

United Nations

**GENERAL  
ASSEMBLY**

THIRTY-SEVENTH SESSION

Official Records\*



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11-201 (WVHR)

SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE

36th meeting

held on

Wednesday 24 November 1982

at 10.30 a.m.

New York

SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 36th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. MUBAREZ (Yemen)

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Distr. GENERAL  
A/SPC/37/SR.36  
30 November 1982  
ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

The meeting was called to order at 10.55 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 61: REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE ISRAELI PRACTICES AFFECTING THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF THE POPULATION OF THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES  
(continued) (A/37/162, 485, 525, 541)

1. Mr. NUSEIBEH (Jordan) said that the report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories (A/37/485) was all the more commendable in the light of Israel's adamant refusal to allow the Committee to carry out its duties inside the occupied territories despite repeated requests by the General Assembly. Israel's refusal to comply with numerous United Nations resolutions and its violation of international legal instruments made it incumbent upon the international community to disqualify it from any rights arising from adherence to such instruments. Those instruments, on which the Special Committee had relied in interpreting and carrying out its mandate, included, in addition to the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, two of the 1949 Geneva Conventions, that, relative to the protection of civilian persons in time of war and that relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War. Israel was constantly violating the latter Convention by its treatment of Palestinian prisoners; in contrast, as the United States television had recently shown, the treatment of Israeli prisoners of war by Palestinian fighters was in strict compliance with its provisions. That was one of the numerous proofs that the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) respected international conventions though not a signatory to them, whereas Israel had replaced compliance with those conventions by a reign of terror, although it still occupied its seat in the United Nations.

2. Another basic convention, the 1954 Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict, was continually being violated by Israel's desecration of holy sites and attacks on historical landmarks and cultural centres in the occupied territories. Upon Israel's entry into West Beirut, for instance, the Palestine Research Institute, a purely academic centre, had been plundered by Israelis and the material destroyed. Israel also showed little regard for the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights.

3. Those various international instruments were the very foundations of international law. Yet whenever the question of the massive violation of those instruments was raised before the bodies whose duty was to ensure their observance, complaints were made that the bodies were being "politicized". The members of those bodies could hardly be expected to allow the principles by which they stood to be systematically flouted. The Special Committee's report proved that Israeli occupation of Arab territories had violated nearly every principle of the Charter and of other instruments of international behaviour.

4. The most alarming aspect of Israeli defiance was the massive and relentless policy of settlement. The population of Palestine was witnessing a rapid annexation of its territory, water and resources without which life became

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untenable. Reports of the Security Council Commission established under resolution 446 (1979) stated that Israeli settlements had covered 27 per cent of the total area of the West Bank, including Jerusalem, in 1979 and 33 per cent by November 1980. A study by the former Israeli deputy mayor of West Jerusalem and a group of Israeli social scientists recently presented in Washington proved that the Israeli authorities had confiscated 55 to 60 per cent of the land in the occupied West Bank, including Jerusalem, and planned to settle 100,000 new settlers, in addition to the 125,000 already in expanded Arab Jerusalem and the rest of the occupied land, by 1985.

5. Information available to the Jordanian Government indicated that, by October 1982, Israel had seized nearly half the total area of the occupied West Bank and that 139 settlements and townships, including those in and around occupied Arab Jerusalem, were already inhabited by August 1982. It had also been announced officially that 20 new settlements were under construction. The figures given in Western news media were lower because they never mentioned expanded Arab Jerusalem, although it covered almost one fifth of the total area. To those figures must be added the conversion of four military encampments into civilian settlements and the "thickening" - i.e., conversion of settlements into townships - of 19 existing settlements. The settlements were closely connected by three major belts of highways and lateral roads criss-crossing the entire West Bank and Gaza, which blurred the demarcation lines of 1948 and 1967.

6. That settlement policy meant that the lawful inhabitants of the country would be faced with starvation or expulsion when colonization reached the level of 70 to 80 per cent of the land in a few years' time. The Christian Science Monitor had recently stated that rural areas in the occupied West Bank were in the process of becoming suburbs or ghettos of Israel's metropolitan areas. Israelis were being encouraged by the Government to build "dream homes" at reduced prices on confiscated West Bank sites within commuting distance of Israel proper. Little land therefore would remain for a Palestinian homeland, let alone a State. Israel was enforcing its own solution of total annexation while the United Nations and individual Governments were trying to find viable solutions to the problem.

7. With such blatant policies of annexation, it was hardly surprising that the instruments of implementation should be so brutal. The Special Committee's report (A/37/485) described 1982 as a year of continuing turbulence as the Israeli authorities intensified their policies of oppression and brutality. In their testimony before that Committee, the mayors of Hebron and Halhul had described the escalation of terrorist activities such as the kidnapping of Arab youths by armed Israeli settlers, often aided by the Israeli armed forces. The Israelis had introduced the so-called civilian administration system in an obvious attempt to delude the international community into believing that Israeli rule was terminated, whereas in fact oppression had been intensified under the civilian administration. They had also referred to the village league system, whose few members, wielding firearms to terrorize the population, had been recruited from the scum of society. The leagues were designed to replace the legally elected municipal administrations in such matters as the issuing of licences and were yet another Israeli device to further the annexation of the occupied territories.

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8. That intensification of oppression had led to outbursts of peaceful demonstrations throughout the land, including remote villages which could not pose a threat to Israel's security. The Secretary of the Israeli League for Civil and Human Rights had given a graphic and disturbing description of the situation in the occupied territories based largely on direct experience and eye witness accounts (A/37/485, para. 39).

9. The policy which the dictatorial Israeli régime applied to the inhabitants of the occupied territories included restrictions on freedom of movement, prolonged house arrest, indiscriminate brutality, arbitrary searches and beatings by both Israeli soldiers and armed Israeli settlers. The economy of the West Bank had become an appendage of the Israeli economy. In the West Bank, the Israeli authorities had reduced economic activity with Arab countries by restricting imports and levying additional taxes which had caused 130-per-cent inflation. Fifty per cent of the Palestinian Arab workers of the West Bank and Gaza were working in Israeli factories or on Israeli farms because their means of livelihood had been confiscated. Even assistance from relatives or other Arab sources to the population of the occupied territories had been drastically curtailed.

10. The Israeli occupation authorities also made extensive use of child labour. Children under 14 years of age were paid the equivalent of about \$1 per day. As a comparison, an unskilled farm labourer in the West Bank earned at least \$10-15 per day. Israel's policies with regard to water resources had adversely affected citrus production in the Gaza Strip, which was the livelihood of most of the inhabitants.

11. The activities of educational institutions in the occupied territories were subject to strict control by the Israeli civilian administration. Military Order No. 854 constituted a grave infringement of freedom of education by requiring teaching staff to sign a written declaration that they opposed the Palestine Liberation Organization or any other hostile force. That was clearly an attempt not only to politicize academic institutions but also to force many of the foreign teaching staff to leave the country in protest. Many Jordanian professors who had taught at the universities in Nablus, Bir Zeit and Bethlehem were currently in exile in Amman because they had refused to sign that illegal declaration. In that regard, he expressed deep appreciation to the United States Secretary of State, Mr. George Shultz, for expressing his views on the need to preserve academic freedom and his opposition to that Israeli policy.

12. According to an article published in the Israeli newspaper Al Hamishmar on 5 June 1981, approximately a quarter of a million inhabitants of the occupied territories, or one out of every five, had undergone some form of detention in Israeli jails up to 1981. Such a situation, if permitted to continue, would increase tension to the point of posing a threat to international peace and security.

13. The New York Times of 23 November 1982 contained an article written by its Jerusalem correspondent, William E. Farrell, on the extent to which the Israeli

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occupation authorities were determined to go in their policy of annexation. According to that article, Israeli military officials had issued a directive instructing administrators in charge of the occupied West Bank to keep up the pressure on "extremist mayors" while trying to neutralize pro-Jordanian Palestinians. The directive divided West Bank Arabs into four political groups: the extremist mayors, who represented the rejectionist front; pro-Jordanian groups, including some mayors and people engaged in commerce; moderate village league heads; and government clerks working in the West Bank, who numbered about 12,000. The directive stated that the treatment of the "extremist mayors" and of other Palestinian nationalists called for an endless struggle, while the pro-Jordanian groups must be neutralized and made dependent on the administration. The directive went on to state that it would be implemented by massive expulsion of those harmful to the system, on the one hand, and maximal support of the positive activists, on the other. Officers were called upon to submit proposals on whom to dismiss by forced retirement or by disciplinary court. District governors were instructed to send in weekly reports on how the "negative elements" of the first two political groups had been handled.

14. The international community should intervene promptly to put an end to Israeli occupation, whose record of the brutality and lawlessness was unparalleled in recent times. His Government was determined to restore to the Palestinian people all their legitimate rights, with the assistance of the international community. Israel's adamant refusal to seek a just and lasting peace was short-sighted and futile; justice would prevail in the end. In the meantime, the Palestinian people would continue to bear their sufferings with endurance, dignity and resolve.

15. Mr. HUSSAINI (Observer for the Palestine Liberation Organization) expressed appreciation for the work of the Special Committee. While, to many delegations, the Committee's latest report (A/37/485) was just another report, the unbelievable suffering which it documented were only too real to the nearly 2 million Palestinian inhabitants of the occupied territories. The brutal Israeli military occupation of those territories had lasted for 18 years and now it had extended to southern Lebanon. The same Israeli experts in interrogation, torture and military rule who had worked for 18 years in the West Bank and Gaza were now subjecting nearly 500,000 Palestinians to the same horrors in southern Lebanon. While United Nations decisions calling for the protection of the rights of the Palestinian people multiplied. Israeli military repression in all the occupied territories increased.

16. The Palestinians in the occupied territories were utterly defenceless; they were unable to resist the Israeli army and, what was worse, the armed Israeli settlers who attacked them at will with that army's blessing. Instead, they responded with civil disobedience, organizing demonstrations, raising the Palestinian flag, closing their shops in protest strikes and declaring general strikes in an appeal to the conscience of the world to help them achieve their liberation.

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17. Under Arab rule, the ancient city of Jerusalem had preserved its beauty and historical integrity. Now, however, the Israeli Government was bulldozing houses, vineyards and fields and replacing them with ugly high-rise buildings, destroying and polluting the city. There, as everywhere in the occupied territories, the Israeli Government's aim was clear and had been stated publicly: to annex the occupied West Bank and Gaza. Former Israeli Minister for Foreign Affairs Abba Eban had confirmed that the Begin Government was trying to drive the Palestinians out of the West Bank in order to annex it, as it had done in the case of the Golan Heights. Israel's policies to control violence were thus generating more violence.

18. The Israeli military government was using repression to drive Palestinians off their lands and out of their homes, taking over water resources, fertile land and houses, denying permits for social, economic and agricultural projects, levying high taxes, closing schools and universities and imposing protracted curfews. The so-called Civilian Governor of the occupied territories had actually said that it was necessary to eliminate PLO influence from the West Bank since the "destructive position" of that Organization and "the evil doctrine behind it" were illegitimate and immoral. The Governor was eliminating that so-called "evil doctrine" by ordering the burning of books, the confiscation of Palestinian flags, the closure of universities, and the expulsion and attempted assassination of elected mayors.

19. The Governor talked about legitimacy and morality, but was it moral to carry sub-machine guns and patrol streets in armoured military vehicles, to shoot Palestinian teenagers, to erect barbed wire fences around Palestinian farmers' land to prevent them from cultivating it and then to confiscate it? The Israeli military occupation and its abhorrent practices were themselves immoral and illegitimate. A senior Israeli army official had recently stated in an interview in Newsweek that it was immoral to give young people guns and tell them to keep order in the occupied territories. That was why an increasing number of Israeli soldiers were refusing to do military service in those territories. Some had been imprisoned for their refusal, and others discharged from the army.

20. As Israeli writer Amos Elon had said, the Arabs bore no responsibility for the centuries-long suffering of Jews in Europe and yet it was they that were being punished for it. The price paid by the Arabs for the crimes of Europe must burden the Israeli conscience for a long time to come. Israeli writer Amos Kenan had described how Israel controlled 1 million human beings who were not Jews and not equal citizens but who, as Arabs, provided Israel with the cheap labour it needed to maintain a high standard of living. Perhaps the role of Israeli peace-seekers must therefore be to fight for a bi-national state in which Arabs and Jews lived as equals. Similar expressions of goodwill and recognition of Arab rights had been voiced by prominent Jews in the early 1930s and 1940s. The great Jewish writer Judah Magnes had recognized that, just as the Jews loved the land of Palestine and had a historical connection with it, so too did the Arabs and that the Jews must therefore try to make peace with the Arabs and live with them.

21. Zionist Fascist leaders like Herzl, Ben-Gurion and Begin had never understood the ideas of such Jewish thinkers but instead had sought to conquer Palestinian

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Arab lands by force and terror. To Begin and Sharon, Judea and Samaria were part of "Eretz Israel" and must be conquered by force. The Begin Government not only supported the armed Israeli settlers who were taking over Palestinian lands and houses by force but even planned and financed their activities. Settler leader Rabbi Moshe Levinger had said that the moral and physical integrity of the land of Israel was more important than hypothetical peace, and the Jewish national renaissance more important than democracy. Rabbi Kahane, leader of the terrorist Jewish Defense League (JDL), had advocated the expulsion of all Palestinian Arabs from the West Bank and Gaza in order to maintain a purely Jewish State. In a New York Times advertisement on 12 November 1982, the American Rabbinical Council had actually stated that the whole of Israel belonged to the Jewish people and that the security of Israel and its people depended to a great degree on the possession of the territories of Judea and Samaria. Finally, former President Carter, in his memoirs, had acknowledged Begin's racism and bigotry in categorizing all Palestinians as sub-human terrorists.

22. General Sharon, Israeli Minister of Defence, had also admitted that the aim of his genocidal war in Lebanon had been to facilitate the Israeli annexation of the West Bank and Gaza. According to him, now that a strong Israeli defence force had wiped out the "nest of terror" in Beirut, Israel had the tools to wage a real struggle for the land of Judea and Samaria. The war in Lebanon had in fact been followed by an increase in Israeli repression in the West Bank and Gaza and by accelerated confiscation of Palestinian lands, building of Israeli settlements and harassment of the Palestinian population. The Israeli authorities thought that by their policies and practices they would be able to destroy Palestinian institutions in the West Bank and Gaza and thus force the Palestinian people to leave their homeland. The Palestinian people, however, would continue their struggle until they achieved liberation.

23. The past two months had seen an escalation in the violent repression of Palestinian protests and demonstrations and in attacks by Israeli terrorist gangs and armed settlers on the population, the imposition of curfews on towns and refugee camps and the dismissal and deportation of university teachers who had refused to sign anti-PLO affidavits. A group of Zionist fanatics had attacked the Christian church of Saint John the Baptist in Jerusalem and destroyed its library. The Israeli military authorities had even prevented the daughter of the Mayor of Nablus from returning to the United States to continue her education.

24. General Sharon had recently transferred control of the water resources of the West Bank to an Israeli Government-controlled company, in violation of the Camp David accords, under which those water resources were to be controlled by a self-governing authority. Furthermore, on 21 July 1982 the Jerusalem Post had reported on the Israeli National Plan for Greater Jerusalem, under which 900,000 new settlers would be established in Jerusalem by the year 2000 and 125,000 Jews would be settled in Judea and Samaria.

25. The plan to eliminate Palestinian national institutions had begun with the Israeli offensive on Palestinian educational establishments, which were the focal

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point of cultural and political life in the occupied territories. Military Order No. 854 subjected the operation of all Palestinian universities and schools to the granting of an annual licence by the Government. Teachers and professors now required a special permit to teach, and teachers or students accused of security offences were automatically banned. Al Fajr Weekly was so ruthlessly censored by the Israeli authorities that often whole pages were published blank. The newspaper had recently published a list of countless Palestinian, Arab, American and European books banned by the Israeli authorities in the occupied territories.

26. The Israeli practices that he had just described and those described in document A/37/485 were now commonplace, and the United Nations, the international community and the United States in particular must act to put an end to them. The United States each year provided Israel with \$3 billion to \$5 billion in aid, much of which helped to finance the construction of new settlements and the confiscation of Arab lands. The United States Congress had paid millions of dollars towards the resettlement of American and European Jews in Israel who were now repressing the Palestinians. Many of those Jews still carried United States passports and included JDL members who had engaged with impunity in terrorist activities against the Palestinians. Rabbi Kahane had even been imprisoned in Israel for his activities yet he travelled freely to the United States to recruit and train JDL terrorists. The United States Government did not deny passports or entry visas to such individuals but refused entry visas to eminent Palestinians. Again while numerous American Jewish fanatics spread terrorism in the West Bank and Gaza, American staff at Bir Zeit University had been harassed and finally expelled by the Israeli military authorities. Even a former United States consul in Jerusalem had been harassed by the Israeli military authorities. He also wished to recall that, in 1981, the United States Congress had allocated \$3 million in aid to the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza but that the Israeli authorities had done everything to prevent that aid from reaching the Palestinians. In the end, the Israeli Government had only allowed half of that sum to be spent in the occupied territories.

27. The United States must stop supplying Israel with the money and weapons to continue its repression in the occupied West Bank and Gaza, and the United Nations and all States must impose sanctions against Israel, boycott it and deny it aid until it ended its military occupation and withdrew its forces from all the occupied territories and from southern Lebanon. The solution to the problem of the human rights violations in the occupied territories was to end Israeli military occupation forthwith and grant the Palestinian people the right to self-determination and to an independent Palestinian State. Israeli terrorism must cease and the Palestinian people be allowed to live in freedom and peace.

28. Mr. ABOUCHAER (Syrian Arab Republic) said that his delegation shared the regret expressed by the Chairman of the Special Committee in his letter of transmittal accompanying the Special Committee's report (A/37/485) that the Government of Israel had seen fit to interfere with the proper conduct of the Committee's work by preventing three persons from appearing before it; that was a grave development which should not be allowed to perpetuate itself. Israel's



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refusal to co-operate with the Special Committee did not justify its claim that the Committee was biased. The impartiality and objectivity of the Special Committee were not open to doubt, particularly in the light of the strict rules that it had imposed upon itself (paras. 24 and 25).

29. His delegation was certain that the attitude of Israel was due to its concern that the Special Committee and the international community should not discover the atrocities and the grave breaches of international law to which the repressive Israeli practices against the inhabitants of the occupied territories gave rise, just as Israel also had the aim of disavowing in advance any conclusions at which the Committee might arrive. Israel's position was additional evidence of its traditional negative attitude towards the United Nations and its resolutions and an expression of its disdain for the international community.

30. His delegation felt that there was no need to reiterate the hundreds of resolutions adopted by the General Assembly on the matter, but would like to recall by way of example that Security Council 111 (1956) had called upon the Government of Israel to comply with its obligations in the future, in default of which the Council would have to consider what further measures under the Charter were required to maintain or restore the peace.

31. The report before the Committee clearly indicated that the situation of the human rights of civilians in the occupied territories was at its worst in comparison with other years, that the level of violence and brutality of repression was unprecedented and that the situation continued to be the cause of untold suffering of innocent civilians. His delegation fully agreed with the Special Committee that the only solution which would safeguard the human rights of the civilian population would be to grant the right of self-determination to the Palestinian people and to have Israel restitute the occupied Syrian territories in conformity with the numerous resolutions adopted by the General Assembly.

32. The vital interests of the inhabitants of the occupied territories were in danger. Israel's gradual annexation of their homeland was a matter which penetrated to the core of their daily lives in that they faced the violation of their basic rights and suffered from provocation, repression, deprivation of freedom and loss of property. They were subjected to an even greater upheaval in their way of live in that their legal, administrative and even linguistic traditions were being altered and the occupation authorities were trying to replace them with a foreign régime based upon security interests as defined by Israel. Israel's attempt to give such acts a democratic and legal appearance deceived no one since many of the witnesses who had given oral testimony before the Special Committee had revealed the savage nature of Israeli practices. His delegation would like to call particular attention to the evidence in paragraphs 34 to 36 of the report.

33. The occupied and annexed Palestinian and Arab territories, which had been correctly described as one vast prison, were full of detention camps the conditions in which were described in paragraphs 246 to 261 of the report. The total

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population of the occupied territories was 1.2 million and the proportion of detainees was one in five; if that proportion was applied to the population of the United States the number of detainees there would be about 50 million. The record of Israel's savagery in all fields had had no counterpart since the Nazis had spread plunder and destruction in Europe during the Second World War.

34. Since its ill-omened establishment, Israel had introduced into the Middle East a new style of living which represented a foreign culture transplanted to the region. It had introduced terror and violence as a means of implementing policies based on expansion, colonization, plunder, usurpation of land and property and the expulsion of the original inhabitants by means of organized terror and collective punishment. The evidence on collective punishment in paragraph 121 of the report recalled to the international community the painful memory of those harrowing acts perpetrated by the Nazis in their attempt to impose the principle of force without regard for law and the rules of civilized behaviour.

35. The decision of Tel Aviv to apply Israeli law to the Golan Heights, the West Bank and Gaza was one more expansionist step towards the achievement of the Zionist goal of establishing a greater Israel extending from the Nile to the Euphrates. The policy of annexation was a flagrant violation of the Charter and of international law, was incompatible with the principle of the non-acquisition of territory through force, disregarded all United Nations resolutions concerning the status of the occupied Arab territories and was in open defiance of the international community, representing as it did the methods of international banditry adopted by Israel since its establishment in 1948.

36. The terrorist Sharon had adopted a policy of retaining the occupied Arab territories in order to prevent the establishment of a Palestinian State. The selection of reports of incidents recorded by the Special Committee covered more than 30 pages and each one of those incidents was an example of Israel's terrorist policy. Yet those incidents were only a "drop in the ocean".

37. It was notable that the report contained only passing references to Israeli practices affecting the civilian population of the Golan Heights and that was due, in addition to factors mentioned previously, to the fact that the Israeli military authorities had, since their occupation of the Golan Heights in 1967, expelled 90 per cent of the inhabitants. There remained only four inhabited villages, whose population did not exceed 12,000 out of an original 155,000. In that connection, his delegation would like to call attention to the information contained in paragraph 43 of the report to the effect that the former Supreme Court Judge, Mr. Haim Cohen, had said at a press conference in Jerusalem on 15 April 1982 that that was not Israeli law or administration, it was the law of barbarians.

38. Information provided to the Commission on Human Rights in Geneva indicated that a series of repressive measures had been adopted against the inhabitants of the Golan since Israel's illegal annexation of that area on 14 December 1981. Such measures included expropriation of pastureland and water sources, attempts to impose Israeli citizenship, arbitrary arrest, refusal to register the births of children whose parents rejected the Israeli identity card, modification of school

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syllabuses, prohibition of attendance at Syrian universities and establishment of local councils aligned with the occupation authorities.

39. Such measures were incompatible with the Geneva Convention relative to the protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, particularly article 47, which stated that protected persons could not be deprived of the benefits of the Convention by any annexation of the occupied territory. In resolution 497 (1981), the Security Council had stated that the Israeli annexation of the Golan was null and void. Under the 1907 Hague Convention, the occupying Power could undertake only a temporary administration of the territory which it occupied and was prohibited from annexing or dividing that territory and from taking any action which might have a permanent effect on its legal status. In resolution 465 (1980), adopted unanimously, the Security Council had strongly deplored Israeli attempts to take such action.

40. Having annexed East Jerusalem and the Golan Heights, Israel was now using all possible means for the gradual annexation of the West Bank and Gaza, either for ideological or security reasons. Israel claimed that the territories over which it had gained control in 1967 were part of the Jewish homeland. International relations could not be governed by beliefs stemming from revealed scriptures which made a dead letter of international law, in contrast to the infinite ambitions of the leaders of the Zionist entity. A rabbi and member of the Israeli Knesset had been reported by the newspaper Hatsofeh on 20 October 1982 as saying that the Torah had defined the right of the Jewish people to the land of Israel, and that the right of the people of Israel to ownership of the West Bank was no less than its right to ownership of Tel Aviv or Haifa. It was for the international community to remind the terrorist Begin and his band of extremist rabbis that the Torah was not a cadastral register upon which they could base their colonialist ambitions in Palestine, but a holy book deserving full respect and appreciation.

41. The Israeli justification for annexation based upon considerations of national security was also unacceptable because it was based on a chauvinistic premise. It was reminiscent of the principle of Lebensraum upon which the Nazis had based their claims. Israel was really motivated by excessive greed and overweening territorial ambition. How much more Arab land would Israel need in order to satisfy its expansionist ambitions in the Middle East? Could any security requirements justify a State expanding its territory at the expense of others? How many sacrifices would the inhabitants of the occupied Arab territories have to accept and how much more humiliation would they have to endure before the Zionist leadership ceased its expansionist campaign?

42. As of June 1982, the Israeli Government had established 118 settlements in the West Bank and Gaza, according to information in document S/15488. The actual number of those settlements as of September 1982 had been 139, excluding Jerusalem. In October 1982 it had been announced that 20 new settlements were under construction and would be completed by the end of the year. It had also been announced that four military posts would be converted into so-called civilian settlements. The total number of Israeli settlements would therefore reach 163 by the end of 1982.

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43. Sharon had stated to the newspaper Yediot Aharonot on 7 January 1982 that Israel would never withdraw from any Arab territories even if so requested by the United States, that those territories where structures had been built or farms established had become Israeli territory in accordance with its national Constitution and that if Israel were to be compelled to enter into negotiations, they could take place only on the basis of acceptance of the status quo.

44. His delegation would like to call attention to the concern expressed by the Special Committee at the continuing Israeli occupation. It agreed with the conclusions reached, particularly with those set out in paragraphs 285, 286, 287 and 294 of the report. The General Assembly should examine urgently and seriously the question of Israel's refusal to grant the Special Committee the opportunity to fulfil its mandate and the question of Israel's lack of co-operation with the Committee in preventing witnesses from the Golan, who had been invited by the Committee to provide it with information relating to its mandate, from appearing before it.

45. The international community should acknowledge that the violation of human rights in the occupied territories would cease only when the Palestinian people was allowed to exercise its right to self-determination and that the Syrian citizens in the occupied Golan Heights would not be able to ensure their rights until that territory was once again part of the Syrian homeland. The international community should also reaffirm that the Fourth Geneva Convention remained the major international instrument applicable to the occupied territories.

46. The Zionist régime had exceeded all bounds in its violation of United Nations resolutions. For that reason, his delegation was of the view that the General Assembly should condemn Israel's policies and practices in the strongest possible terms, should strongly censure its attempts to alter the character and status of the occupied territories and should call upon the Secretary-General to compile statistics on the Arab inhabitants of the occupied territories in order to give a true picture of the operations aimed at forcing them to migrate.

47. If Israel believed that it could provide itself with security and peace through military force and expansion, against the will of the international community, it was undoubtedly making the same mistake as had the Nazis. Occupation did not ensure the peace and security of the occupier, no matter how powerful, because the force of freedom was always stronger than any force of oppression or aggression. The expulsion of peoples and the violation of their rights would not provide the occupier with continued security but would lead him into a dark future where he would end as all usurpers and occupiers had ended throughout history.

48. Mr. LEVIN (Israel), exercising his right of reply, observed that the representative of Jordan had mentioned Israel's destruction of the Arabs' cultural heritage. He wished to remind that representative that, when the Arab Legion had seized Jerusalem by force in 1948, it had destroyed all the city's synagogues. The representative of Jordan had also referred to Israeli treatment of educational staff and establishments in Judea and Samaria. During the 19 years of Jordanian

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occupation, however, there had been no universities in those territories. The Jordanian representative was thus hardly in a position to criticize Israeli policies in that connection. He was curious to know what the Jordanian representative had meant when he had compared the current situation in Judea and Samaria with that obtaining prior to 1967. Under Jordanian rule and especially in the early 1950s, no political activities at all had been allowed in those territories.

49. It was interesting that the various speakers at the current meeting had quoted frequently from Israeli writers who had advocated peace and moderation in relations between Arabs and Jews. It was perfectly obvious why no Arab sources advocating peace and moderation had been quoted: no such sources existed.

50. Turning to the work of the Special Committee, he said that most of the statistics given in the Committee's latest report were incorrect, especially those relating to population and to the economic situation of the Arab inhabitants of Judea and Samaria. The degree of objectivity of that report could also be gauged by its extremely emotional introduction by the representative of Sri Lanka, which had gone a long way towards justifying the Israeli Government's position regarding the Committee's work.

51. The CHAIRMAN announced that, in order for the Committee to meet the deadline of 1 December for the submission of draft resolutions with financial implications to the Fifth Committee, all draft resolutions, including those relating to items which the Special Political Committee had yet to consider, must be submitted to the Secretariat by the end of Monday, 29 November.

The meeting rose at 1.30 p.m.