonism with the social imperialists' global hegemonic strategy and their policy of southward drive concluded with the Soviet Union, a treaty in the nature of a military alliance and provided it with the use of naval and air bases, threatening the security of China and infiltrating and expanding into South-East Asia. Yet your "five points" do not at all touch upon the questions of opposing other countries' efforts to seek hegemony, non-participation in military blocs and non-provision of military bases to foreign countries. What evidence of "opposing hegemonism" is there? There can be no other explanation for your so-called "five points" but that they aim at confusing right and wrong and defending and boosting the big and small hegemonists. Obviously, they cannot cover up the hideous features of the Vietnamese authorities' regional hegemonism or help them in any way.

It is a plain fact that the Vietnamese authorities are bent on following the course of opposition and hostility to China and of aggression and outward expansion. The clumsy tricks they play on the so-called contents of opposing hegemonism and their words and deeds at the negotiating table serve their need of collusion with social-imperialism and further pursuance of regional hegemonism. Their so-called "sincerity" towards the negotiations is false. At present, the Vietnamese side still keeps up its armed provocations and its intrusions into China's border areas. In the period since the end of June alone, there occurred more than 110 incidents in which the Vietnamese side fired and shelled and carried out armed intrusions into Chinese territory. At the same time, it falsely counter-charged China and viciously attacked the Chinese Government's just stand of defending China's frontiers, protecting its people's lives and property and upholding the principle of self-defence. What hegemonic arrogance this is! In Kampuchea, the Vietnamese authorities employed their 200,000 aggressor troops to massacre patriotic Kampuchean army men and civilians and plunge the Kampuchean people by the millions into a dire plight of

suffering and humiliation. Furthermore, they have worked out and executed a long-term plan for moving many Vietnamese into Kampuchea for resettlement in an attempt to assimilate gradually and wipe out the Kampuchean nation. In the case of Laos, the Vietnamese authorities have used tens of thousands of troops and many officials, advisers and special agents to gain tight control over all departments, instituted their fascist colonial rule, ruthlessly purged, persecuted and oppressed patriotic Lao officials and civilians and tried to coerce Laos into collaborating with them in making preparations for launching a war against China. In order to turn Laos and Kampuchea into spring-boards or bases for threatening, subverting and invading South-East Asian countries, the Vietnamese authorities are massing troops on the Kampuchea-Thailand border and are continuously sending their men to sneak into Thailand in preparation for a war of aggression against Thailand. They are also fostering and financing secret Thai opposition organizations and armed groups on Lao territory. Facts have irrefutably proved that it is the Vietnamese regional hegemonists who are perpetrating "territorial expansion", "aggression" and "interference in other countries' internal affairs" in Indo-China and South-East Asia.

The Vietnamese authorities are continuing to expel Indo-Chinese refugees and ruthlessly extort money from them. Many countries and world opinion have rightly pointed out that the export of refugees by the Vietnamese authorities is "a bomb" to destabilize and cause turmoil in the countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations and that "this is a preliminary invasion to pave the way for the final invasion" and have stressed that the international community must take measures to stop the Vietnamese authorities' atrocities "at the source". These countries and views have correctly voiced the aspirations of all good and honest people. If the Vietnamese authorities turn a deaf ear to the voice of justice and continue to push the policy of exporting refugees, they will doubtless incur stronger condemnation and resolute sanctions from the whole world.

It is now clear to the people of the whole world that, instead of showing any repentance, the Vietnamese authorities have gone further down the road of regional hegemonism. The present Vietnamese leadership has betrayed President Ho Chi Minh, undermined the traditional friendship between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples, frenziedly pursued a policy of opposition and hostility to China and has become most unpopular inside its own country. After the reunification of Viet Nam, its people urgently demanded an increase in industrial and agricultural production, economic growth and better living conditions, but the Vietnamese authorities, while using their armed forces for wars of aggression and expansion abroad, have been perpetrating wanton suppression, purges and persecution at home, thus imposing extremely heavy burdens on the Vietnamese people. The Vietnamese people have been reduced to living in unprecedented misery, their grievances are on the sharp increase and their contradictions with the Vietnamese authorities are becoming increasingly acute. Internationally, the Vietnamese authorities have lost all the prestige won by the Vietnamese people through long years of revolutionary and anti-imperialist struggles and have incurred public wrath and landed themselves in dire isolation. They are already in a sorry plight and face a future dreadful to contemplate. In human history there is no lack of precedents wherein those acting against the will of the people and the tide of history set out to do harm to others but end up by ruining themselves.

Owing to the obstinate and perverse acts of the Vietnamese authorities, the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations are now facing serious difficulties and tests. The Chinese side pointed out long ago that the Vietnamese authorities' pursuance of regional hegemonism and total betrayal of the five principles of peaceful coexistence are the root cause of the deterioration of Sino-Vietnamese relations and the tension in Indo-China and South-East Asia. The Sino-Vietnamese negotiations and the normalization of relations between the two countries must start from this fundamental question. Deviating from this direction will not lead to the success of the negotiations. The Chinese side still hopes that the Vietnamese side will adopt a serious attitude, sober down, listen carefully to the voice of the people of Viet Nam and the whole world, give serious consideration to the eight-point proposal [S/13278, annex] and stop its acts of obstructing and sabotaging the negotiations so as to create the necessary conditions for the negotiations. It is our hope that the Vietnamese side will act to put an end to its policies of opposition and hostility against China and the pursuance of regional hegemonism. First and foremost, it must withdraw its troops from Kampuchea and Laos, cease to carry out armed provocation and intrusion into Chinese territory, withdraw from those islands it has occupied in China's Nansha Islands and stop its inhuman acts of exporting refugees. That is the urgent demand on the Vietnamese authorities from people all over the world and it is also the earnest appeal from the Chinese side.

## Letter dated 15 August 1979 from the representative of Viet Nam to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[15 August 1979]

I have the honour to transmit to you, for your information, the text of the speech made by the head of the delegation of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, Dinh Nho Liem, Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs, at the fifth session of the second round of the Viet Nam-China talks, on 14 August 1979, and request you to have this letter and its enclosure circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) NGUYEN NGOC DUNG  
Acting Permanent Representative of the  
Socialist Republic of Viet Nam  
to the United Nations

## ANNEX

Speech made by the head of the delegation of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, Dinh Nho Liem, at the fifth session of the second round of the Viet Nam-China talks on 14 August 1979

At the last meeting, the Chinese side repeated its familiar distortions about the relations of Viet Nam with Kampuchea, with Laos, as well as with China. At the same meeting, we flatly rejected once again such contentions. The Chinese side also tried its best to prettify its foreign policy, whose essence is being realized ever more clearly by broad sections of world public opinion through the practical deeds of the Chinese rulers.

Is it true that over the past 30 years China "has consistently pursued a foreign policy of peace" and "has all along abided by the five principles of peaceful coexistence" as it has claimed? The facts testify rather to the contrary. It is the Peking rulers who are emerging as the most warlike expansionists and hegemonists. They have called on their people to prepare constantly for war and have concentrated their efforts on a race for military might, for the strength resulting from steel and nuclear weapons. In a bid for world hegemony, they have run here and there throughout the Western world in search of modern arms and military technology. They have called on the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) to develop new weapons and urged the United States imperialists and the militarist circles to carry on the arms race. They have tried to provoke a confrontation opposing the United States and NATO to the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. They are opposed to the efforts of peace forces to drive back step-by-step the danger of a world war. They themselves have on many occasions used force to handle their relations with neighbouring countries. Thus they initiated a war of encroachment on India, large areas of whose territory are still kept under their occupation. They provoked a border war against the Soviet Union. They used military forces to occupy the Vietnamese Hoang Sa archipelago and, earlier this year, they frenziedly launched against the Vietnamese people a criminal war of aggression which was strongly condemned by all mankind. By their so-called "teaching lessons" to other countries, they have undermined the principles governing inter-State relations and those of the Charter of the United Nations and given a typical demonstration of their great-Power hegemonism.

They have unceasingly interfered in the line of independence and sovereignty and the internal affairs of other countries. Their familiar tricks have been to resort to aid as a bait and a means of pressure, to use henchmen and bad elements among overseas Chinese as a "fifth column" to set up lying-in-wait forces in other countries through the dispatch of so-called helping volunteers and to supply weapons, money and other means to rebel organizations. Such activities of theirs have been creating difficulties for South-East Asian countries. Of late, the Lao Government condemned their fostering of Kongle, Vang Pao to foment troubles against the Lao people. Public opinion in India, too, has exposed and denounced Peking's support

and assistance to anti-Government elements for disruptive and subversive activities in Mizoram and Nagaland States (north-east India) etc.

The Chinese side has claimed that it "supports the struggle of the oppressed peoples" and that it is "opposed to imperialism and colonialism". But it is common knowledge that it has frantically entered into an all-round collusion with the imperialist forces, in the first place, United States imperialism, and allied itself with the reactionary forces everywhere to oppose the oppressed peoples' struggle for independence, freedom and social progress. It is trying to divide and undermine the non-aligned movement. China's overt attempt to make friends with and support Shah Pahlavi to the extent of insisting on a United States military intervention to save that reactionary at the height of the people's struggle to overthrow him has aroused widespread dissatisfaction and protests among the Iranian people. After revolutionary power was established in Afghanistan, China, acting in co-ordination with imperialism, has actively helped the trouble-making activities of the local counter-revolutionaries, and the Afghan Government is urging it to stop this criminal action.

The Chinese side has also professed to "uphold proletarian internationalism" and to "strengthen unity with the socialist countries". In pursuance of great-national expansionism and great-Power hegemonism, it has undertaken interventionist and subversive schemes and acts and aggressive wars waged through agents or directly, thus violating the independence, sovereignty and national interests of many countries and undermining the revolutionary movement in many places. How then can it speak of proletarian internationalism? Having taken the "three worlds" theory as a basis for its foreign policy, it has reversed alliances, turning friends into foes and vice versa. It has completely negated the existence of the world socialist system, regarding the Soviet Union as the enemy No. 1, and the other socialist countries as its "satellites". It has tried to arouse one socialist country against another. How then can it speak of "unity"? Its treacherous actions over the years towards the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos, Kampuchea, Mongolia, Cuba, Albania etc., have completely exposed its hypocritical talk. To achieve its hegemonistic role, it has tried by every possible means to sow suspicion and division at a moment when Viet Nam and the other South-East Asian countries are jointly strengthening relations of friendship and co-operation for the sake of peace and stability in this region.

In short, the Chinese rhetoric about "peace", "friendship", and "proletarian internationalism" is in essence a mere smoke-screen to cover up great-Power expansionism and hegemonism and a frenzied collusion with the imperialist and other reactionary forces against peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. Nevertheless, the Chinese side dares to say that its foreign policy "has won world-wide credence and praise"! It should be asked: who praises China's support for the fascist Pinochet clique in Chile? Who praises China's assistance to the counter-revolutionary organizations UNITA and the National Liberation Front of Angola to oppose the people of Angola? Who praises China's fostering and using the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique to perpetrate in Kampuchea an atrocious genocide without precedent in human history? Who praises China's treating imperialist chieftains like Nixon and Kissinger as great friends? Who praises China's proclaiming as "heroes" Chinese soldiers who took part in the aggression against Viet Nam, massacred even Vietnamese old folks, women and children, and damaged the good renown of the revolutionary Chinese people? The above erroneous line and actions have driven the Peking rulers to increasing isolation in the international arena.

At the last meeting, the Chinese side spoke at length about China's aid to Viet Nam. As we have repeatedly stated, in their protracted fight, full of hardships and sacrifices against the colonialist and imperialist aggressors for independence and freedom, the Vietnamese people have always considered international solidarity and assistance to be an important factor contributing to their great victory. With this consistent awareness and with an unflinching faithfulness towards their brothers and friends, the Vietnamese people will never forget the support and assistance extended to them by the peoples of China and other countries as well. At the same time, we draw a clear distinction between the lofty support and aid of the Chinese people and the evil deed of some Chinese rulers, who have abused the aid as an instrument to cause Viet Nam, through inducement and pressure, to

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/413-S/13495.

relinquish its line of independence and sovereignty and enter China's orbit. Material aid is valuable, but it must not in any way be used to interfere in the internal affairs of the recipient country, still less to barter away the sovereignty of a nation. By so doing with Viet Nam and other countries, the Chinese rulers have acted at complete variance with the pure feelings of the Chinese people themselves, a people who has made worthy contributions to the anti-imperialist struggle for national liberation. The Vietnamese people have fought and made sacrifices in their own sacred national interests and also to fulfil their international duty to the other peoples, among them, the Chinese people. Some Chinese leaders themselves have admitted on various occasions that "Viet Nam's fight constitutes a great support and assistance for China", which, thanks to it, has been ensured peace over the past several decades. No material aid can be compared with the Vietnamese people's sacrifices in blood. By recounting at great length the Chinese aid, the Chinese rulers have themselves laid bare the hypocrisy of their talks about Chinese aid being "disinterested", and "China's not liking to dwell on its aid and support to other countries".

As is well known, since the end of the Chinese rulers' war of aggression against Viet Nam, great tension has persisted along the border. With a view to preventing armed conflicts, removing the danger of renewed hostilities and bringing about favourable conditions for the restoration of normal relations, the Vietnamese side has put forward in point 1 of its proposal on "the main principles and contents of a three-point settlement of the problems concerning the relations between the two countries" [S/13257, annex] urgent measures to secure peace and stability in border areas. At the opening of this second round of talks, it again took the initiative of advancing a "draft agreement" [S/13434, annex] on a mutual commitment to refrain from armed provocations along the border.

For its part, before the start of the negotiations and also at the first meeting, the Chinese side proposed that these talks were to "discuss practical measures to firmly secure peace and tranquillity in border areas", considering this to be part of the purposes and contents thereof. However, it is extremely worth noticing that, from the second meeting onwards, it has acted at complete variance with its own proposal and has neither put forward nor agreed to discuss any measure to secure peace and stability in border areas.

In the meantime, since the beginning of these talks, the Chinese side has kept massing a big military force and important quantities of war means close to Viet Nam's border: Chinese troops are still stationed at a number of points on Vietnamese territory which they occupied after 17 February 1979. The Chinese side has committed over 500 armed provocations at various places belonging to 87 villages and townships in all the six northern border provinces of Viet Nam. It has killed or wounded hundreds of Vietnamese civilians and border personnel, abducted many Vietnamese, burnt down or destroyed many houses, razed to the ground many hamlets and destroyed or looted large quantities of property and crops. It has thus been impossible for the local population to carry on their normal production work etc. Over recent days, such military provocations have occurred at a quicker tempo and with increased gravity. The Vietnamese Ministry of Foreign Affairs lodged three protests on this subject in July 1979. Along with intensified war preparations at the border, the Chinese side has also ceaselessly infiltrated spies and commandos into Vietnamese territory, and has driven back to Viet Nam for purposes of disruptive activities a number of people who had fled to China at its instigation.

Coupled with these dangerous armed provocations and the stepping up in collusion with United States imperialism of the anti-Viet Nam campaign in the international arena are repeated threats uttered by some Chinese leaders to launch another aggressive war against Viet Nam. In the past few weeks, three persons in the Chinese ruling circles have declared that China would "teach Viet Nam another lesson". Public opinion in South-East Asia and the world is more and more strongly protesting against the Peking rulers' continued military pressure on Viet Nam, which is undermining peace and stability in this region.

All the above-mentioned deeds and words have laid bare the design of the Chinese rulers to pursue their policy of hostility to Viet Nam, to aggravate further and further the border tension in an attempt to exert pressure at the talks and to create a pretext for renewed aggression against

Viet Nam at any moment. The Vietnamese people sternly condemn the aforesaid criminal acts and firmly demand that the Chinese rulers put an immediate end to all dangerous military actions, to all wrongful deeds and to other evil attempts against Viet Nam. On 7 August 1979, the Vietnamese Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued a statement, in which it refuted China's making public some documents purported to show that the Hoang Sa and Truong Sa islands belong to China, and reaffirmed that these two archipelagos are part of Vietnamese territory. The Vietnamese people, united as one man, are firmly resolved to defend the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of their fatherland from the mainland to the islands, as well as their airspace and their territorial waters.

In accordance with the purposes of these talks and in view of the present border tension, it is very necessary and urgent for the two sides to discuss and reach an immediate agreement on the measures to secure peace and stability in border areas and to create favourable conditions for the normalization of the relations between the two countries. It should also be recalled that, in its notes addressed to the Government of India and the leaders of Asian and African countries in November and December 1959 and November 1962, the Chinese Government put forward specific proposals "to avoid border conflicts" between China and India, including the "breaking of the contact of the armed forces" of the two sides. It held that those are "the most urgent", "the most just and fair", "the only" measures that could serve to avoid any border conflict, a task to be carried out "in the first place and without any hesitation", and that "if an agreement can be reached on this question, the situation at the Sino-Indian border will be improved at the earliest and the clouds which darken the relations between the two countries will rapidly disperse". It should be asked why the Chinese side, which adopted such an approach with the Government of India, is now rejecting similar measures proposed by the Vietnamese side, saying that they are merely "concrete, trivial, insubstantial and deceptive" questions. The Vietnamese delegation has on many occasions made it clear that these measures are part and parcel of the main principles and content of a settlement of the problems concerning the relations between Viet Nam and China, which have to be discussed and cannot be evaded at these talks.

At the previous meetings and even at the last one, the Chinese side obdurately insisted on discussing only the five principles of peaceful co-existence and the principle of not seeking hegemony. It did not accept to discuss any question raised by the Vietnamese side. According to international practice during all negotiations, the two partners are equal, should respect each other, discuss together the questions raised by each side with a view to finding satisfactory and mutually acceptable solutions. Trying to force the other party to discuss only one's own issues under the pretext that they are the "crux" of the negotiations is tantamount in essence to imposing a pre-condition and constitutes a hegemonistic way of negotiations. We flatly reject that.

As is well known, it is the Vietnamese delegation which first raised, in point 2 of its three-point proposal, the question of restoring normal relations between Viet Nam and China on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence. With regard to the "anti-hegemony" principle, we have made clear our views at several previous meetings, particularly on 5 July 1979, and are prepared to make further comments on this subject. At the same time, we wish to make clear that we are ready to discuss any other question concerning the relations between Viet Nam and China to be raised by the Chinese side according to the method of the two sides' raising in turn questions of interest for exchanges of views at the meetings. Let the Chinese side return in earnest to the view it proposed on six occasions, and discuss without delay with the Vietnamese side the urgent measures to ease the tension, secure peace and stability at the border and bring about favourable conditions for the progress of the talks.

With a view to restoring the normal relations between Viet Nam and China and the genuine friendship between the two peoples, the Vietnamese delegation will consistently do its utmost to bring the talks forward. Does the Chinese side really want to settle through negotiations the problems in the relations between China and Viet Nam? Everyone is awaiting the answer of the Chinese delegation.

## Note verbale dated 13 August 1979 from the Secretary-General to the President of the Security Council

[Original: Chinese/English/French/Russian/Spanish]  
[15 August 1979]

The Secretary-General presents his compliments to the President of the Security Council and has the honour to refer to the establishment of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL).

When the Iranian battalion of UNIFIL was withdrawn in January 1979, it was not replaced by a new contingent. As a stop-gap measure, the Secretary-General, following consultations with the Security Council, requested the Governments of Fiji and Nigeria to reinforce their contingents, which were subsequently increased by 150 men each.

As a consequence of these developments, the strength of UNIFIL was reduced to about 5,700, 300 below the total strength authorized by the Security Council. In this connexion, the Force Commander, Major-General E. A. Er-

skine, has drawn attention to the many tasks and problems confronting UNIFIL and he has strongly recommended that the Force be brought to full strength as soon as possible.

The Government of Ghana has now offered a battalion of 600 all ranks for service with UNIFIL. It is the intention of the Secretary-General, subject to the usual consultations, to accept this offer. In order not to exceed the present authorized strength, the Government of Ghana would be asked to make available at first a unit of 300 all ranks; this unit would be increased to full battalion strength as other contingents are reduced.

The Secretary-General would be grateful if the President of the Security Council would bring this matter to the attention of the members of the Council.

## DOCUMENT S/13497

## Letter dated 15 August 1979 from the President of the Security Council to the Secretary-General

[Original: Chinese/English/French/Russian/Spanish]  
[15 August 1979]

I have brought your note of 13 August 1979 [S/13496] concerning the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon to the attention of the members of the Security Council, who agree with the proposal contained therein.

The Chinese representative has informed me that China, not having participated in the voting on resolutions 425 (1978) and 426 (1978), dissociates itself from the matter.

(Signed) Andrew YOUNG  
President of the Security Council

## DOCUMENT S/13498\*

## Letter dated 16 August 1979 from the representative of Democratic Kampuchea to the Secretary-General

[Original: French]  
[16 August 1979]

I have the honour to transmit herewith, for your information, a statement issued by the press and information department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Democratic Kampuchea denouncing the slanderous propaganda campaign against Democratic Kampuchea.

I should be grateful if you would arrange for this statement to be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) THIOUNN PRASITH  
Permanent Representative of  
Democratic Kampuchea  
to the United Nations

## ANNEX

Statement dated 10 August 1979 from the press and information department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Democratic Kampuchea denouncing the slanderous propaganda campaign against Democratic Kampuchea

At the present time, the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique is waging a despicable propaganda campaign to denigrate the Government of Democratic Kampuchea. It is churning out the grossest of slander and, calling white black, is claiming that the Government of Democratic Kampuchea is starving the people, destroying fields and rice paddies, dikes and irrigation canals, large and small reservoirs, power stations, water-treatment and other plants, hospitals and health facilities. In doing this, the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique is seeking to camouflage its utterly barbarous aggression against Democratic Kampuchea and the widespread havoc it is wreaking against the nation and people of Kampuchea in line with its

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/417-S/13498.

policy of genocide and extermination of the Kampuchean race. What are the facts?

The facts are that in the three short years since liberation, 1975-1978, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea provided guidance to the people of Kampuchea in undertaking productive work and rapidly improving their living conditions in total independence and sovereignty, mainly on the basis of self-reliance. We solved the problems of the living conditions of the people of Kampuchea, guiding them towards the solution of the basic and decisive problems of agricultural and especially rice production. We accordingly undertook to solve the water problem by building networks of irrigation dikes and canals, and reservoirs of various capacities in all zones, regions and districts, in addition to solving the problems of fertilizers, seed selection and the cross-breeding of the hardiest varieties of rice. Heads of State and ambassadors from friendly countries in Asia, Africa, western Europe, northern Europe and Japan, delegations from various friendly countries, and many journalists, including American journalists, who visited Democratic Kampuchea, in particular those journalists who came to Democratic Kampuchea in 1977 and 1978, saw this clearly with their own eyes and are unanimous that in Democratic Kampuchea the problem of famine does not arise, since the country has immense rice paddies, bearing healthy crops. As many of our guests exclaimed, "The rice in Democratic Kampuchea is so abundant and of such high quality that the Vietnamese are green with envy and cannot wait to get their hands on it."

In the social and public health sectors, change is very rapid. Thanks to the great mass movement sweeping through the whole country, malaria has been completely eradicated. The mass campaign to distribute anti-mosquito products and to eradicate malaria has reached the most remote corners of the country.

The Government of Democratic Kampuchea assumed the task of completing the training of a large number of new doctors by appealing for help from former doctors. Every year we were able to train some 1,500 to 2,000 nurses and health officials in this way. Every village has at least one nurse and one traditional pharmacist. In every zone, region and district there are centres for the manufacture of traditional medicines. At the same time, we have built a new factory to manufacture traditional medicines at Phnom Penh.

The manufacturing plants for synthetic drugs have all been restored, enlarged and improved. Every year, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea imported many different kinds of pharmaceutical substances to supply all the factories producing synthetic drugs for the rural population. Under the former régime, the experimental preventive medicine centre at Chruy Changvar produced—exclusively for experimental purposes—only three or four types of vaccines and serums. The Government of Democratic Kampuchea proceeded to enlarge the experimental centre and turn it into a manufacturing plant for pharmaceutical products of some 20 different kinds.

In the field of housing, progress was just as rapid. Foreign guests and journalists who visited Democratic Kampuchea between 1975 and 1978 were able to note the construction of new houses in villages and localities throughout the country. We were beginning the planned and systematic construction of housing for the people.

Although our towns may not appear elegant and bustling because Democratic Kampuchea has had to improve the living conditions of its people in the specific circumstances obtaining as a result of the war of devastation and its poverty-stricken state, they are much cleaner and healthier than before. The heads of State, ambassadors and delegations from friendly countries were struck by the cleanliness and charm of Phnom Penh in the Democratic Kampuchea area, with its satisfactory sanitation services and water and electric supply systems.

Such was the reality of the Democratic Kampuchea era only a little more than three years after the end of the war of devastation. The rapidity with which the Government of Democratic Kampuchea managed to solve the food problem and that of the people's living conditions is remarkable indeed.

As for Viet Nam, we would ask the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique what it has succeeded in solving during the 20 years and more which have elapsed since 1954. It has continued to beg for alms. It is incapable of solving anything. The Vietnamese people have always known famine and

are now forced to flee their land to perish by the hundreds of thousands on the high seas.

And what are the facts of the situation now in Kampuchea since the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique sent its troops to invade the country?

The Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique came to pillage the property and national heritage of the Kampuchean people. It flayed the people of Kampuchea alive, bringing innumerable disasters and famine. It is systematically perpetrating genocide against the people of Kampuchea. It is sending hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese nationals to settle on Kampuchean territory after first expelling the population of Kampuchea by the hundreds of thousands and thus creating a problem as Kampuchean refugees flee abroad in the most tragic of circumstances. History has never witnessed more monstrous crimes.

How is the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique flaying the people of Kampuchea? The whole world already knows about this, but we should like to mention a few specific facts here.

The city of Phnom Penh has been totally ransacked. Tables, cupboards, chairs, refrigerators, air conditioners, whether new or used, have been stolen from public buildings and homes, together with screws, bolts, spare parts and various machines from warehouses and factories. The rice-husking plants, power stations and water-treatment plants have been dismantled and sent to Viet Nam. The Vietnamese have plundered all the art treasures of gold, silver and precious stones from the Silver Pagoda and the Royal Palace at Phnom Penh. The Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique has acted similarly in other places in Kampuchea. What cannot be removed has been destroyed. Our people's rice has been pillaged, right down to the last grain. The almost 200,000 Vietnamese soldiers of the forces of aggression have eaten all the rice belonging to the People of Kampuchea. The Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique has not sent them a single grain of rice from Viet Nam. All the oxen and buffaloes have also been carried off to Viet Nam or slaughtered for meat or left lying around to rot. Farm implements have all been plundered. The Vietnamese aggressors have destroyed the irrigation systems—dikes, reservoirs and canals. They have thus deprived the people of Kampuchea of any possibility of growing rice or engaging in other productive activities. In that way, following a preconceived plan, the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique has systematically made the devastation worse. On the one hand, it is deliberately causing famine so that the people of Kampuchea cannot fight against it and, on the other hand, it is trying to wipe out the Kampuchean race in order to send Vietnamese nationals to settle in Kampuchea in place of the Kampuchean people. This is a plan designed to shatter the heroism of the people of Kampuchea and extinguish the desire for independence of the nation and people of Kampuchea, who are engaged in a valiant struggle against the Vietnamese aggressors, expansionists, annexationists and exterminators of their race.

In these circumstances, the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique's resort to lies and slander, alleging that the Government of Democratic Kampuchea is starving the people of Kampuchea and wreaking havoc there, is merely the time-worn trick of the thief shouting "Stop, thief!"—employed in order to deceive international opinion and prevent the whole world from condemning it for its aggression against Kampuchea and its genocide against the Kampuchean people.

The press and information department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Democratic Kampuchea, on behalf of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, rejects and vigorously condemns this despicable propaganda campaign of lies by the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique.

The whole world has fully grasped the staggering truth: the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique, consisting of the most barbarous murderers in modern history, is in the process of exterminating the Kampuchean race, shamelessly and systematically carrying out genocide against the people of Kampuchea.

We are convinced that all peace-loving and justice-loving countries, Governments, political organizations, mass organizations and individuals throughout the world will redouble their efforts to halt the policy of extermination of the Kampuchean race being pursued by all these murderers and, in particular, will put greater pressure on the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique to force it to withdraw all its troops and forces of aggression from Kampuchea, thus permitting the people of Kampuchea to live once again in peace and security and furthering the cause of peace and security in South-East Asia and the rest of the world.

## Note verbale dated 9 August 1979 from the Secretary-General to the President of the Security Council

[Original: Chinese/English/French/Russian/Spanish]  
[16 August 1979]

The Secretary-General presents his compliments to the President of the Security Council and has the honour to refer to the establishment of the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF).

When the Iranian battalion was repatriated in March 1979, the Secretary-General took action, after consultation with the Security Council and as a temporary measure, to transfer a company of the Finnish battalion of the United Nations Emergency Force to UNDOF. The replacement of the Iranian battalion by a Finnish company resulted in a reduction of 139 men in the total strength of UNDOF. As a consequence, the workload of the contingents has markedly in-

creased and the number of UNDOF daily patrols has had to be reduced from 35 to 18.

The Government of Finland has now informed the Secretary-General of its willingness to bring the strength of its contingent with UNDOF to 390, which was the strength of the battalion it has replaced. It is the intention of the Secretary-General, subject to the usual consultations, to accept the offer of the Government of Finland and to make the necessary arrangements to this effect.

The Secretary-General would be grateful if the President of the Security Council would bring this matter to the attention of the members of the Council.

## DOCUMENT S/13500

## Letter dated 16 August 1979 from the President of the Security Council to the Secretary-General

[Original: Chinese/English/French/Russian/Spanish]  
[16 August 1979]

I have brought your note of 9 August 1979 [S/13499] concerning the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force to the attention of the members of the Security Council, who agree with the proposal contained therein.

The Chinese representative has informed me that China, not having participated in the voting on resolution 350 (1974) and subsequent resolutions relating to the Force, dissociates itself from the matter.

(Signed) Andrew YOUNG  
President of the Security Council

## DOCUMENT S/13501\*

## Letter dated 20 July 1979 from the Acting Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[17 August 1979]

In accordance with the decision of the Special Committee against Apartheid, I have the honour to transmit herewith, for the attention of the General Assembly and the Security Council, the summary record of the 430th meeting of the Committee,<sup>13</sup> held on 8 June 1979, at which it heard an expert on the oil embargo against South Africa.

The Special Committee wishes to take this opportunity to emphasize the importance of urgent action to impose an effective oil embargo against South Africa in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly.

I should be grateful if you would have this letter circulated as a document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Serge Elie CHARLES  
Acting Chairman of the  
Special Committee against Apartheid

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/422-S/13501.

<sup>13</sup> The summary record is not reproduced in the present document. For the text, see A/AC.115/SR.430.



## Letter dated 17 August 1979 from the representative of Democratic Kampuchea to the Secretary-General

[Original: French]  
[17 August 1979]

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith, for your information, an article from "La voix du Kampuchea démocratique" entitled "The Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique sends new reinforcement troops to Kampuchea even though it falsely declares to have withdrawn its forces from Kampuchea".

I should be grateful if you would have this text circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) THIOUNN PRASITH  
Permanent Representative  
of Democratic Kampuchea  
to the United Nations

## ANNEX

Article from "La voix du Kampuchea démocratique" entitled "The Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique sends new reinforcement troops to Kampuchea even though it falsely declares to have withdrawn its forces from Kampuchea"

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/423-S/13502.

At present the whole world is condemning Viet Nam for its aggression against Kampuchea and is calling on that country even more energetically to withdraw its forces of aggression from Kampuchea. This situation has the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique cornered. In order to extricate itself temporarily from its difficulties, the latter does not shrink from resorting to sheer falsehoods. This Mr. Nguyen Co Thach has thus not hesitated to lie: he stated recently that Hanoi was going to withdraw its troops from Kampuchea and that it had, moreover, already started to do so. But what is the real situation? The truth is that Viet Nam has instead reinforced its forces of aggression in Kampuchea:

1. From mid-July up until the present, the Vietnamese have brought up two divisions from Viet Nam as reinforcements in order to launch a new search operation at Rattanakiri and Stung Tréng. We have completely smashed this search operation which, nevertheless, has not come to an end.

2. At the beginning of August 1979 the Vietnamese reinforced their garrison at Pailin with two new regiments with 10 tanks.

3. At the beginning of August they also sent two new regiments as reinforcements to the Siemreap-Angkor front.

4. The Vietnamese have also sent a regiment to reinforce their position along the Sisophon-Thmar Puok road.

The statement by Nguyen Co Thach to the effect that Hanoi has already started to withdraw its forces from Kampuchea is thus nothing but a sheer falsehood, designed to extricate him temporarily from his difficulties.

## DOCUMENT S/13503\*

## Letter dated 18 August 1979 from the representative of Mauritania to the Secretary-General

[Original: French]  
[20 August 1979]

On instructions from my Government, I have the honour to transmit to you the following message.

The Government of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, by the Agreement of Algiers concluded on 10 August 1979 with the representatives of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Saguia El Hamra and Río de Oro (Polisario), has renounced all territorial claims to Western Sahara and decided to withdraw definitively from the war taking place there.

In addition, in the declaration of 14 August 1979, it decided to withdraw its troops and administration from the part of Western Sahara which it had been controlling and requested the Moroccan Government to withdraw forthwith its contingents stationed in Mauritanian territory.

In so doing, the Government of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania took account of the Charter of the United Nations and the Charter of the Organization of African Unity. It has acted in accordance with resolutions of the General Assembly, the Security Council and the Organization of African Unity concerning the question of Western Sahara.

By relinquishing all claims to Western Sahara and withdrawing from the part of the region which it had been controlling, the Government of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania considers that it has also withdrawn from the conflict concerning this territory. It has thereby assumed a position of strict neutrality.

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/427-S/13503.

The Government of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania therefore requests the United Nations to take note of the Agreement of Algiers of 10 August 1979 and the Declaration of Nouakchott of 14 August 1979, the texts of which are annexed hereto, and to consider those two documents as establishing the neutrality of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania in the Western Sahara conflict. It also appeals to the United Nations to use all its authority to ensure that States and organizations concerned by the Western Sahara conflict respect this neutral status and the integrity of Mauritanian territory within the limits of the frontiers defined in 1960 and internationally recognized.

I should be grateful if you would have this message and its annexes circulated as a document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Sid'Ahmed Ould TAYA  
Permanent Representative of Mauritania  
to the United Nations

## ANNEX I

Mauritano-Sahraoui agreement, signed at Algiers  
on 10 August 1979

Considering the commitment of the Mauritanian and Sahraoui parties to scrupulous respect for the inviolable principles of the Charter of the Organization of African Unity and the Charter of the United Nations con-

cerning the rights of peoples to self-determination and the intangibility of frontiers inherited from the colonial era;

Considering the sincere desire of the two parties, the Islamic Republic of Mauritania and the Frente Polisario, to establish a just and definitive peace in accordance with the principles of peaceful coexistence, mutual respect and neighbourliness,

Considering the urgent need for the two parties to find a global and definitive solution to the conflict, guaranteeing the Sahraoui people their full national rights and peace and stability for the region,

A. The Islamic Republic of Mauritania solemnly declares that it does not have and will not have any territorial or other claims on Western Sahara.

B. The Islamic Republic of Mauritania decides to withdraw definitively from the unjust Western Sahara war according to the modalities determined by common agreement with the representatives of the Sahraoui people, the Frente Polisario.

The Frente Polisario solemnly declares that it does not have and will not have any territorial claims on Mauritania.

The Frente Polisario, on behalf of the Sahraoui people, and the Islamic Republic of Mauritania hereby decide to sign an agreement for definitive peace between the two parties.

The two parties have decided to hold periodic meetings to see that the modalities referred to in paragraph B are followed.

The two parties shall transmit this agreement immediately after its signature to the current Chairman, and the members of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the Organization of African Unity, the Secretaries General of the Organization of African Unity and of the United Nations and the current President of the non-aligned movement.

## ANNEX II

### Declaration of 14 August 1979 by the Prime Minister of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania

The Military Committee for National Safety and the Government, in order to meet your desire for peace, initiated a dynamic process which has just been crowned with success.

In order to safeguard this newly achieved peace, the Military Committee for National Safety and the Government took the important measures listed below at special meetings held today:

1. The occupation by force of Dakhla by Moroccan troops is considered by Mauritania to be an act of aggression against its provisional administration, which it is protesting with the utmost vigour to the international authorities.

2. Given this situation, the Government considers that it is no longer in a position to fulfil its commitments concerning Tiris El Gharbia.

3. Desiring to bring about the conditions necessary for the restoration of genuine peace, it has therefore decided to withdraw as from 15 August 1979 from Tiris El Gharbia and reaffirms that it no longer has any territorial claims thereto.

4. It is informing the parties concerned by the question of Western Sahara of its decision.

5. It is inviting international organizations, in particular the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity, to assume their responsibilities.

6. It is requesting Morocco to withdraw its troops immediately from Mauritanian territory.

7. It is appealing to the international community, and in particular to friendly countries, to help it to defend its independence and its territorial integrity within the limits of its internationally recognized frontiers.

## DOCUMENT S/13504\*

### Letter dated 20 August 1979 from the representative of Democratic Kampuchea to the Secretary-General

*[Original: French]  
[20 August 1979]*

I have the honour to transmit herewith, for your information, a report on the situation of the people's war against the Vietnamese aggressors, issued by the Ministry of Information of Democratic Kampuchea.

I should be grateful if you would have this text circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

*(Signed) THIOUNN PRASITH  
Permanent Representative of  
Democratic Kampuchea  
to the United Nations*

#### ANNEX

#### Report on the situation of the people's war against the Vietnamese aggressors

##### RATTANAKIRI-STUNG TRÉNG FRONT

1. From 7 to 11 June 1979, we liberated the area running from the west bank of the Se San river in the Voensay district to the east bank of the Se Kong river in the Siempang district. We are now in complete control of the highway from Voensay to Siempang. All the villages in this area have been liberated; they include Ey Tup, Vooun Hay, Sré Dan, Aur Nnonong, Bak Kè, Kalay, Sré Krao, Phum Thmey, Sré Por, Chanto and Aur Smang, the area extending as far as Kirivongsa in the north.

2. On 9 July, we liberated Svay Rieng and Sré Lpeuv on the south bank of the Se San river in the Voensay district, in addition to many other villages along the Se San, up to Sré Kor in the Stung Tréng province. We have thus taken control of 60 kilometres of the Se San river, from Sré Kor to the downstream side of Voensay. At the same time, we liberated a strip 50 kilometres long between the Se San river and national highway 19.

3. In mid-July, the Vietnamese sent a reinforcement of two fresh divisions from Viet Nam to launch new, far-reaching search-and-destroy operations in the Rattanakiri and Stung Tréng provinces, along national highway 19. Our heroic guerrillas and the area's inhabitants everywhere responded bravely to the Vietnamese aggressors and put large numbers of enemy troops out of action. It can be said that the enemy operation has basically been held in check since the beginning of August, although the operation is continuing. However, the Vietnamese aggressors are the target of constant guerrilla attacks from every quarter. Even now, we are attacking the enemy along highway 19, at Siempang, along the Se Kong river, outside Stung Tréng and along highway 7 from Stung Tréng to the Laotian border. In the Rattanakiri province, we have extended our guerrilla-held zone to the provincial capital of Lomphat and, in the Stung Tréng province, to Phlaur Chhep, Rovieng and the west bank of the Tréng river. On 16 July, we also liberated Krala Puok, in the Stung Tréng province.

We have been able to halt each of the many search-and-destroy operations of the Vietnamese aggressors by putting methods of guerrilla warfare to good use and employing guerrilla tactics flexibly, bearing in mind our policy of retaining our independence and sovereignty and of relying on our own forces. We have wiped out significant numbers of enemy troops and have safeguarded our own forces and our population; we have protected our bases and have stimulated the production of everything we need. Lastly, in a short period of time we have liberated large areas and we have strengthened and expanded our guerrilla bases and zones.

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/426-S/13504.

DOCUMENT S/13505\*

Letter dated 20 August 1979 from the representative of Cyprus to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[20 August 1979]

Upon instructions from my Government, I have the honour to draw your attention once again to the continued violations by Turkey of the airspace of the Republic of Cyprus.

On 17 August 1979, at approximately 9.55 hrs., two Turkish military aircraft, ostensibly taking part in military manoeuvres being carried out for several days now by the Turkish invasion army in the occupied areas of the Republic, flew over the area north of Skylloura village.

In protesting these further aggressive actions of Turkey, I wish to point out that the aforementioned violations occur once again at a difficult phase of the situation in Cyprus, when efforts are being made to obtain the resumption of the intercommunal talks.

I should be grateful if you were to circulate this letter as a document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Andreas V. MAVROMMATIS  
Permanent Representative of Cyprus  
to the United Nations

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/428-S/13505.

DOCUMENT S/13506\*

Assistance to Botswana: report of the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[28 August 1979]

1. In its resolution 33/130 of 19 December 1978, the General Assembly requested the Secretary-General, *inter alia*, to continue his efforts to mobilize the necessary resources for an effective programme of financial, technical and material assistance to Botswana, to keep the situation in Botswana under constant review and to submit a report on the progress achieved in time for the matter to be considered by the Assembly at its thirty-fourth session.

2. In pursuance of the resolution, the Secretary-General arranged for a review mission to visit Botswana in May 1979 to consult with the Government. The report of the review mission, which is annexed hereto,<sup>14</sup> describes the economic and financial position of the country, provides a list of the Government's priority requirements to deal with the serious situation facing the country as a result of drought, and summarizes the progress which has been made in implementing the projects included in the special economic assistance programme.

3. In resolution 33/130, the Secretary-General was further requested to pursue with the Government of Botswana the question of organizing a meeting of donors and, in this respect, to co-ordinate efforts with the United Nations Development Programme, the Economic Commission for Africa and the World Bank. Consultations are currently in progress with the three bodies and, on completion, the results will be transmitted to the Government for consideration. Further action will be determined in the light of the Government's reactions.

4. In paragraph 8 of resolution 33/130, the General Assembly invited a number of United Nations specialized agencies and organizations to bring to the attention of their governing bodies for their consideration the assistance they were rendering to Botswana and to report the results of that assistance and their decisions to the Secretary-General in time for consideration by the Assembly at its thirty-fourth session. Furthermore, in paragraph 10, the appropriate specialized agencies and other organizations of the United Nations system were requested to report periodically to the Secretary-General on the steps they had taken and the resources they had made available to assist Botswana. The responses of the agencies and organizations will be reproduced as an addendum to the present report.

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/419-S/13506.

<sup>14</sup> The text of the report entitled "Report of the third review mission to Botswana (16-22 May 1979)" is not reproduced here; it may be consulted in the Dag Hammarskjöld Library.

DOCUMENT S/13507

Letter dated 20 August 1979 from the representative of Kuwait to the President of the Security Council

[Original: English]  
[20 August 1979]

I have the honour to enclose a letter from the Permanent Observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

I request you to circulate the enclosure as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Abdalla Yaccoub BISHARA  
Permanent Representative of Kuwait  
to the United Nations

LETTER DATED 15 AUGUST 1979 FROM THE OBSERVER OF  
THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION TO THE  
PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

Upon instructions of Chairman Yasser Arafat, I should like to refer to Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan's statement on 14 August 1979, in which he asserted that the

Americans "accept" the Israeli Government's "authority", and "right" to attack what it regards to be "terrorist bases" in Lebanon.

Tangible evidence of American support for the Zionists' aims and policies is the variety of sophisticated American weaponry—with names such as the Hawkeye, the Cobra helicopter and the Redeye—which Israel has put to use against the so-called "terrorist bases" in Lebanon.

I should like to recall that on 26 June, Menachem Begin stated, in referring to those attacks: "We do not retaliate anymore. We hit them once or even twice a day according to our decision and any time".

With the moral and material encouragement of the United States Government, the Zionists have intensified their attacks against the so-called "terrorist bases". This morning,

Israeli gunboats bombarded the road extending along the coast from Safafand to Shebriha. Israeli and isolationist artillery has been shelling intermittently the Ras el Ein region with a concentration of fire on the streets in the area.

The shelling was later intensified to include the area of Aysheya and the refugee camp at Al Buss.

The destruction in lives and property of these latest Zionist raids has yet to be assessed. But it is clear that what the Israelis refer to as "terrorist bases" are, in the parlance of human beings whose minds racism has not distorted, hamlets, villages and Palestinian refugee camps.

(Signed) Zehdi Labib TERZI  
Permanent Observer of the  
Palestine Liberation Organization  
to the United Nations

#### DOCUMENT S/13508\*

##### Letter dated 20 August 1979 from the representative of Israel to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[20 August 1979]

Yet again, I wish to draw your attention to the ongoing attempts by PLO terrorists based in Lebanon to conduct acts of indiscriminate terror against the civilian population of Israel.

On the night of 17 to 18 August 1979, an Israel navy patrol spotted and intercepted a rubber dinghy entering Israel coastal waters off Rosh Hanikra, in northern Israel. Aboard the craft were four PLO criminals dispatched to carry out acts of terror in Israel. In an exchange of fire, the dinghy was sunk, one terrorist drowned and the three others were captured.

The following day, Saturday, 18 August, radio Sawt al-Arab broadcast a report that the terrorists aboard had been sent by a group belonging to the PLO.

That criminal attempt, which could have had grave consequences, must be seen against the background of a series of related incidents. As will be recalled, the Israel navy providentially foiled similar sea-borne attempts by the PLO from Lebanon at the beginning of April and also on 4 June (see my letters of 22 April and 5 June 1979, circulated as documents S/13264 and S/13376).

On 22 April, a design of this kind took its tragic toll. On that occasion, as reported to you at the time [S/13264], four PLO terrorists landed by means of a rubber dinghy at Nahariya some six miles from the Lebanese border. In the course of the ensuing atrocity, four Israeli civilians, including two little sisters, died, and two other civilians were wounded.

All these attempts are part of a concerted PLO campaign of violence being waged from Lebanon which, as you noted in your statement to the Security Council on 31 May 1979

[2146th meeting], has a direct bearing on the situation in Southern Lebanon.

In that context, mention should also be made of the following recent incidents which have occurred in the course of the current month:

(a) On 3 August, an explosive device was discovered at Jerusalem and dismantled without causing injury.

(b) On 5 August, a large explosive device went off opposite the Municipal Building at Jerusalem, injuring six persons, two of them seriously (see the letter of the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of Israel of 7 August, circulated as document S/13490).

(c) On 15 August, an explosive device went off at the Beit Lid Junction, near the coastal town of Natanya, injuring two persons.

(d) On the same day, another explosive device went off in the centre of the town of Kfar Saba (inland from Tel-Aviv), injuring one person.

Beyond indiscriminate terror for its own sake, the declared aim of this campaign of violence by the PLO is to subvert the ongoing peace process in the Middle East.

Given the true character and aims of the terrorist PLO, the Government of Israel is duty-bound, as I have indicated in previous letters, to take all measures necessary to protect the lives and safety of its citizens.

I have the honour to request that this letter be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Yehuda Z. BLUM  
Permanent Representative of Israel  
to the United Nations

#### DOCUMENT S/13509\*

##### Letter dated 22 August 1979 from the representative of Lebanon to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[22 August 1979]

On instructions from my Government, and pursuant to

our letter dated 6 August 1979 [S/13486], I have the honour to draw your attention to the continuing Israeli acts of aggression against Lebanon as follows.

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/429-S/13508.

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/433-S/13509.

1. On 19 August:

At 800 hours, the villages of Ar-Rihan, al-Jurmuk, al-Aishiyah, Khallit Khazim and surrounding areas were shelled by Israeli gunners.

At 1100 hours, the village of al-Bireh and the road connecting Shweya and Sheba'a were shelled for half an hour.

At 1150 hours, an Israeli force raided the village of Sheba'a, but was intercepted by troops of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon and was compelled to withdraw within two hours.

At 1610 hours, Israeli aircraft overflew at low altitude the city of Tyre.

At 1630 hours, the area around the village of al-Mualliyah was shelled.

At 1800 hours, the villages of Arnoun, Kfar Tibnit, Kfar Rumman, Habboush and Jarjou' were continuously shelled for three hours.

2. On 21 August:

At 845 hours, the city of Tyre was subjected to a barrage of heavy artillery fire for half an hour.

3. On 22 August:

At 830 hours, the village of Suhmor came under concentrated artillery fire.

At 850 hours, concentrated shelling against Tyre was directed indiscriminately at all neighbourhoods within the city.

These unwarranted attacks against Lebanon violate the Israeli-Lebanese General Armistice Agreement of 1949, international law and the Charter of the United Nations. But above all they constitute a defiance of the Security Council and a blatant attempt to obstruct the implementation of its resolutions 425 (1978) and 450 (1979).

I would appreciate your having this letter circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

*(Signed) Fakhri SAGHIYYAH  
Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the  
Permanent Mission of Lebanon  
to the United Nations*

**DOCUMENT S/13510\***

**Letter dated 22 August 1979 from the representative of Lebanon to the Secretary-General**

*[Original: English]  
[22 August 1979]*

Pursuant to my letter of today [S/13509], I have the honour to inform you that, in addition to the villages named and which were subjected to shelling, the town of Nabatiyeh also came under fire. In the indiscriminate bombardment of that town, a convent was hit. This resulted in death to two children, the oldest of whom was 14 years old. Twenty-two others were wounded, most of whom were 8 or 9 years old. Two infants 6 and 8 months old were among the casualties; all of them were Lebanese.

In another attack on Hasbaya today, two brothers 4 and

6 years old were killed, as well as a very old lady. Shelling continued throughout the day.

These horrors speak for themselves. It looks very strange, indeed, that the Israelis, who have denounced such acts in the most unspeakable of terms, should become themselves the perpetrators of yet another atrocity.

I would appreciate your having this letter circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

*(Signed) Fakhri SAGHIYYAH  
Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the  
Permanent Mission of Lebanon  
to the United Nations*

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/434-S/13510.

**DOCUMENT S/13511\***

**Letter dated 22 August 1979 from the representative of Israel to the Secretary-General**

*[Original: English]  
[22 August 1979]*

I wish to draw your urgent attention to yet another atrocity committed by terrorists of the so-called PLO in Israel yesterday.

At 1900 hours (local time), an explosive charge went off in an amusement park at Tel-Aviv, injuring two women. An hour later, another device exploded, wounding one man. A third device was uncovered in the park and providentially dismantled, without causing injury or damage.

There were about 20,000 people in the amusement park at the time of the explosions. The same evening, Radio Damascus announced that PLO terrorists took responsibility for the blasts.

In that connexion, it should also be mentioned that yesterday, at about 0600 hours, an explosive device was discovered at a bus stop at Jerusalem and was dismantled safely by a police patrol.

The mindless killing of civilians has been the barbaric aim of the terrorist PLO throughout its existence. Its designs, whether successful or not, are characteristic of this group of international criminals of the worst kind which masquerades under the banner of a national liberation movement.

Moreover, since the signing of the Israel-Egypt peace treaty on 26 March 1979, there has been a marked increase in the number of terrorist acts against civilians in Israel, and the PLO has declared openly that its object is to try to subvert the ongoing peace process in the Middle East.

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/435-S/13511.

In parallel, it has become all the more obvious that the PLO is a pliant tool in the hands of certain Arab Governments engaged in a concerted campaign against peace in the Middle East.

Facts such as these, rather than the attempts of the PLO at deception or the wishful illusions entertained by others, reveal the true character of the PLO and the aim it serves, and thus oblige the Government of Israel to take all measures

necessary to protect the lives and safety of its citizens.

I have the honour to request that this letter be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Yehuda Z. BLUM  
Permanent Representative of Israel  
to the United Nations

#### DOCUMENT S/13512\*

#### Letter dated 23 August 1979 from the representative of Democratic Kampuchea to the Secretary-General

[Original: French]  
[23 August 1979]

I have the honour to transmit herewith, for your information, a statement by the spokesman for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Democratic Kampuchea, dated 20 August 1979, concerning the war of aggression and racial extermination being waged in Democratic Kampuchea by the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique.

I should be grateful if you would arrange for the text of this statement to be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) THIOUNN PRASITH  
Permanent Representative of  
Democratic Kampuchea  
to the United Nations

#### ANNEX

#### Statement by the spokesman for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Democratic Kampuchea dated 20 August 1979

The war of aggression and racial extermination which the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique is currently waging with unprecedented brutality has visited untold sufferings on the people of Kampuchea and has given rise to separations, mourning and the most appalling cases of starvation. The Vietnamese troops of aggression are committing crimes and destruction on a scale unprecedented in the history of mankind with a view to exterminating the Kampuchean race and wiping Kampuchea from the map of the world.

Kampuchea possesses abundant natural resources and its people are brave and hard-working. Never before in its long history has the country experienced a famine on the order of the one caused by the Vietnamese aggression. After its liberation, in little more than three years (1975-1978) under the leadership of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, the people of Kampuchea directed all their efforts towards overcoming the obstacles left in the wake of the war and, as a result of their determination to increase production, were able speedily to resolve the problem of food supplies in complete independence and self-reliance.

Under the leadership of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea the people of Kampuchea have gradually solved the fundamental problem of agricultural production, and, more particularly, rice-growing, namely the

problem of water supply, through the development of irrigation works and canals of every description which criss-cross all the regions of the country.

Friends and journalists who visited Democratic Kampuchea, particularly in 1977 and 1978, as well as international observers, have been unanimous in stating that "in Kampuchea, the problem of hunger does not arise, the 1979 rice harvest promises to be abundant and to surpass all previous harvests".

But the war of aggression against Democratic Kampuchea launched by the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique on 25 December 1978 has changed the situation entirely. The Vietnamese troops of aggression are not satisfied with "burning, destroying and killing everyone and everything", in the best fascist traditions, they are also systematically destroying the irrigation works constructed by our people at the cost of great effort after the liberation. They have gone so far as to destroy agricultural tools and to forbid our people to farm the crops needed to feed themselves. All these monstrous crimes and this tremendous destruction are being perpetrated by the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique in systematic fashion—in accordance with a pre-established plan—the aim of which is to prevent the people of Kampuchea from resisting by plunging them into famine, and to exterminate the Kampuchean race and settle Vietnamese nationals in the place of Kampuchean in the territory of Kampuchea.

Even more sordid is the exploitation by the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique of the generosity and humanitarian sentiments of countries, peoples, organizations and individuals in the world, to obtain assistance and, hence, recognition for the treasonous puppet régime in Phnom Penh in order to legalize its own aggression against Kampuchea.

This is not the first time that the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique has resorted to such contemptible behaviour. During the rainy season in 1978, it used the hardship wreaked by flooding as a pretext for obtaining additional foreign aid which it used to prepare for its war of aggression against Kampuchea.

We are convinced that the countries, peoples, organizations and individuals of the world, motivated by generosity and the desire to alleviate the suffering of the people of Kampuchea, can see through this underhanded and abject manoeuvre of the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique, and will adopt the appropriate measures to ensure that humanitarian assistance is not diverted to the war of aggression, expansion, annexation and racial extermination which the clique is waging. The most effective form which humanitarian assistance can take, if it is to resolve fundamentally and definitively the problem of famine in Kampuchea, is to speak out against and bring pressure to bear on Viet Nam to withdraw its troops and forces of aggression from Kampuchea, desist from its policy of exterminating the Kampuchean race, and leave the people of Kampuchea to settle their own affairs without outside interference. Only by attacking the problem at its roots can the horrendous suffering and misfortune resulting from the famine which the Kampuchean people are enduring be brought to an end.

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/437-S/13512.

#### DOCUMENT S/13513\*

#### Letter dated 23 August 1979 from the representative of Viet Nam to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[23 August 1979]

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith for your information a copy of the statement dated 21 August 1979

on the territorial sea made by the spokesman for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, and request you kindly to have this letter and its enclosure

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/438-S/13513.

circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) NGUYEN NGOC DUNG  
Acting Permanent Representative of  
the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam  
to the United Nations

#### ANNEX

Statement dated 21 August 1979 on the territorial sea made by the spokesman for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam

According to the Voice of America, a spokesman for the United States State Department on 10 August 1979 made public a statement that the

United States would only recognize a three-mile territorial sea for maritime nations, and that United States ships and aircraft could operate in disputed areas outside that three-mile limit.

This constitutes a violation of international law and practice, and an encroachment on the sovereignty of maritime countries.

The Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam firmly rejects that statement of the United States State Department spokesman and reaffirms its stand as follows.

The statement made public by the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam on 12 May 1977 on Viet Nam's territorial sea, contiguous zone, exclusive economic zone and continental shelf, provides a 12 nautical mile territorial sea for Viet Nam. The islands and archipelagoes forming an integral part of the Vietnamese territory and beyond the Vietnamese territorial sea have their own territorial sea. The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam has complete sovereignty over its territorial sea, as well as the superjacent air space and the sea-bed and subsoil of the territorial sea.

The Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam will take appropriate measures to protect its full and complete sovereignty over its territorial sea and defend its interests in the maritime zones and on the continental shelf under its jurisdiction.

#### DOCUMENT S/13514

##### Senegal: draft resolution

[Original: English]  
[23 August 1979]

The Security Council,  
Having considered the report of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People,  
Having heard the representatives of the parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization,

Convinced that the question of Palestine is the core of the conflict in the Middle East,

Reaffirming the urgent necessity of the establishment of a just and lasting peace through a comprehensive settlement based on full respect for the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations, as well as for its resolutions concerning the problem of the Middle East and the question of Palestine,

Expressing its concern over the continuing deterioration of the situation in the Middle East, and deeply deploring Israel's persistence in its occupation of the Arab territories, including Jerusalem, and its refusal to implement the relevant United Nations resolutions,

Reaffirming the principle of the inadmissibility of acquisition of territories by the threat or use of force,

Reaffirming also its resolutions on the Middle East and

the question of Palestine, particularly resolutions 237 (1967), 242 (1967), 252 (1968), 338 (1973) and other relevant resolutions,

##### 1. Affirms:

(a) That the Palestinian people should be enabled to exercise their inalienable rights of self-determination, national independence and sovereignty in Palestine, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and relevant resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly;

(b) The right of Palestinian refugees wishing to return to their homes and live at peace with their neighbours to do so and the right of those choosing not to return to receive compensation for their property, in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and General Assembly resolutions, in particular resolution 194 (III) of 11 December 1948;

2. Decides that the provisions contained in paragraph 1 above should be taken fully into account in all international efforts and conferences organized within the framework of the United Nations for the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

#### DOCUMENT S/13516

##### Letter dated 24 August 1979 from the representative of Lebanon to the President of the Security Council

[Original: English]  
[24 August 1979]

In his letter to you on 6 August 1979 [S/13486], the Permanent Representative of Lebanon drew your attention, as well as that of the Security Council, to the situation in Southern Lebanon and the escalation of violence which has caused the loss of innocent lives and rendered the mission of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) extremely difficult.

As you are well aware, in its resolution 450 (1979), the Security Council called upon Israel "to cease forthwith its

acts against the territorial integrity, unity, sovereignty and political independence of Lebanon". The Council resolved further "to examine practical ways and means in accordance with relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations to secure the full implementation of resolution 425 (1978)".

Since our letter of 6 August, Israel has attacked and shelled positions inside Lebanon. The day before yesterday I sent two letters to the Council underlining those unwarranted attacks against my country [S/13509 and S/13510].

More innocent victims fell, mainly children. The bloodshed has not stopped. Tyre was savagely bombarded, and so were the villages of Ain ed-Dilb and el-Miye-wa-Miye. Preliminary reports speak of 10 killed and 18 wounded and heavy damage to property. As of 2300 hours, Beirut time, shelling was in progress along a wide front. The final toll can be much more grave.

Undoubtedly, those attacks have an adverse effect on the UNIFIL mandate. The Security Council cannot remain indifferent to those attacks, and the Lebanese Government feels strongly that UNIFIL must be in a position to implement its mandate fully. Its prerogative to use force has clearly been spelled out in cases of self-defence and if prevented by force to carry out its mandate (para. 4d of the report of the Secretary-General on the implementation of resolution 425 (1978), establishing UNIFIL [S/12611 of 19 March 1978]).

The tragic death of three UNIFIL soldiers of the Fiji battalion and the wounding of two others can be explained

only in terms of the cycle of violence and counterviolence. My Government firmly believes in the role of UNIFIL and in the urgent need to provide it with the means to implement its mandate.

On instructions from my Government, and in view of the continued escalation of violence and the loss of innocent human lives, I have the honour to request you to call an urgent meeting of the Security Council. My Government feels that the deteriorating situation in Southern Lebanon is endangering peace and security beyond any tolerable level, and it is now imperative to ask the Council to take the appropriate measures, including the imposition of sanctions on Israel, to put once and for all an end to its aggression against Lebanon.

(Signed) Fakhri SAGHIYYAH  
Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the  
Permanent Mission of Lebanon  
to the United Nations

## DOCUMENT S/13519\*

### Letter dated 28 August 1979 from the representative of Lebanon to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[28 August 1979]

1. Upon instructions from my Government, I am conveying our appreciation for the appeal you addressed to "all parties concerned" on Friday, 24 August 1979, for a cease-fire in Southern Lebanon, and the efforts deployed by you, the Commander of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) and members of the Secretariat to implement a cease-fire on the terrain. My Government wishes to share your deep sorrow for the death of the Fijian soldiers who had come to serve the cause of peace in Lebanon. We pray that you convey to the Commander of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon and the Government of Fiji our most heartfelt sentiments and the hope that we shall all be able to put an end to what is now commonly called "the cycle of violence", imperilling peace and security, and preventing the implementation of Security Council resolutions, let alone the unbearable losses in human lives, the destruction of property, and the near to total disruption of civil society. In our letter of 11 July 1979 to the President of the Council [S/13452] we had already expressed our concern that, "if left unchecked", the general climate of violence and counter-violence created since the adoption of resolution 450 (1979) "might lead to the total deterioration and an erosion beyond repair of the United Nations Forces' credibility and capacity to act efficiently".

My Government believes that, with the events of last week, we have now reached the danger point which calls for some urgent measures.

2. In the aforementioned letter of 11 July 1979, we had reminded the Security Council of the following:

"Resolution 450 (1979) was adopted with the understanding that measures were going to be taken within the context of the United Nations to create conditions that would be conducive to the total restoration of Lebanese sovereignty, the preservation of the territorial integrity and independence of Lebanon, and the full exercise of

the Government's authority. The General Armistice Agreement of 1949 between Lebanon and Israel was confirmed and all parties were called upon to observe strictly the dispositions of the relevant resolutions and decisions."

Since then, we felt compelled to call for an urgent meeting of the Security Council by our letter of 24 August 1979 [S/13516] asking specifically that all practical ways and means conducive to the implementation of the appropriate resolutions of the Council be examined "in accordance with relevant provisions of the Charter", as called for by resolutions 444 (1979) and 450 (1979), not excluding a request for sanctions against Israel, if it should continue its policy of defiance and aggression.

3. Pursuant to our letter of 24 August 1979, and pending a debate by the Security Council, I am now instructed by my Government to request explicitly from you, in accordance with the appropriate Council resolutions, and particularly resolutions 426 (1978), 444 (1979) and 450 (1979), and more generally, in accordance with the prerogatives of the Secretary-General and the mandate granted by those resolutions, that measures be taken urgently to fulfil the following:

(a) Ensure the safety and integrity of UNIFIL and its headquarters and obtain the necessary guarantees for its freedom of movement and action, in accordance with the Secretary-General's report of 12 January 1979 [S/13026, para. 22] and as called for by the Security Council repeatedly as part of a "phased programme of activities", then particularly on 26 April 1979.

(b) Provide UNIFIL with the necessary weapons and equipment "of a defensive character" that will enable the Force to exercise self-defence, which includes "resistance to attempts by forceful means to prevent it from discharging its duties under the mandate", as stated in the Secretary-General's report of 19 March 1978 [S/12611, para. 4d] and instantly approved by resolution 426 (1978), then confirmed

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by resolution 450 (1979). A serious deterrent capability will at least enable the Force to discourage further challenges to its authority and prevent attacks on its men and installations that imperil both its safety and success.

(c) Support UNIFIL with necessary logistical and infrastructural means, not excluding additional personnel, that will increase its deterrent capability and enable it "to function as an effective military unit", as stated in paragraph 5 of resolution 450 (1979).

(d) Reconsider the definition of the "area of operation" of UNIFIL and its methods of deployment and movement, in the light of developments on the terrain since resolution 426 (1978) confirmed the provisions of the Secretary-General's report of 19 March 1978. For the sake of the security of the Force, its efficiency and the preservation of Lebanon's territorial integrity, and given the recent escalation of violence by acts of aggression and hostilities outside the originally occupied area, we think that UNIFIL should enjoy greater freedom of action for the implementation of its mandate, as initially requested during the Security Council debates of March 1978.

(e) Increase the number of posts and personnel of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization on the border with Israel, and wherever necessary, with the appropriate guarantees of safety and freedom of action to enable them, as requested in our letter to you of 15 June 1979, to verify, with unimpeachable impartiality, all violations of the General Armistice Agreement of 1949, the validity of which having been reaffirmed by paragraph 6 of resolution 450 (1979).

(f) Reactivate the Israel-Lebanon Mixed Armistice Commission as called for in resolution 450 (1979) and call for a meeting under the auspices of the highest possible United Nations military authority in the area. The initial agenda of that meeting should naturally be the examination of the appropriate measures to be taken by the parties concerned in order to confirm the cease-fire reached on the terrain and prevent the resurgence of hostilities and acts of aggression. It is evident from the report of the Secretary-General of 19 March 1978 that, in view of the interim character of UNIFIL, the Mixed Armistice Commission should be progressively prepared to assume its responsibility towards assuring international peace and security on the internationally recognized and guaranteed frontiers of Lebanon.

4. My Government feels that the above-mentioned measures cannot be taken without the full co-operation of Lebanese civilian and military personnel. To that end, I am authorized by the appropriate authorities solemnly to pledge such co-operation without the slightest reservation. The presence of a Lebanese army contingent in the UNIFIL area of operation, under the operational command of the Force, has been so far a successful contribution in many respects, more in fact than has been told. We are ready to assume further responsibilities inside and outside the "area of operation" either under the operational command of UNIFIL or in conjunction with UNIFIL's planned action. The governing principle should, however, always be clearly what

resolution 425 (1978) states as the assistance by the United Nations to enable Lebanon to recover its "territorial integrity, sovereignty and political independence . . . within its internationally recognized boundaries", then "assisting the Government of Lebanon in ensuring the return of its effective authority in the area", . . . "to prevent the recurrence of fighting and to ensure that its area of operation will not be utilized for hostile activities of any kind" [*ibid.*, para. 2d].

5. In our letter of 7 May 1979, we said that it was "clear to us that a certain measure of 'peace-enforcing' was not precluded at the very inception of UNIFIL" [S/13301, para. 7]. We also said that we were not yet seeking a fundamental change in the mandate of UNIFIL and hoped that this shall not become necessary [*ibid.*, para. 15]. However, my Government feared, even then, that the time may come when we will have to "examine practical ways and means" in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter which "should enable UNIFIL to enforce peace, if and when necessary, on all those—without exception—who would irresponsibly threaten its security and obstruct the fulfilment of its mission" [*ibid.*, para. 16].

We fear that the time has come for such an examination, in the most serious and determined manner. My Government shares your view that UNIFIL is threatened, and so is its mission of peace, and that the consequences, as you yourself said, "would not only be a new disaster for the Government and people of Lebanon but could also lead to a renewed and serious deterioration of the situation in the Middle East as a whole" [S/13258 of 19 April 1979, para. 29].

My Government's insistence that the situation should be fundamentally reviewed, with utmost urgency, in the light of our above-stated proposals should thus be understood as an expression of our earnest desire to spare Lebanon and the Middle East the disaster which we feel may be nearer and nearer every day.

In this perspective, we feel that it is imperative to repeat, once more, the call by the Security Council for diplomatic action parallel to military deterrence. We are referring in particular to paragraph 7 of resolution 450 (1979) which reads:

"Urges all Member States which are in a position to do so to bring their influence to bear on those concerned, so that the Force can discharge its responsibilities fully and unhampered".

While expressing appreciation for the efforts deployed in this context by friendly States, my Government wishes at this juncture to stress the importance it attaches to a greater consolidation of such efforts and to the necessity of focusing on the full and unconditional implementation of the Security Council resolutions.

I have the honour to request that this letter be distributed as a document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Ghassan TUÉNI  
Permanent Representative of Lebanon  
to the United Nations

Letter dated 28 August 1979 from the representative of Lebanon  
to the President of the Security Council

[Original: English]  
[28 August 1979]

Pursuant to our letters of 6 and 24 August 1979 [S/13486 and S/13516] and following our meeting of 27 August, I am instructed by my Government to request a meeting of the Security Council at the earliest possible date.

We are aware that there is on the terrain a *de facto* cease-fire which has been reached locally through the efforts of the United Nations Secretariat and of the Commander of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon. We think that an early meeting of the Security Council, by taking notice of this cease-fire, will help consolidate it and pave the way for a further implementation of the Council resolutions, in particular resolution 450 (1979).

I have presented today to the Secretary-General a memorandum [S/13519] and I hope you will find it possible to submit this memorandum to the attention of the Council.

(Signed) Ghassan TUÉNI  
Permanent Representative of Lebanon  
to the United Nations

## DOCUMENT S/13522\*

Letter dated 30 August 1979 from the representative of Viet Nam to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[30 August 1979]

I have the honour to transmit herewith to you for your information a copy of the Viet Nam-Kampuchea joint statement, dated 25 August 1979, on the occasion of the official visit to the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam by the delegation of the United Front for the National Salvation of Kampuchea and the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea, and request you kindly to have this letter and its enclosure circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) NGUYEN NGOC DUNG  
Acting Permanent Representative of  
the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam  
to the United Nations

## ANNEX

Viet Nam-Kampuchea joint statement

At the invitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Viet Nam, the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the Viet Nam Fatherland Front Central Committee, a delegation of the United Front for the National Salvation of Kampuchea and the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea, led by Heng Samrin, President of the United Front and of the Council, paid a friendly official visit to the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam from 22 to 25 August 1979.

During its stay in Viet Nam, the delegation laid a wreath at the war memorial, visited the house and working place of President Ho Chi Minh, cordially met the leaders of the Communist Party of Viet Nam, the State of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the Viet Nam Fatherland Front, attended the grand meeting of the representatives of various sections of the Hanoi population welcoming the delegation and visited a unit of the Viet Nam People's Army and a number of economic and cultural establishments at Hanoi. Everywhere it went, the delegation was given a grand and sincere fraternal welcome.

The delegation of the People's Republic of Kampuchea had talks with the delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam.

The following took part in the talks:

On the Vietnamese side: Nguyen Huu Tho, Vice-President of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam; Pham Van Dong, member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Viet Nam Central Committee and Premier; Huynh Tan Phat, Vice-Premier of the Government; Vo Nguyen Giap, member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Viet Nam Central Committee, Vice-Premier of the Government and Minister of National Defence; Hoang Quoc Viet, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Viet Nam, and President of the Presidium of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front Central Committee; Xuan Thuy, Secretary of the Communist Party of Viet Nam Central Committee, Vice-Chairman of the National Assembly Standing Committee of the Socialist Party of Viet Nam and Director of the Party Central Committee External Relations Commission; Dang Thi, member of the Communist Party of Viet Nam Central Committee, Minister of the Premier's Office; Vu Van Can, Minister for Public Health; Bui Phung, member of the Communist Party of Viet Nam Central Committee, Vice-Minister for National Defence, head of the General Logistics Department of the Viet Nam People's Army; Hoang Bich Son, Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs; Vo Dong Giang, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

On the Kampuchean side: Heng Samrin, President of the Central Committee of the United Front for the National Salvation of Kampuchea and President of the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea; Hun Sen, member of the Central Committee of the United Front for the National Salvation and of the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea, and Foreign Minister; Rosh Samy, Secretary-General of the Central Committee of the United Front for the National Salvation and member of the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea, and Minister for Economy and People's Welfare; Keo Chan Da, member of the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea, Minister for Culture, Information and Press; Nu Beng, member of the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea, Minister for Health and Social Affairs; Chea Soth, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the People's Republic of Kampuchea to the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam; Di Phin, head of the General Logistics Department of the Kampuchean Revolutionary Army.

The two parties briefed each other on national construction and defence, exchanged views on continuing to enhance militant solidarity and fraternal

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friendship between the two countries, mutual co-operation and assistance in all fields and exchanged views on international problems of mutual concern.

The Kampuchean delegation warmly greets the glorious victory of the Vietnamese people and army in defeating 600,000 Chinese aggressor troops during the war for national defence at the Vietnamese northern border, dealing a heavy blow at the Peking authorities' expansionism and big-nation hegemonism.

The Kampuchean delegation fully supports Viet Nam's stand in the negotiations with China. That correct stand is aimed at settling the urgent problems caused by the aggressive war waged by the Chinese reactionary authorities, at preventing the recurrence of war and also at solving the basic problems related to the Sino-Vietnamese relations, in conformity with the aspirations of the Vietnamese and Chinese peoples and the desire for peace and stability of the peoples in South-East Asia and the rest of the world. The Kampuchean delegation urges the Peking authorities to respond scrupulously to Viet Nam's stand to stop preparing to rekindle the aggressive war and all other schemes and acts against the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam.

The Kampuchean delegation believes that, closely united within the Viet Nam Fatherland Front, under the clear-sighted leadership of the glorious Communist Party of Viet Nam, the heroic Vietnamese people will surely record greater successes in the defence and construction of their socialist motherland, thus making a worthy contribution to peace and stability in South-East Asia and the rest of the world.

The Vietnamese delegation expresses the sincere gratitude of the Vietnamese people, the Communist Party of Viet Nam and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to the Kampuchean people, the United Front for the National Salvation of Kampuchea and the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Council for their whole-hearted and strong support for the just struggle of the Vietnamese people against Peking's expansionism and big-Power hegemonism in collusion with imperialism, headed by the United States of America.

After greeting the victory of 17 April 1975 of the Kampuchean people by driving away the colonialist imperialists and their feudal agents, the Vietnamese delegation particularly greets the successes of the Kampuchean people on 7 January 1979, under the banner of the United Front for the National Salvation of Kampuchea, in overthrowing the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary administration and founding the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Council.

After three years in power, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, tool of the Peking reactionaries, has killed 3 million out of the 7 million Kampuchean people, abolished families, villages, markets, religion and the good habits of Kampuchea, causing atrocious disasters. However, by implementing the just 11-point programme of action of the United Front for the National Salvation of Kampuchea, under the direct leadership of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Council, the 4 million Kampuchean survivors have made dauntless efforts and recorded great achievements in all fields. The revolutionary administration has been set up throughout the country from the central to the grass roots levels, the mass organizations have been very active, security and order have been firmly maintained, the last dens of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary remnants have been eradicated; the economy, culture, education, medical work and religion have been restored and Buddhist monks have resumed worship; families have been reunited; and, despite difficulties, life has gradually stabilized. Recently, the Kampuchean revolutionary people's tribunal sentenced Pol Pot and Ieng Sary to death for genocide. That is a sentence conforming to the desire of the Kampuchean people and equitable and humanitarian public opinion around the world.

With its foreign policy of independence, peace, friendship and non-alignment, and readiness to establish friendly relations of co-operation and good-neighbourliness with the South-East Asian countries and other countries in the world on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence, the People's Republic of Kampuchea is becoming a positive factor in the cause of peace and stability in the region. The international position and prestige of the People's Republic of Kampuchea have been affirmed and raised.

These all-round successes of the Kampuchean people eloquently prove that the present situation in Kampuchea is irreversible. The Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Council is the only genuine representative of the Kampuchean people. Only the Peking reactionary authorities and the imperialist and other reactionary forces deny that undeniable truth.

The two delegations severely condemn any scheme of Peking and imperialism to breathe life into the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary gang and the other agents of various kinds and to enable them to rule over Kampuchea again. Now masters of their country, the Kampuchean people do not allow anybody to raise hypocritically the so-called "Kampuchea issue". All manoeuvres to have an international conference to discuss "a solution to the Kampuchean problem" will certainly fail ignominiously.

The Vietnamese delegation expresses deep conviction that united closely with the Lao and Vietnamese peoples, enjoying support and assistance from the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and progressive people around the world, the heroic Kampuchean people will overcome all trials, will firmly defend their revolutionary gains and will build a new, merry and happy, neutral and non-aligned Kampuchea advancing towards socialism.

On behalf of the people, the United Front for the National Salvation and the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea, the Kampuchean delegation expresses profound gratitude to the Vietnamese people, the Communist Party of Viet Nam, the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the Fatherland Front for their great and all-sided support and assistance, which are imbued with fraternal generosity and pure proletarian internationalism, to the defence and consolidation of the Kampuchean people's national independence and the building of their free and happy life in the new revolutionary period.

The two parties express extreme pleasure at the increasingly close relations between the Vietnamese and Kampuchean peoples on the basis of the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation, signed on 18 February 1979 at Phnom Penh. They assert that the treaty is an important guarantee of national construction and firm defence of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of their respective countries, against all schemes and acts of interference and aggression of the Chinese reactionaries, the imperialists and other reactionary forces. The two parties are satisfied at the implementation of the agreements previously signed and have discussed measures to increase exchanges of visiting delegations between the two peoples to learn from each other's experiences. The two parties assert that the presence of the Viet Nam People's Army in Kampuchea, at the request of the People's Revolutionary Council of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and in conformity with the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation between Viet Nam and Kampuchea, fully conforms to the interests of the two peoples and the principles of the non-aligned movement and the Charter of the United Nations. This is an internal affair of the two countries in which absolutely nobody has the right to interfere. The two parties solemnly declare that, when the Peking expansionists and the imperialist and reactionary forces cease threatening Kampuchea's independence and territorial integrity and the peaceful life there, the Viet Nam People's Army will return home with the agreement of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Council.

The two sides are highly elated at, and warmly welcome, the major, comprehensive and firm achievements recorded by the fraternal Lao people, under the clear-sighted leadership of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party, in the defence and construction of socialism in their beautiful country, thus foiling an important part of the interventionist, subversive and aggressive schemes and actions of the Peking reactionaries and the imperialists, who are threatening the national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Lao People's Democratic Republic. They highly value the recent fruitful visit by the delegation of the People's Republic of Kampuchea to the Lao People's Democratic Republic, which has greatly strengthened the militant solidarity, the friendly relations and the fraternal co-operation between the Kampuchean and Lao peoples. The two sides reaffirm once again that the militant solidarity and fraternal friendship among the peoples of Viet Nam, Kampuchea and Laos constitute a very considerable strength that ensures the victories of the three nations in their common struggle against all kinds of enemies and for the independence and freedom of each. They are firmly confident that the peoples of Viet Nam, Kampuchea and Laos are more determined than ever to do all they can to defend and further strengthen that militant solidarity.

The two sides express their sincere and deep gratitude to the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries, to the non-aligned countries and progressive mankind as a whole for having sympathized with, supported and strongly encouraged the Vietnamese and Kampuchean peoples in the struggles to defend their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Once again, the two sides reaffirm their desire to build a good-neighbourly relationship and develop their friendship and co-operation with the Kingdom of Thailand and the other South-East Asian nations on the basis of respect for one another's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-intervention—neither direct nor indirect—in each other's internal affairs in any form and joint efforts to struggle for a peaceful, independent, free, neutral, stable and prosperous South-East Asia.

The two sides reiterate their commitment to the policy of non-alignment, to the Charter of the United Nations and to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. They condemn the actions taken by imperialism and international reaction in an attempt to divide the non-aligned movement and appeal to all the non-aligned countries to consolidate further the solidarity and unanimity of the movement so as to foil all of those divisive schemes. They firmly believe that the Sixth Summit Conference of Non-Aligned

Countries at Havana will be highly successful. They assert that only the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Council, the sole genuine legal representative of Kampuchea, has the right to represent the Kampuchean people in the non-aligned movement, as well as in other international organizations and forums. The Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, the criminals guilty of genocide, who have been sentenced to death by the Kampuchean people's revolutionary tribunal and are now under a warrant of arrest, have no right at all to represent the Kampuchean people in any place whatever.

The two sides warmly welcome the major successes of the people in Asian, African and Latin American countries in their struggles against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, Peking expansionism, racism and Zionism.

They warmly acclaim the major victory of the Nicaraguan people. This victory is an expression of the unceasing growth of the genuine revolutionary forces and the constant development of the forces of peace, national independence, democracy and social progress, even in the "back yard" of United States imperialism. They express their deep sympathy with and thorough support for the Nicaraguan people, led by the Sandinista National Liberation Front and the coalition government for the national reconstruction of Nicaragua, in the consolidation of their national independence and in the building of their democratic régime and happy life.

The two sides express their joy and delight at the splendid success of the official friendship visit paid by the delegation of the United Front for the National Salvation of Kampuchea and the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Council to the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. They believe that this visit has contributed actively to strengthening further the pure and

everlasting militant solidarity and great friendship between the Vietnamese and Kampuchean peoples.

The delegation of the United Front for the National Salvation of Kampuchea and the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Council of the People's Republic of Kampuchea sincerely thanks the Communist Party of Viet Nam, the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, the Viet Nam Fatherland Front and the Vietnamese people for having given it a stately welcome and shown warm and fraternal hospitality.

DONE at Hanoi on 25 August 1979.

Head of the delegation of the Communist Party of Viet Nam, the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the Viet Nam Fatherland Front:

PHAM VAN DONG

Political Bureau Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Viet Nam and Premier of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam.

Head of the delegation of the United Front for the National Salvation of Kampuchea and the People's Revolutionary Council of the People's Republic of Kampuchea:

HENG SAMRIN

President of the United Front for the National Salvation of Kampuchea and President of the People's Revolutionary Council of the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

## DOCUMENT S/13523\*

### Letter dated 29 August 1979 from the representative of China to the Secretary-General

[Original: Chinese/English]  
[30 August 1979]

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith the text of a speech made by Han Nianlong, head of the Chinese Government delegation and Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs, at the eleventh plenary meeting of the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations, on 29 August 1979. I request that this speech be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) CHEN Chu  
Permanent Representative of the  
People's Republic of China  
to the United Nations

#### ANNEX

Speech by Han Nianlong, head of the Chinese Government delegation and Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs, at the eleventh plenary meeting of the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations, on 29 August 1979

We are holding today the eleventh meeting of the negotiations between the Chinese and Vietnamese Government delegations. The Chinese side has repeatedly pointed out that the root cause for the deterioration of Sino-Vietnamese relations has been the Vietnamese authorities' policies of opposition and hostility towards China and of regional hegemony, their aggression against Kampuchea and control of Laos and their establishment of anti-China bases in Indo-China. Obviously, in order to achieve normalization of Sino-Vietnamese relations, it is imperative first of all to discuss the five principles of peaceful coexistence and the principle of not seeking hegemony. The Chinese proposal to begin with discussion of specific aspects of those two questions is most reasonable. It also accords with the strong demand of the international community for the withdrawal of troops from Kampuchea and Laos by the Vietnamese authorities. However, the Vietnamese side babbled at the negotiating table that "the Vietnamese armed forces will withdraw" when the "crisis" of Chinese "aggression and interference in Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea is eliminated and the independence, sovereignty and security of the three countries ensured". The Vietnamese side fabricated a story about so-called "Chinese aggression" in an attempt to confuse the public and maintain its military

occupation of Kampuchea and Laos. Such a fantastic lie can deceive nobody.

The relationship between China and Kampuchea has always been good. It is a well-known fact that the Chinese people gave all-out support to the Kampuchean people in their struggle against imperialist aggression. Neither in the past nor at present has there been a single Chinese soldier in Kampuchea. The so-called Chinese "aggression" and "threat" against Kampuchea are sheer fabrications.

The Vietnamese authorities have long contemplated the annexation of Kampuchea in order to realize their fond dream of establishing an "Indo-Chinese federation". During the war of resistance to United States aggression, they attempted to amalgamate the armed forces of Kampuchea with those of Viet Nam and secretly established local governments in certain areas of Kampuchea. After the founding of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, they proposed to Kampuchea to set up a joint army and organize a joint economy and a joint fleet. When these schemes were seen through and rejected by the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, the Vietnamese authorities flew into a rage and flagrantly unleashed their ground, naval and air forces to attack and occupy Kampuchea's Way Island, provoked border conflicts and perpetrated internal subversion in Kampuchea. Having failed in all these schemes and plots, they resorted to large-scale armed aggression and fostered a puppet régime in Kampuchea to exercise fascist military occupation. Now, 200,000 Vietnamese troops are stationed in Kampuchea. The administrative officials of every province under their occupation are Vietnamese, and many documents of the Phnom Penh puppet régime were drafted by the Vietnamese. We should like to ask: is there any independence and sovereignty left with that régime? In face of the Vietnamese authorities' undisguised armed aggression against Kampuchea, the Chinese Government and people are obliged to give firm support to the Kampuchean people in their just struggle in defence of national independence, State sovereignty and territorial integrity against foreign aggression. State sovereignty and territorial integrity against foreign aggression. China's position is open and above-board, firm and unshakable. So long as the Vietnamese troops do not withdraw from Kampuchea and the Vietnamese authorities do not stop their war of aggression against and military occupation of Kampuchea, China will not cease its support of the Kampuchean people's struggle against Vietnamese aggression. It is the Chinese Government's consistent position that the political system of any country should be chosen solely by the people of that country themselves and that no foreign interference is permissible. The Government of Democratic Kampuchea is the sole legal Government of Kampuchea, and Democratic Kampuchea is both a State Member of the United Nations and a member of the non-aligned movement. The

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/447-S/13523.

Vietnamese authorities should be strongly condemned by the international community no matter what pretext they may use for subverting that legal Government and annexing that sovereign State.

The Vietnamese aggressor troops are burning houses, killing people and looting properties everywhere in Kampuchea, causing the loss of several hundreds of thousands of lives. The Kampuchean people are suffering from brutal repression and unprecedented devastation. An independent, neutral and non-aligned Kampuchea is facing the terrible disaster of genocide resulting from the aggression of Vietnamese regional hegemonists. The grave situation in Kampuchea has caused growing concern and anxiety in all countries of the world, particularly the South-East Asian countries. The Foreign Ministers of the Association of South-East Asian Nations solemnly demanded at a recent special conference the withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea, and the Conference of Heads of Government of Commonwealth Countries also called for the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea. Early this year, at a meeting of the United Nations Security Council, an overwhelming majority was in favour of the draft resolution calling for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea [S/13027]. Its adoption was prevented solely because the Soviet Union rudely used the veto. As of now, the Vietnamese troops are still hanging on in Kampuchea and the flame of the war of aggression keeps on spreading. Human conscience and world justice will never tolerate the continuation of those atrocities of aggression. The Vietnamese troops must withdraw from Kampuchea immediately and completely.

As to the relations between China and Laos, the peoples of the two countries have lived in harmony ever since ancient times and there have never been conflicts between them. The Chinese Government and people have always supported the Lao people in their struggle against imperialism and for national independence and liberation, and have provided assistance to Laos in its national construction to the best of their ability. Even today there is no conflict of interest between China and Laos. In fact, China's so-called "threat" to Laos has never existed, let alone the "crisis" caused by China.

Then who is it that poses a threat to the independence, sovereignty and security of Laos? The Vietnamese authorities, under the pretext of "special relations", have dispatched to Laos tens of thousands of troops and thousands of advisers to control its departments of the party, government and armed forces from the national level down to the grass roots, thus making themselves overlords in Laos. The Vietnamese authorities have brazenly occupied huge stretches of Lao territory and emigrated Vietnamese to Laos. Of late, they sent large numbers of secret police to repress Lao patriotic personages and people so as to consolidate their colonial rule there.

For ulterior motives, the Vietnamese authorities always try to sow discord between the Chinese and Lao people and endeavour to undermine

their friendly relations. During the war of resistance to United States aggression and for national salvation, the Vietnamese authorities intercepted and substituted by despicable means the material supplied by China to Laos and thus defamed China's aid in an underhanded manner. Not long ago, Viet Nam spread rumours in collusion with the Soviet Union, slandering China's policy towards Laos, and coerced the Lao Government into taking steps to worsen Sino-Lao relations. A number of Lao patriots, indignant at the Vietnamese action to control Laos and undermine Sino-Lao friendship, have pointed out clearly that the cause of the deterioration of Sino-Lao relations is not the will of China or Laos but the need of other countries. Ample facts show that it is none other than the Vietnamese authorities who have perpetrated aggression, interference and control in Laos.

It is clear to all that by occupying Kampuchea and dominating Laos the Vietnamese authorities wish to set up an "Indo-Chinese federation" and establish anti-China bases so as to lord it over South-East Asia. At the same time, their action also meets the strategic needs of the southward-drive policy of social-imperialism.

Since the beginning of the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations, the Vietnamese side, seeking many pretexts and spreading falsehoods, has stubbornly clung to its position of regional hegemonism and refused to discuss the withdrawal of its troops from abroad and commit itself to the principle of not seeking hegemony. At the same time, it has continued to make armed provocations and create incidents along the Sino-Vietnamese border. As a result, no progress whatsoever has been made in the negotiations. We hold that the attitude the Vietnamese side has assumed at the negotiating table is unreasonable and peremptory and completely goes against the interests of the peoples of Viet Nam, Kampuchea and Laos. To uphold the traditional friendship between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples, meet their common interests, restore the normal relations between our two countries and promote peace and stability in Indo-China and South-East Asia, the Vietnamese authorities should stop pursuing their policy of opposition and hostility to China, immediately withdraw all their aggressor troops from Kampuchea and Laos and stop armed provocations and intrusions in the Chinese border area. Now, the people of the world are all following the ongoing negotiations, and the peoples of Indo-Chinese countries and of China and Viet Nam, in particular, are expecting some progress in the negotiations. We should not disappoint them in their expectations. Our negotiations should start with the strict observance of the five principles of peaceful coexistence and the principle of not seeking hegemony. It is hoped that the Vietnamese side will give serious consideration to the eight-point proposal of the Chinese side [S/13278, annex] for handling our bilateral relations so as to ensure the smooth progress of the negotiations.

## DOCUMENT S/13524\*

### Letter dated 3 September 1979 from the representative of Democratic Kampuchea to the Secretary-General

(Original: French)  
[4 September 1979]

I have the honour to transmit herewith, for your information, the news broadcast by "La voix du Kampuchea démocratique" regarding the strength of the Vietnamese troops of aggression in Kampuchea during the month of August 1979.

I should be grateful if you would arrange for this text to be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) HING UN  
Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the  
Permanent Mission of Democratic Kampuchea  
to the United Nations

#### ANNEX

News broadcast by "La voix du Kampuchea démocratique"  
on 1 September 1979

#### STRENGTH OF THE VIETNAMESE TROOPS OF AGGRESSION IN KAMPUCHEA DURING THE MONTH OF AUGUST 1979

The strength of the Vietnamese troops of aggression stationed in Kampuchea during the month of August 1979 is over 200,000 men. They include:

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/448-S/13524.

(a) Sixteen divisions deployed throughout the country with large numbers along the Kampuchea-Thailand border. These divisions are divisions Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 51, 52, 54, 126, 302, 303, 307, 309, 317, 330 and 475.

(b) In addition to those 16 divisions, there are three others—divisions Nos. 7, 9 and 342, which are strike divisions. This makes a total of 19 divisions.

(c) In addition to those 19 divisions, there are also 12 independent regiments attached either to the army or to the border guard.

These Vietnamese troops of aggression are conducting large-scale massacres of the population and pillaging and destroying the national economy and the property of the inhabitants. They are the cause of enormous suffering and famine among our people. It is these troops also which are threatening Thailand along the frontier and which are aggravating the tense situation in South-East Asia. Consequently, the only solution to the problem of Kampuchea is to force Viet Nam to withdraw all its troops and allow the people of Kampuchea to resolve their own problems themselves. Viet Nam should withdraw all its troops of aggression and peace will immediately be restored in Kampuchea; the situation in South-East Asia will then return to normal.

## Letter dated 4 September 1979 from the representative of Turkey to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[5 September 1979]

I have the honour to transmit herewith a letter dated 4 September 1979 addressed to you by Mr. Nail Atalay, the representative of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus.

I should be grateful if this letter were circulated as a document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Orhan ERALP  
Permanent Representative of Turkey  
to the United Nations

## ANNEX

Text of the letter dated 4 September 1979 from Mr. Nail Atalay  
to the Secretary-General

Upon instructions from my Government, I have the honour to refer to the letter of Mr. Andreas Mavrommatis, the representative of the Greek

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/449-S/13526.

Cypriot Administration, of 20 August 1979 [S/13505], and to inform you that the allegation contained therein is totally unfounded.

The following is the text of the statement made by the spokesman of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus in connexion with the said complaint:

"There has been no violation of the airspace of our State. The Greek Cypriot Administration has no right of say over the airspace, land or territorial waters under the control of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus. Any attempt to claim right of say on this issue constitutes an unfriendly move towards the Turkish Cypriot side which is the co-founder partner of the independence of the island, and furthermore such a move is a continuation of the aggression launched during the 1963-1974 period. Complaints that the airspace of Cyprus has been violated are totally unfounded and irrelevant."

I should be grateful if this letter were circulated as a document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

## DOCUMENT S/13527\*

## Letter dated 5 September 1979 from the representative of Viet Nam to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[5 September 1979]

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith, for your information, the text of the speech made by Deputy Foreign Minister Dinh Nho Liem, head of the delegation of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, at the sixth meeting of the second round of Viet Nam-China talks, on 29 August 1979, and request you kindly to have this letter and its enclosure circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) NGUYEN NGOC DUNG  
Acting Permanent Representative of  
the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam  
to the United Nations

## ANNEX

Speech made by Deputy Foreign Minister Dinh Nho Liem, head of the delegation of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, at the sixth meeting of the second round of Viet Nam-China talks on 29 August 1979

The Viet Nam-China talks have gone through many meetings without making any headway; this situation has not met the expectations of the two peoples and of world public opinion, which have been following the negotiations with interest. Responsibility for it rests entirely with the Chinese side.

As laid down by the two sides, these talks were to settle the problems in the relations between Viet Nam and China, including the following contents: discussion of urgent measures to secure peace and stability in border areas, restoration of normal relations, and an eventual solution to border and territorial disputes between the two countries. In conformity with these purposes and contents, the Vietnamese delegation, with its serious position and attitude of goodwill, put forward right at the first meeting a proposal on the "Main principles and contents of a three-point settlement of the problems concerning the relations between the two countries", including urgent measures to secure peace and stability along the border [S/13257, annex]. This is a very important, sensible and reasonable proposal aimed at solving both the urgent problems and the other funda-

mental and long-term questions in the relations between Viet Nam and China. The Vietnamese side also took the initiative of advancing "a draft agreement" [S/13434, annex] on a mutual commitment to refrain from armed provocations in order to create a favourable atmosphere for the progress of the talks.

In the context of the ending, not long ago, of the Chinese rulers' war of aggression and owing to the Chinese side's actions, the situation along the border has remained tense. The two sides should have discussed in the first place urgent measures to prevent renewed hostilities and secure peace and stability in border areas as proposed by the Vietnamese side. Nevertheless, with its goodwill and in a spirit of equality and mutual respect, the Vietnamese side has declared its readiness to discuss whatever question in bilateral relations is raised by the Chinese side, according to the method of the two sides' raising in turn questions of interest for discussions at the meetings.

This is a very satisfactory and fair idea which has been highly appreciated by world public opinion. The Vietnamese side has tried its utmost to narrow down the areas of difference and seek common points in order to reach agreement wherever it is possible. As for those questions not yet susceptible of agreement, patient discussions are to be carried on with a view to a solution. We also would like the meetings to be held at a quick tempo so that the talks could yield the earliest results, in the interests of the two peoples and of peace and stability in South-East Asia.

If the Chinese side had taken a reasonable attitude and had really wanted to settle through negotiations the problems in the relations between the two countries, these talks would have certainly made some progress. Regrettably, it has not done so up to now.

The Chinese side has acted at variance with the purposes and contents of the talks as laid down by the two sides. Running completely counter to its own proposal, it has adamantly evaded the urgent measures to secure peace and stability in border areas. Since the start of the talks, it has never accepted to discuss any question whatever in the bilateral relations raised by the Vietnamese side. It has clung to its eight points of great-power expansionism and hegemonism, and stubbornly insisted on their being accepted in an attempt to impose on the Vietnamese side a settlement which would be in essence tantamount to Viet Nam's changing its line of independence and sovereignty, relinquishing its territorial sovereignty, and giving up its international obligations, to accept a Peking-fashioned peace, worse even than the "pax americana" of the past. Furthermore, it has raised the problem of a third country, and gone even to the length of considering it to be a pre-condition for the progress of the talks. In coordination with its anti-Viet Nam campaign in the international arena and

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/451-S/13527.

brazen interference through agents in Viet Nam's internal affairs, it has abused this forum to oppose Viet Nam with all possible tricks, from attempts to stir up anti-Viet Nam feelings among the Chinese and South-East Asian peoples with the so-called "Vietnamese refugees issue" to crude attacks on Viet Nam's internal politics. These actions on its part have made the talks even more complicated.

The Chinese side has repeated again and again its contention of Viet Nam's "evading" discussions on the five principles of peaceful coexistence and the "anti-hegemony" principle. It is, however, common knowledge that the Vietnamese side has made it clear in point 2 of its three-point proposal:

"Restoration of the normal relations between the two countries on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence: respect for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity; non-aggression, refraining from the use of force or the threat of use of force; non-interference in the internal affairs of the other side; settlement through negotiations of disputes and differences in the relations between the two sides; development of economic and cultural relations in a spirit of mutual respect and benefit.

"On that basis, to restore railway, civil aviation, postal and other relations.

"To resolve the question of the aftermath of the war."

Regarding the "anti-hegemony" principle, the Vietnamese delegation has also stated its views on various occasions. From the practice of the world people's revolutionary struggle and China's external activities over the years, we have made clear the characteristic features of the Peking rulers' great-power expansionism and hegemonism. At the same time, we have put forward very correct and practical contents on anti-hegemonism. Obviously, up to the last meeting the Chinese side had evaded without plausible arguments the five anti-hegemony contents we put forth at the 5 July 1979 meeting [S/13449, annex]. If the Chinese side is really "not seeking hegemony" and is really "opposing hegemonism" as it claims, let it then take practical actions in line with these five contents.

A serious fact is that, at the last meeting, the Chinese side made a further step and brazenly raised a series of questions to be acted upon "first and foremost" by the Vietnamese side, considering this a pre-condition for the negotiations to progress. The Chinese side has unceasingly clamoured about its "sincerity" to bring the talks forward. However, it has put forth in increasing numbers extremely unreasonable demands, further complicating the contents of the talks and widening the gap between the positions of the two sides. Thus it should be asked: where is its "sincerity"? Where does it want to bring these talks? The Vietnamese delegation flatly rejects these arrogant demands.

It should be emphasized that the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea have been bound together by a tradition of militant solidarity against the common enemies over these last decades. In face of the danger of aggression and intervention from Peking's great-power expansionism and hegemonism, it is now an objective and imperative requirement for them to strengthen their solidarity, mutual support and assistance in all fields to defend and build their countries on the principle of respect for the independence and sovereignty of each. The presence of the Vietnamese armed forces in Laos and Kampuchea at the request of their Governments is aimed at strengthening, together with their peoples and armed forces, their capabilities of defence and struggle against all aggressions, interventions and disruptive attempts of the Peking rulers and henchmen to safeguard the fundamental national rights and revolutionary achievements of each country. This is an affair which belongs to bilateral relations among three sovereign countries in keeping with treaties which have been signed. It is entirely just and legal; nobody has any right to interfere. As the imperialist aggressors did in the past, the Peking rulers will surely fail in their schemes to divide the peoples' solidarity.

The Kampuchean people have gained a great, definitive and all-round victory in their struggle to defend their independence and revolutionary achievements and to promote a new life. On 7 January 1979, they overthrew the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, and since that date the so-called "democratic Kampuchea" has definitely ceased to exist, the present revolutionary situation in Kampuchea is irreversible. No reactionary forces, however ruthless and perfidious, can check the steady advance of the Kampuchean people. The recent success of the Kampuchean people's revolutionary tribunal has demonstrated their determination to abolish forever the ferocious genocidal Pol Pot-Ieng Sary régime, an unprecedented one in human history. Through the proceedings of the tribunal, which was attended by many well-known lawyers and representatives of many countries and international organizations, broad sections of public opinion have realized even more clearly that the rulers, masters and instigators of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, who fostered and commanded them through tens of thousands of advisers and who equipped them with huge quantities of arms

and other war materials, must be held fully responsible for this crime of genocide morally, politically and legally. This is a victory not only of the Kampuchean people but also of the conscience of progressive mankind in its entirety. All schemes and acts, overt or covert, so-called to "seek a solution to the problem of Kampuchea", amount to interference in the internal affairs of that people. Pol Pot and Ieng Sary, guilty of genocide, sentenced to death by the Kampuchean people's revolutionary tribunal, and under a pursuit warrant, have no right whatever to represent the Kampuchean people at any place and at any forum. Obdurately clinging to the political corpse of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique and trying hard to justify its crimes in a desperate attempt to reimpose a genocidal régime on Kampuchea, the Peking rulers are acting against human conscience and against the trend of history. This brazen act has exposed even more clearly their hegemonistic policy of long-term hostility to the Kampuchean people and of sabotaging peace and stability in South-East Asia. They are doomed to total defeat. The Kampuchean people are the masters of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and its affairs. The People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea is the sole legitimate and legal representative of Kampuchea at home and abroad. Once again we affirm that the Viet Nam-China bilateral talks have absolutely no right to interfere in the affairs of any third country whatsoever.

The situation along the border between Viet Nam and China is growing increasingly tense. The Chinese side is massing there 12 divisions with six army corps farther in the rear. It has indulged in daily violations of Viet Nam's sovereignty and territory, thus sabotaging the peaceful life of the Vietnamese border population. It is frenziedly stepping up war preparations. It has adamantly refused to enter with the Vietnamese side into a mutual commitment to refrain from armed provocations. In the meantime, some Chinese rulers have uttered repeated threats of another aggression against Viet Nam. At the last meeting, the Chinese delegation even affirmed that such threats remained "valid". The only people who have committed armed provocations, brought about a serious situation along the border between the two countries, and poisoned the atmosphere of the talks are precisely the Chinese rulers. The Chinese side's familiar trick of unceasingly levelling against Viet Nam slanderous charges of border provocations cannot help them evade their responsibility.

Dozens of millions of tons of bombs and shells of the United States imperialists, plus over 1.5 million United States and puppet troops, and likewise the recent attack of 600,000 Chinese troops against the six northern border provinces of Viet Nam, have failed to bring the Vietnamese people to their knees. By launching an aggressive war against the Vietnamese people, who valiantly fought against imperialism and made countless sacrifices over the past 30 years for the sake of their national rights and of peace and freedom of all mankind, the Peking rulers have run counter to the Chinese people's interests, placed themselves in the ranks of the imperialist aggressors, and throughly laid bare their features as the most warlike expansionists and hegemonists. Let the Chinese side not entertain the illusion of exerting pressure at the talks through war threats and shaking the rock-like will of the Vietnamese people to unite as one man and resolutely defend the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of their fatherland and preserve their correct line of independence and sovereignty. Public opinion in South-East Asia and the world is realizing ever more clearly and condemning with increasing force Peking's attempts to bring military pressure to bear on Viet Nam, thus creating tensions and menacing peace and stability in this region.

The Vietnamese side is insisting on the Chinese side's seriously turning back to its own proposal and reaching immediate agreement with the Vietnamese side on the urgent measures to secure peace and stability along the border between the two countries in order to prevent a new war. There is no evading this demand.

Has the Chinese side come to the negotiating table not to seek a negotiated settlement of the problems concerning the relations between Viet Nam and China with a view to restoring genuine friendship between the two peoples and normal relations between the two States, but to deceive public opinion and to impose through talks its great-power expansionism and hegemonism on the Vietnamese side?

In many meetings, the Vietnamese side not only made clear the questions it is interested in, but also stated its views about those questions regarded by the Chinese side as "the crux of the matter", "fundamental" issues. The Vietnamese delegation has been and is waiting patiently for the Chinese side to match with practical deeds its words about "peace" and "sincerity". Let the Chinese side state its views and give a positive response to the Vietnamese three-point proposal, in the first place, the urgent measures to secure peace and stability in border areas. Let it join the Vietnamese side in raising in turn questions of interest concerning bilateral relations for discussions in a constructive and equal spirit, in order to reach a satisfactory settlement which meets the interests of the Vietnamese and Chinese peoples and the wishes of the world's people. Whether or not the talks can make headway depends on the Chinese side.

Letter dated 5 September 1979 from the representative of Jordan  
to the Secretary-General

[Original: Arabic/English]  
[7 September 1979]

The enclosed article<sup>15</sup> was written by Mr. Emil Tuma and published in the newspaper *Al-Ittehad*, issued at the Palestinian city of Haifa on 24 August 1979. It shows without doubt the bitter horrors of a drama that has faced the Arab bedouin of the Negev since 1948 until the present time and in which they are about to be deprived of all their lands and be driven to the status of refugees in their own homeland. It also shows, in a chronological manner, the various laws of the jungle passed by the Knesset in order to deprive these bedouin of their lands and to prevent them from going to court to save their property.

I kindly request you to circulate the article as a document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Saleh A. S. AL-ZUBI  
Chargé d'affaires a.i.  
of the Permanent Mission of Jordan  
to the United Nations

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/453-S/13528.

<sup>15</sup> The article entitled "The full story of the tragedy of the bedouin of the Negev: how they became refugees in their own homeland" is not reproduced here: it may be consulted in the Dag Hammarskjöld Library.

## DOCUMENT S/13529\*

Letter dated 6 September 1979 from the representative of Democratic Kampuchea to the Secretary-General

[Original: French]  
[6 September 1979]

I have the honour to transmit herewith, for your information, a statement dated 21 August 1979 by the Chairman of the State Presidium of Democratic Kampuchea, Khieu Samphan, introducing the draft political programme of the "Patriotic and Democratic Front of Great National Union of Kampuchea".

I should be grateful if you would arrange for this statement to be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) HING UN  
Chargé d'affaires a.i.  
of the Permanent Mission of Democratic Kampuchea  
to the United Nations

## ANNEX

Statement dated 21 August 1979 by the Chairman of the State Presidium of Democratic Kampuchea, Khieu Samphan, introducing the draft political programme of the "Patriotic and Democratic Front of Great National Union of Kampuchea"

In the face of a situation in which the Vietnamese enemy is attacking and invading Kampuchea in the most barbarous manner in order to swallow it up and exterminate our race, the great union of the nation and people of Kampuchea as a whole is asserting itself as a powerful force, crushing the Vietnamese aggressors, expansionists, land grabbers and racial exterminators and pushing them ever more deeply into the abyss of a people's war. Within the country, the great union of four forces—the regular guerrillas, guerrillas at the grassroots level, the revolutionary violence of the people as a whole and the forces made up of the self-defence guards, Khmer soldiers and the administrative committees established and forcibly recruited by the Vietnamese aggressors—is attacking the Vietnamese ag-

gressors, expansionists, land grabbers and racial exterminators, in the military sphere and on the political, economic, diplomatic and other levels. Outside the country, Kampuchean nationals everywhere support our nation and our people in the struggle against the Vietnamese aggressors, expansionists, land grabbers and racial exterminators.

Fortified by this great and powerful union for the struggle against the Vietnamese aggressors, our nation and our people will inevitably gain the final victory.

It is with this firm conviction and for the purpose of rallying the widest possible support for the political programme by the nation and people of Kampuchea as a whole in order to develop and consolidate within a vast and solid patriotic and democratic front the force of the great national union for the struggle against the Vietnamese aggressors that I should like, on behalf of the State Presidium of Democratic Kampuchea and the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, to introduce the draft political programme of the "Patriotic and Democratic Front of Great National Union of Kampuchea" to all our compatriots and respected and beloved friends.

The draft political programme was drawn up after repeated consultations with various political groups and associations. But it is essential to have an exchange of views with other parties in order to improve still further the political programme of the Front, the primary goal of which is to create the great union of the nation and people of Kampuchea as a whole for the struggle against the Vietnamese aggressors, expansionists, land grabbers and racial exterminators and their running dogs in order to drive them out of the territory of Kampuchea completely.

DRAFT POLITICAL PROGRAMME OF THE "PATRIOTIC AND DEMOCRATIC  
FRONT OF GREAT NATIONAL UNION OF KAMPUCHEA"

## PREAMBLE

At this new stage of our history when the Le Duan clique is invading our country and committing the most bloody and grievous aggression against Kampuchea in order to swallow it up and exterminate our race, the prime task of the nation and people of Kampuchea as a whole is the struggle against the Vietnamese aggressors, expansionists, land grabbers and racial exterminators until they have been completely driven out of the territory of our beloved Democratic Kampuchea. Thus, the nation and people of Kampuchea as a whole, setting aside all political points of view

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and differences of opinion, raise high the banner of great patriotic and democratic union of Kampuchea and unite in a vast front called "Patriotic and Democratic Front of Great National Union of Kampuchea".

The sole sacred principle of this great union of the entire nation and people of Kampuchea is to unite in the struggle, by every available means, against the Vietnamese aggressors, expansionists, land grabbers and racial exterminators.

## I. GOAL

To unite all patriotic and democratic forces both inside and outside the country in a vast national front:

(a) To fight resolutely against the Vietnamese aggressors, expansionists, land grabbers and racial exterminators in order to drive them out of the territory of Kampuchea completely and to overthrow the puppet Heng Samrin, the running dog of the Vietnamese aggressors;

(b) To build an independent, united, democratic, peaceful, neutral and non-aligned Kampuchea.

## II. POLITICAL PROGRAMME COVERING ALL SECTORS

### A. Domestic policy

#### 1. Political sector

—To unite in a vast national front the Kampuchean people of all nationalities, all Kampuchean nationals living abroad and all foreign nationals in Kampuchea who are determined to combat the Vietnamese aggressors with every available means in order to drive them out of the territory of Kampuchea completely.

—To build a society in which all citizens will enjoy democratic freedoms both in the exercise of their profession and in their daily lives.

—To guarantee democratic freedoms in political, spiritual, and material life.

—To guarantee the freedom to form political parties, associations and various mass organizations.

—To guarantee freedom of opinion, freedom of expression, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, freedom of correspondence, freedom of movement and freedom of residence.

—To guarantee a parliamentary régime with a national assembly elected by universal, free, direct and secret suffrage (the Secretary-General of the United Nations or his representative being invited to supervise the first elections to the legislature in order to ensure that they are conducted in a free and democratic manner).

—To broaden the Government of Democratic Kampuchea and the administrative apparatus at all levels. Representatives of the various political organizations and social strata and independent patriotic figures fighting against the Vietnamese aggressors and their running dogs on the basis of the political programme of the Patriotic and Democratic Front of Great National Union of Kampuchea will be welcomed into the Government of Democratic Kampuchea and the administrative apparatus at all levels, according to their competence and with their consent.

—The Front salutes and supports the activities of any Kampuchean citizen, even if for some reason he is not yet a member of the Front and whatever his past actions may have been, provided that he is fighting against the Vietnamese aggressors and their running dogs.

—Any member of the self-defence forces, any soldier or any person employed in the puppet administrative apparatus who abandons the Vietnamese aggressors and their running dogs to rejoin the people and side with the Patriotic and Democratic Front of Great National Union of Kampuchea will be warmly welcomed by the Front. We are making a clean sweep of the past and hold out our hand to them, regarding them as patriots of the same flesh and blood as ourselves.

—With regard to the Vietnamese soldiers of aggression of all ranks and in all categories, and their puppets who agree to lay down their arms, the Patriotic and Democratic Front of Great National Union of Kampuchea agrees to spare their lives and apply a just policy of clemency and concern towards them.

—The same policy of clemency and concern shall be applied to prisoners of war.

#### 2. Military sector

—To form a national army which will be strong in all branches; its immediate task will be to combat the Vietnamese aggressors and liberate the nation, and its future task will be to ensure the defence of the nation and people of Kampuchea.

—On the basis of the principle underlying the political programme of the Patriotic and Democratic Front of Great National Union of Kampuchea, the various patriotic armed forces fighting against the Vietnamese aggressors and their running dog, Heng Samrin, must adopt a specific programme of action to combat the Vietnamese aggressors and their puppets until victory is won.

#### 3. Economic sector

—To build an independent national economy: to establish economic and trade relations with all countries on the basis of mutual interests.

—To guarantee the right to produce and the freedom to exercise one's profession in all fields: agriculture, handicrafts, industry, trade.

—To encourage, support and protect the agricultural, handicraft, industrial and trade activities of every citizen and to guarantee fully the fruits of all such activities.

—To guarantee all citizens the freedom to work and to engage in productive activity either as individuals or as families, as well as the freedom to engage in any form of production according to their preference.

—To safeguard and protect the private property of all citizens of Kampuchea and of foreign nationals in Kampuchea.

—The national currency shall be used for commercial exchanges within the country.

#### 4. Social sector

—To provide for the material needs of all citizens, especially with regard to food, clothing, housing and medicines.

—To protect and promote the health of the population in general, in particular that of children, women, the elderly and the disabled.

—To provide full assistance and support of every kind to all the victims of the war of devastation waged by the Vietnamese aggressors, expansionists, land grabbers and racial exterminators.

—To guarantee every citizen the freedom to choose his or her spouse and to lead a family life.

—To guarantee equality between men and women in all fields.

#### 5. Cultural, scientific, technical and religious sectors

—To protect and promote the national and popular culture and traditions.

—To eliminate illiteracy throughout Kampuchea.

—To ensure the development of culture, education, the arts, science and various technologies and to guarantee the right to primary, secondary and higher education.

—To train as many qualified persons as possible in the fields of culture, literature, education, science and national technology.

—To make use of the advanced science and technology of foreign countries to promote the development of the Kampuchean nation and people.

—To guarantee freedom of belief and religion.

### B. Foreign policy

The Patriotic and Democratic Front of Great National Union of Kampuchea:

—Consistently pursues a foreign policy of independence, peace, neutrality and non-alignment;

—Establishes relations with all countries of the world on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence;

—Opposes the establishment of any foreign bases in Kampuchea and in no way seeks to establish bases in other countries;

—Strictly complies with the Charter of the United Nations and the principles of non-alignment;

—Pursues a policy aimed at settling disputes in the world by peaceful means;

—Firmly opposes the use of force in the settlement of disputes.

## SUMMARY OF THE DRAFT POLITICAL PROGRAMME OF THE PATRIOTIC AND DEMOCRATIC FRONT OF GREAT NATIONAL UNION OF KAMPUCHEA

1. To unite all patriotic forces, both within and outside the country, to combat the Vietnamese aggressors, expansionists, land grabbers and racial exterminators and their running dog, Heng Samrin, in order to drive them out of the territory of Kampuchea completely.

2. All citizens shall enjoy democratic freedoms, both in the exercise of their profession and in their daily lives.

3. To guarantee the freedom to form political parties, associations and various mass organizations, freedom of opinion, freedom of expression, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, freedom of correspondence, freedom of movement and freedom of residence.

4. To guarantee a parliamentary régime with a national assembly elected by universal, free, direct and secret suffrage (the Secretary-General of the United Nations or his representative being invited to supervise the first elections to the legislature in order to ensure that they are conducted in a free and democratic manner).

5. Any member of the self-defence forces, any soldier or any person employed in the puppet administrative apparatus who abandons the Viet-

name aggressors and their running dogs to rejoin the people and side with the Patriotic and Democratic Front of Great National Union of Kampuchea will be warmly welcomed by the Front.

6. A just policy of clemency and concern shall be applied to the Vietnamese soldiers of aggression of all ranks who agree to lay down their arms and to prisoners of war.

7. To form a national army which will be strong in all branches; its immediate task will be to combat the Vietnamese aggressors and their running dogs and to liberate the nation and its future task will be to ensure the defence of the nation and people of Kampuchea.

8. To build an independent national economy and to establish economic and trade relations with all countries on the basis of mutual interests.

9. The agricultural, handicraft, industrial and trade activities of all citizens shall be encouraged, supported and protected; the fruits of such activities shall be fully guaranteed.

10. All citizens shall enjoy the freedom to work and engage in productive activity, either as individuals or as families. The right of all citizens to engage in any form of production according to their preference shall be guaranteed.

11. To safeguard and protect the private property of all citizens of Kampuchea and of foreign nationals in Kampuchea.

12. The national currency shall be used for commercial exchanges within the country.

13. To provide for the material needs of all citizens, especially with regard to food, clothing, housing and medicines. To provide full assistance and support of every kind to children, women, the elderly, the disabled and all victims of the war of devastation waged by the Vietnamese aggressors, expansionists, land grabbers and racial exterminators.

14. To guarantee every citizen the freedom to choose his or her own spouse and to lead a family life. To guarantee equality between men and women in all fields.

15. To protect and promote the national and popular culture and traditions. To eliminate illiteracy throughout Kampuchea.

16. To ensure the development of culture, education, the arts, science and various technologies and to guarantee the right to primary, secondary and higher education. To provide for the training of national scientists and technicians in all fields.

17. To guarantee freedom of belief and religion.

18. To pursue consistently a foreign policy of independence, peace, neutrality and non-alignment. To establish relations with all countries of the world on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence. To comply strictly with the Charter of the United Nations and the principles of non-alignment.

## DOCUMENT S/13530\*

### Application of Saint Lucia for admission to membership in the United Nations: note by the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[6 September 1979]

In accordance with rule 135 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly and rule 59 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council, the Secretary-General has the honour to circulate herewith the application of Saint Lucia for admission to membership in the United Nations, contained in a letter dated 28 August 1979 from the Prime Minister of Saint Lucia to the Secretary-General.

#### ANNEX

##### Letter dated 28 August 1979 from the Prime Minister of Saint Lucia to the Secretary-General

As Prime Minister and on behalf of the Government of Saint Lucia, I have the honour to inform you that Saint Lucia, having attained inde-

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pendence on 22 February 1979, hereby makes application for membership in the United Nations with all the rights and responsibilities attached thereto.

It is my country's earnest hope that this application will be considered by the Security Council at its next meeting and by the General Assembly during its forthcoming session. For this purpose, a Declaration made in pursuance of rule 58 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council and rule 134 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly is set out hereunder.

#### DECLARATION

In connexion with the application by Saint Lucia for membership in the United Nations, I have the honour, on behalf of Saint Lucia and in my capacity as Prime Minister, to declare that Saint Lucia accepts the obligations contained in the Charter of the United Nations and solemnly undertakes to fulfil them.

(Signed) Allan LOUISE  
Prime Minister of Saint Lucia

## DOCUMENT S/13531\*

### Letter dated 7 September 1979 from the representative of Viet Nam to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[7 September 1979]

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith, for your information, the text of the communiqué dated 25 August 1979 of the Commission of inquiry into the Chinese hegemonistic expansionists' crime of aggression on the crime of aggression of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, henchmen of the Chinese hegemonistic expansionists, in the eight south-western border provinces of Viet Nam and request you kindly to have this letter and its enclosure circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) NGUYEN NGOC DUNG  
Acting Permanent Representative of  
the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam  
to the United Nations

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#### ANNEX

Communiqué dated 25 August 1979 of the Commission of inquiry into the Chinese hegemonistic expansionists' crime of aggression on the crime of aggression of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, henchmen of the Chinese hegemonistic expansionists, in the eight south-western border provinces of Viet Nam

As a consequence of objective realities and in the interest of each respective country, Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea were for decades closely united to fight their common enemies—first the French colonialists, then the American imperialists. This blood-sealed militant solidarity and friendship has bound the three Indo-Chinese peoples together and constituted an important factor in bringing the national liberation revolution of each respective country to complete victory.

The great victory of spring 1975 would have notably favoured the Vietnamese and Kampuchean peoples in the completion of their legitimate desires: to overcome rapidly the aftermath of the war, improve the people's living conditions, further tighten the existing militant solidarity between

Viet Nam and Kampuchea, defend national independence and successfully bring the revolutionary cause of each respective country to fruition, thus positively contributing to safeguarding peace in South-East Asia and in the world. However, with their reactionary political line and territorial expansionist ambitions, the Peking masterminded Pol Pot-leng Sary clique, betraying both peoples' interests, waged a war of aggression against Viet Nam, perpetrating countless crimes against the Vietnamese and Kampuchean peoples.

## I

After taking power, the Pol Pot-leng Sary clique of pseudo-revolutionaries and sham communists set up an extremely cruel militarist and fascist family rule governing with absolute authority. Relying entirely on the international reactionary circles, they soon became the shock force of Chinese expansionism and hegemonism in South-East Asia. Following a hostile policy against Viet Nam, which they regarded as their "traditional territorial expansionist scheme", they took steps to invade the land of Viet Nam. As a curtain-raiser to their experimentation, they brazenly scrapped the agreement in principle between the South Viet Nam National Front of Liberation and the former Kampuchean administration to take the borderline as drawn on the map published by the French before 1954 (with a 1/100,000 scale) as the existing frontier between the two countries and unilaterally put forward a map of Kampuchea with its borderline overstepping deeply the Vietnamese territory in many places (published in the French-language magazine *Le Kampuchea démocratique en marche*, August 1977). At the same time, they conducted armed provocations and landgrabbing operations, feverishly prepared for a large-scale war, unceasingly launched propaganda campaigns to sow dissension and national feuds, secretly assassinated thousands of Vietnamese residents having good relations with the Khmer population and expelled all those Vietnamese who had lived for a long time in Kampuchea, etc. While continually violating Viet Nam's sovereignty and territorial integrity, they tried to mislead public opinion at home and abroad by slanderously claiming that "Viet Nam was attacking Kampuchea" in a bid to conceal their true visage of aggressors and criminals. They trumpeted such perfidious allegations as: "Kampuchea has no intention of encroaching upon the land of whatever country for expansionist purposes", "a smaller and weaker country cannot swallow up a greater one", etc. However, the following solid evidence will lay bare the scheme of the invaders of the Vietnamese territory. This scheme was laid down in the top secret resolution of a reunion held on 17 July 1977 by the Pol Pot-leng Sary clique in the eastern military region of Kampuchea: "we must attack not one, but many places and grab land at the same time . . .".

Below are some statements by Kampuchean prisoners of war:

(a) *Sin Sara*, intelligence agent, born 1950, native of Svay Rieng, captured on 4 August 1976, said that his superiors, before smuggling him into Viet Nam, had told him that "the Kampuchean territory stretches as far as Saigon which, sooner or later, Kampuchea will recover".

(b) *Nghet Cam San*, spy, born 1946, native of Kandal, seized in Ho Chi Minh City on 7 August 1977, confessed that before his mission in Viet Nam, he had been taught that "in the time of Angkor Vat, Kampuchea was a power with an immense territory, having invaded the neighbour countries to enslave them . . . at present, in order to become a power, Kampuchea must resume the experience of the Angkor Vat time . . .".

They also nurtured the psychology of a national feud among the different sectors of the Khmer population and sowed dissent and panic among the Vietnamese people along the border. At the Vinh Te canal deep in An Giang province, cut by the Vietnamese people late in the nineteenth century, the Pol Pot-leng Sary clique distributed leaflets saying that "the canal is the frontier and belongs to Kampuchea", and "the Khmer land is not confined to that canal, but stretches as far as Saigon".

Paving the way for their aggression against Viet Nam, the Pol Pot-leng Sary clique stepped up arch-savage terror campaigns, thoroughly liquidating authentic forces opposing their policy of genocide against the Kampuchean people and of submission to the Peking reactionary ruling circles, defaming them as pro-Viet Nam, etc.

Clearly enough, the Pol Pot-leng Sary clique carried out their wild ambitions according to a well-prepared, pre-calculated plan covering all fields—political, military, economic, cultural and social—and under the direction of the Chinese hegemonistic expansionists who also supplied them with arms and material means to wage their war of aggression against Viet Nam, destroying the time-honoured friendship between the two closely associated peoples and jeopardizing peace in South-East Asia. The war kindled by Pol Pot-leng Sary against Viet Nam had a clear-cut objective which perfectly suited the counter-revolutionary strategy of the Peking reactionary rulers who therefore fully approved and supported them. There-

fore, the very process of Pol Pot-leng Sary's aggression against Viet Nam revealed their own extremely warlike, obdurate, reactionary and fascist nature, on the one hand, and the ignominious, base, abject role of the Peking hidden wirepullers who used Kampuchean blood to accomplish their intentions, on the other. The two cliques profited from each other and relied on each other to oppose Viet Nam and attain their respective goals and interests.

The Peking reactionary ruling circles were much more cunning and devilish in their plotting. After the United States imperialists were compelled by their shameful defeat to withdraw from Indo-China, Peking immediately replaced them to grasp Kampuchea tightly to use it as a testing field for the materialization of "Maoism" in South-East Asia, carrying out their policy of assimilation of the Kampuchean people, turning that country into a Chinese province, a huge military base and an effective springboard, first to weaken and, in the long run, annex Viet Nam, then gradually control and occupy the whole South-East Asian region.

Thereby, it is safe to say that this was not merely a border conflict but a Chinese-inspired over-all aggressive war fought by proxy by their henchmen Pol Pot-leng Sary against Viet Nam because the latter have been the greatest obstacle to Chinese expansionism and hegemonism in South-East Asia. Peking's dark intention consisted in fighting Viet Nam to the last Kampuchean, just as it had decided to "fight the United States to the last Vietnamese" in the past. So, on order from their Peking masters, the Pol Pot-leng Sary clique repeatedly rejected all the fair and sensible offers of negotiation advanced by the Vietnamese party to settle peacefully the frontier issue between the two countries.

Pol Pot-leng Sary depended on their Peking bosses to carry out their black designs. The Peking reactionary rulers copiously poured arms and war means into Kampuchea for a protracted war, helped train the client army, introduced tens of thousands of advisers and sent many groups of high-ranking officials there from late 1975 to late 1978 to supervise directly the implementation of their different reactionary line, first and foremost, the hostile policy against Viet Nam, increased aid in all fields, especially military and technical aid, etc. Overtly serving as Peking's task force, Pol Pot-leng Sary even drafted 13- or 14-year-olds, feverishly stepping up their military build-up to fight Viet Nam in behalf of China.

## II

As everybody knows, in mid-1975, as the newly liberated South Viet Nam began to clear away the aftermath of the war and rebuild the country, the Pol Pot-leng Sary clique speeded up their military build-up, drove hundreds of thousands of Kampuchean civilians living near the Kampuchea-Viet Nam frontier backward to create a no man's land there, smuggled scouts and spies into Vietnamese territory to conduct armed intrusions in separate regions, preparatory to subsequent big-scale encroachment attacks.

The Pol Pot-leng Sary clique's military acts in those close to four years constituted a process of escalation in scale and intensity. Only three days after complete victory was achieved in South Viet Nam, Kampuchean troops landed on Phu Quoc island belonging to Viet Nam in an attempt to occupy it. On 8 May 1975, armed inroads were launched against localities along the border from Ha Tien, provincial capital to Tay Ninh province. On 10 May 1975, they brazenly attacked Tho Chu island and abducted 517 civilians whose fate until now remains always unknown. In late December 1975—early 1976, land-grabbing operations were mounted on areas in Darlac and Gia Lai-Kontum provinces.

Facing this, with its unswerving goodwill for peace and in order to preserve the relations of good neighbourliness, in mid-May 1976, Viet Nam sent a negotiating delegation to open the way for a thorough settlement of the border conflict initiated by Pol Pot-leng Sary. The talks came to nothing as the latter unilaterally broke off the negotiations, obstinately rejected all proposals made by the Vietnamese party to resume them, went on calling for war against Viet Nam, relentlessly eliminated those forces which did not follow them, etc. In March 1977, the Pol Pot-leng Sary armed forces renewed their onslaughts, intruding into the Vietnamese territory on a length of nearly 100 kilometres from Ha Tien (Kien Giang province) to Tinh Bien (An Giang province). On 30 April 1977, Pol Pot-leng Sary hurled two infantry brigades and two independent battalions plus artillery units into a massive offensive against 13 border villages belonging to An Giang province and from then on, they never ceased promoting the conflict towards a large-scale, all-sided, continuous and systematic war of aggression on the whole length of the Viet Nam-Kampuchea frontier.

By 1978, though their aggressive war came under condemnation by world public opinion, the Pol Pot-leng Sary clique, in utter contempt of mankind's ethics and conscience and international law, kept on attacking population centres deep inside the Vietnamese territory with even greater fierceness. With a view to achieving their criminal aggressive designs at

any cost, they relied on Chinese weapons and equipment to develop their armed forces to the maximum, from 7 infantry divisions in mid-1975 up to 23 in late 1978, of which 19 were massed next door to Viet Nam together with many artillery and tank units.

Particularly, on 22 December 1978, a big-scale offensive involving several divisions was mounted against the Ben Soi area, Tay Ninh province, in an attempt to capture the Tay Ninh provincial capital and use it as a spring-board to launch other adventurous attacks.

Faced with this highly critical situation, the Vietnamese army and people in the border areas, once again obliged to use their legitimate right of self-defence, resolutely fought back and smashed that aggressive effort of Pol Pot-Ieng Sary. Shortly after that lamentable defeat, the authentic patriotic forces in Kampuchea, under the leadership of the United Front for the National Salvation of Kampuchea, rose up to overthrow the whole Pol Pot-Ieng Sary traitorous régime from central to grass-roots echelons in early January 1979, founding the revolutionary people's power headed by President Heng Samrin.

### III

In waging their war of aggression against Viet Nam on the dictates of the Peking reactionary ruling circles and in line with their own barbarous dark schemes, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique piled up innumerable crimes against the Vietnamese people. Their troops slaughtered thousands of civilians merely because they were Vietnamese. They were like wild beasts, sparing nobody, even old people, women and children, in their killing revelry, using the most sadistic methods familiar to mediaeval tyrants; beheading, throat-cutting, disembowelling, quartering, burying alive, mincing corpses, crushing skulls, anus boring, burning alive, drenching with boiled water, raping women then cutting their breasts and thrusting weapons or sticks into their genitals, etc. In Dong Thap province, after killing people, they stripped them naked and fastened the bodies onto rafts to be thrown drifting on the river. Blood-curdling massacres were perpetrated, such as the killing of 500 people in Tan Lap (Tay Ninh province) in 1977 and of 2,022 others in Ba Chuc (An Giang province) in 1978, to cite only some typical cases.

1. The Tan Lap massacre: at 1 a.m. on 25 September 1977, regiments of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary army thrust into Tan Lap village, seven kilometres from the Viet Nam-Kampuchea frontier. The Pol Pot-Ieng Sary thugs made a house-to-house search and killed hosts of civilians taking refuge under ground and burned down nearly 500 dwellings including those with people still trapped inside. They slew anybody they came across. Ten-year-old Ngoc Anh, hidden in a corner of a garden, was stabbed dead with a bayonet. Mrs. Nguyen Thi Dong, five months pregnant, had her belly slashed open, with the fetus plucked out. A two-year-old child of Mrs. Tran Thi Tuyet was snatched by a Kampuchean assassin who tore it into two parts. According to investigations, five hamlets of the village were razed to the ground and 500 people out of the 2,067-strong population massacred. Twenty-eight families were killed to a person, such as those of Mr. Nguyen Van Sanh (five members), of Mr. Vu Dinh Thai (seven members), etc. Out of the 13 male and female teachers of the village, 11 were slaughtered.

2. The Ba Chuc massacre: on 22 April 1978, a sizeable force of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary army, following fierce assaults, captured Ba Chuc and other villages belonging to Bay Nui district. Ba Chuc village was inhabited by many Vietnamese of Khmer stock. The raiders searched every corner to kill people taking refuge in shelters. They herded the victims whom they shot dead by groups of 30-40. The remainder were ordered to carry ammunition and the raiders' spoils to the Vinh Te canal where they were finished off. A number of villagers sought refuge in pagodas, thinking they could be safe under the auspices of religion, but all but the two Phi Lai and Tam Buu pagodas were destroyed with the Buddhist statuettes all shattered. Heaps of corpses were found there. According to inquiries, 2,022 people were butchered at a time in that village. This is an unheard-of figure of massacred civilians, for not too great a village in an attack, in the history of aggressive wars, and nowhere else can one witness killing methods of such savagery.

Those monstrous atrocities sowed endless sorrow and mourning among countless families, utterly upsetting the normal life and social order in all those limitrophe areas.

Those are but two typical cases among the thousands of loathsome offences they committed against the Vietnamese people. On directives from Peking, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique nurtured among their army a frenzy of murder, turning their troops into a horde of utterly dehumanized liver-eating assassins. According to confessions of prisoners of war, each Kampuchean soldier having killed 10 Vietnamese received an additional ration as reward to encourage them to implement the watchword "I against

30", i.e., each of them was supposed to kill 30 or, if possible, 40-50 Vietnamese.

Starting from their aggressive and exterminatory goal, wherever they went Kampuchean troops thoroughly carried out the "kill all, burn all, destroy all" policy to terrorize and subdue the Vietnamese people. Their targets were heavily populated areas, towns and urban centres near the frontier such as Ha Tien, Tinh Bien, Chau Doc, Tay Ninh, etc.

In An Giang province, Tinh Bien township and 22 villages (out of the 34 embattled ones) were completely levelled, with the population deprived of all dwellings and reduced to living in the open.

Tay Ninh provincial capital and seven out of the eight districts of the province were subjected to daily artillery bombardments. Out of the 46 embattled villages in Tay Ninh, 18 limitrophe ones were completely destroyed.

Ha Tien provincial capital and almost all the villages lying along the border of Kien Giang province were ravaged into wilderness. During the hostilities, Kampuchean forces conducted over 700 shellings in the territory of Kien Giang province, causing great losses in lives and property to the population.

Almost all the limitrophe villages of Hong Ngu district, Dong Thap province, came under attack. From August 1977 to the end of 1978 alone, alongside incessant shellings, they conducted 384 infantry onslaughts and 62 boat attacks, destroying most of the people's fishing means.

In 1977-1978, Pol Pot-Ieng Sary's troops mounted 1,736 attacks and surprise raids on border areas of Long An province, causing heavy losses to the population.

In implementation of their vicious scheme to sap Viet Nam's economy, at every intrusion, Kampuchean troops indulged in burning houses, paddy and other properties. An Giang province alone had almost 10,000 houses burnt down. In a single raid on 16 March 1976, against Thieu Hung and Hung Phuoc villages, Long Ninh district, Song Be province, they burned down 286 civilian dwellings.

According to preliminary inquiries, they destroyed and looted tens of thousands of tons of food, killed or took away nearly 10,000 heads of cattle, destroyed or took away nearly 800 boats and outboard motorboats (most belonging to the population of Dong Thap province). Cultural, educational, sanitary and religious establishments were also attacked: 51 churches, temples and pagodas, 129 schools, 63 medical stations and hospitals destroyed or heavily damaged.

As a result of continuous attacks on border areas, more than 40,000 Vietnamese civilians had to leave their native places. This reverberated disastrously on production. With over 100,000 hectares of cropland left fallow, the amount of food (converted into paddy) lost because of non-production during hostilities was estimated at hundreds of thousands of tons. Meanwhile, some border provinces, such as Tay Ninh and Long An, still had to receive 180,000 Kampuchean refugees and 20,000 Chinese residents who fled from Kampuchea to seek safety in Viet Nam. Pol Pot-Ieng Sary's genocidal policy and the incitation by the Peking panic-mongers were at the origin of that exodus, which cost a great many lives and caused great difficulties to Viet Nam. They must bear total responsibility for those crimes and cannot shift the blame to anybody. The above monstrous offences of Pol Pot-Ieng Sary and their bosses, the Peking reactionary rulers, must be exposed to world public opinion and sternly condemned.

### IV

In conducting a war of aggression against the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique ran counter to common ethics and overtly and seriously violated international law. Under the Charter of the Nuremberg International Military Tribunal, they are guilty of the crime of aggression, the capital international crime, for having grossly encroached upon Viet Nam's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. At the same time, they violated the Charter of the United Nations and many resolutions of the General Assembly. Furthermore, they slighted principle 7 of the Final Communiqué of the Conference of Asian and African countries held at Bandung in 1955 with the participation of Cambodian representatives, which condemns all acts or threats of aggression and all uses of force or threats of use of force in international relations.

On Vietnamese territory, in the course of their war of aggression, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary army massacred Vietnamese civilians by the hundreds, by the thousands at a time, merely because they were Vietnamese as such. This criminal act bears an obvious genocidal character. Thus Pol Pot-Ieng Sary violated the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide of 9 December 1948. Under the said Convention, those are guilty of the crime of genocide who destroy the whole or part of a national ethnical, racial or religious group, as such. On the other hand, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique are guilty of crimes of war under the Nurem-

berg Charter for having ordered their troops to kill, persecute and mistreat the civilian population, destroy their villages and dwellings, and plunder their property.

The Chinese hegemonistic expansionists—masterminds of this war of aggression—are the co-culprits of the aforesaid crimes and must be held totally responsible for their consequences on the Vietnamese and Kampuchean peoples.

As the greatest and most infamous criminals of our time, the Pol Pot-leng Sary clique and their masters, the Chinese hegemonistic expansionists, must be most severely condemned and judged according to justice and existing international law.

As the greatest criminal just sentenced by the Phnom Penh revolutionary people's tribunal, the Pol Pot-leng Sary clique has now no capacity to represent the Kampuchean people and must not be tolerated wherever there is still any justice left. Any effort whatsoever to revive the political corpse of the Pol Pot-leng Sary clique would constitute an indirect violation of

international law, opposing the Vietnamese people and the forces of peace and justice, running counter to the legitimate aspirations of the Kampuchean people and progressive people in the world, and an abject and insane challenge to mankind's conscience.

With their iron-like determination to defend their independence and sovereignty and following the tradition of militant solidarity with Kampuchea, the Vietnamese people pledge their word whole-heartedly to help the brotherly Kampuchean people to implement the sacred appeal of the United Front for the National Salvation of Kampuchea led by President Heng Samrin to defend the conquests of the revolution, consolidate the people's power, build the new, prosperous and happy life in the independent and peaceful fatherland, but are resolved not to pardon the crime of aggression of the Pol Pot-leng Sary clique and the Chinese reactionary ruling circles and always stand ready to smash any attempt of aggression or annexation, no matter whether it takes place in the south or the north or any place in Vietnamese territory.

## DOCUMENT S/13532

### Letter dated 7 September 1979 from the representative of Angola to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[8 September 1979]

Upon the instructions of my Government, I have the honour to attach the text of a communiqué issued by the Ministry of Defence of the People's Republic of Angola on 7 September 1979.

I request that the attached be circulated as a document of the Security Council in connexion with the question of South African aggression against the People's Republic of Angola.

(Signed) ELISIO DE FIGUEIREDO  
*Permanent Representative of Angola  
to the United Nations*

#### ANNEX

#### Communiqué issued by the Ministry of Defence of the People's Republic of Angola on 7 September 1979

An official communiqué released by the Ministry of Defence of the People's Republic of Angola on 5 September 1979 has denounced the continuation of the violations and aggression against the territory, air space and citizens of the People's Republic of Angola by the racist South African military forces between 16 July and 23 August.

Following is the text of the communiqué:

"The violations and aggressions of the South African military forces, which have illegally occupied Namibian territory—the sovereign nation of the people of Namibia—continue to take place against our country. Through the period 16 July through 23 August, the South African racist troops increased their murderous acts of war hunting SWAPO groups through reconnaissance of our territory and provocation of our military units and defenceless civilian population. Their purpose is to undermine the Angolan people's support for SWAPO in its struggle to liberate its territory.

"The facts are as follows.

"On 25 July, 11 soldiers of our frontier detachment on a reconnaissance mission 10 kilometres south of Chiede were suddenly surrounded by Puma helicopters transporting racist South African troops. Combat ensued, which resulted in the death of five of our soldiers and the capture of three others who were abducted into the territory of Namibia.

"On 15 August, two pick-up trucks assigned to deliver food supplies to the population of Cuamato were assaulted by the South African racist troops. On the same day, another pick-up truck en route from Cuamato to Xangongo, also delivering supplies to the interior, was detected by a South African aircraft. The supply truck was immediately bombed by

a Mirage-type aircraft, sparing the driver but totally destroying the vehicle.

"Also on the same day, another vehicle assigned to deliver food supplies to the population of Nepolo was bombed by South African aircraft. The driver and his assistant escaped into the jungle, but when they attempted to return to recover the vehicle the racist troops surrounded them and opened fire. The assistant was able to escape once more, while the driver was killed and the pick-up truck with the food supplies was taken into the interior of Namibia.

"Following are details of Angolan air space violations by South African racists during the period mentioned above.

"On 16 July at 1500 hours, two South African Canberra-type aircraft bombed a school, a residence and a department store located in the village of Chetequera, using rockets and heavy guns. At approximately 1030 hours on the same day, two Canberra-type aircraft flew over Chetequera and bombed the area south of the village.

"On 21 July at 0800 hours, South African infantry troops penetrated Angolan territory approximately 10 kilometres between Mark 8 and 14. On the same day at 0800 hours, a South African infantry unit penetrated Angolan territory approximately 10 kilometres between Mark 14 and 20. Another South African infantry command unit, backed up by its puppet accomplices, the UNITA mercenaries, penetrated on the same day Angolan territory approximately 40 kilometres between Mark 31 and 39. On 22 July, at approximately 1018 hours, two unidentified South African aircraft flew over the area of Chitado and withdrew towards the area of Calueque.

"On 23 July, South African troops carried out helicopter landings in the vicinity of the village of Muongo, 35 kilometres north of Mark 24 and 25.

"On 24 July, a South African infantry unit penetrated Angolan territory between Mark 20 and 25 approximately 20 kilometres deep inside our borders. On 25 July, a frontier reconnaissance detachment command was attacked inside our territory by Botha's racist forces.

"On 2 August, airborne South African troops landed in the areas of Chiede, Sohaka and Omulemba seeking to protect UNITA puppet groups.

"On 8 August at 1805 hours, two Canberra aircraft bombed the community of Cuamato. On 15 August, two interior food supply vehicles were ambushed by South African airborne troops in the area of Cuamato.

"On 9 August South African troops ambushed a detachment of our forces inside our territory in the area of Chetequera.

"Finally, on 23 August, the South African army, using airborne troops, attacked the village of Chiede.

"Once more the Angolan people and its armed forces FAPLA have firmly withstood the onslaughts, incursions, air attacks and invasion perpetrated by the armed forces of the racist South African junta, its protégés and its allies.

"The struggle continues. Victory is certain."

## Letter dated 10 September 1979 from the representative of Democratic Kampuchea to the Secretary-General

[Original: French]  
[10 September 1979]

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith, for your information, a press release issued by the Ministry of Information of Democratic Kampuchea concerning the dropping of toxic chemical products on the innocent population by the Vietnamese aggressors.

I should be grateful if you would have this text circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) THIOUNN PRASITH  
Permanent Representative of  
Democratic Kampuchea  
to the United Nations

## ANNEX

Press release, dated 7 September 1979, issued by the Ministry of Information of Democratic Kampuchea concerning the dropping of toxic chemical products on the innocent population by the Vietnamese aggressors

On 25 and 26 July and on 25 and 29 August 1979, Vietnamese aircraft dropped toxic chemical products on Phnom Reachtong Mountain, north of Kirirom, province of Kompong Speu, causing the death of three elderly women, two 11-year-old children and three three-year-old children. In addition, many persons, most of whom were old people, pregnant women and children, were poisoned by these products.

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/461-S/13533.

The victims displayed the following symptoms: skin burns (comparable to those caused by fire), vomiting, dizziness, fever causing death unless care was provided in time.

Our physicians, acting with great devotion, were able to save a number of victims.

These air drops of toxic chemical products constitute a new crime perpetrated by the Vietnamese aggressors to add to the long list of crimes they have committed against the people of Kampuchea since launching their savage war of aggression. The strategy of the Vietnamese aggressors is to swallow Kampuchea and completely exterminate the race of Kampuchea in order to make it disappear from the map of the world. Therefore they do not hesitate to resort to the most barbarous and fascistic means and procedures of extermination, going so far as to use toxic products which have been universally prohibited. This crime shows that the Vietnamese aggressors, led by the Le Duan clique, are far more cruel and more fascistic than the Nazis. They trample international law, and, in order to realize their regional expansionist ambitions, they apply the law of the jungle in international relations, particularly in their relations with neighbouring countries. This poses grave dangers not only to the people of Kampuchea but also to the peoples of South-East Asia and to the peoples of the world and all mankind.

The Ministry of Information of Democratic Kampuchea, on behalf of the entire people of Kampuchea, victimized by Viet Nam's extremely barbarous war of aggression, calls upon world public opinion and all mankind to condemn the crimes of the Vietnamese aggressors against the people of Kampuchea and to take immediate and effective steps to prevent them from committing more such crimes, by demanding that Viet Nam should put an end to the escalation of its war of aggression against Kampuchea and should immediately and unconditionally withdraw all its troops, thereby permitting the people of Kampuchea to settle their problems by themselves without foreign intervention.

## DOCUMENT S/13534\*

## Letter dated 11 September 1979 from the representative of Turkey to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[12 September 1979]

I have the honour to attach a letter dated 11 September 1979 addressed to you by Mr. Nail Atalay, the representative of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus.

I should be grateful if this letter were circulated as a document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Orhan ERALP  
Permanent Representative of Turkey  
to the United Nations

## ANNEX

Text of the letter dated 11 September 1979 from  
Mr. Nail Atalay to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to enclose a letter dated 1 September 1979 addressed to you by Mr. Fazıl Küçük, former Vice-President of the Republic of Cyprus.

I should be grateful if this letter were circulated as a document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

TEXT OF THE LETTER DATED 1 SEPTEMBER 1979 FROM  
MR. FAZIL KÜÇÜK TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

It is with grave concern that I am following your efforts to have the intercommunal talks resumed. The Greek Cypriot propaganda campaign to the effect that the Turkish Cypriot side has caused a rupture in the talks by putting pre-conditions seems to gain ground in the absence of an equal chance for the Turkish Cypriots to be heard at international forums. Numerous are letters and messages by me to the Secretariat from 1963 onwards—during my tenure of office as the Vice-President of Cyprus—pointing out that any decision taken in the absence of the Turkish Cypriot community would not be binding on it. It is because of this apparent injustice to the Turkish Cypriot side that the Greek Cypriot authorities prefer one-sided propaganda and resolutions from international forums to serious and sustained negotiations at the intercommunal level. It is a pity that no one points out to the Greek Cypriot leaders the utter incompatibility of their present efforts at international forums with the letter and spirit of the agreement of 19 May 1979 [S/13369, para. 51]. Each and every resolution which the Greek Cypriots have one-sidedly secured from various international forums in the past and which they endeavour to get now and hereafter is a well-calculated assault on the concept for intercommunal agreement which they have seemingly accepted at summit conferences only to negate at the next international meeting.

Each year the Greek Cypriot side chooses to resort to international forums as a means for prolonging the settlement of the Cyprus problem

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/462-S/13534.

and they use the one-sided and unrealistic resolutions which they get from those conferences as new reasons for delaying the settlement for another year. This vicious circle is achieving a rather permanent pattern and the condemnation of Turkey (for having saved the Turkish Cypriot community and the bi-national independence from utter destruction) has become a *sine qua non* of their one-sided resolutions.

The late Archbishop Makarios, whose conspiracy with the Government of Greece in 1963 led to the formation of secret armies which launched their pre-planned attack on the Turkish Cypriots on 21 December 1963, is on record for having stated that the Greek Cypriots will not sign any agreement which bars *enosis* (union with Greece) and that he will consent to the change of status of "the Government of Cyprus" only for *enosis*. He saw no reason to conceal that to each and every government in Greece he had offered Cyprus and that union with Greece continued to be his unchanged goal for the fulfilment of which he had taken a holy oath in 1950 which he had never violated.

"The Government of Cyprus" which Archbishop Makarios was ready to forgo if only *enosis* was achieved was the Greek Cypriot wing of a bi-national government which he had destroyed by force of arms in 1960, thus usurping the rights of the co-partner Turkish community. This grotesque Greek Cypriot administration, which violated every single article of the human rights convention from 1963 to 1974 has now been taken over by Mr. Kyprianou, who declares that he is following in the footsteps of his leader Archbishop Makarios.

The Turkish Cypriot community has defied the unconstitutional rule of Archbishop Makarios from 1963 to 1974 and has resisted the coup by the Greek Junta thus saving its members from common graves only with the legitimate intervention by Turkey. The presentation of facts by the Greek Cypriot aggressors to the international forums is grossly distorted. It will be impossible to solve the Cyprus problem as long as the United Nations permits this distortion to continue in international forums.

Turkish and Greek Cypriots have lived as two distinct nationalities in Cyprus for four centuries without intermixing, each guarding its national and religious characteristics and institutions, each having its own language schools, separate cultures and traditions. Greek Cypriots always regarded themselves as Greeks and aspired at uniting the island with Greece while the Turkish Cypriots resisted that policy of union with Greece and claimed the right of reversion to Turkey in case of a change of sovereignty over the island. Few people know that Greek Cypriots never ruled the Turkish Cypriots in 400 years of coexistence and they have no moral, legal or political right to do so now, short of an intercommunal agreement for the re-establishment of a partnership government which they had wilfully destroyed in 1963 and refused to re-establish until this day.

In short, the chronological events of Cyprus are:

1571-1878: Turkish rule in Cyprus.

1878: administration of the island handed to Britain, the Ottoman empire retaining the right of sovereignty. The two communities live under British rule retaining their separate identities.

1914: Great Britain unilaterally annexes the island. Turkish Cypriots are declared to be alien enemies by Britain which, with the help of Greek Cypriots, begins oppressing the Turkish Cypriots. The Turkish Cypriots who were the dominant elements in the island begin to wane economically and otherwise because their leaders are put into prison, etc.

Greek Cypriots vie with each other in harassing the Turkish Cypriots.

Between 1914-1923 many Turkish Cypriots are forced to leave the island.

During those years the Turkish community's plight is enormous. But for each movement by Greek Cypriots to materialize *enosis*, Turkish Cypriots immediately make a counter move. *Enosis* for the Turkish Cypriots is permanent loss of hope for future liberty and freedom; for the Greek Cypriots, liberty and freedom can only be achieved by union with Greece.

1931: Greek Cypriots revolt for *enosis*.

Stringent measures adopted by Britain hit the Turkish community very hard.

All *enosis* leaders are expelled and all *enosis* propaganda is prohibited.

1945: At the end of the Second World War, *enosis* leaders are allowed to return to Cyprus and the prohibition on the *enosis* movement is lifted.

An upsurge of *enosis* activity by the Greek Cypriots is countered by an

upsurge of demand by the Turkish Cypriots for putting an end to such activities or else for returning the island to its former owner Turkey.

1950: Archbishop Makarios takes the holy oath to unite the island with Greece.

1954: In agreement with the Greek Government the Archbishop clandestinely brings to Cyprus terrorists and war materiel under the leadership of the notorious Colonel Grivas and puts all church funds at the disposal of terrorists for achieving *enosis*.

Self-government or independence are declared to be "traps for destroying *enosis*" and all those who wish self-government or independence are labelled "traitors to the national cause".

1 April 1955: EOKA launches its terrorism which lasts until 1958. During those four years hundreds of Turkish Cypriots are murdered; 6,000 Turkish Cypriots are forced to flee from 33 villages where all Turkish properties are destroyed. *Enosis* is the war cry, "death to the Turkish Cypriots" is the national flag under which Greek Cypriot youth is trained. Turkish Cypriots form their own underground organization and retaliate in self-defence. Greece supports the Greek Cypriots in political propaganda and materially. As the death-toll of Turkish Cypriots begins to rise, Turkey becomes acutely concerned.

Turkish Cypriot resistance to Greek Cypriots and Turkey's growing concern leads to a compromise solution.

1959: Zurich and London agreements are signed. A partnership republic is born in 1960.

1960: Archbishop Makarios, who has become the President of a bi-national State, categorically states that the aim is still *enosis*. He aims at abolishing the 1960 agreements, which prohibit *enosis* and guarantee intercommunal accord. He sets up secret armies.

1963: Greek Cypriot offensive begins when the Turkish side rejects the Archbishop's offers to amend the Constitution.

103 Turkish villages are evacuated under Greek Cypriot threats and attacks. Thirty thousand Turkish Cypriots become refugees for 11 years. All Turkish Cypriot elements in the partnership government are ejected by force of arms and Turkish Cypriots declared to be a rebel community just because it refused to succumb to the unorthodox and unconstitutional rule of terror by the Greek side.

Twenty thousand Greek mainland troops are clandestinely imported into the island. Harassment of Turkish Cypriots, denial of all human rights continue unabated until 1974.

The coup leads to Turkey's intervention and Turkish Cypriots find peace in Cyprus for the first time in 11 years.

1975: an exchange of population agreement is reached between the two sides and all those who wish to move to their sector are helped by the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus to do so. All Turkish Cypriots, save 150, who had suffered the indignities and terror, injustice and hardship of living in a Greek Cypriot dominated area for 11 years and who had known no day of peace free from fear or anxiety, chose to move north to the liberated sector. All Greek Cypriots, save about 2,000, eventually moved south to the Greek sector.

In the light of these realities the four-point summit agreement of 1977 [S/12323 of 30 April 1977, para. 5] reached between the leaders of the two communities foresaw a bi-zonal, bi-communal non-aligned federal republic. That was confirmed at the summit meeting of 19 May 1977.

Greek Cypriot leaders, however, proclaim that they will revert to a Cyprus of pre-1974 days (i.e., armed dominance over the Turkish Cypriots at all costs) through a policy of long struggle. Contrary to the summit agreements referred to above, they continue one-sided propaganda at international forums and attempt to deceive the world at the expense of the rights and freedoms of the Turkish Cypriot community.

I wish to put on record my anxiety at the continued sufferance of the Greek Cypriot side to attempt to deceive the world at large and at the unrealistic resolutions which seem to spurt from international organizations at the beck and call of the Greek Cypriot side. The treatment by the international world body of the aggressor as the aggrieved can bring no peace and justice to Cyprus.

Let us hope that truth and reality will one day triumph over a decade-old Greek propaganda.

I shall be glad if you kindly have this letter circulated as a United Nations document.

**Report of the Committee on the Admission of New Members concerning the application  
of Saint Lucia for admission to membership in the United Nations**

[Original: Chinese/English/French/Russian/Spanish]  
[12 September 1979]

1. At the 2166th meeting on 12 September 1979, the Security Council had before it the application of Saint Lucia for admission to membership in the United Nations [S/13530]. In accordance with rule 59 of the provisional rules of procedure and in the absence of a proposal to the contrary, the President of the Council referred the application to the Committee on the Admission of New Members for examination and report. The Council agreed to waive the deadline for reporting set out in the last sentence of rule 59.

2. At its 64th meeting held the same day, the Committee considered the application of Saint Lucia and unanimously decided to recommend to the Security Council that it should be admitted to membership in the United Nations.

3. The Committee further decided to recommend to the Council that it should have recourse to the provisions of the last paragraph of rule 60 of the provisional rules of procedure.

4. Accordingly, the Committee recommends to the Security Council the adoption of the following draft resolution:

*"The Security Council,*

*"Having examined the application of Saint Lucia for admission to the United Nations (S/13530),*

*"Recommends to the General Assembly that Saint Lucia should be admitted to membership in the United Nations."*

## DOCUMENT S/13538

**Letter dated 12 September 1979 from the representative of the German Democratic Republic  
to the Secretary-General**

[Original: English]  
[14 September 1979]

On instructions of my Government, I have the honour to transmit to you herewith, for publication as a Security Council document, the following information in response to your note of 21 March 1979.

In the struggle for the elimination of the remnants of colonialism, racism and *apartheid*, the German Democratic Republic firmly stands at the side of the peoples of southern Africa. It is providing political, diplomatic and material assistance to the peoples of Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa as well as to their national liberation movements fighting for independence and self-determination. This principled position was once again emphasized by the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and Chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic, Erich Honecker, during his visit to several African countries in February this year.

The German Democratic Republic most resolutely condemns the policy of *apartheid* pursued by the South African racist régime, which is disobeying all human rights and endangering peace and international security. In compliance with resolution 418 (1977) of the Security Council, the socialist German State does not maintain any political, eco-

nomie, military or other relations with the *apartheid* régime. In the United Nations Organization, the German Democratic Republic has always persistently supported the demands for the elimination of *apartheid* and all forms of racial discrimination and worked towards the effective isolation of the racists. It will continue to do so.

The German Democratic Republic considers it imperative to enforce strictly the arms embargo imposed on South Africa, to extend it to all military sectors, and to agree upon coercive measures in the economic field in accordance with Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

The German Democratic Republic vigorously supports the request addressed to the Security Council to condemn any co-operation with the *apartheid* régime in the military or nuclear fields as a danger to peace and international security, and to take effective measures designed to prevent South Africa from gaining possession of nuclear weapons.

(Signed) Peter FLORIN  
Permanent Representative of  
the German Democratic Republic  
to the United Nations

## DOCUMENT S/13539

**Letter dated 13 September 1979 from the representative of Zambia to the Secretary-General**

[Original: English]  
[14 September 1979]

Upon instructions from my Government, I have the honour to draw your attention to the persistent acts of aggression committed against my country by the racist régime of South Africa.

Over a period of time ranging from January to September 1979, South African war planes, ground and water-borne troops, have been violating Zambian air space and land, mainly in the western province of Zambia bordering on



Namibia. In several villages of that province, racist troops have carried out indiscriminate acts on innocent villagers causing considerable loss of human lives and property. These attacks have of late increased in intensity and frequency, thereby threatening security and peace in the region. The following is a catalogue of specific incidents which have taken place during the period under reference:

#### FEBRUARY

South African troops attacked a Zambian village known as Sinjembela. They burnt a government truck and killed four people, leaving two injured.

#### MARCH

South African troops, jets and helicopters bombed Zambia's military positions near Zambezi and killed five Zambian soldiers, injured 10 and destroyed three army trucks. In the same area, they pulled down a Zambian flag at a primary school known as Imusho.

#### APRIL

South African troops, supported by 14 armoured vehicles, entered Zambian territory at Imusho village. They harassed villagers, beating them up and destroying their houses. They also took away their personal belongings, including their national registration cards. In those raids, one civilian was killed and several others were injured.

#### MAY

South African jets bombed a Zambian military truck near Silumbu school. The troops harassed innocent villagers and burnt all their food-stuffs. They were covered in their raids by jet and helicopters.

#### JUNE

South African troops kidnapped 19 Zambians in a village known as Mufulani, who were fishing, and flew them to

Caprivi Strip. In their raids, the racist troops in collaboration with their local agents, harassed and tortured villagers, using dogs. They were purportedly looking for so-called SWAPO camps.

#### JULY

South African troops entered Zambia at Katima Mulilo area, harassed villagers and plundered and took away personal property. Their jets bombed a Zambian army truck and injured two Zambian soldiers.

#### AUGUST

South African troops entered Zambia and surrounded a police station at Mwandi area. They held police officers there at gun-point and tortured them, seeking information about the so-called SWAPO camps. During the same month, South African jets bombed a private company prospecting minerals. One man was injured and property was destroyed, including two government land rovers.

My Government strongly protests these acts of aggression committed by the racist régime of South Africa and calls upon you to prevail on the Pretoria régime to desist forthwith from violating the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Republic of Zambia. We view these acts of wanton aggression by South Africa as a direct challenge to the provisions of the United Nations Charter calling for respect of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of independent States. I wish to stress, moreover, that apart from endangering peace in the region and constituting a serious threat to international peace and security, acts of aggression committed by the Pretoria régime are not conducive to the current efforts being undertaken by you in the quest for the solution to the problem of Namibia on the basis of relevant Security Council resolutions.

I wish to request you to arrange for the circulation of this letter as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Paul J. F. LUSAKA  
Permanent Representative of Zambia  
to the United Nations

### DOCUMENT S/13540\*

#### Letter dated 13 September 1979 from the representative of Turkey to the Secretary-General

{Original: English}  
[17 September 1979]

I have the honour to enclose a letter dated 13 September 1979 addressed to you by Mr. Nail Atalay, the representative of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus.

I should be grateful if this letter were circulated as a document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Orhan ERALP  
Permanent Representative of Turkey  
to the United Nations

#### ANNEX

#### Text of the letter dated 13 September 1979 from Mr. Nail Atalay to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to attach herewith a telex message dated 6 September 1979 addressed to you by Mr. Kenan Atakol, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Defence and Tourism of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus.

I should be grateful if the message were circulated as a document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

TEXT OF THE MESSAGE DATED 6 SEPTEMBER 1979 FROM MR. KENAN ATAKOL TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

I have the honour to draw your attention to the recent Greek Cypriot hysteria about the "imminent" proclamation of independence by the Turk-

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/470-S/13540.

ish Federated State of Cyprus, which was distributed to all Governments in the form of an aide-mémoire on 2 August 1979.

It is for us an unenviable task to have to deal daily with insidious Greek Cypriot propaganda. In connexion with the latest outburst, however, we need not exert ourselves in order to refute it and show to the world that it is nothing more than a malicious effort designed once again to mislead world public opinion and prepare the ground for further internationalization of the Cyprus problem, thus hampering the efforts to resume serious intercommunal talks which, given goodwill, may lead us to a just and durable solution on the basis of a bizonal, federal, non-aligned republic.

The following statement on this issue by the former Greek Cypriot negotiator Mr. Papadopoulos, published in the Greek Cypriot daily, *Simerini*, on 12 August 1979, suffices to prove beyond any doubt the shameful attempt by the Greek Cypriot leaders to deceive and mislead world public opinion:

"I have no information or evidence to show any activity by the Turkish Cypriots to proclaim independence. I am merely reading exaggerated Greek Cypriot press reports and overstatements by the Greek Cypriot spokesman. Most of these are distorted and exaggerated reports attributed to Turkish Cypriots. For example, I studied the reports headlined, 'Çağatay also threatening to proclaim independence'. When I read Mr. Çağatay's statement, I saw that he had made no such threat. Simultaneously, I noticed reports that the Greek Cypriot side had embarked on an enlightenment campaign in a well-organized, orchestrated fashion and was making successful initiatives! All these indicate that the rumours of tension that have been created are artificial and that this is the creation of the Greek Cypriot Government and press . . . This attitude is wrong and is as serious as criminal behaviour. Unfortunately, this attitude which aimed at the glorification of some people is a very dangerous trick because, by calling upon others to save us in the face of non-existent danger, we lose our credibility and give them the opportunity not to come to our help in case of real danger."

It should by now be crystal clear to the whole world that the real aim

of Greek Cypriot administration is not to come to a negotiated, acceptable settlement with the Turkish Cypriot community, the co-founder partner of the Republic of Cyprus, but to waste time, as part of its "long-term struggle" policy, around the international forums, in order to perpetuate the present situation, which leaves it in a strong position as the usurper of the title of the "Government of Cyprus" and the recipient of the full share of international aid and credit given to Cyprus.

I can assure you that no other interested party could desire a settlement of the Cyprus problem more than the Turkish Cypriot community, which had to live under relentless Greek Cypriot harassment until 1974 and under economic embargo for the past 16 years.

I will take this opportunity to reiterate once again that the Turkish Cypriot community is ready to enter into a serious dialogue with the Greek Cypriots on the basis of equality with a view to finding a just and durable solution to the Cyprus problem within the framework of the Denktas-Makarios agreement of 12 February 1977, which was confirmed at the summit meeting at Nicosia on 19 May 1979, under your auspices. The Greek Cypriot delaying tactics and their deception of the world at large on the facts of Cyprus cannot obliterate the glaring fact that, unless the two autonomous administrations speedily agree to set up a bizonal federal republic, the shape of things to come will inevitably be on the basis of utter separation of the two communities in all fields of life, which is a state of affairs cast over the Turkish community since December 1963 by the Greek Cypriot wing's armed elements in what was a bicomunal society. The ejection of the partner community from this bicomunal republic by force of arms and the refusal for 16 years to accept it back as a co-founder partner community cannot but lead Cyprus to further division. Shouting "wolf" will not stop this trend of events, because the Turkish community cannot live in a political vacuum forever. Let us hope that the Greek Cypriot side will see this basic reality and will choose honest negotiations instead of hysterical false propaganda.

I should be grateful if this letter were circulated as a document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

## DOCUMENT S/13541

### Letter dated 17 September 1979 from the representative of South Africa to the Secretary-General

*(Original: English)*  
*[17 September 1979]*

Upon instructions from my Government, I have the honour to refer to the letter dated 13 September 1979 from the Permanent Representative of Zambia to you [S/13539] regarding alleged acts of aggression said to have been committed by South Africa against Zambia.

The situation currently prevailing in the South West African/Zambian border area can be directly attributed to the presence of SWAPO terrorists on the Zambian side of the border, where they receive the active support of the Zambian armed forces. In fact, on 13 September, it was reported from Lusaka that the Zambian Foreign Minister, in the course of a statement on this question, did not deny that Zambia allowed the unimpeded use of its territory by SWAPO terrorists. Moreover, the Zambian President himself has frequently in the past expressed his approval of and support for so-called liberation movements to use his country as a spring-board for attacks on neighbouring countries.

On 23 August 1978, there was a savage and unprovoked attack on the town of Katima Mulilo. That attack with 122-mm mortars emanated from Zambian territory and resulted in loss of life which could have been much more serious but for precautions taken on the South West African side of the border.

Attacks such as the above, together with numerous incidents of murder, torture and the abduction of civilians, are the cause of the situation which now exists on the South West African/Zambian border.

South Africa is responsible for the security of the peoples of South West Africa and is, therefore, seriously concerned that SWAPO's acts of terror should not be permitted to continue.

South Africa rejects allegations by Zambia of torture and harassment of the civilian population. South Africa also wishes to point out that, if Zambia had not allowed SWAPO practical control of part of its territory, the Zambian authorities would have been aware that these acts of torture and harassment are, in fact, being perpetrated by SWAPO gangs.

I should appreciate it if this letter could be circulated as a document of the Security Council.

*(Signed) David W. STEWARD*  
*Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the*  
*Permanent Mission of South Africa*  
*to the United Nations*

DOCUMENT S/13542

Letter dated 14 September 1979 from the representative of Liberia  
to the President of the Security Council

[Original: English]  
[18 September 1979]

The proclamation by the Pretoria régime on 13 September 1979 of the so-called independence of yet another bantustan has been noted with concern among the African Group. This action is part of the odious South African policy of *apartheid* and tribal fragmentation which the United Nations continues most strongly to denounce. In view of this, the African Group would be grateful were you kindly to undertake consultations among the members of the Security Council in order that, in keeping with precedent, appropriate actions may be taken by the Council.

(Signed) Winston A. TUBMAN  
Permanent Representative of Liberia  
to the United Nations

DOCUMENT S/13543\*

Letter dated 18 September 1979 from the representative of Democratic Kampuchea to the Secretary-General

[Original: French]  
[18 September 1979]

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith, for your information, a press release issued by the Ministry of Information of Democratic Kampuchea on 16 September 1979 concerning the crimes committed by the Vietnamese administration in continuing to drop toxic chemical products on the people of Kampuchea.

I should be grateful if you would have this text circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) THIOUNN PRASITH  
Permanent Representative of  
Democratic Kampuchea  
to the United Nations

ANNEX

Press release, dated 16 September 1979, issued by the Ministry of Information of Democratic Kampuchea concerning the crimes committed by the Vietnamese administration in continuing to drop toxic chemical products on the people of Kampuchea

On 5 and 6 September 1979, a Vietnamese aircraft dropped toxic chemical products at Andaung Toek and Thmar Baing in the province of Koh

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/489-S/13543.

Kong. A 60-year-old woman, three children and two pregnant women were killed and 10 other persons are seriously ill.

The effects of these toxic chemical products are as follows: a chilled tingling of the skin, followed shortly afterwards by hot flushes, and then the victim dies of cerebral fever.

It should be recalled that on 25 and 26 July and 25 and 29 August 1979, Vietnamese aircraft dropped toxic chemical products at Reachtomng (north of Kirirom, in the province of Kompong Speu), causing eight deaths among elderly persons and children and several cases of serious poisoning among pregnant women and children. The evidence is indisputable. Several dozen people have thus been killed by toxic chemical products dropped by the Vietnamese administration.

These actions by the Le Duan clique are abominable crimes. History has never known any persons as fascistic and hypocritical as this clique, which only knows the law of the jungle and brute force, tramples international laws underfoot and has no scruples about using weapons such as toxic chemical products, which are universally prohibited. By these criminal acts, the Le Duan clique wants to exterminate the race of Kampuchea and, with its Soviet master, to extend its expansion into other countries.

The Ministry of Information of Democratic Kampuchea most vigorously condemns the Vietnamese administration which is guilty of monstrous crimes against the people of Kampuchea and calls upon world opinion and all mankind to condemn that administration, to take the necessary measures to prevent it from perpetrating new massacres against the people of Kampuchea and to demand that it put an end to its war of aggression against Kampuchea and immediately and unconditionally withdraw all its troops from Kampuchea, thereby permitting the people of Kampuchea to settle their problems by themselves, without external interference.

DOCUMENT S/13544\*

Letter dated 19 September 1979 from the Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People to the Secretary-General

[Original: French]  
[19 September 1979]

I have the honour to inform you of the serious concern of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People at the most recent manifestations, reported in the press, of Israel's determination to strengthen its presence in the occupied Arab territories, in defiance of world public opinion and in flagrant violation of interna-

tional law and of General Assembly and Security Council resolutions.

The Israeli Government's decision to abrogate the provisions prohibiting Israeli companies and nationals from purchasing land in the illegally occupied Arab territories is a further example of the insidious colonialism which characterizes Israel's policy towards the territories which it seized by force in 1967.

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/492-S/13544.

The Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People has repeatedly emphasized the urgency of bringing about a complete withdrawal by Israel from the occupied territories, as an essential first step in putting an end to flagrant violations of human rights in defiance of the Charter of the United Nations and of international law. Only then would it be possible for the fundamental rights of the Palestinian people to be respected.

Following so closely upon the adoption by the Security Council of resolution 452 (1979), by which the Council accepted the recommendations of the Security Council Commission established under resolution 446 (1979) and called upon the Government and people of Israel to cease, on an urgent basis, the establishment, construction and planning of settlements in the Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, the recent decision of the Israeli Government clearly proves that Israel has scant respect for the United Nations, to which it was admitted mainly on the strength of undertakings by the then leaders of Israel to accept and comply with resolutions adopted by the Organization.

This latest action is also further proof of the duplicity of Israel, which, on the one hand, claims to be striving to promote the autonomy of the occupied territories and, on

the other, reveals by its actions its intention of colonizing the region by altering the population distribution and the system of land tenure in the occupied territories in violation of the fourth Geneva Convention of 1949. It is obvious that when the Permanent Representative of Israel, in a recent newspaper article, slandered the United Nations, to which Israel owes its very existence, he was simply trying to find an excuse for the latest violation by Israel of the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

The Committee is firmly convinced that action must be taken as a matter of urgency to halt this trend of affairs and to obtain the early withdrawal of Israel from the occupied territories. Any continuation by Israel of this kind of policy in the illegally occupied Arab territories can only aggravate existing tensions in the region and threaten international peace and security.

I should be obliged if you would circulate the text of the present letter as a document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Médoune FALL  
Chairman of the Committee on  
the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights  
of the Palestinian People

#### DOCUMENT S/13545\*

#### Letter dated 19 September 1979 from the representative of Israel to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[19 September 1979]

I wish to draw your urgent attention to a criminal outrage perpetrated in Jerusalem today by the terrorist PLO.

Just before 7 o'clock in the evening, an explosive device went off in the teeming city centre, killing two civilians and injuring 34 others, four seriously. A second explosive device was found nearby and dismantled safely. The PLO immediately boasted of its responsibility for the incident on its radio in Lebanon.

This outrage comes in the wake of a particularly ugly incident involving the cold-blooded murder of a Jewish worshipper at Jerusalem by PLO terrorists after midnight on Saturday, 15 September, at the foot of the Mount of Olives, near the Church of Gethsemane.

Within hours of that incident, the PLO shamelessly took responsibility for it on its radio at Beirut.

These outrages are only the latest in a series which has occurred since my letter to you of 22 August 1979 [S/13511], several of which were launched directly from Lebanon or for which responsibility was taken by PLO terrorists based in Lebanon and elsewhere:

(a) On 26 August, three separate barrages of Katyusha rockets were fired from Lebanese territory at civilian centres in Western Galilee and in the Galilee "panhandle". Four civilians were wounded in the northern town of Kiryat Sbmona.

(b) On 29 August, an explosive charge went off near the old Government Printing Office at Jerusalem, seriously injuring one man. A terrorist group belonging to the PLO bragged of its responsibility for the outrage on Radio Monte Carlo on the same day.

(c) Also on 29 August, a large explosive charge was

discovered attached to the undercarriage of a bus at Jerusalem. A police sapper dismantled the charge safely and averted what might have been a major tragedy.

(d) On 5 September, an explosion occurred at the rear entrance to the public swimming pool at Jerusalem, injuring a boy. The PLO boasted of its responsibility through its news agency in Lebanon.

(e) On 15 September, a young man discovered an explosive charge at Bat Yam, near Tel Aviv. It exploded a few minutes later, injuring a policeman. That day the PLO radio in Lebanon took responsibility for the incident.

(f) Today, 19 September, in addition to the above-mentioned incident at Jerusalem, the police at Jaffa providentially defused a bomb in a car parked in the centre of Jaffa one minute before it was due to explode. A PLO spokesman at Damascus took responsibility for this attempted act of terror.

The senseless killing of civilians has been the barbaric aim of the terrorist PLO throughout its existence. Its designs, whether successful or not, are characteristic of a group of international criminals of the worst kind which masquerades, in the case of the PLO, under the banner of a national liberation movement.

Moreover, beyond indiscriminate killing for its own sake, the declared aim of the PLO's continuing campaign of terror is to subvert the ongoing peace process in the Middle East. This was given particular expression during President Sadat's last visit to Israel when, on the night of 5-6 September, a patrol of the Israeli Defence Forces encountered and drove off a group of heavily armed PLO terrorists trying to enter Israel from Jordanian territory near the village of Bet Yosef in the Bet Shean Valley.

Given the true character and aims of the terrorist PLO.

\* Circulated under the double symbol A 34 498-S 13545.

the Government of Israel is duty-bound, as I have indicated in previous letters, to take all measures necessary to protect the lives and safety of its citizens.

I have the honour to request that this letter be circulated

**DOCUMENT S/13546\***

**Letter dated 19 September 1979 from the representative of Jordan to the Secretary-General**

Upon instructions from my Government, I have the honour to bring to your attention the latest Israeli usurpation of Arab land in the occupied West Bank of Jordan. In defiance of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and in violation of the principles of the fourth Geneva Convention of 1949, relating to the protection of civilians under occupation, the Israeli authorities in the past few days expropriated agricultural areas in the West Bank amounting to 25,665 dunums for the establishment of new Israeli settlements.

This area stretches from the city of Jenin in the north to the far south of the occupied West Bank. Israeli bulldozers have been destroying Arab crops, uprooting olive trees and demolishing existing buildings in order to prepare the land for illegal settlements.

The area of land expropriated between Jenin and Nablus, where two Israeli settlements would be established, amounted to 1,300 dunums. Two Arab towns will soon suffer as a result of Israeli usurpation of these lands. The towns are Beit Qan and Arraba.

Israeli occupation authorities expropriated also 16,000 dunums of land in the Tulkarem area in Wadi Qana adjoining Deir Astia. This is one of the most fertile lands where olive and fruit trees are grown abundantly.

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/505-S/13546.

**DOCUMENT S/13547\***

**Letter dated 20 September 1979 from the representative of Jordan to the Secretary-General**

Upon instructions from my Government, I have the honour to express my Government's very deep concern over an Israeli Cabinet decision, adopted at its latest meeting held on 16 September 1979, which allows the Israelis to purchase lands and properties in the occupied West Bank, including Jerusalem.

My Government is fully aware of your forthright opposition to this most flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations and most specifically in violation of the principles of the fourth Geneva Convention of 1949 pertaining to the protection of civilians under occupation. The relevant articles in the Convention specifically prohibit the transfer of population by the occupying Power to the occupied lands, let alone the expropriation, acquisition and purchase of the lands and properties of the unprotected inhabitants of the occupied territories. It is pertinent to recall on this occasion the report of the Security Council Commission which had visited the area during the summer [S/13450 and Add. 1] and the subsequent decision of the Coun-

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/506-S/13547.

as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

*(Signed) Yehuda Z. BLUM  
Permanent Representative of Israel  
to the United Nations*

*[Original: English]  
[20 September 1979]*

In the area of Ramallah, the Israelis expropriated 800 dunums of land located between the Arab villages of Ain Yabroud and Silwad, north of Ramallah.

The area of Jerusalem suffered the most as a result of Israeli usurpation of private and public property. The area expropriated amounted to 6,765 dunums of land owned by the Arab villagers of Anata, north-east of Jerusalem.

In the area of Bethlehem, 400 dunums of land were expropriated from lands owned by the villagers of Hussan, south-west of Bethlehem. In the area of Hebron, the Israeli usurpers expropriated 800 dunums of land owned by the Arabs of Ethna village. A 40-metre wide highway will be constructed which would pass through the area of Hebron from the western edge of the West Bank and stretch eastward to the Dead Sea.

I call upon you to use your good offices to put an end to the inhuman practices of the Israeli authorities in the West Bank of Jordan, including Jerusalem.

I have the honour to request that this letter be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

*(Signed) Hazem NUSEIBEH  
Permanent Representative of Jordan  
to the United Nations*

*[Original: English]  
[20 September 1979]*

cil deploring and calling upon Israel to desist from such illegal and highly dangerous practices.

The Security Council Commission and the Council, which had adopted its findings, had definitively established that approximately 27.1 per cent of the occupied West Bank, including Jerusalem, has already been expropriated and the process is ongoing and relentless. This, it need hardly be stressed, leaves little room for the inhabitants under occupation or the half a million displaced from the West Bank since 1967 any viable land which is the basic source of their continuous sustenance and precludes the unconditional repatriation of the displaced Palestinians mandated in General Assembly resolution 2452 (XXIII) of 19 December 1968, and other Security Council and United Nations resolutions.

It is the considered judgement of my Government that the latest ominous development would inevitably pose a most serious threat to the situation in the Middle East and play havoc with the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people in their homeland.

It is the earnest hope of my Government that you will exert your utmost towards bringing about a cessation of this

extremely central violation which forms the core of any and all efforts aimed at achieving a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

Needless to state that the Government of Jordan and the United Nations regard all these defiant, illegal and aggressive acts as null and void and to be rescinded.

I have the honour to request that this letter be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Hazem NUSEIBEH  
Permanent Representative of Jordan  
to the United Nations

#### DOCUMENT S/13548

### Letter dated 20 September 1979 from the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid to the President of the Security Council

[Original: English]  
[20 September 1979]

I have the honour to transmit herewith, for the attention of the Security Council, a statement issued by the Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* on 11 September 1979 on the proclamation of the so-called "independence" of Venda.

(Signed) B. Akporode CLARK  
Chairman  
Special Committee against Apartheid

#### ANNEX

#### Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* condemns the "independence" of Venda

The Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, B. Akporode Clark (Nigeria), issued the following statement on 11 September 1979:

"On behalf of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, I condemn the proposed proclamation by the *apartheid* régime of the so-called 'independence' of Venda on 13 September 1979 as another crime against the African people of South Africa and a serious challenge to the international community.

"I would recall that the General Assembly—in resolution 31/105 N of 14 December 1977—unanimously reaffirmed its denunciation of the establishment of bantustans as designed to consolidate the inhuman policy of *apartheid*, to destroy the territorial integrity of the country, to perpetuate white minority domination and to deprive the African people of South Africa of their inalienable rights. It declared that proclamations of so-called 'independence' of bantustans are totally invalid and reaffirmed the inalienable rights of the African people of South Africa in the country as a whole. It called upon all Governments to deny any form of recognition to the so-called 'independent' bantustans; to refrain from any dealings with them; to reject travel documents issued by them; and to take effective measures to prohibit all individuals, corporations and other institutions under their jurisdiction from having any dealings with the so-called 'independent' bantustans.

"Venda is a small territory of about 700,000 hectares divided into two parts. According to the *apartheid* régime, it has a so-called *de jure* population of about 450,000. Of these, 32 per cent are resident outside the territory in the rest of South Africa. Three fourths of the people of the territory are said to be engaged in subsistence agriculture. The bantustan is so poor that it depends on grants from the Pretoria régime even for its regular budget.

"The *apartheid* régime has, moreover, appropriated a strip of territory between Vendale and the Limpopo River to deprive it of a border with Zimbabwe.

"The people of Venda have a long tradition of struggle for freedom. The territory was the scene of heroic resistance by students in the national uprising following the Soweto massacre: several students were killed and many imprisoned.

"Despite the opposition of the people, the *apartheid* régime, in collusion with tribal chiefs led by Chief Patrick Mphophu, has tried to impose sham independence as part of its diabolic strategy.

"In the elections held in 1973, his party won only 4 of the 18 elected seats, but he was appointed chief minister with the support of the 42 chiefs, headmen and other nominated members in the so-called legislative assembly.

"In the elections of July 1978 for an enlarged assembly of 84 members, his party won only 11 of the 42 elected seats despite intimidation of voters and electoral irregularities. The régime then imprisoned over 50 opposition leaders—including 13 members of the assembly and several candidates who had appealed against election irregularities, as well as many intellectuals—and ensured that Chief Mphophu would continue as chief minister to 'negotiate' the so-called 'independence'.

"The proclamation of the so-called 'independence' of Venda—in order to create another dependency in an enclave of South Africa and deprive 450,000 Africans of their inalienable rights—is a crime which must be denounced by the international community.

"It demonstrates that while advertising so-called cosmetic reforms in *apartheid*, the racist régime is inexorably proceeding to implement its diabolic scheme. Any delay in effective action against *apartheid*, whatever the excuse, only enables that régime to proceed with its plots at a grave risk to peace."

#### DOCUMENT S/13550\*

### Letter dated 20 September 1979 from the representative of China to the Secretary-General

[Original: Chinese/English]  
[21 September 1979]

#### ANNEX

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith the text of a speech made by Han Nianlong, head of the Chinese Government delegation and Vice-Foreign Minister, at the twelfth plenary meeting of the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations on 20 September 1979.

I request that this speech be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) CHEN Chu  
Permanent Representative of the  
People's Republic of China  
to the United Nations

#### Speech made by Vice-Foreign Minister Han Nianlong, head of the Chinese Government delegation, at the twelfth plenary meeting of the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations on 20 September 1979

Of late, the Vietnamese authorities have started a new round of anti-China hullabaloo to further aggravate Sino-Vietnamese tensions. And here, at the negotiating table, the Vietnamese side has arbitrarily stepped up their attempts to obstruct these negotiations, abused the Chinese Government's just stand and tried to blame the Chinese side for the lack of progress. The Chinese side and all those who expected positive results from these negotiations cannot but feel deep concern about the real intentions of the Vietnamese authorities.

It is a well-known fact that the Chinese side proposed and worked energetically to bring about these negotiations and that it put forward its

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/508-S/13550.

own proposals regarding the purposes and the agenda of these negotiations once they got under way. From the outset, the Chinese side made unremitting efforts to facilitate smooth progress in a spirit of great sincerity and patience. This is a fact which the Vietnamese side cannot distort or deny. In our proposal on principles for handling the relations between China and Viet Nam, we listed the basic principles for resolving the major disputes and issues between the two countries and, keeping in mind the root cause of the deterioration of our relations, we suggested that the two sides first discuss the need for both sides to abide by the five principles of peaceful coexistence and the principle of not seeking hegemony. Moreover, we repeatedly declared in clear terms that the Chinese Government is ready to undertake not to seek hegemony in any form and hoped the Vietnamese side would respond to this. These reasonable suggestions of ours were a practicable way to a fundamental solution of the issues in Sino-Vietnamese relations. The negotiations could have proceeded smoothly and yielded results if the Vietnamese side had desisted from obstruction and quibbling. Regrettably, however, the Vietnamese side indicated no desire to consider the Chinese suggestions but tries to lead the negotiations astray by evading the key issue of not seeking hegemony and imposing its will on these negotiations. No progress has been registered in the eleven plenary meetings held so far. This state of affairs is solely the making of the Vietnamese side which has obstinately refused to give and take in the negotiations.

In defence of itself, the Vietnamese side alleged that the stalemate in the negotiations was caused by China's raising the anti-hegemonist issue. This argument is utterly untenable. It was the Vietnamese authorities who have, by pushing a policy of regional hegemonism, wantonly violated the five principles of peaceful coexistence and brought about a serious deterioration of Sino-Vietnamese relations. If our negotiations are to resolve the complex issues between the two countries, it is only natural that we start off on the two basic issues, namely, the observance by both sides of the five principles of peaceful coexistence and the principle of not seeking hegemony. How can that approach be described as "exceeding the scope of bilateral relations" and "complicating the negotiations"? In trying to divert the negotiations from the crucial subject of opposing hegemonism, the Vietnamese side has resorted to no end of tricks and machinations. You put forward a nice-sounding but hypocritical "three-point-proposal" and harped on the idea that the negotiations take up subjects for discussion on a "rotation basis". To put it bluntly, you were only trying thereby to create confusion, bog the negotiations down in messy bickering, and cover up the essential issues in Sino-Vietnamese relations and the Vietnamese aggressors' criminal acts in Kampuchea and Laos. At first, you tried to evade the anti-hegemony issue and later you simply cast off your masquerade and blatantly claimed that "nobody had the right to interfere with" Viet Nam's acts of aggression and expansion. At the same time, you made the flagrant counter-charge of Chinese "hegemonism". By now isn't it clear who is responsible for the deadlock in the negotiations? No, the Vietnamese side can never shirk its responsibility in that regard.

In pursuance of their set state policy of anti-China hostility, the Vietnamese authorities have recently taken a series of new anti-China measures and travelled further down the road of worsening the relations between China and Viet Nam. Yet, the Vietnamese side keeps professing its "sincerity" in regard of these negotiations and has boasted about its "efforts to narrow the differences and seek common ground". This is a great mockery. Not long ago, you even inscribed your policy of anti-China hostility in the draft of your new constitution and set your entire propaganda machinery in motion to incite deeper hatred against China and aggravate the antagonism between the two countries. Is this how you try to "narrow

the differences"? While continuing to persecute Chinese nationals and Vietnamese citizens of Chinese descent, you keep stepping up your preparations for a war against China and sending commandos and agents into China on missions of armed provocation, who create incidents of bloodshed. What is more, you try to shift the blame on China by fabricating such fantastic lies as Chinese troops, ships and fighter planes intruding into Viet Nam. Are these the "intensive efforts" which you claim you have made to "push the negotiations forward"? You forcibly occupied a number of important islands in China's Nansha Island group. Yet you have been hysterically alleging that China wanted to "annex" what you call the "east sea". Aren't the words and deeds cited above a deliberate attempt to aggravate tensions between China and Viet Nam and poison the climate of the negotiations? Where can one find a shred of the "sincerity" which you profess to have?

It must be noted further that your recent vigorous attacks on China's just position with regard to the Indo-China question and your fictitious charge that China constitutes a "threat" to the three Indo-Chinese States are an attempt to use these negotiations as a forum to spread a smoke-screen for a new campaign of armed aggression in Kampuchea which the Vietnamese authorities are planning to unleash. Nobody will be fooled by your tactics of a thief crying "stop thief". You are planning to launch such an offensive in the dry season to stamp out the Kampuchean people's resistance against the Vietnamese occupation forces and thus to conquer and enslave the Kampuchean nation—a nation who ardently loves independence and freedom—and to dominate the whole of Indo-China and then expand into South-East Asia. It can be predicted that the Vietnamese authorities' aggression in Kampuchea will meet with firm and persistent resistance from the Kampuchean people and will be roundly denounced by the people of the world whose urgent demand is that Viet Nam stop at once its aggression against and military occupation of Kampuchea, withdraw all its troops from that country and let the Kampuchean people decide their own affairs free from outside interference. If the Vietnamese authorities ignore that demand, they will only further isolate themselves internationally.

A host of facts show that the Vietnamese side is not attending the negotiations to seek a normalization of the relations between our two countries, nor does it wish to see peace and tranquillity restored along the Sino-Vietnamese border and in Indo-China and South-East Asia. You are bent on achieving regional hegemony, and your sole interest is to use these negotiations for propaganda purposes, for the continued incitement of anti-China hostility, for deceiving the Vietnamese people and world public opinion and covering up your invasion and occupation of Kampuchea and Laos, your setting up of an "Indo-Chinese federation", your infiltration and expansion in South-East Asia, and thus serve the global strategic interests of the Soviet hegemonists. When you persist in this position, it is indeed hard to expect smooth progress in these negotiations.

The Sino-Vietnamese negotiations are facing a rigorous test. The Chinese side believes that the stubborn pursuance of this course of action by the Vietnamese authorities is diametrically opposed to the interests of the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples and gravely endangers the peace and security of this region. In line with our position of seeking to resolve the issues in our relations through negotiations, we express the sincere hope that the Vietnamese authorities will stop their erroneous practice of trying to obstruct and sabotage the negotiations, change over to a serious approach and earnestly consider the eight-point proposal of the Chinese side so that the negotiations may move out of the stalemate. This, we think, is the only reasonable and correct course.

## DOCUMENT S/13552

### Letter dated 24 September 1979 from the representative of South Africa to the President of the Security Council

*[Original: English]  
[24 September 1979]*

In the view of the South African Government, the meeting of the Security Council on 21 September 1979 at the request of the African Group of States at the United Nations [S/13542] was totally unnecessary and uncalled for. The South African Government also rejects the statement made on behalf of the Council at that meeting [2168th meeting, para. 1], in particular, that the establishment of Venda "is designed to divide and dispossess the African people and establish client States under its domination in order to perpetuate apartheid".

The Security Council has no authority or jurisdiction in this matter. Whether members of the Council like it or not, the fact of the matter is that Venda is now an independent State. It is completely free to pursue whatever internal and external policies it chooses.

The statement in Security Council document S/13542, condemning the independence of Venda, is an insult to the people of Venda and represents an attempt to deny them their right to self-determination—an inalienable right guaranteed by the Charter of the United Nations and exercised

by others who are less equipped than the people of Venda.

It is true that Venda is one of the smallest members of the southern African family of nations. But since when was size a criterion for membership in the international community? In this regard, the Secretary-General remarked at the raising of the flag of Saint Lucia on 19 September 1979 that that country might be small but sovereignty was not limited by size.

Venda certainly is much larger in area and has a much larger population than quite a number of States Members of the United Nations. In addition, Venda has considerable economic potential and already has a higher *per capita* income than some 25 members of the group on whose behalf the Security Council met on 21 September 1979. Annual development aid to the new State from South Africa amounts to \$58 *per capita*, considerably more than is received by many developing countries from international sources.

The chairman of the African Group also included disparaging references to "tribal fragmentation" in his statement. It is a pity that he should seek to scorn the cultural heritage and identity of another African people. On the contrary, the fact that Venda is culturally homogeneous is a great advantage in a continent where the promise of independence has all too often been destroyed by intertribal conflict within the artificial borders which were in many ways the cruelest legacy of the colonial era.

I would appreciate it if this letter could be circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) J. Adriaan EKSTEEN  
Permanent Representative of South Africa  
to the United Nations

## DOCUMENT S/13553\*

### Letter dated 24 September 1979 from the representative of Lebanon to the Secretary-General

[Original: French]  
[25 September 1979]

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith some extracts of a speech made by His Excellency Mr. Elias Sarkis, the President of the Republic, on the occasion of the third anniversary of his accession to the presidency. The extracts relate to the United Nations, the question of Southern Lebanon, the role of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon and the resolutions of the Security Council.

I should be grateful if you would have the extracts circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Ghassan TUENI  
Permanent Representative of Lebanon  
to the United Nations

#### ANNEX

#### Extracts from a speech by the President of the Republic of Lebanon concerning United Nations action in Lebanon

Lebanese citizens,

I shall now focus my attention on the tragedy of the beloved south, which bleeds, suffers and is exposed to destruction, martyred on all sides yet resisting from a fierce devotion to its identity and firmly sheltering behind its national and human right, although its land is being consumed, its towns and villages are being destroyed, its inhabitants are being persecuted and deported, life is slowing down, and hundreds of thousands of refugees are being forced to withdraw to other regions, leaving behind them their dead ones and the fruits of their labour, taking with them their sufferings and their injuries, compounding the national problem of shortage of housing and health facilities and adding to social and educational difficulties.

We have raised the problem of the south before the entire world, beginning with our Arab brothers, and we have candidly described before kings and presidents what is happening and portrayed the situation as it

really is. We have invited them to assist Lebanon in overcoming this crisis and, in so doing, to take decisions for which we would all be responsible and all answer for the consequences, for it is unjust that a weak country should be cast alone into the confrontation with Israel, bearing the burden of a war of attrition which threatens its entity and its existence.

If it is the duty of Lebanon, in its current situation, to face up to the war being waged against it and the Palestinians in its territory, that duty is one to be shared by all brother Arab countries, each of which has a well defined role to play, in accordance with its possibilities. And if the interests of Lebanon and of the Arab countries require that a non-military transitional formula be found, the Arab States are requested to assist Lebanon to find such a formula and to ensure that it is implemented.

And so I consider that Arab solidarity demands the following alternative: a generalized confrontation or a calm settlement with regard to Lebanon and the other Arab countries adjacent to occupied territory. In any event, Lebanon cannot continue to endure alone and in all regions of the country—whether it be the south, the Bekaa, the north, the capital or the mountains—the consequences of the present situation, characterized by the death of innocent victims, the destruction of property and the affront to national dignity.

While I would thank some of our brother Arab countries for the assistance rendered to victims in the south, I must state that this aid constitutes a partial and provisional remedy, since no one can evaluate in advance the scope of the assistance which Lebanon, and in particular the south, requires to effect its reconstruction and guarantee its inhabitants a tranquil existence once again.

In speaking of the south, I must also emphasize the international assistance and sympathy accorded to Lebanon, and the special attention given to Lebanon by the United Nations, and this includes the many resolutions adopted by the Security Council, which the United Nations emergency forces are making an appreciable effort to apply, within the limits of their resources and prerogatives. Those resolutions are limited in their effect for the time being, and I hope that it will soon be possible for the international forces to be deployed, together with the army, throughout the area of Southern Lebanon, in pursuance of the Security Council resolutions. In this way the crisis of Southern Lebanon will be dissociated from the Middle East crisis, thus enabling Lebanon to turn its attention to the solution of the urgent internal problems which exist in all areas.

I look forward to the day, in the near future, when the army will fully carry out its role in Southern Lebanon and in every region of our territory, thereby restoring State sovereignty throughout our homeland.

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/511-S/13553.



## Letter dated 25 September 1979 from the representative of Viet Nam to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[26 September 1979]

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith, for your information, the text of the memorandum on intensified Chinese armed activities and war preparations against Viet Nam, dated 22 September 1979, issued by the Department of Press and Information of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, and request you to have this letter and its enclosure circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) HA VAN LAU  
Permanent Representative of Viet Nam  
to the United Nations

## ANNEX

**Memorandum on intensified Chinese armed activities and war preparations against Viet Nam, dated 22 September 1979, issued by the Department of Press and Information of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam**

The Chinese authorities, heavily defeated in the war of aggression they started against Viet Nam on 17 February 1979 and vehemently protested and condemned by the Chinese people and elsewhere in the world, had to withdraw their troops and sit down for negotiations with Viet Nam. They did that to appease the public and cover up their war crimes against the Vietnamese people.

In the negotiations, however, China has persistently eluded the fair and logical demands of Viet Nam for urgent measures to ensure peace and security on the common border, while obdurately clinging to its arrogant, absurd demands, thus stalemating the negotiations. At the same time, China has feverishly prepared for war, increasing its forces and war materiel along the Sino-Vietnamese border, stepping up armed provocations, encroaching upon Viet Nam's territory on land, in the air, on the sea, threatening the lives, property and peaceful labour of the Vietnamese people, straining the situation, and gravely threatening Viet Nam's security and peace and stability in South-East Asia.

A few critical elements of the situation follow:

1. China is feverishly increasing its armed forces and war materiel along the Sino-Vietnamese border areas, preparing for new military adventures, creating a dangerous situation in which a war against Viet Nam could break out at any moment.

2. Since China's announcement of the withdrawal of its troops on 16 March from Viet Nam, Chinese troops have still illegally occupied many points in Vietnamese territory. China still maintains 12 infantry divisions close to the Sino-Vietnamese border and five army corps behind them. Recently, China deployed more troops and war materiel to reinforce the units already massed at the border. Foreign sources have alerted the public to the same signs that had been seen prior to 17 February 1979.

3. China has moved large quantities of weapons and other war materiel to the border. In July, August and September, hundreds of lorries and dozens of trains were used for that purpose every day. China has hurriedly installed many artillery and rocket sites, strengthened underground trenches, fortifications and communications installations and built more military roads close to the border. Many army, air force and naval units, in co-operation with the marines, have conducted large-scale exercises along the common border.

4. Coupled with these war preparations, the Chinese authorities, including Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping, Vice-Premier Li Xiannien, and Deputy Chief of the General Staff Wu Hsiuchuan, have repeatedly threatened to attack Viet Nam again. Even at the Sino-Vietnamese talks, the head of the Chinese delegation has arrogantly declared that the Chinese rulers' threat to attack Viet Nam again is still valid.

5. China is stepping up its armed activities and its encroachments on Viet Nam's territory on land, in the air and on the sea. It keeps straining the relations between the two countries and poses a great danger to Viet Nam's security:

(a) On land: China's armed activities in violation of Viet Nam's territory have occurred with greater frequency and more and more seriously the whole length of Viet Nam's northern border. From 16 March to early September, China mounted more than 800 armed provocations at over 20 districts in the six Vietnamese border provinces, killing or wounding more than 100 civilians and border guards, instigating or forcing about 700 Vietnamese to cross over to China, burning many houses, taking away almost 200 head of cattle, and destroying a great quantity of property and crops.

Almost every day, Chinese troops attack Vietnamese border hamlets with small arms fire, artillery or rockets. They frequently cross the border to spring ambushes or open attacks on civilians and border guards. Sometimes they come in whole battalions, armed with mortars, artillery and rockets, causing many losses in lives and property to the Vietnamese. Some of the serious cases:

- (i) On 1 April, a Chinese battalion raided Ma Li Pho village, Phong Tho district, Lai Chau province, causing heavy losses to the population.
- (ii) On 21 June, from 10 a.m. to 2 p.m., Chinese troops fired more than 200 82 mm mortar rounds and dozens of rockets, and hundreds of small arms rounds in the Xin Phin Che area of Meo Vac district, Ha Tuyen province, killing or wounding many civilians.
- (iii) At 0700 hours on 8 July, Chinese troops repeatedly fired 82 mm mortars in the areas of Coc Xi, Coc Muoi and Che Lech, and at hill 1030 in Coc Pang village, Bao Loc district, Cao Bang province. At 0900 hours, a Chinese battalion crossed the border at marker posts 131 and 132 and moved deep into Vietnamese territory, firing at the people, burning down many houses, and ravaging the crops. On the following day, Chinese troops fired many 82 mm mortar rounds in the same area.
- (iv) On 21 July, a Chinese platoon attacked a regional army unit in Thuong Phung village, Meo Vac district.
- (v) On 24 July, Chinese troops fired hundreds of mortar rounds in the area around marker post 16 in Tan Thanh village, Van Lang district, Lang Son province, causing heavy losses to the population.
- (vi) On 12 August, Chinese troops fired 60 rockets on various hamlets of Xi La Lau village, Phong Tho district, killing or wounding many Vietnamese, including three children.
- (vii) At 0800 hours on 24 August, about 200 Chinese troops attacked a Vietnamese border unit in Bach Dich village, Yen Ninh district, Ha Tuyen province. From 1200 to 1600 hours, after a resolute counter-attack by Vietnamese forces, a Chinese force of the same size made another attack on the area, committing many crimes against villagers.
- (viii) On 7 September, a Chinese company mounted a three-prong attack on two villages in Muong Khuong district, Hoang Lien Son province, two kilometres behind the border.
- (ix) On 12 and 14 September, a Chinese platoon repeatedly broke into Na Doong hamlet, Hung Quoc village, Tra Linh district, Cao Bang province, destroying many houses and took away property of the population.
- (x) On 17 September, a Chinese platoon attacked a Vietnamese border unit in Ban Lau village, Muong Khuong district, wounding two guards.

In addition to military provocations, ground assaults and shellings, China has sent more spies and commandos into Viet Nam to gather intelligence, join hands with local reactionaries, conduct agitation activities, sow confusion, entice or force ethnic minority nationals to cross over to China, destroy houses and crops and steal cattle, in an attempt to disrupt normal life on the border.

(b) At sea: Thousands of Chinese vessels have openly violated Viet Nam's territorial waters in the provinces of Quang Ninh, Haiphong, Nghe Tinh and Quang Nam-Da Nang. These have interfered with the work of Vietnamese fishermen and violated the sovereignty and threatened the

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/513-S/13554.

security of Viet Nam. Since late August, Chinese vessels, including warships, have intensified their provocations off Quang Ninh Province. Some serious incidents:

- (i) On 1 September, more than 100 Chinese vessels intruded into Vietnamese territorial waters around Vinh Thuc Island, Quang Ninh province.
- (ii) On 2 September, about 20 Chinese vessels violated Vietnamese territorial waters around Tran Island. At the same time, dozens of Chinese military boats operated from Dau Ruoi harbour to buoys 1, 2 and 3 on the Bac Luan River, Quang Ninh province.

To increase tension and carry out its designs on Viet Nam, China, on 23 July, declared four "danger" zones covering part of international waters and part of Viet Nam's territorial sea in the Hoang Sa archipelago, and banned all aircraft from these zones, without setting any time-limit. That was a gross violation of Viet Nam's territorial sovereignty.

While negotiations at the level of Deputy Foreign Minister were being held at Peking to discuss problems in the relations between the two countries, China in mid-July arrogantly signed contracts with four United States companies on oil exploration west of Hainan Island, an area over which there are disputes with Viet Nam, as admitted even by the United States.

The Chinese side has also overtly encouraged the United States to send warships to the eastern sea allegedly to "pick up boat people", but in fact they have colluded with each other in carrying out sinister activities against Viet Nam.

(c) In the air: While stepping up military activities on land and on the sea, the Chinese side has increased military reconnaissance flights and bombing exercises, including bombing exercises at night, along the Viet Nam-China border. Chinese warplanes have on many occasions violated Viet Nam's airspace. Below are some instances:

- (i) On 15 April, one day after the Chinese delegation arrived at Hanoi for talks at the vice-foreign-ministerial level between the two countries, a Chinese warplane carrying the mark "August 1" intruded deeply into Viet Nam's airspace, and crashed into Truc Phu village, Hai Hau district, Ha Nam Ninh province, nearly 100 km south of Hanoi.

- (ii) On 24 April, many flights of Chinese warplanes violated Viet Nam's airspace over the Than Phun-Po Hen areas, Quang Ninh province, more than 10 kilometres inside Viet Nam.
- (iii) On 17 and 19 May, flights of Chinese warplanes repeatedly intruded into the airspace of Mong Cai district town, Quang Ninh province, more than 12 kilometres behind the border.
- (iv) On 5 September, a flight of Chinese warplanes violated the airspace over Muong Khuong district six to eight kilometres inside Viet Nam. At 13.25 hours, another flight of Chinese warplanes intruded into the airspace over Hoang Lien Son and Ha Tuyen provinces.

The frenzied Chinese war preparations and armed activities have caused along the common border a very tense situation, fraught with the explosive danger of war. To justify their arrogant actions, the Chinese authorities have distorted facts and made slanderous charges against Viet Nam with a view to seeking a pretext for another war of aggression against this country.

They have cynically trampled upon international law and the United Nations Charter by giving themselves the right to "teach Viet Nam a lesson" and by openly threatening to invade an independent and sovereign country, a State Member of the United Nations. This has further exposed the war-like nature and crazy ambition of the Chinese authorities who, in pursuit of big-nation hegemonism, are plotting to subjugate Viet Nam and expand to South-East Asia.

The Vietnamese people and Government strongly denounce and stemly condemn these fresh criminal actions of the Chinese authorities, and firmly demand that they immediately stop their extremely dangerous war preparations, armed provocations and war threats.

The Vietnamese people set great store by their friendship with the Chinese people and want to settle the problems in their relations with China through negotiations. We, however, are prepared to break any plot of aggression, in defence of our independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

China must bear full responsibility for all the consequences of its dangerous actions.

## DOCUMENT S/1355\*

### Letter dated 25 September 1979 from the representative of Democratic Kampuchea to the Secretary-General

[Original: French]  
[26 September 1979]

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith, for your information, the news broadcast by "La voix du Kampuchea démocratique" concerning large-scale Vietnamese troop movements in the direction of the Kampuchea-Thailand frontier.

I should be grateful if you would have this text circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) THIOUNN PRASITH  
Permanent Representative  
of Democratic Kampuchea  
to the United Nations

#### ANNEX

News broadcast by "La voix du Kampuchea démocratique" on large-scale movements of Vietnamese troops in the direction of the Kampuchea-Thailand frontier

1. At the beginning of August the Le Duan clique sent two regiments and 10 tanks to Pailin and one regiment to the Sisophon-Timar Puok road.

In mid-August, Soviet Antonov-12 aircraft transported large quantities of military equipment to Battambang. Since the beginning of September Soviet aircraft have redoubled their activity, transporting daily to Battambang infantry troops and military equipment at the rate of 70 per cent and 30 per cent respectively.

2. On 13 September the Vietnamese forces of aggression carried out large-scale troop movements, supported by about 20 tanks and a large number of 100 mm, 57 mm and 37 mm anti-aircraft guns, along highway N 5 in the Sisophon district, in the direction of the Kampuchea-Thailand frontier.

3. These reinforcements of troops and equipment are a sign that the Hanoi clique, supported and incited by the Soviets, is preparing to launch large-scale search operations during the dry season, particularly along the Kampuchea-Thailand frontier. It is preparing to escalate its barbarous war of aggression and is posing a serious threat to peace in Thailand, South-East Asia and Asia.

4. In the face of these grave dangers, the four categories of forces (regular guerrillas, base guerrillas, people and Khmers forcibly enrolled in the Vietnamese army) are co-ordinating their activities and intensifying the guerrilla war. In addition, the peoples of the countries of South-East Asia are taking measures to confront the Vietnamese danger and are demanding the complete withdrawal of all Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea so that the people of Kampuchea may solve their problems without foreign interference. To unite and to fight against the Le Duan clique—these offer the only means of eliminating the dangers which it is creating and the sole guarantee of peace in South-East Asia, Asia and the Pacific region.

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34:514-S/13555.

## Letter dated 26 September 1979 from the representative of Democratic Kampuchea to the Secretary-General

[Original: French]  
[26 September 1979]

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith, for your information, a report on the people's war of national resistance against the aggression of the Le Duan clique of Hanoi, issued by the Ministry of Information of Democratic Kampuchea.

I should be grateful if you would have this text circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) THIOUNN PRASITH  
Permanent Representative of  
Democratic Kampuchea  
to the United Nations

## ANNEX

## Report on the people's war of national resistance against the aggression of the Le Duan clique of Hanoi

1. *Northern zone:* Thirty-four Soviet military advisers killed or wounded in two days at Angkor Vat (Siemreap).

On 2 September 1979 at Angkor Vat, guerrillas threw two grenades at a group of Soviet military advisers who had come to participate in the festivities organized by the Vietnamese aggressors to celebrate their national holiday. There were five dead and 13 wounded among the Soviet military advisers and seven dead and 15 wounded among the Vietnamese soldiers.

On the following day, 3 September, 30 Soviet advisers escorted by a company of Vietnamese soldiers went to Angkor Vat in order to carry out an inspection there. The guerrillas greeted them with two more grenades. Six Soviet military advisers were killed and 10 others wounded. Among

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/515-S/13556.

the Vietnamese soldiers there were three dead and approximately 10 wounded.

2. *Central zone:* One Vietnamese major-general and one major killed.

On the Kompong Cham front during the first 10 days of September, in the Sandan and Stung Tráng districts, the guerrillas launched numerous attacks against the enemy, including attacks at Andaung Pring, Dei Krahâm and Aur Pram, killing 105 persons and wounding 118. On 13 September they intercepted an enemy jeep on the Stung Tráng road. The five passengers, including a major-general and a major, were killed.

3. *North-western zone:* On the Battambang front, according to figures that are still incomplete, the guerrillas, in engagements with the Vietnamese aggressors that they initiated during the first half of September, killed and wounded almost 700 of the enemy. In particular, they halted several search operations in the Maung, Bavel and Sisophon districts and liberated two positions along highway N 10—Sdok Pravek and Thmar Pruos (1 September)—and Bang Bay in the Maung district (9 September). On 4 and 7 September they attacked the enemy in the town of Pailin itself, killing 12 and wounding eight. In the Mak Hooun sector over a period of five consecutive days the enemy was drawn into the mine fields and lost more than 40 dead and wounded. At Prek Chik, Maung district, the enemy, attempting a sortie, lost 30 dead and wounded in three days (13-15 September) and was routed.

4. *South-western front:* On the Koh Kong front on 6, 9 and 10 September the guerrillas sank five enemy boats one after the other, four on the river Andaung Toeuk, wiping out 67 of the enemy.

In the Kampot district on 5 September, a child threw a grenade at a group of Vietnamese soldiers, killing five and wounding six. In the vicinity of Kompong Som on 13 and 17 September, guerrillas attacked the enemy at several points. On 15 September, they intercepted an enemy jeep in the rubber plantation. On 17 September, they sank an enemy boat at Koh Thmey. In all, 51 enemy soldiers were killed and 55 wounded.

5. *North-eastern area*

On the Kratié front, the guerrillas launched attacks at Chang Krang (3 September) and Koh Khngê (8 September), killing or wounding 140 of the enemy. One captain was killed. They liberated Chang Krang.

## DOCUMENT S/13557

## Letter dated 26 September 1979 from the representative of Angola to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[26 September 1979]

## ANNEX

## Communiqué issued by the Ministry of Defence of the People's Republic of Angola on 16 September 1979

Upon the instructions of my Government, I have the honour to attach the text of a communiqué issued by the Ministry of Defence of the People's Republic of Angola on 16 September 1979.

I request that the text of the attached communiqué be circulated as a document of the Security Council, in connexion with the question of South African aggression against the People's Republic of Angola.

(Signed) Elisio de FIGUEIREDO  
Permanent Representative of Angola  
to the United Nations

On 11 September 1979, on the pretext of pursuing two liberation units of SWAPO, ground forces of the racist South African army launched air bombardments using Canberra type aircraft and Puma type helicopters, and attacked the areas comprising Cuamato, Chetequera and Naulila in the province of Cunene, Angola. As a result of the bombings, those areas were deserted by the local populations.

Our forces have already taken the necessary measures to repulse the invaders and to restore normalcy in the areas so that people may be enabled to return to their homes and work-places.

Honour and immortal glory to the leader of the Angolan revolution, founder of the nation and the MPLA-Workers' Party.

The struggle continues. Victory is certain.

## Letter dated 26 September 1979 from the representative of Viet Nam to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[26 September 1979]

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith, for your information, the text of the speech made by Dinh Nho Liem, Vice Foreign Minister and head of the delegation of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, at the 20 September 1979 meeting between Viet Nam and China, and kindly request you to have this letter and its enclosure circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) HA VAN LAU  
Permanent Representative of Viet Nam  
to the United Nations

## ANNEX

Speech by Dinh Nho Liem, head of the delegation of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, at the talks between Viet Nam and China on 20 September 1979

The Chinese side repeated familiar contentions and put forth fabrications in an attempt to distort the relations of Viet Nam with Kampuchea and Laos, and to justify its arrogant demands for a settlement of the problem of a third country at the Viet Nam-China bilateral talks. As at the previous meetings, the Vietnamese delegation once again flatly rejected these slanderous allegations and unreasonable demands. We have on many occasions pointed out that it is the Chinese rulers, and not anybody else, who have pursued for a long time now great-nation expansionism and great-power hegemonism whose most concentrated manifestation is their policy towards Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea. There lies the root cause of the serious deterioration in the relations of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea with China, and also of the present tension in Indo-China and South-East Asia, the slanders and justifications presented by the Chinese side with no matter what rhetoric can by no means reverse that fact.

The Chinese side claims that the relationship between China and Kampuchea has always been good; let us see what this "good" is in fact.

Right after the Kampuchean people recorded the historic victory of 17 April 1975, the Chinese rulers, taking the place of the United States imperialists, poured into Kampuchea hundreds of thousands of tons of arms and other war material, used the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique they had long been fostering as henchmen, strengthened their all-round control and turned Kampuchea into a neo-colony, an important military base and a shock force for aggression against the other countries on the Indo-Chinese peninsula and for expansion towards South-East Asia.

With a network of tens of thousands of Chinese advisers and experts blanketing the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique's administration, military and economic apparatus from the central down to the regional level, the Chinese authorities imposed on Kampuchea an extremely ruthless régime which was "anti-life, anti-society, anti-reason, anti-education, anti-religion, anti-science, anti-civilization, anti-human", as the representative of the World Peace Council put it at the Kampuchean people's revolutionary tribunal trying the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique for genocide under that régime. Three million Kampucheans were massacred; the four million survivors were subjected to untold sufferings both physical and moral; all fundamental human freedoms were abolished and the entire social structure of Kampuchea, a nation which had created the splendid Angkor civilization, was destroyed.

With the great victory of 7 January 1979, the Kampuchean people remade their revolution, overthrew the genocidal Pol Pot-Ieng Sary régime, completely abolished the so-called "democratic Kampuchea", regained the right to be masters of their country, and founded the People's Republic of Kampuchea, thus frustrating Peking's expansionist and hegemonistic schemes. The whole of progressive mankind has warmly welcomed the great, clear-cut and all-round victory of the Kampuchean people to whom it is extending every support and assistance in the promotion of a new, civilized and happy life.

In contrast, the Peking rulers have desperately clung to the illusory hope of reimposing the genocidal Pol Pot-Ieng Sary régime and their own control on Kampuchea. They are now seeking by every possible means to bolster up the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique's remnant troops, justify their crimes, and salvage the international "legality" of the political corpse called "democratic Kampuchea". Recently, they have rigged up a counter-revolutionary Kampuchean front as a mainstay and a tool for prolonged armed intervention against the Kampuchean people. However, the present revolutionary situation in Kampuchea is irreversible. In spite of all their efforts in favour of Pol Pot-Ieng Sary, this genocidal clique was strongly attacked and discarded from the sixth summit of non-aligned countries. Developments inside and outside the conference have shown that world public opinion is getting an ever clearer understanding of the situation in Kampuchea and siding with the Kampuchean people. An increasing number of countries have recognized and supported the People's Revolutionary Council, the sole genuine and legal representative of Kampuchea. Many countries are now demanding that the United Nations General Assembly expel the genocidal Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique and that the seat of Kampuchea at the United Nations be returned to the People's Revolutionary Council. The Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, no matter what disguise they take, will be eliminated for good from the life of the international community. The Kampuchean people and the Kampuchean revolution will march forward steadily. Such is the necessary trend of history. All schemes and tricks to interfere in the internal affairs of Kampuchea and limit the victory of the Kampuchean revolution are doomed to total failure.

The Chinese side claims that China and Laos "have lived in harmony ever since ancient times and there have never been conflicts between them". What is the actual situation?

Since the Lao People's Democratic Republic became an outpost of socialism in South-East Asia, the Peking rulers, realizing the impossibility of dragging it into their orbit of great-power hegemonism, have set up disruptive activities and threats, and embarked ever more openly on an anti-Lao policy. China's embassy and its economic representation in north Laos have become a leading apparatus for conducting psychological warfare. They have indulged in divisive activities, tried to win over bad religious and leftist Lao elements in conspiring against the Lao People's Democratic Republic. The reactionary organizations among the Chinese residents were put to use to oppose the socialist transformation, to disrupt the economy and to hinder the national construction endeavour of the Lao people. The Chinese armies of road-builders, operating for Peking's long-term expansionist strategic objectives, were used for disruptive purposes against Laos.

Following their defeat in Kampuchea, the Peking authorities launched a large-scale war of aggression against Viet Nam and stepped up their opposition to the Lao People's Democratic Republic. At the sixth summit of non-aligned countries, President Souphanouvong denounced their actions as follows: "The Chinese expansionists have massed their troops along the Lao border, introduced into my country spies, propagandists and subversive agents, incited Lao people, particularly the urban youth and the ethnic minorities, to go abroad, and openly supported the criminal acts of the exiled Lao reactionaries. These activities are aimed at overthrowing the Government and the régime of the Lao People's Democratic Republic."

Blatantly interfering in the internal affairs of Laos, the Chinese authorities have tried their best to rally and foster the Lao reactionaries at home and those in exile like Vang Pao, Kongle . . . whom they call "patriotic personages"; they set up counter-revolutionary organizations such as the "people's revolutionary party of Laos", the "Lao socialist party", organized and armed groups of commandos and bandits for disruptive and subversive activities; their great design is to cut off from Laos five northern provinces and to pressure Laos into relinquishing its line of independence, sovereignty, solidarity, friendship and co-operation with Viet Nam, Kampuchea and the other socialist countries.

The above-mentioned acts of Peking have seriously jeopardized the security, independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Laos. The firm measures taken by the Lao government are entirely legitimate and aimed at checking China's disruptive and subversive activities and the danger of aggression from Chinese great-power hegemonism, as well as safeguarding the independence and sovereignty of Laos.

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34.516-S.13558.

As we have pointed out on many occasions, the Chinese rulers regard an independent unified, socialist and prosperous Viet Nam as a major obstacle to their expansionist and hegemonistic ambitions in Indo-China and South-East Asia. That is the reason why, right after the Vietnamese people's total victory in the patriotic resistance war against United States aggression, they frenziedly embarked on a systematic policy of hostility to Viet Nam, while seeking an alliance with imperialism, repeatedly defeated in their attempts to sabotage Viet Nam from within and pressure it from without. They hysterically launched against it two wars of aggression at its south-western and northern borders.

With a big force involving at times no fewer than 19 out of a total of 20 mercenary divisions of Pol Pot-Ieng Sary, the Peking rulers launched an aggressive war against Viet Nam at its south-western border, thus carrying out a very perfidious neo-colonialist policy, attempting to "fight Viet Nam to the last Kampuchean". At the same time, they tried to fan national hatred in an attempt to bring about a lasting opposition between the Kampuchean and Vietnamese peoples, those mercenary troops devastated populated areas, towns, villages, hospitals, schools, pagodas, killed or wounded many civilians, burnt down thousands of houses, plundered much property, thus perpetrating barbarous crimes and seriously disrupting the peaceful life and work of the Vietnamese people.

By defeating this aggressive war, the Vietnamese armed forces and people restored peace at the south-western border of their fatherland. At the same time, they created a favourable opportunity for the Kampuchean armed forces and people to launch attacks and uprisings, overthrowing the genocidal Pol Pot-Ieng Sary régime and restoring the traditions of Viet Nam-Kampuchea solidarity and friendship.

After their heavy defeat in Kampuchea, the Chinese rulers recklessly mobilized 600,000 troops with 600 tanks and thousands of artillery pieces, and directly embarked on a large-scale war of aggression against the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. That aggressive war had been prepared well in advance by Peking and, what is noteworthy, it was launched immediately after the Peking rulers had had discussions with, and got support from, United States imperialism whom they are proud to count as their "ally". It is thus both an important component of the Chinese rulers' expansionist and hegemonistic strategy and a product of the Sino-United States collusion.

In this war, the Chinese aggressor troops committed monstrous crimes. They killed even old people, women and children. They razed to the ground four provincial capitals and seven district towns. They destroyed 320 villages, 735 schools, 691 nurseries, 426 hospitals and infirmaries, 22 bridges, 45 forestry stations and workshops, 41 state farms and agricultural stations. All sources and conditions of life and the environment in a 1,000-kilometre-long strip of territory along the northern border of Viet Nam were destroyed; for all their justifications, the Chinese authorities can in no way evade their responsibility for those crimes. By waging a large-scale war of aggression against Viet Nam, they have reached the culmination of their anti-Viet Nam policy, jeopardized peace and stability in South-East Asia, and fully laid bare their great-Power hegemonism and warlike nature.

The aforesaid factors point to the following: if peace and stability are to prevail in Indo-China and South-East Asia, the Chinese authorities must

cease interfering in the internal affairs of Kampuchea, stop threatening Laos and interfering in its internal affairs, put an end to their aggression and threats of aggression against Viet Nam, and stop meddling in the relations between Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea. All attempts of Peking to cover up its crimes, sow division among the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea and weaken their militant solidarity have failed.

After the aggressive war against Viet Nam, the situation along the Viet Nam-China border has grown increasingly strained as a result of the actions of the Chinese side. Since the start of these negotiations, the latter has perpetrated over 600 armed provocations along the land border. Chinese combat aircraft and ships have repeatedly violated the airspace and territorial waters of Viet Nam. Some Chinese rulers have on many occasions threatened Viet Nam with another aggression of late. Foreign sources have reported movements of Chinese troops and war material to areas on the Sino-Vietnamese border, and there are the same "signs" as before 17 February 1979. The above actions have posed a serious menace to the security of Viet Nam, and jeopardized peace and stability in South-East Asia. Public opinion is following with vigilance Peking's new military venture; if the Chinese authorities have not drawn any lesson and are bent on launching another aggressive war against the Vietnamese people in defiance of international law and the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter, they will meet with stronger counter-blows from the Vietnamese armed forces and people, face sterner protests and condemnation from the people of the world and the Chinese people, and invite upon themselves an even heavier defeat than the last time.

In the interest of the two peoples and for the sake of peace and stability in South-East Asia, the Vietnamese delegation calls on the Chinese delegation to take a serious attitude, show a sense of responsibility, and return to the purposes of the talks as laid down by the two sides. All attempts of the Chinese side to lead these talks onto another course and interfere in the affairs of a third country will prove to be in vain. Let it respond positively to the Vietnamese three-point proposal [S/13257, annex] for settling the problems concerning the relations between Viet Nam and China, in the first place, to the urgent measures to secure peace and stability in border areas, among them, the "draft agreement" [S/13434, annex] on a mutual commitment to refrain from armed provocations.

As in the past, the Vietnamese Government and people are resolved to defend their independence and sovereignty, while constantly desiring to settle through negotiations all problems concerning the relations between Viet Nam and China and to restore normal relations between the two countries and genuine friendship between the two peoples. In this spirit, the Vietnamese delegation is prepared to discuss whatever question in the relations between Viet Nam and China is to be raised by the Chinese side in accordance with the method of the two sides raising in turn questions of interest at the meeting, as we have repeatedly proposed.

At the last meeting, the Chinese delegation said that we "should not disappoint the two peoples and the people of the world in their expectations". The Vietnamese delegation has always taken a serious attitude of goodwill. Everybody is waiting for the Chinese side to match its deeds with its words so that the talks can make progress.

## DOCUMENT S/13559\*

### Letter dated 27 September 1979 from the representative of Qatar to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[27 September 1979]

In accordance with the resolution of the Council of the League of Arab States adopted by our Ministers for Foreign Affairs, Economy and Finance at Baghdad on 31 March 1979, and in pursuance of the letter of the Chairman of the Arab Group dated 29 May [S/13354] and of the letter of the Permanent Representative of Kuwait dated 31 July [S/13478], I have the honour, in my capacity as Chairman of the Arab Group during the month of September, to convey the following:

1. The United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO), as a subsidiary organ of the United Nations, should not be involved in any action inconsistent with relevant resolutions of the United Nations which might confer

a *de facto* approval by the United Nations or any of its organs of the "Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty".

2. The Arab Group is opposed to any action or undertaking by any organ of the United Nations which can facilitate in any form the recognition, endorsement, approval and implementation of the said treaty.

3. The Arab Group is opposed to any increase in the number, any new disposition of UNTSO observers in Sinai and any change in their mandate which would be linked to the implementation of the above-mentioned bilateral treaty.

I have the honour to request the circulation of this letter as a document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Jasim JAMAL  
Permanent Representative of Qatar  
to the United Nations

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/520-S/13559.

## Letter dated 27 September 1979 from the representative of Angola to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[27 September 1979]

Upon the instructions of my Government, I have the honour to attach the text of a communiqué issued by the Ministry of Defence of the People's Republic of Angola on 18 September 1979.

I request that the attached be circulated as a document of the Security Council in connexion with the question of South African aggression against the People's Republic of Angola.

(Signed) Elisio DE FIGUEIREDO  
Permanent Representative of Angola  
to the United Nations

## ANNEX

## Communiqué issued by the Ministry of Defence of the People's Republic of Angola on 18 September 1979

On 16 September 1979, we terminated an offensive operation aimed at regaining control of the southern border of the province of Cuando-Cubango.

About three months ago, forces linked with the racist South African army and two units of the puppet UNITA attacked and destroyed several villages at the southern borders of Cuando-Cubango, using airborne artillery and troops, and causing death among the population.

Through this operation, we have been able to restore control and re-establish security in the villages of Cuangar, Calai, Dirico, Mucusso and Luenge on the eastern bank of the Cubango River. This area borders the occupied Territory of Namibia. Numerous casualties were inflicted on the enemy forces, and arms of various types and calibres were retrieved.

Honour and immortal glory to the leader of the Angolan revolution, founder of the nation and the MPLA-Workers' Party.

The struggle continues. Victory is certain.

## DOCUMENT S/13561

## Note verbale dated 27 September 1979 from the representative of Angola to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[27 September 1979]

The Permanent Representative of the People's Republic of Angola to the United Nations presents his compliments to the Secretary-General and, upon instructions from the Government of the People's Republic of Angola, has the honour to transmit herewith the text of a communiqué issued by the Ministry of Defence of the People's Republic of Angola on 27 September 1979.

The Permanent Representative of the People's Republic of Angola requests that the attached text be circulated as a document of the Security Council in connexion with the question of South African aggression against the People's Republic of Angola.

## ANNEX

## Communiqué issued by the Ministry of Defence of the People's Republic of Angola on 27 September 1979

Once again, the racist South African régime has unleashed its murderous fury in the provinces of Cunene and Huíla.

On 26 September 1979, at 11.28 a.m., four Mirage-type aircraft bombed and strafed the city of Lubango, capital of Huíla province, and destroyed a wood furniture factory, leaving 26 workers and civilians dead and 84 wounded. Other bombs fell but did not hit designated targets.

At 11.30 a.m., and flying at the same altitude, six Mirage-type and Impala-type aircraft bombed and indiscriminately strafed the village of Xangongo (formerly named Roçadas) in the province of Cunene, hitting a schoolhouse, homes and a fish market, leaving 34 civilians dead and 42 wounded.

In the face of this escalation of these murderous acts of aggression perpetrated by the racist South African régime—the massive destruction of production units and the killing of innocent workers and civilians—which are aimed at the destabilization of the political and social situation in our country in order to liquidate the base of revolutionary Angolan support for the struggles of peoples still under domination, we stand ready to exert all efforts and to take all necessary measures to ensure the defence and security of our country and its borders.

Honour and immortal glory to the leader of the Angolan revolution, Comrade Agostinho Neto.

The struggle continues. Victory is certain.

## DOCUMENT S/13562\*

## Letter dated 27 September 1979 from the representative of Viet Nam to the Secretary-General

[Original: English/French]  
[27 September 1979]

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith for your information the text of the statement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea on international aid to Kampuchea, dated 26 September 1979, and request you to have this letter and its enclosure circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) HA VAN LAU  
Permanent Representative of Viet Nam  
to the United Nations

## ANNEX

## Declaration dated 26 September 1979 of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea on international assistance to Kampuchea

Under its rule, which lasted four years, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary régime pursued the most ferocious policy of genocide. It not only massacred 3 million Kampuchean but in addition destroyed all the social and economic structures of the country, engendering consequences the gravity of which still cannot be measured.

In a short period of time, namely the nine months which have elapsed since the overthrow of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique on 7 January 1979, the Kampuchean people, under the direction of the Revolutionary People's

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/530-S/13562.

Council of Kampuchea, have rapidly reorganized the life of the population in order to lead it back to normalcy and restore production, and they have achieved very encouraging first results. Thanks to their own efforts and to the assistance of the fraternal socialist countries and friendly countries throughout the world, the Kampuchean people are actively struggling to contain and overcome the famine which the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique left in its wake.

The Revolutionary People's Council of Kampuchea warmly congratulates all the strata of the population of the country on their work of production in the task of national restoration and their spirit of solidarity, and at the same time expresses its deep gratitude to the fraternal and friendly countries and to international organizations for their disinterested assistance to the Kampuchean people in the reconstruction of their country and the elimination of the grave consequences of the rule of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary régime.

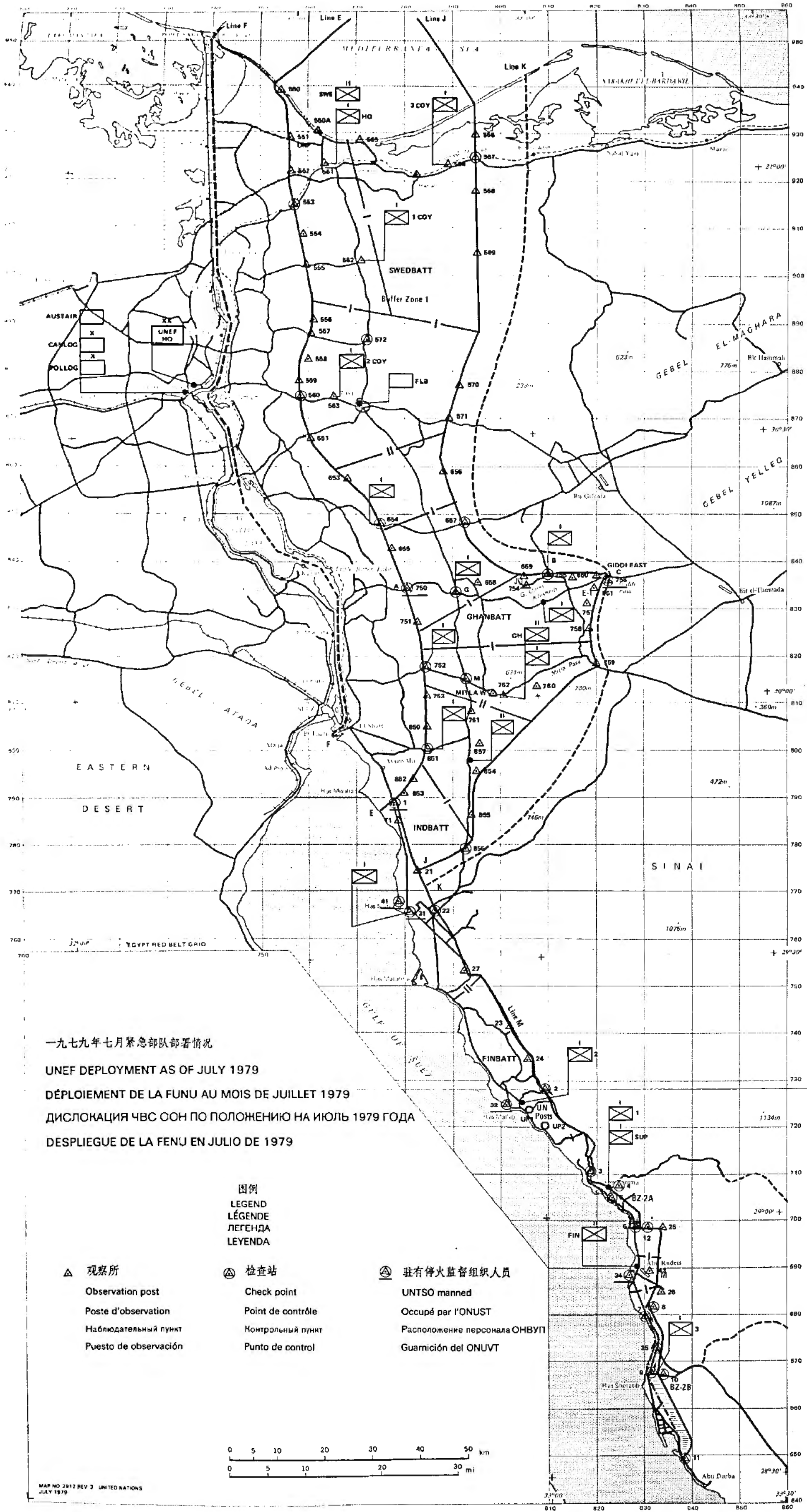
As was indicated in the declaration on foreign policy of 26 December 1978 of the Central Committee of the United Front for National Salvation of Kampuchea [S/13006, annex III], in the future as in the past the Revolutionary People's Council of Kampuchea is prepared to accept the aid granted by all countries and all international organizations, free of any political conditions, and denounces the recent false allegations by the

imperialists and international reactionary forces claiming that it is refusing or putting obstacles in the way of the delivery of humanitarian aid to the Kampuchean people. Those allegations are part and parcel of the perfidious manoeuvre of the imperialists and of international reaction which, exploiting the humanitarian aspect, poses the so-called problem of "aid to both sides" or "provision of relief to the inhabitants". This manoeuvre is actually aimed at legalizing the supplying of what is left of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary forces in their opposition to the Kampuchean people, at fooling public opinion with regard to the existence of this genocidal administration which has already been overthrown, and at laying the foundations of a so-called "political solution of the problem of Kampuchea", thus interfering in the internal affairs of the Kampuchean people.

The Revolutionary People's Council of Kampuchea vigorously condemns these dark designs of the imperialists and of international reaction and reiterates the following solemn declaration: it will accept all assistance to Kampuchea to which no conditions are attached. All assistance to the Kampuchean people must be delivered through the Revolutionary People's Council of Kampuchea, the sole authentic and legal representative of the Kampuchean people. Any abuse of humanitarian aid to help the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique oppose the Kampuchean people is illegal and constitutes a violation of the sovereignty of Kampuchea, and it will be met by the opposition of the Kampuchean people and will be doomed to lamentable failure.







一九七九年七月紧急部队部署情况

UNEF DEPLOYMENT AS OF JULY 1979

DÉPLOIEMENT DE LA FENU AU MOIS DE JUILLET 1979

ДИСЛОКАЦИЯ ЧВС ООН ПО ПОЛОЖЕНИЮ НА ИЮЛЬ 1979 ГОДА

DESPLIEGUE DE LA FENU EN JULIO DE 1979

图例  
LEGEND  
LÉGENDE  
ЛЕГЕНДА  
LEYENDA

△ 观察所  
Observation post  
Poste d'observation  
Наблюдательный пункт  
Puesto de observación

⊙ 检查站  
Check point  
Point de contrôle  
Контрольный пункт  
Punto de control

⊕ 驻有停火监督组织人员  
UNTSO manned  
Occupé par l'ONUVT  
Расположение персонала ОНВУП  
Guarnición del ONUVT

