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DEC 23 1983



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PERMANENT MISSION OF ISRAEL  
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

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Dear Abe,

I am seeking you the text of any last  
two statements at the Special Political  
Committee and hope they'll be of  
interest.

Am looking forward to seeing you <sup>in</sup>  
now that the Assembly is over.

Regards  
Amichai



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המשלחת הקבועה

של ישראל לאומות המאוחדות

PERMANENT MISSION OF ISRAEL  
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

Statement

by

Ambassador Aryeh Levin, Israel  
in the Special Political Committee

Item 73

18 November 1983

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Check Against Delivery



Aryeh Levin  
UNRWA

Mr. Chairman,

The delegation of Israel wishes to register its appreciation of the exceptional dedication and hard work of the Commissioner-General and his staff, reflected in their report (A/38/13) on the UNRWA operations for the year 1982-1983. Although the Commissioner-General's report may not be widely read, it is nonetheless an important record of a concerted attempt to promote the well-being of the Palestinian refugees. We commend UNRWA's efforts to maintain services during a period of such stress and disruption. At the same time we cannot but take exception to the general tenor of the report insofar as it regards Israel. Purporting to highlight the interaction of the Governments in the area of UNRWA's operation, the report appears biased and unbalanced in its references to my country. A glaring example is noticeable from the start. The Commissioner-General's opening statement reads that "the invasion of Lebanon on 6 June 1982 and the turmoil which ensued largely undid the Agency's work of 30 years in Lebanon." The tone represented by this statement pervades the entire report, and it is unacceptable, as it disregards both recent Lebanese history and UNRWA's own experience in that country.

It is widely known by now that the turmoil in Lebanon and the environment in which UNRWA carried out its mandate during the year under review, Mr. Chairman, stem from many sources. The continuing bitter internal strife between the ethnic and the religious communities and the resultant protracted civil war, as well as

the massive and prolonged interference by Arab powers, have all been a fact of life in Lebanon for close to two decades now. Although care was always taken not to explicitly implicate the Arab Governments in past reports of the Commissioner-General, the Arab role in the turmoil in Lebanon was not entirely obscured. In truth, the lives of the Palestinian refugees in Lebanon, Mr. Chairman, are substantially different from what can be adduced by reading the Commissioner-General's report.

Until the 1967 Six-Day War, at least some of the 200,000 or so Palestinian refugees in Lebanon were well on their way to assimilating into the existing political system. The refugees' presence both within and outside their camps hardly posed a problem to the Lebanese authorities. After the mid-1960s, however, when the Fatah group began to take the lead in the PLO, the Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon became the setting for paramilitary training, political propaganda, mass mobilization, social radicalization, and arms stockpiling.

The Syrians, who had grudgingly witnessed the Lebanese state grow and prosper outside their grip for close to a decade, now saw a golden opportunity to arm, train, finance, and dominate the PLO armed groups as possible surrogates in Lebanon. The Lebanese, despite their discontent at the sight of growing PLO power on their territory, felt impotent to arrest the process, much less undo it, for fear of Syrian intervention or renewed civil disturbances or both. PLO

groups began to surface in Lebanon's major cities and towns, operating in the full light of day, using their Lebanese base to launch worldwide acts of terror, such as plane hijackings, bombings, and killings.

A direct and immediate reason for the destruction of the human and political environment in Lebanon, already back in 1969, of course, was the Cairo Agreement foisted on Lebanon by the late President Gamal Abdul Nasser. The Egyptian initiative was widely taken as part of the Egyptian ambitions of imperial grandeur in the Middle East. The Egyptians had been sending infiltrators and saboteurs into Israel for years. This they did from the Gaza strip where the refugees were kept in conditions of total misery and humiliation, ~~under the most deplorable conditions~~. But the Cairo Agreement gave the PLO extraterritorial status in Lebanon, and promoted a regime of terrorist activity against Israel from Lebanese soil, and sanctioned the political and eventually the military takeover of the refugee camps by the terrorist organizations. It was typical of those days, by the way, that General Emil Bustani, who signed the Cairo Agreement for Lebanon, was not authorized to do so by his Government.

The 1970 Jordanian massacre of the Palestinian terrorists (and refugees) brought additional groups of PLO to Lebanon. There they reorganized and broadened their world-wide terrorist activity. Irish, German, Central and South American, Japanese and other terrorists were given their professional education on Lebanese soil by PLO instructors. The PLO's ability to terrorize, assassinate, and

intimidate at will aided some of the contending factions inside Lebanon which was already on the brink of a civil war. It is at this point that Lebanon was exposed to a massive irruption of the Syrians.

By the 1970s, a PLO state-within-a-state had emerged in Lebanon, with its own administrative and military services. The PLO systematically encroached upon Lebanese sovereignty, and the Lebanese had no choice but to provide the PLO with political and diplomatic shelter. Lebanon was forced to accommodate PLO wishes while desperately trying to preserve what remained of its sovereignty. All attempts, however, to limit Palestinian raids against Israel from Lebanese territory ended in failure.

Details were elaborated setting out the location of PLO units, their camps, the arms and equipment permissible, etc. In 1973, the PLO signed the so-called Melcart Agreement with the Lebanese which specified the areas from which the PLO was allowed to operate against Israel; what forces could be maintained in the south of Lebanon; and what types of weapons were permissible. In 1977, the Shtura Agreement was signed. This time the Syrians, in addition to the PLO and the Lebanese, were a party to the Agreement which specified, inter alia, that all those Palestinians who had entered Lebanon after the Cairo Agreement in 1969 would be required to leave Lebanon. As we all well know, that proviso remained a dead letter.

All these agreements, Mr. Chairman, were directed to one goal: a gradual takeover of the camps and their vicinity to set up control over Lebanese territory

in order to harass and terrorize Israel and, under this transparent fig leaf of agreements with weak Lebanese governments, to grant the PLO a land base within Lebanon. The PLO ruled this land base as they pleased; no one paid any attention to the Lebanese authorities. In fact, no one even dared to question the legality of all these "arrangements" within the sovereign state of Lebanon. Moreover, the sovereignty of Lebanon was not considered an impediment. The Arab leaders were exceedingly pleased with this arrangement as it helped remove the PLO irritant from their own midst. The body-politic of Lebanon was powerless to reject this vicious implant; it was forced to nurture it on the blood of its own people.

In the words of the 27th edition of The Middle East and North Africa, a EUROPA publication

"By the middle of January 1976 the PLO was becoming increasingly drawn into the conflict, and several Syrian-based units of the Palestine Liberation Army were in Lebanon fighting on the side of the Muslims....

"By May 1976 Syria was becoming increasingly involved in Lebanese affairs. By May 20th it was estimated that about 40,000 Syrian-controlled troops were in Lebanon. Yasser Arafat had ordered pro-Damascus Palestinian units to withdraw, and it now became clear that Arafat and the PLO had become entirely



sympathetic to the Lebanese left wing. In early June Syria launched a full-scale invasion of Lebanon officially to end the civil war and restore peace, but unofficially, it became clear, to crush the Palestinians. The conflict threatened to grow to world proportions and an emergency meeting of the Arab foreign ministers met in Cairo under the sponsorship of the Arab League. It was agreed to send a joint Arab peace-keeping force to Lebanon and after considerable mediation it was agreed that the introduction of the Arab peace-keeping force should be accompanied by a phased, but not complete, withdrawal of Syrian troops.

"But by the end of June 1976 the 1,000 man force was made up of 500 Syrian troops merely under a different guise, and 500 Libyans. Meanwhile, fierce fighting broke out in the area of two Palestinian refugee camps, Tel-el-Zaatar and Jisr-al-Basha, and most of Beirut was without water or electricity.

"But fighting continued unabated (for nearly four months) until October 1976, when Arab summit meetings in Riyadh (17/Oct/76) and Cairo secured a lasting cease-fire. During the course of the fighting there had been more than 50 abortive cease-fires and it was estimated that up to 60,000 people had been killed and up to 100,000 injured.

"The Riyadh and Cairo summits arranged for a 30,000 strong Arab Deterrent Force (mainly Syrians) to police Lebanon, and a four-party disengagement committee was set up to attempt to implement the terms of the 1969 Cairo agreement between the Lebanese Government

and the Palestine guerrillas, as this was considered to be one of the keys to a lasting peace.

"The southern area of Lebanon, however, between the Litani river and the Israeli border, became the scene of renewed fighting during 1977. This area was largely spared during the civil war and fighting developed when the Palestinians moved to the hills of south Lebanon after being subdued by the Syrians in the civil war. A war 'by proxy' developed, with Syria allied with the Palestine guerrillas and Israel supporting the Lebanese Government." (End of quote)

To sum up: While, in April 1975, Syria had made no secret of its support for Muslim PLO and other pro-Syrian elements in Lebanon, a year later it attempted to create a new order in Lebanon, which would perpetuate the communal divisions in Lebanese politics and would place the Lebanese state under a de facto Syrian protectorate. The Christians, who feared extermination at the hands of the PLO and other "leftists," reluctantly consented to the proposed arrangement, thus pulling the rug out from underneath the "natural allies" of the Syrians -- the PLO and the left. But the latter rejected the offer and renewed the fighting. Syria, fearing that the PLO-leftist coalition would take over Lebanon and set it onto a separate course, sent in troops in May 1976 to take over the major cities and roads. By late summer, Lebanon was divided into three de facto areas of control: the Syrians in the north and east controlled some two-thirds of the country; the Christians in the north now dominated East Beirut, the northern

part of Mt. Lebanon, and parts of the littoral around the port of Jounieh; and the PLO-Muslim coalition now ran West Beirut, the Tripoli area, and southern Lebanon.

From July 1981 to June 1982, under cover of a cease-fire arranged in July 1981, the PLO pursued its acts of terror against Israel, resulting in 26 deaths and 264 injured. When Israeli warnings went unheeded, air raids were mounted against the PLO on 21 April, 9 May, and 4 and 5 June 1982. The PLO responded with a full range of artillery, tank and mortar fire on the Israeli population of the Galilee, forcing Israel to launch Operation Peace for Galilee on 6 June 1982.

These, Mr. Chairman, are the facts, and they are well known and widely acknowledged. It is regrettable that the great amount of energy and devotion which went into the laudable humanitarian effort of UNRWA in the year under review should be so demeaned by a jaundiced summary, especially in the Foreward and first paragraph of the report. If those who wrote the present paper had taken the trouble to read previous UNRWA Commissioner-Generals' reports, they would have had before them, documented, the long drawn out victimization of Lebanon by the Arab Governments, mainly the Government of Syria -which is the principal reason for the endless disruption and destruction of life in Lebanon after 1975. It is not only implausible, but ludicrous, to saddle Israel with responsibility for undoing 30 years of UNRWA's work. We therefore propose that this statement be corrected.

As to the events of last year -- the suffering of the refugees and the damage to the camps-- in view of the many misrepresentations heard here we shall have to once again stress the facts, as we have done so many times before.

In the course of fighting in the summer of 1982, the Israel Defense Forces often encountered terrorist groups entrenched in hospitals and schools. In the Ein Hilwe camp, for example, two IDF units refrained from engaging terrorists deployed there until the Ein Hilwe hospital could be evacuated. It took two days of exhaustive negotiations before the 20 patients were finally evacuated from the hospital. The PLO then took 300 refugees as hostages. The Israel Army leafletted the camp asking the PLO to lay down their arms and to allow the civilians to leave. When some of the 300 hostages attempted to escape on their own, they were shot by the terrorists. The total disregard for the lives of civilians, Mr. Chairman, so characteristic of the PLO, is a key factor in the loss of life in the refugee camps throughout the years in Lebanon. In fact, Mr. Chairman, the Commissioner-General, in a revealing remark in the Foreward to his report, states that he "had appealed to the PLO to remove the risk to civilians."

The central reason for the suffering and destruction in Lebanon, therefore, was the inhuman and cowardly behaviour of the terrorists who had set up housekeeping inside the camps, developing a fortified network of bunkers, supply depots, and gun emplacements there, turning areas of human habitat into military targets. This policy of hiding behind the skirts of women and the innocence of children, behind schools and hospitals, was the principal cause of damage to the camps.

What better proof of that than the events of recent weeks in the camps north of Tripoli? And in Tripoli itself? Why were there over a thousand people killed in the exchanges of fire? Because the terrorists again sought refuge among the civilians and drew fire to their hideouts. The UNRWA record in the past should be a good indication of last year's events. The Commissioner-General's report for 1976-77 (supplement No. 13 to document A/32/13), paragraph 23, says, inter alia

"The situation in Lebanon" (the civil war) "continued seriously to affect the Agency's activities throughout the area of operation."

Paragraph 24 continues:

"The Agency will probably never be able to determine precisely how many refugee casualties the conflict in Lebanon produced... Up to 30,000 refugees were displaced by the fighting and forced to find new places to live. Of these, about 12,000, mostly from the totally destroyed camps of Dikwaneh and Jisr-al-Basha on the outskirts of Beirut, settled in Damour, a town south of Beirut."

And further, paragraph 77:

"These camps" (Dikwaneh and Jisr-al-Basha) "were under siege in the summer of 1976 until 12 August 1976, when all the inhabitants were forced to leave. Damage was sustained to Agency installations and refugee shelters in Wavel, Dbayeh, Ein-e-Hilweh, Mia Mia, Shatila, Burj-al-Barajneh and Mar Elias camps to various Agency schools located in the Beirut and Saida areas."

The tragic story behind this description, Mr. Chairman, is the large-scale Tel-el-Zaatar massacre of the Palestinians aided and abetted by the Syrian Army in the primary stages of the invasion of Lebanon. As to Damur, described merely as a "town south of Beirut," this is the town which was attacked and devastated by the PLO terrorists in January 1976, its Christian inhabitants forced to flee, joining the ranks of the already homeless. Here are a few words from the report of a reliable journalist, David K. Shipler, writing a special to the New York Times.

Damur, Lebanon, June 19 -- Abdallah Shaya, a 54-year-old gardener with a round, tanned face, found his house amid the rubble of Damur today...

Damur, just south of Beirut, was a Christian village until January 1976, when its population fled an assault by Palestinian and leftist forces fighting in the Lebanese civil war. For nearly seven years, until the Israeli Army attacked and captured it last week, the town was inaccessible to its own people; the Palestine Liberation Organization made it a stronghold, using the churches as firing ranges and armories....

Mr. Chairman,

These distinctions are indeed noteworthy in light of the account before us which describes the present plight of the refugees and the burden that has become UNRWA's. But it is only fair to place the picture in the proper perspective. We would strongly recommend that this be UNRWA's policy in future reports.

Regarding medical help extended to the Lebanese and Palestinian refugees in the period under review, Mr. Chairman, Israel established a special Health Ministry medical team to assist the restoration of normal health services in south Lebanon, an area with a large Palestinian refugee population. This team was led by a senior physician highly experienced in emergency medicine. From June 1982 to November 1982, a total of 27,450 medical assessments for referrals were carried out by Israel's medical units. An average of 129 hospitalizations per month and a total of 21,381 days of treatment and care in Israel's hospitals were provided free of charge. Many patients were evacuated by air.

Regarding the security of the camps, the situation in southern Lebanon has greatly improved and cannot therefore be paralleled to the rest of the country, contrary to what the report suggests in paragraph 6 of the Foreword. It is no secret that there is extensive turmoil in the areas still under Syrian occupation, which extends over 60% of the territory of Lebanon. Ever since Israel's withdrawal to the Awali, the Syrian-sponsored feuding and killing have gone on unabated in the Bekaa, in the Shouf and in the North. This is reminiscent of the Syrian invasion in 1975 which resulted in the killing and suffering of large numbers of Palestinian refugees.

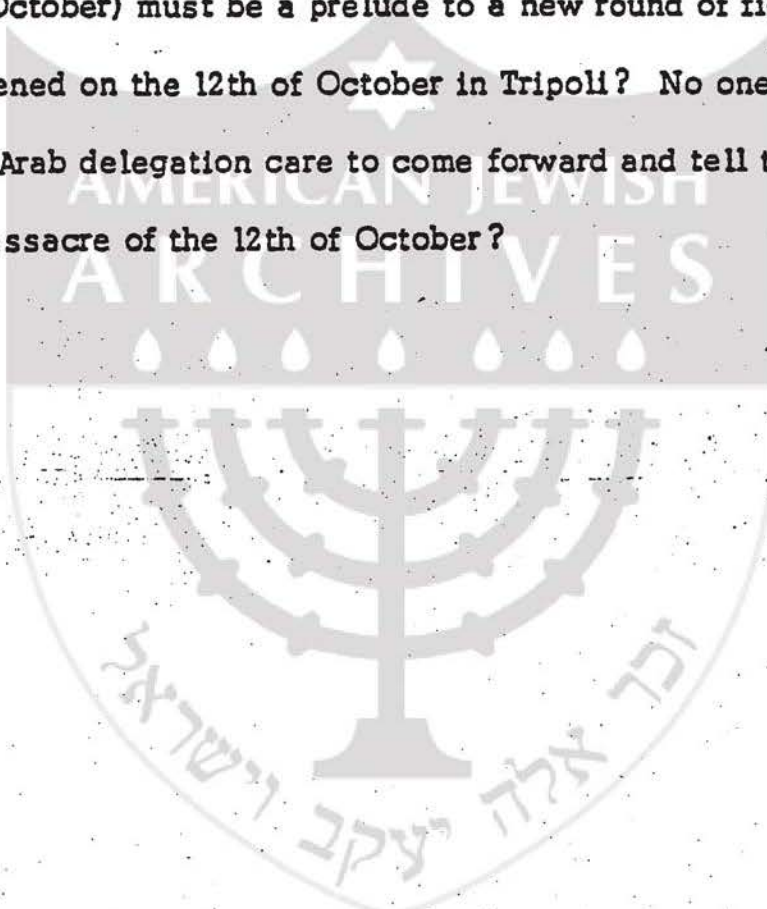
As for the present situation in the North of Lebanon, the artillery and rocket attacks against the camps and towns with the concomitant heavy loss of life and limb are an indication of the sincerity of the Arab concern for the Palestinian refugees.

Radio Monte Carlo in Arabic at 1741 GMT on the 21st of October 1983 broadcast a telephone interview with a certain Abu Layla, political bureau member of the so-called Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine and member of the PFLP-DFLP Joint Command.

"The principal issue in northern Lebanon, Tripoli, and its refugee camps is to avert a new round of the bloody and destructive fighting. We believe that the deplorable massacre that took place in Tripoli nine days ago (12th October) must be a prelude to a new round of fighting."

What happened on the 12th of October in Tripoli? No one seems to know.

Will some Arab delegation care to come forward and tell this committee what was the massacre of the 12th of October?





Baghdad Voice of PLO in Arabic at 1620 GMT on the 25th of October 1983 broadcast:

"Abu 'Ammar inspected the Nahr al-Barid camp in light of yesterday's intensive shelling by the Libyan forces, the groups of agent Ahmad Jibril, and the dissidents."

In view of UNRWA's heavy responsibility toward the well-being of the Palestinian refugees under its aegis, my delegation is awaiting the Commissioner-General's factual report on the current situation in Nahr-al-Barid, in Al-Baddawi and in Tripoli regarding how much damage and dislocation has been inflicted on the refugees by the shellings carried out by various military groups including the Libyan and Syrian forces.

Now, Mr. Chairman, to the Commissioner-General's report regarding the situation in Judea, Samaria and Gaza. My delegation would like once again to register its appreciation for the education and training services rendered by UNRWA, discussed in the report under the heading "Regular Operations of the Agency." It is indeed regrettable, however, that the unrelenting efforts to educate the children in its care are so often undermined by elements who evidently take advantage of the widespread UNRWA school system to promote the inculcation of hostility and sabotage. The school population has been continually used to create disturbances, recruited to participate in stone-throwing and other acts of violence. Manipulation of school children to engage in such

activities accordingly necessitates the justifiable activation of security forces in an educational system which would have otherwise been untrammelled in its freedom. Stone-throwers will, of course, be restrained, but the responsibility for these disruptions and perturbances lies, above all, with those who prefer terrorism understanding, who would foster hatred in the minds of children rather than promote

peace and coexistence. This has been the path of the Arab extremists for many years. No one stands to benefit from this nurturing of hostility, least of all the school population. Using children as troops is base and depraved. The PLO has apparently run out of volunteers and now recruits children, who alone can be led to the slaughter by blandishments and bravado.

This is what an Arab East Jerusalem newspaper, "Al-Quds," known for its nationalistic tendencies, recently had to say on the subject --

not all of this leading article is in agreement with our policies but it is succinct and it deals with the question of peace in schools.

I shall read it in Arabic:

القدس ١٤١٤ هـ / ١٩٩٤ م

تفصّلت جاسمًا الحليم خلال العام الدراسي الماضي لموجه من المسائل الداعية

وهيأت في معنى الإيمان من أرقّة دماء الطلبة في خلاقات ابيولوجيم خيما بينهم

[والسلطة الولية هي العمرة التي تحقّقها الشعوب بعد التخال مسيرتها وهي لياتي

مبصره من الصراعات الداعية فانه انظاره من التخليك والتفصيل وكل الامتانات

والوصول في الخلاقات الفكرية الى وجه التأخر والاقتيال

كل هذه المظاهر كانت حية متفاعلة في جاسمنا.

ونحن نتطلع على ان يكونه طلبتنا قد تعلموا الكثير من اروسه ويجاب الماضى

وكلنا امل ان يرتقي طلبتنا وعلمائونا واداراتنا الى مستوى الظروف الحليم

Mr. Chairman,

We heard in the course of one of our meetings some days ago a statement by the representative of Egypt which went far afield in describing the situation of the refugees in Lebanon and in the Gaza District. It was sad to note that the content of the speech only faintly resembled reality. There was an attempt to dredge up dramatic effects, at the expense of facts.

We totally reject the allegations regarding a so-called "depletion of manpower of the refugees through an indefinite detention" in so-called concentration camps. This is a mischievous misrepresentation of paragraph 23 of the Commissioner-General's report to which the Egyptian statement relates. The use of the word 'concentration camp' betrays both ignorance and the usage of a deplorable style between two countries like Egypt and Israel which have signed a peace agreement between them and forsaken hostile propaganda.

We should like to state here that a great deal of what has been done in the South of Lebanon to return life to normal was done with the direct help of the Government of Israel. All of the three camps in the western sector of South Lebanon are now prepared for the winter months ahead, and Israel certainly made its contribution toward that end as well.

We know it is difficult for some delegates to grasp the fact that the IDF contributed in a large part to the security of the camps as stated.

by the Commissioner-General. That, however, is the truth and the IDF will continue to maintain security as long as necessary in the face of provocation, pressures and attacks by local residents and various groups against the refugees.

As regards the new international boundary near Rafah, the question of the relocation of these refugees is a bilateral one between Israel and Egypt. Talks have been conducted and are continuing on this matter as well as on other humanitarian issues, such as the parallel question of the relocation to Egypt of Egyptian nationals now resident in the Gaza District and elsewhere.

In this connection, we should like to point out that well before the final withdrawal from Sinai, it was apparent that the demarcation of the international boundary between Israel and Egypt may have certain implications for the persons living in the border area in and around Rafah. With a view to preventing unnecessary hardship to those individuals, Israel made a number of pragmatic proposals, which were not accepted by Egypt. Had these proposals been accepted, the hardships that prompt Egyptian complaints would have been alleviated. All these facts are well known to the Egyptian Government but somehow they have lost their way in the statement at the SPC.

The Egyptian record regarding the Palestinians is not entirely a thing of the past. Present-day Egyptian newspapers carry descriptions of a far from brotherly attitude and I commend them to the Egyptian delegation.

Mr. Chairman,

During the 37th Session, my delegation gave, in this Committee, an expose of the background of the Palestinian refugee problem. This was particularly relevant as 34 years had elapsed between the beginning of the organized and coordinated invasion of newborn Israel by Arab states and the current discussions on the subject of UNRWA. The recommendations of the United Nations regarding Palestine in 1947 were flouted by the Arab states. The inhuman and irresponsible behaviour of the Arab leaders and the war of 1948-49 ultimately resulted in the delineation of new frontiers creating the problem of the refugees -- both Arab and Jewish. While the Arabs of Palestine were cajoled and pressured to flee and await the strangulation of newborn Israel, there culminated a process of coercion and persecutions against the Jews in Arab lands, forcing hundreds of thousands to seek refuge in Israel, which gave them succour and shelter. The large majority of Jews in Arab lands had for many centuries been compelled to live in ghettos, on the fringe of society, only because they were Jews, : denied their political and human rights, sometimes tolerated, often persecuted.

It is true that between the two World Wars there was a period of relative relaxation and prosperity ending, unfortunately, in the renewal of pressures

and exactions under the unstable regimes of some of the Arab countries. The story of Jews in Arab lands is well-known and needs no further elaboration, but to note that the Arab countries were almost completely emptied of their ancient Jewish communities -- a fact which speaks for itself. These Jews were absorbed in Israel, where they had to be housed, fed, taught a new language and new professions -- all on an extremely limited budget in a new state faced with never-ending threats of war, sabotage, and boycott.

The Arab Palestinians were also victimized by the Arab leaders who told their people to vacate Palestine so they could conduct their warfare against the Jews freely. Arab propagandists broadcast tales of horror about the Jews, creating an hysteria designed to serve their ends, and resulting in a three-waved exodus of Palestinian Arabs. Approximately 500,000 Palestinian Arabs fled, some only a few miles, to the neighbouring Arab lands where they considered the population to be their brethren, to Arabs who spoke the same language, to Arabs who possessed the same culture. But the Palestinian Arabs were treated as outcasts and were housed in camps, creating a situation which has been perpetuated and exploited over the years by the Arab leaders' shortsightedness, blind hatred for Israel, and internecine feuds.

Mr. Chairman,

Tens of millions of people were turned into refugees by the political upheavals and ethnic and religious wars which erupted during the same period -- in the aftermath of the Second World War. The Indian subcontinent, East Europe, and other areas were inundated by refugees fleeing wars and territorial rearrangements.

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All these refugees were eventually

assimilated, constructing new lives for themselves, often in countries with cultures and tongues completely different from their own. Mr. Chairman, the plight of these refugees throughout the world was largely handled with humanity and wisdom, and even political sense, far beyond that displayed by the Arab leaders.

The issue that has been so often misrepresented here, Mr. Chairman, is the truth about the Palestinian Arab refugees. The war of 1948, unleashed by the Arab leaders, and the resultant refugee situation is not the end of the story. In fact, over the years there has been a steady and remarkable movement toward adjustment and the assimilation of the total refugee population in the existing socio-economic framework of the countries in which they live. -- within Israel and in the Arab countries. Everyone knows well that the Jewish refugees were absorbed in Israel, yet the Arab governments are not willing to admit that the majority of the Palestinian refugees has been assimilated in the Arab countries. But that is a fact.

Following are excerpts from an ILO-sponsored research on a topic which directly relates to the subject at hand. This research was published in 1980.

"The international migration of labour is of crucial significance in the Arab world. In 1975 the phenomenon affected over 2.5 million Arab workers and dependants, as well as 500,000 non-Arabs who came into the region from outside. This phenomenon of Arab population mobility has a long history.



In addition to the well known circulatory movements of the bedouin, migration by Arab traders and villagers also involved large-scale movement. However, international labour migration, as the term is understood today, started in the Arabian peninsula as recently as the 1940s, when economic growth began in the Arabian sheikhdoms and nation States.

"Today, the international movement of people in the Arab world is mainly a result of economic forces, and in particular the apparently insatiable demand for labour in the oil-exporting capital-rich States. Large-scale transfers of population which are an exception to this assertion are significant, however. For example, the Muslim pilgrimage to Mecca (the hadj) now affects over a million people (Birks, 1978 ; Sardar and Zaki Badawi, 1978); forced migrations as a result of the Middle East wars have led to some important international redistributions of people (Abu-Lughod, 1978; Harris, 1978); migration for education is also of striking significance. Nevertheless, migration for employment in the Middle East, affecting as it does over 3 million people who work and live outside their home State, is one of the most challenging issues to spring from modern economic developments in the Arab world." The larger mass of the Palestinian refugees, Mr. Chairman, has become part and parcel of this movement -- not because they were refugees, necessarily, but because that situation exists in the Arab world; it existed before, during and after the 1948 war.

"Migration for employment has been largely spontaneous and easy to arrange: the linguistic unity, cultural similarity and ethnic affinity which prevail over

the Arab world have meant that tensions between expatriate and host communities have not been a major problem. Moreover, the mechanisms of movement and mobilisation have not proved awkward.

"A prominent part of this labour migration has been played by the residents of Jordan -- both Palestinian Arabs and Jordanians. So strong was this tendency of Jordanians to migrate to lucrative positions in the Arab world that Jordan's own economic development was threatened. But Jordanians (including Palestinians) were working throughout the Middle East as professionals, and after 1973 those with fewer academic skills joined them.

"It is notable that the sex ratio of the Jordanian community in Kuwait, for example, shows that Jordanians and Palestinians in Kuwait frequently have their families with them, a fact which may be related to the considerable number of years that there has been a community there. The number of Jordanians and Palestinians living in Kuwait who had been born there is relatively high: they represent 45 per cent of the total Jordanian and Palestinian community. The number of Jordanians and Palestinians born in Kuwait and their over-all length of stay suggests that they are an established and increasingly permanent

community in Kuwait. Indeed, 22,000 Jordanians and Palestinians were enrolled in government schools in 1972/73, and others are educated at special schools for Palestinians (Sadik and Snavely, 1972).

"Palestinians and Jordanians are an important group within the Kuwaiti economy, accounting for 16 per cent of all employment and many of the more skilled jobs. They are amongst the most educated of the immigrant families in Kuwait. From this derives much of their significance.

"There is no escaping the conclusion that migrant workers have enabled the economies of the capital-rich States to achieve a remarkable pace and level of development over the past five years. Economic growth is set to continue steeply as ever more ambitious development targets are set and fulfilled, and dependence on migrant workers is growing commensurately. Even if, for economic, social or political reasons, there were a strong desire to reduce this reliance on non-national labour, it is difficult to see how it could be done."

In fact, already in 1981 there were 250,000 Philipinos, 200,000 South Koreans, 1 million Indians, 1,250,000 Pakistanis, 150,000 Sri Lankans, 70,000 Bangladeshis, 150,000 Thais and 10,000 Taiwanis who had found employment there.

The commonly held conception of the Palestinian Arabs and the condition under which they live as "refugees" is in no way in keeping with reality.

It is clear that the term "refugee" is misleading in regard to the Palestinian Arabs. In fact, if those who are being cared for by the UN Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) were made to undergo a test, most would not qualify at all for welfare assistance. The preceding quotations from the World Employment Study indicate this fact very clearly.

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It appears, therefore, that most of the Palestinian Arabs have been integrated into the Arab countries. They are bound to the people of those lands by national, religious, linguistic, and cultural ties, and they play a significant part in their economic development. This, despite a strong tendency to deny citizenship, except in Jordan, even to the permanent residents among them.

Mr. Chairman,

A population exchange has taken place in the Middle East. The Jewish refugees from Arab lands, numbering more than the Palestine Arab refugees, were absorbed in Israel. The Palestinian Arabs who stayed in Israel became Israel citizens. The dislocated Palestinian Arabs who found themselves within the 1949 Armistice Agreement frontiers were resettled in Israel with the help of the Government of Israel. It is only some of the Palestinian Arabs who are still living as refugees. Many Palestinian Arabs still reside in camps in some Arab countries, and these camps have in fact developed into small towns. The majority of these refugees have, through hard work and persistence, established themselves as viable participants in the economy of these countries, now rich on the treasure of their subsoil. To be sure, Mr. Chairman, the "problem" today of the large majority of Arab refugees is recognition of their de facto position among their brethren -- that of valuable, active, and able members of society. There is also still the festering problem of those Palestinian Arab refugees who were denied a share in the bounty of their brothers, grown wealthy on their windfall prosperity -- those refugees, many victims of the civil war in Lebanon, who still live a life of misery in the camps there, suffering from unemployment and despair.

Mr. Chairman,

The longevity of UNRWA, an organization we value highly for its important humanitarian work, is at the same time a symbol of the Arab leaders' intransigence and inhumanity to their fellow Arabs. Spending billions on building castles in the desert and buying insurance policies from the terrorists, Arab leaders prefer to maintain the misery of the homeless, to keep them on the international dole, and to deny recognition to those Palestinian Arabs who are settled in all but in name.

Due to purely political motivations, a tremendous treasure has been spent through UNRWA over the years on the Arab refugees, while tens of millions of refugees on three continents have been assimilated on much less bountiful budgets. There is no such preferred status for the three million Afghan refugees, millions in Africa, in Latin America, and in South Asia. The international community must recognize that UNRWA's task must be finite, and not the endless tending to generation upon generation of the selfsame ancestral refugees, a circumstance which is perverting the concept of international aid to refugees.

UNRWA, over its years of activity, has taken care of, according to its own books, approximately 2.3 million refugees. The expenses incurred by UNRWA over these years amount to \$2.350 billion. In other words, it has cost the United Nations, or the various international contributors, if you wish, \$1021.7 per head of refugee -- whereas, in fact, many of these "refugees" have already solved

their economic and social problems though officially denied integration by the policies of the Arab governments.

What, on the other hand, is the picture for the other refugees in the world?

UNHCR, between the years 1951-1982, has had to deal with much vaster problems -- what with the wars and forced migrations -- and there are still many problem areas at this time dwarfing, by far, the difficulties of the Palestinian Arab "refugees" -- in Afghanistan, East Africa, and elsewhere. UNHCR estimates the total number of refugees in its care during this period at 25 million. The various budgets put at the disposal of UNHCR, however, have not exceeded \$2,669 billion. In other words, Mr. Chairman, \$106.7 per refugee, or almost ten times less than the amount of the money spent by UNRWA per head. With all the outpourings of indignation of the Arab governments, one would imagine that much of the contribution toward the welfare of refugees would come from Arab sources. The facts, though, say something different.

Of the total contribution given to UNRWA (\$1.973 billion) between 1950-1983, only \$135,500,000 given by the Arab governments whose coffers filled with gold are buried in Western banks. Israel, with its meagre resources and with its own very great financial problems, contributed \$11,221,991. But the total sum contributed by the Arab governments where UNRWA operates amounts only to \$12,703,000. Some Arab governments really made an effort for their brethren: South Yemen gave the bountiful sum of \$750. Bahrein sacrificed \$193,867.

High hypocrisy could have hardly been better revealed.

Israel has contributed between \$20-\$25,000,000 to refugees in Lebanon through UNRWA. This aid included, inter alia, two field hospitals, tens of thousands of tons of cement for the building and repairing of houses and pavement for tent floors, thousands of heaters, blankets, baby food, and utensils.

Some Arab governments have also made an effort for their brethren.

South Yemen gave the bountiful sum of \$750. Bahrein sacrificed \$193,867.

High hypocrisy could hardly be better served.

Programmed as a temporary institution, UNRWA has instead become a permanent fixture in the Middle Eastern scene. It has now become abundantly clear, however, that with repatriation having become impossible, except by throwing Israel into the sea, UNRWA has lost both its initial purpose and the illusions for which it became a symbol. The fact is that the existence of UNRWA has kept the Arab governments from facing and resolving the paramount issue of the Palestinian Arab refugees. This is through no fault of the organization, of course. It has been there, fulfilling its tasks. But it has made reality opaque, as for 35 years the leaders of the Arab world have been using UNRWA as an excuse for their neglect of the refugees. Yet, the realization has been steadily forming in the minds of the refugees themselves that their suffering is not bringing them salvation.

Does that mean that Israel is for a solution to the question of the Palestinian refugees? Certainly. Israel is for a speedy, equitable, logical and peaceful solution to this problem. Do the Arab governments want to find a



solution to their tragedy? Certainly not, and we heard the Arab representatives here speaking in horror of any idea in that direction except by what would bring about more wars, more destruction - with no solution in sight.

The problem of the Palestinian Arab refugees can and must be solved. But this may only be achieved by a change in the belligerent and negative attitude of the Arab leaders, by a humanitarian approach which would create the necessary peaceful framework. And, Mr. Chairman, the United Nations and its agencies can facilitate the solution to this problem by refusing to be a partisan instrument and receptacle for endless, counterproductive resolutions.

In closing, Mr. Chairman:

During the thirty-six years of Israel's life, it has absorbed three times its original population in spite of the terrible stress of repeated wars, blockades, and rejection by its neighbours. The Palestinian Arabs who remained in Israel have prospered. The Palestinian refugees in camps in Judea and Samaria have had a period of development unparalleled in the Arab countries if we measure incomes not by the price of oil, but by the efforts of the governments involved and the real progress achieved. The world has changed in these thirty-six years. The Middle East has changed. The Arab leaders' 1948 world has changed. We look forward to the day when an atmosphere of peace will prevail, when all will be done by the Middle Eastern States to achieve a permanent solution to the Palestinian Arab refugee problem. But until that time, the existing difficulties must not be exacerbated and the refugees must not be used by the ambitions of Arab leaders as pawns in their never-ending games against themselves.



המשלחת הקבועה  
של ישראל לאומות המאוחדות

PERMANENT MISSION OF ISRAEL  
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

800 SECOND AVENUE  
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10017

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STATEMENT

BY

AMBASSADOR ARYEH LEVIN, ISRAEL

IN THE

SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE

AMERICAN JEWISH  
ITEM 69  
ARCHIVES  
A

30 NOVEMBER 1983

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Mr. Chairman,

As in all the years after 1968, when the Committee whose report we now have before us was set up, the SPC is about to discuss what is called "Israel: Practices Affecting the Rights of the Palestinians" in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district. And again, as in years gone by, the premises are entirely false.

Firstly, the very establishment of the Special Committee by resolution 2443 (XXIII) ran counter to Security Council resolution 237 of 14 June 1967. Thus, not only is the mandate of the Committee highly irregular in itself, but the Committee was instructed à priori to collect material to denigrate whatever Israel does in Judea, Samaria, and in the Gaza district, as the very appellation of the Committee suggests. Members of the Committee were appointed from countries that not only had no diplomatic relations with Israel; but had, moreover, demonstrated marked hostility toward my country. And the record of the Committee does justice not only to the mandate it had received -- a mandate to promote hostility toward Israel--but goes far beyond. Political opinions are expressed and conclusions drawn, based on the Committee's "findings," all of which, à propos, hardly reveal an understanding of the situation which the Committee was asked to report upon. Under these circumstances it should not have been surprising that my country has declined to cooperate with the Special Committee or receive its visits.

There are few parallels in the annals of the United Nations regarding similar activities. For, in fact, if investigating practices affecting human rights were indeed a genuine concern of the United Nations, committees would have been set up to deal with many countries and peoples. Examples are not hard to come by.

The 15 years of the Committee's activity notwithstanding, it has yet to perceive the realities in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district -- the sustained amelioration in the standard of living of the inhabitants of these areas in economic activity, health, education and housing, which is, under the circumstances, truly remarkable.

Justifying its existence in the anti-Israel character of its doctrine, the Special Committee has studiously and persistently disregarded the background of the situation prevailing in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district; the conditions which brought about Israel's occupation; the atmosphere of unrelenting hostility of the Arab States toward Israel over the years; the terrorist activity inside the areas, supported and financed by the Arab States; and many more aspects of life in these territories, all of which are intricately related and should be considered as a whole.

But perhaps the greatest failure of the Special Committee has been its inability and unwillingness to examine the framework, the atmosphere, and the style of life of the Palestinian Arabs during

the 19 years which preceded Israel's administration, thus voiding the Committee's reports of any possible terms of reference.

Mr. Chairman,

We cannot escape the conclusion that the Special Committee, its travels, meetings, and reports have become a part of the Arab arsenal against Israel -- or, to be more precise, a vehicle of anti-Israel propaganda. Consequently, the Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices is a source of additional tension to the already oversaturated atmosphere of Arab-Israel conflict, it constitutes a waste of UN money, and runs counter to peace. Its perpetuation is unjustifiable.

Israel does not believe that the Special Political Committee, a principal committee of the UN General Assembly, should be a captive of the anti-Israel prejudice. The Israel delegation will therefore bring forward, under item 69, some of the key factors of life in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district which should help an unbiased observer form an independent opinion.

The historical backdrop to the Jordanian occupation of 1948-1967 is vivid enough. Although the Arab Legion had been posted in Judea and Samaria on specific occasions to help the British protect military installations, the Legion was sent into the area on 14 May 1948 by the Emir Abdullah of Transjordan as an invading force. In an attempt to legalize the subsequent occupation, a proclamation was made in December 1948 by the Emir Abdullah as "King of all Palestine" -- a step toward the extension

of the Emir's domain toward Syria. The attempt failed, but Jordan (for such was now the name of Abdullah's country) proclaimed the annexation of Judea and Samaria on April 24, 1950. The name of Judea and Samaria was subsequently changed to "West Bank," signifying the incorporation of these areas into the Hashemite Kingdom. The ironic aspect of this new-fangled geopolitical term still escapes many. No country recognized the annexation (save Britain and Pakistan). Yet, through repetition, the illegal term the "West Bank" took root in daily usage, although the traditional "Judea and Samaria" had been used by the Mandatory Government up until its demise in May 1948.

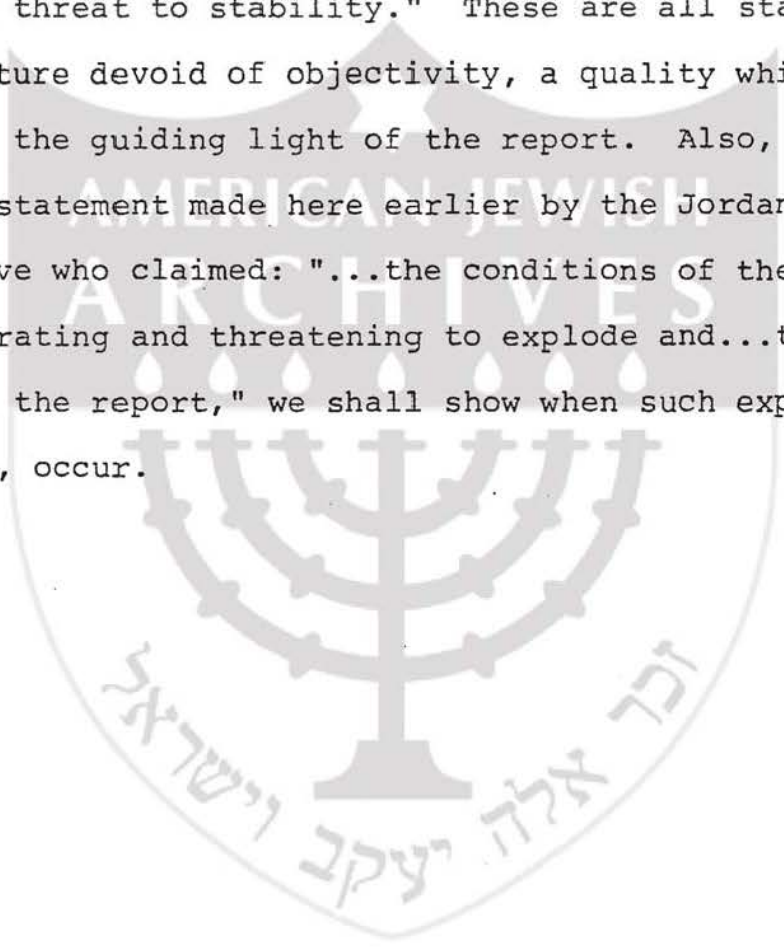
The present clamour for a "Palestinian state," upheld in some quarters today, was unheard of during the 19 years that followed this aborted Jordanian annexation of Judea and Samaria. Between 1948-1967, the "liberation of Palestine" was understood to mean the liberation of Israel from the Jews. (Israel, behind its 1949 armistice borders, that is.) And Jordan, as defined by King Hussein in 1964, was understood to be the "West Bank" plus Jordan. All these terms were clear-cut before June 1967. The idea of Jordanian suzerainty over Judea and Samaria was neither accepted nor challenged by the Arab states. The Arab leaders were simply not interested. Rather, the radicals among them were more specifically interested in liberating King Hussein from his kingdom and instituting a Jordanian Republic which would comprise Judea, Samaria and the East Bank.

And how did Jordan's "West Bank" fare under Jordanian rule? Quite poorly. The "West Bank" was the scene of recurring riots; demonstrations; mass arrests; curtailment of liberties; deliberate economic, social and political neglect. Jordan's priorities clearly lay on the eastern shore of the River Jordan. East Jerusalem was turned into a provincial backwater. It was Amman that became the political and the administrative capital. The Arab League as an organization, and the Arab countries on an individual basis, did nothing at all to alleviate the hardship of the "West Bank" Palestinian Arab population. No plans for an independent state were discussed; autonomy was not offered. There were certainly no Sri-Lankan, Yugoslav, or Senegal ambassadors scrutinizing the local press or traveling to meet with complainants in order to tabulate breaches of Palestinian human rights. This is not to say there were no breaches to report on. The Jordanian record in Judea and Samaria is nothing short of draconian. In order to illustrate the veracity of this historical description it is sufficient to read out the highlights of well-documented events between the years 1949-1967.

Mr. Chairman,

We shall present these highlights not in order to merely criticize the Jordanian record, which speaks for itself, but rather, to refute the argument oft repeated by the Special Committee that, as it contends in paragraph 370 of its report: "The overall picture... reflects the deterioration in the human rights situation of the civilian population," that, "In all, the situation of the civilian population is more intolerable

than ever," and (paragraph 371) that "urgent action must be taken to prevent further deterioration and to protect the very basic rights of the innocent civilians." Furthermore, the Chairman of the Special Committee, when introducing his report a few days ago stated: "The continued disregard of the rights was a threat to stability." These are all statements of political nature devoid of objectivity, a quality which ought to have been the guiding light of the report. Also, in view of the statement made here earlier by the Jordanian representative who claimed: "...the conditions of the Palestinians were deteriorating and threatening to explode and...this was reflected in the report," we shall show when such explosions did, in fact, occur.





As these descriptions of activity in the areas come mainly from Arab sources, predominantly Jordanian newspapers, I shall not read the names of each reference, although they appear in our written statement.

- 1949      5 June      Riots in the city of Tulkarm; arrests and interrogations. A resident is exiled to the Saudi border. (Filastin, Jordan, 5 June)
- 1 August      Jerusalem police arrest editors Rimawi and Nawas, in keeping with general ban on demonstrations. The editors are exiled to Amman and subsequently to Bair on the Saudi border. (Filastin, 17 August)
- 1950      \* end March      Demonstrations in the city of Nablus. Handcuffed demonstrators walked under guard to Amman, forbidden to drive      or eat on the way.      One, Ziyad Kilani, died. (Nahda, Lebanon, 3 April)
- \*      April      Anwar Nusseibeh, then Member of Parliament, writes to Speaker of House complaining of neglect of Jerusalem by the government. Letter intercepted by Jordanian Security Services. (Jordanian Security Service File)
- early June      Massive arrests in most cities including Nablus. Faysal Nabulsi and many others taken into custody. (Barda, Damascus, 13 July)
- \*      9 July      Army surrounds the city of Jenin. Arrests and interrogations. (Barda, 13 July)

- \* November Jordanian Government announces its intention to move its offices from Jerusalem to Amman, giving rise to protests and demonstrations. (The Torn City, Meron Benvenisti, Weidenfeld and Nicholson, Jerusalem Ltd., 1973)
- 1951 1 May Prime Minister orders disbandment of workers' union in Ramallah. (Filastin, 4 May)
- \* July Assassination of King Abdullah. Arab Legion runs amok in Jerusalem and other cities. Many people killed and wounded, passersby beaten in the streets. (Filastin, 21 July; Al-Ahram, Egypt, 22-23 July, 12 August)
- \* December Arrests in Jerusalem and Beit Jallah; general strike, wide arrests in Tulkarim, administrative punishments. Rashed al-Juyus exiled for 6 months. (Filastin, 29 December)
- 1952 February Higher Islamic Council (Haj Amin's strongest support) disbanded. (Filastin)
- March Arrests among communists, later exiled to somewhere on East Bank. (Filastin, 12 March)
- May Burning of communist leaflets in Nablus on 1 May. (Filastin, 2 May)

\* August Publication prohibited of memorandum by West Bank deputies demanding changes in regional policies. (Hayat, Lebanon, 2 August)

\* September In 1951 there were 6,300 political and administrative prisoners in Jordan, most from West Bank. (Filastin, 26 September)

\* November Licenses for Al Yakza, Al-Burhan, Al-Ikha, Al-Wattan papers revoked. Distribution of weeklies Al-Sarikh and Al-Shahab halted for three months. (Hayat, 18 November )

\* Demonstrations and strikes in Jerusalem, Hebron, Nablus, Ramallah, Bethlehem. (Hayat, 18 November)

A group of Ba'ath activists arrested, some exiled. Mayor of Bethlehem dismissed. (Al-Misa, Egypt, 25 November)

1953 February Dr. Yaacub Ziadin, a physician at the Augusta Victoria Hospital in Jerusalem, exiled for political activity. (Filastin, 12 February)

March Filastin closed for two days, Al-Mahd for a month, Al-Sarikh for two months. License of Al-Hadaf revoked. (Filastin, 20 March)

Founders of "Liberation Party" arrested on 25th, freed on 9th April, but restricted to their cities. (Filastin, 10 April)

- \* July Minister of Interior dismisses Atif Betarsa and Ratab Abdo, mayors of Bethlehem and Jericho. (Filastin, 7 July)
  
- 1954 April The weekly Al-Ray closed, its editor arrested. (Filastin, 27 Apr)
  
- \* May Heavy-handed breaking-up of demonstrations in Nablus. (Haul-el-Alam, Jordan, 8 May)
  
- June Al-Yakza, Al-Ray, Al-Jabha closed again. Al-Ahd Al-Jadid under supervision. (Difa', Jordan, 24 June; Filastin, 25 June)
  
- August Al-Kifah Al-Islami weekly issues first number and is closed for six months. (Filastin, 25 August)
  
- Al-Yakza, Al-Ray, Al-Wattan, Al-Ahd Al-Jadid all closed again. (Filastin, 28 August)
  
- \* October Riots and demonstrations in Jenin, Nablus, Ramallah, Jerusalem. Army called in; state of emergency declared. Official announcement says 14 killed (10 in Amman), 117 injured. Media claims 90 killed. (Beirut Radio, 26 October)

- 1955 \* February Al-Yakza, Al-Ray, Al-Wattan, Al-Ahd Al Jadid closed again.  
Saut esh Sha'ab, a Bethlehem paper, closed for six months.  
(Filastin, 9 February)
- \* December -New riots following appointment of Majali as Prime Minister.  
UN, foreign consulates attacked. Strict censorship enforced.  
Demonstrations banned. Schools closed. Many arrests.  
(Difa'; Jihad, Jordan; Jarida, Lebanon, 18-22 December)
- \* There were reports of 40 killed; official denials, but no  
authoritative explanation. (Radio Ramallah, 17 December)
- 1956 \* January Riots and destruction in Jerusalem. Curfew. Center of  
disturbances were refugee camps of Akabat Jaber, Ein-el-  
Sultan, El-Nueima-Karameh. Army besieges refugee camps.  
Refugees killed. (Hayat, 12, 14 January)
- \* February Village of Sur Bahir under curfew for 2 days while army  
searches for demonstrator suspected of hiding there.  
Villagers interrogated. Three teachers sought after in village  
of Imwas. (Jordanian Security Service File, 8 February)
- \* Students, aged 13-18, of Beit Hanina schools lay stone  
obstacles on road. They are searched out and arrested.  
(Jordanian Security Service File, 9 February)

- \* Secret Security Services reported that demonstrations were put down on 19-21 December by tear gas and firing on demonstrators. Fourteen were hospitalized. (Jordanian Security Service File, 14 February)
- \* Censorship enforced. Minister of Defense discloses 873 arrested, 733 released. (Difa', 16 February)
- April Teachers' strike on West Bank, crossed into East Bank, 30 teachers arrested. Newspapers banned. (Al-Sarikh, Jordan 10 April)
- July Fuad Nassar, communist leader freed from jail after serving 5 years, and expelled abroad. (Difa' / 31 July)
- \* November Suez War. Saudi, Iraqi, Syrian troops enter Jordan.
- 1957 \* January UN vocational school closed near Jerusalem. (Difa', 10 January)
- February 80 communists arrested on King Hussein's orders. (Sida, Lebanon, 17 February)
- \* April King Hussein dismisses Nabulsi Government. Riots in Jerusalem, Ramallah, etc. Emergency regulations enter into force. Political parties disbanded. Curfew in Jerusalem, Ramallah. Newspapers closed. Municipal councils in Bethlehem, Nablus,

Tulkarm, Jenin dismissed. Municipal committees appointed instead.

Wide arrests including 169 UNRWA teachers. (Difa', 19 April)

\* May Parliamentary immunity of Members of Parliament from West Bank revoked. 150 arrested for political activity. (Jordanian Security Service File)

1958

February Widespread arrests. 37 condemned in Nablus for plotting the assassination of government leaders. (Filastin, 3-5 February)

The Jordanian-Iraqi union provokes popular anger. Army surrounds Nablus and arrests 58, including Hikmat-el-Masri (ex-Speaker of Parliament) and two former Ministers. (Cairo Radio, 28 February)

April Government turns down request of Samaritans to be recognized as an official minority. (Difa', 15 April)

\* June Amnesty for prisoners excludes those condemned in military courts. (Filastin)

July More arrests among communists. (Difa', 17 July)

\* August 13 condemned to death for illegal possession of weapons and plotting against the government; 2 condemned for life and 8 condemned to 15 years imprisonment. (Filastin, 12 August)

Mr. Chairman,

This is perhaps a good place to quote the Chairman of the Special Committee:  
"Average civilians deprived of all civilian liberties including the right to life  
itself..." Israel does not practice the death penalty. Jordan did for 19 years  
in Judea and Samaria. It still does in the East Bank.

November Three newspapermen arrested. El-Sarikh closed, its editor  
imprisoned. (Haul el-Alam, 6 November)

1959 \* January A law comes into force cancelling Jordanian citizenship from  
any person "endangering the security of the country." 60 persons  
fall into this category immediately upon the publication of this law.  
(Jihad, 26 January)

April-June Massive arrests among political activists, mainly in Nablus. (Al-  
Wattan, 22 April) (Jihad, 19 May, 3 June)

\* July-December Special courts pass death sentences and long prison terms  
on "plotters" against regime. (Filastin, Jihad, etc.)

July Ba'ath party members arrested in Nablus and Tulkarm.  
(Radio Amman, 30 July)



- 1960 \* April, July Arrests and trials of political activists. (Jihad, April, June)
- \* September Haza el-Majali, Prime Minister, assassinated. Widespread searches, arrests. (Filastin, 4 September)
- 1961 \* March State Security Court condemns members of the Islamic Union party to various prison terms. (Jihad, 7 March)
- May, June, August Arrests of more political activists. (Jerusalem Times, Filastin)
- 1962 \* May In the course of two weeks, 1,045 young men and women from the West Bank left Jordan for Latin America; an additional 460 are ready to leave at the beginning of July. The "National Youth Authority" in Jordan assailed the policy of King Hussein, who, it claimed, is serving the aims of Zionism and imperialism. In a proclamation disseminated throughout the country, the Authority maintains that the Jordanian leaders are once again taking over the Palestine problem and eliminating the nationalist elements, so as to drive them away from the scene of the battle. The proclamation relates that a foreign body in Jordan is financing the departure of the Palestinian youngsters for destinations overseas. (Al-Gomhouriya, Cairo daily, 19 May)

1963      October      The Iraqi News Agency reports from Amman, via Damascus, that the Jordanian authorities are carrying out widespread arrests among the nationalists, especially among members of the Baath Party. (Radio Baghdad, 27 October)

\* April      The following are details concerning the

disturbances that took place in various cities --

particularly in Jerusalem where the demonstrators had planned to proclaim, over Jerusalem's radio station, the establishment of 'The Jordanian Arab Republic':

- . In Jerusalem: 11 killed, 150 wounded, including 17 girl students.
- . In Ramallah: one killed, 35 wounded.
- . In Jenin and Irbid: dozens wounded.
- . 120 politicians and party men arrested, including Dr. Ahmad Khrein (Irbid), Nagib Rashidat (Irbid), Yassir 'Amr, Member of Parliament (Hebron), Dr. Awad (Tulkarm), Daud el-Husseini, Opposition leader (Jerusalem), Ishak Duzdar, former UNRWA official (Jerusalem) and Anton Albina, Catholic and Palestinian Nationalist (Jerusalem), who had also been arrested six years before for anti-Government activities.

It also reported that 26 Members of Parliament have either been jailed or are under house arrest in Amman. Some MPs proclaimed the establishment of the 'Jordanian Arab Republic' and were jailed. Others knew that the coup was to have taken place on 20 April and spoke of it on that day in Parliament. (Al-Nahar, Lebanon, 24 April)

\* July           The State Security Court in Jordan, sitting in Jerusalem, delivered a judgment against seven students who were charged with having taken part in the April riots. Two of them were sentenced to four months imprisonment, and the other five to one month. (BBC, 22 July)

The State Security Court in Jordan will sit next week to consider the case of Attorney Yassir 'Amr, a former representative of Hebron in the Jordanian Parliament, and the cases of six other persons, who are charged with having participated in demonstrations in Hebron. The same court, which deals with the problems of the West Bank, has convicted another man, Abdul Rahman el-Asmar, from the village of Beita in the Nablus district, who was charged with participation in the April demonstrations. The accused was sentenced to four months imprisonment. (Difa', 26 July)

1965 \* December           Several hundred persons, including about forty prominent politicians, have been arrested in Jordan during the last few days. Most of the arrested are nationals opposing the present Jordan Government. They were arrested during the night hours and transported to an unknown destination. (Al-Muharir, Lebanon, quoted by DPA -- German Press Agency, 30 December)

1966 \* May                A group of civilians was rounded up and charged with illegally engaging in political activity. The Jordanian authorities have begun to use accusations of "political plotting" to create an atmosphere of terror against the nationalist forces in Jordan and to

paralyze their activity. This week reports were published in Amman to the effect that one of the prisoners had been shot to death by a member of the security forces. The prisoners are subjected to heinous tortures, reminiscent of the methods employed by the authorities on a number of occasions in the suppression of the nationalist movement since 1957... (Al-Huriya, Lebanon, 9 May)

\* July

According to one reliable source, the number of persons arrested in Jordan from the last week in June till now comes to 500.... The arrests were made in Nablus, Amman, the Old City of Jerusalem, Ramallah, Hebron, Irbid, Jericho, Jerash... (There follows a long list of names of persons who were arrested.) Also arrested was Kamel Nef'a, lecturer in philosophy and sociology at the University of Jordan. He was severely tortured and finally transferred to the Falastin Hospital in Amman. All the teachers of the Jebel el-Hussein refugee camp school were placed under arrest, as were several of the students. Similar round-ups were carried out at the Jericho and El-Arub camps and in the town of Ma'an. (Al-Muharir, 5 July)

" Those arrested are members of three parties: the Communist Party, the Arab Nationalist Movement and the Ba'ath Party. Not one other person has been arrested. And if there have been others who have claimed that friends of theirs had been arrested, these people are merely trying in this fashion to gain popularity; theirs are words of deception.... The reason for the arrests is transgression of the laws

and regulations of the State.... There are laws in this country that prohibit partisan activity in any shape or form. The State and its administrative organs are obliged to honour this law and to implement it, just as it is incumbent upon the citizenry to honour this law... All that was done, therefore, was done according to the law." (Rasul el-Kilani, head of Jordanian Intelligence, reported by Difa' , 6 July)

November

Hussein requested the intervention of British forces in his country. He is trying to soothe his excited populace by receiving a delegation representing the heads of the various municipalities and the Chamber of Commerce from Jerusalem and other cities.... And transportation routes have also been closed to all but military vehicles. Nor did the daily papers make their appearance, so as to avoid publication of reports on Jordan's military moves. Hussein's desert forces are camped in the main streets of Jerusalem. Traffic along the main Jericho-Jerusalem highway has been halted, and the authorities have cut off the electricity supply to the cities of Nablus, Jenin and Ramallah. The curfew is still in force. (Palestine Liberation Organization Radio Station, 27 November)

- \* On 26 November the curfew in Nablus was lifted for six hours. It was reported that the curfew was lifted from the Old City of Jerusalem on the morning of the 27th of November. Reports from Ramallah and El-Bira tell of the lifting of the curfew there the same day. (Radio Beirut, 27 November)

\* It is reported that infantry and armoured units have moved to cut off Jerusalem, Ramallah, Hebron, and Nablus to prevent the renewal of demonstrations following the lifting of the curfew... Jordanian sources report that tension is mounting in the West Bank. It is also reported that demonstrations were held yesterday in Ramallah, in El-Bira, and in other cities, and thirty persons were injured.

Another demonstration took place in Bethlehem... The Jordanian authorities claimed that they discovered large quantities of arms in a place of concealment near Amman. (Radio Damascus, 29 November)

\* Riots in Nablus and in Hebron. Police open fire against demonstrators on the 19th. Tanks used to quell demonstrations in Nablus and Hebron on the 20th. Syrian El-Ba-ath reports some 50 killed and wounded in Nablus and later more killed at the funeral .

(Al-Goumhuriya, 22 November)

Minister of Interior admits to casualties in the Casbah of Nablus.  
(Reuters, 22 November)

\* Some 200 students barricaded in a school in Nablus. They stoned the police which used tear gas to disperse them.

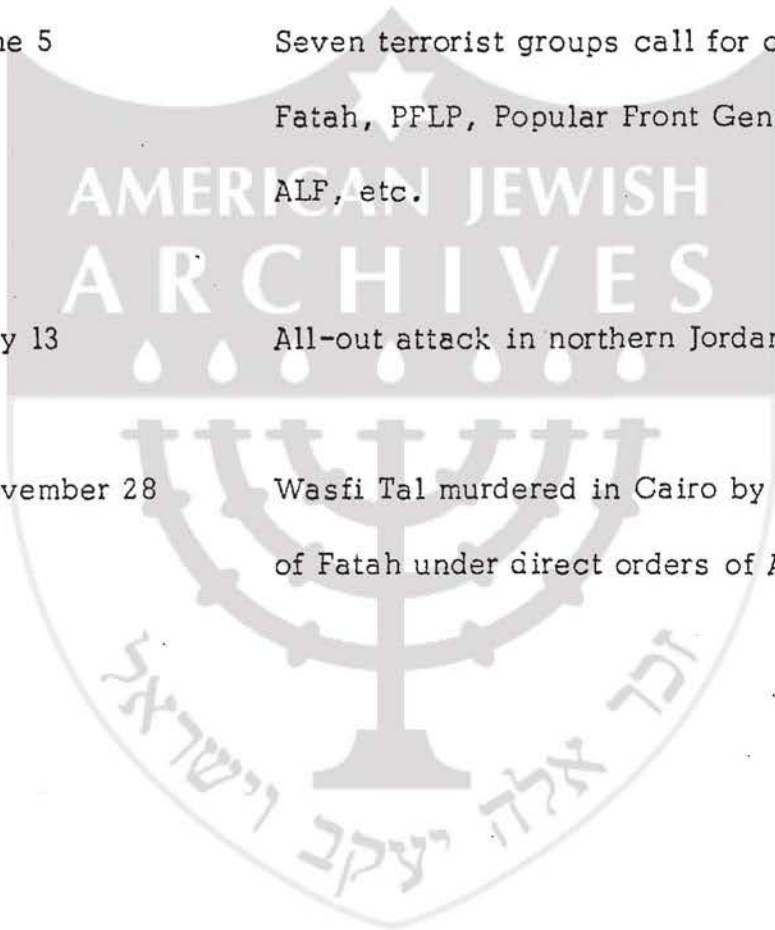
Mr. Chairman,

Allow me here again to quote the Chairman of the Special Political Committee who said in his introduction, in the SPC, that the rights of the Palestinians were

to be viewed in the context of the Palestinian people as a whole, wherever they might be. In keeping with this premise, we shall show, very briefly indeed, what happened on the East Bank, in 1970-1971, to the Palestinians and their human rights.

- 1970
- \* September 17 Tanks and troops enter Amman; engage terrorists in buildings throughout the city. Fighting spreads to other parts of the country. In Amman, tanks attack Wahdat and Al Hussein refugee camps. Fighting in Zarga.
  - \* September 18 Fighting continues in Amman house-to-house, mainly in Palestinian camps.
  - September 21 Large terrorist force fighting from behind column of Syrian tanks routs Hussein's forces in Northern Jordan.
  - September 23 Government pushes back terrorists in North and South. Syrian tanks chased back into Syria.
  - \* September 25 Terrorist forces encircled in cities of Irbid, Ramtha, Jerash.
- 1971
- \* January 8 Troops launch attack against bases of terrorists north of Amman. Fighting continues for five days. Fighting in cities of Salt, Jerash, Ruseifa.

- \* Hospital in el-Rumman shelled; el-Baqa' refugee camp bombed. (Fatah sources)
  
- \* March 26- April 6 More fighting in Amman, on Syrian borders. Widespread acts of sabotage.
  
- June 5 Seven terrorist groups call for overthrow of Hussein -- Fatah, PFLP, Popular Front General Command, PLO, ALP, etc.
  
- \* July 13 All-out attack in northern Jordan; 72 escape into Israel.
  
- November 28 Wasfi Tal murdered in Cairo by Black September (unit of Fatah under direct orders of Arafat).





Mr. Chairman,

The foregoing is, of course, merely a partial list of some of the better-known aspects of public life in the "West Bank" under Jordanian rule. The lives of individuals were far worse; arrests, third-degree interrogations in prison, torture, police supervision, and military interference were rife. These are all documented in the archives of the Jordanian security services, which were abandoned during the Jordanian retreat of June 1967, and are now in Israel's safekeeping.

It is true that the years between 1949-1967 were characterized in Jordan by an intense anti-Hashemite activity inspired, financed, and directed by other Arab countries. However, it was not the establishment of a Palestinian state that was ever invoked as a reason, though the establishment of a Jordanian Arab Republic was often the goal. In other words, it was believed that a "Jordanian Republic" would be set up on the "West Bank," which would precipitate the eventual destruction of Israel.

Between 1948-1967 there was no interest evinced by the Arab governments nor, consequently, by the United Nations, as to the lot of the inhabitants of the "West Bank" of Jordan. The principle was, apparently, that the treatment of the Palestinian Arabs at the hands of their brethren, however coarse or inconsiderate, was of no consequence to anyone save the Palestinians themselves.

Day 1 on the calendar of the Special Committee, Mr. Chairman, was day 1 of the Israel administration in Judea and Samaria. It was then that the Palestinian Arabs suddenly became the objects of the scholarly curiosity of the three member States of the UN. It would seem that the inescapable conclusion should be that the Palestinian Arabs possessed no rights prior to that date.

The 1970-71 crises and the subsequent killing of thousands of Palestinians at the various refugee camps in Jordan created marginal interest, and there was never an attempt to examine this closely at the UN. The recent eloquent example of Arab apathy in the face of the carnage between Palestinians in north Lebanon is instructive. It is interesting to note that while Syria and Libya supported the rebels against Arafat, it was a European country that called for a ceasefire at the Security Council.

Mr. Chairman,

The Special Committee has excelled in its task to find fault with Israel, while keeping a completely blind eye to the many positive developments in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district. We therefore feel absolved of discussing the conglomeration of journalistic references that make up the bulk of this year's report, but we should like, rather, to point up some glaring examples of bias.

1. Paragraphs 314, 315, 317, 320, 331, 332, and 345.

These paragraphs come under the general heading of "Juridical Remedies Sought by the Civilian Population."

As these paragraphs appear throughout Chapter IV/E, it appears that seven separate cases were being discussed. In fact, these seven paragraphs relate to one and the same case. Although clothed in a disparaging and injurious style, these seven paragraphs unwittingly typified a scrupulous observance of legal procedure -- from the stage of complaint to the trial and beyond. Of the seven soldiers and the five Jewish officers involved, eight were condemned at trials to various terms of imprisonment, lowering of rank, and transfers to other duties. As a result of these trials the new Chief of Staff of the IDF ordered a review of procedures regarding civilians, and subsequently authorized modifications and changes. The Special Committee, however, preferred to highlight and expand the initial incident and conceal the ultimate outcome.

3. Paragraph 326. Regarding the interim injunction by the High Court of Justice against petitioners claiming rights to land on which they built homes, the quotation from Ha'Aretz fails to mention that the authorities in the Gaza district based their decision on the existing Egyptian Jurisdiction which says: "no property can be bought or sold by private individuals on State land or Religious endowment land nor any right obtained from building thereon." In any event, the petitioners were offered alternative housing on very easy terms and negotiations are now nearing conclusion.
4. Paragraphs 333, and 343. The two cases are again one and the same. The Supreme Court increased the jail sentence of the accused.
5. Paragraph 347. This is a clear-cut case of Justice and the Rule of Law in the areas under Israel's administration. Nothing needs to be added, except to say that whereas the intention of the Special Committee might have been questionable, the item speaks for itself.

Although the foregoing may be but a short selection from the Chapter on Juridical Remedies of the Special Committee's report, it is nonetheless representative of the intentions of the reporters-- which cannot but be characterized as concealment of relevant facts, misrepresentation of others, quoting out of context, and truncated quotations. We must, however, remark that the Special Committee has been especially strong in drawing tendentious political conclusions.

I continue:

1. Paragraph 247. Quotations from Meron Benvenisti's writings seem to have become the most outstanding support of the Arab claims, including the quotation here, purporting that, "Israel may seize 60% of the West Bank lands." But these quotations are often a broken reed, as in the case of the allegations in paragraph 247. The Ha'Aretz article itself is entirely unclear. It alleges intentions regarding the future that have yet to be proven, a survey whose existence has yet to be determined, and conclusions which are questionable. The Jordan Valley settlements are not located on private land but on land registered as in the State domain during the Jordanian period. All these imprecisions, Mr. Chairman, constitute the very threads out of which the fabric of the report is woven. We would not expect it to have been otherwise.

2. Paragraph 254. While the 2½ line quotation seems to be true, the resolution of the problem is omitted. The land was, in fact, returned to the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate. Here again, we have blatant evidence of the Special Committee's intention to misrepresent reality and to assist its Arab mentors politically.
3. Paragraph 270. This is a straightforward lie. No Arab house in Hebron was handed over to Jewish settlers. The house in question belonged to a Jewish family (one of those massacred by the Arabs in 1929) and was leased for rent to Arabs in Hebron. The Arabs living in it were not evicted but were generously compensated.
4. Paragraph 342. In this case, which is not unique at all, a local Samaritan Court has placed an injunction against an Israeli company. Contrary to the implication of the Special Committee, the case illustrates exactly to what extent the Rule of Law is indeed applied and observed.

Mr. Chairman,

Need we repeat that Israel -- and Judea, Samaria, and the Gaza district -- are open; literally millions of people, including Arabs from all the Arab states, have visited there in the past and can travel there now to see for themselves. Israel is acutely conscious of the many attempts being made to discredit its

sustained effort to return life to normal in these areas. In spite of the many obstacles placed before us, these efforts have indeed been fruitful over the last 16 years. And since the Special Committee's report has absolutely nothing positive to say about what has, in fact, been achieved in these areas, my delegation believes that a brief enumeration of the many accomplishments is in order. This we shall do in our second statement.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.





המשלחת הקבועה  
של ישראל לאומות המאוחדות

PERMANENT MISSION OF ISRAEL  
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

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STATEMENT

BY

AMBASSADOR ARYEH LEVIN, ISRAEL

IN THE

SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE

ITEM 69

B

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30 NOVEMBER 1983



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Mr. Chairman,

When Israel responding to Egyptian and Jordanian aggression in June 1967, moved into Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district, it was taking possession -- as the direct consequence of a war of self-defence which was forced upon it -- of areas previously illegally occupied, whose political status was that of "unallocated territory."

With the single exception of East Jerusalem, which was reunited with the rest of the city right after the 1967 war, Israel has neither altered the status of these areas, nor that of their inhabitants.

Israel's immediate goal in 1967 was to restore normal life to the areas. A military administration gradually took shape, only recently replaced by an Israel civilian one. Wherever possible, the administration has been guided by pre-1967 laws and practices.

The total opening of the borders separating the areas from Israel removed an artificial barrier which had needlessly stymied economic growth and social advancement for 19 years. Since then, Israel's policies-- including the "Open Bridges" with Jordan -- financial aid, and expertise have helped stimulate unprecedented economic and social progress in the areas.

Due to the security situation and the open espousal of terrorism by elements in the Arab world, the personal and political freedoms

of the residents, though unprecedented, are not as complete as they would be if the Arab states would make a sincere commitment to peace. Yet, the continued absence of a negotiated agreement on the final disposition of these areas has had little adverse effect on those factors which largely determine the quality of life for the ordinary citizen -- from food supply to the educational system. Occasional disruptions, however sensational and widely-reported, cannot alter this overall assessment.

This climate of normalcy has been carefully nurtured by the Israel administration, which has aimed, as any responsible administration should, at encouraging solutions to practical problems and making further advances possible. The administration has stressed local participation and control at every level, often to a greater degree than the previous Jordanian and Egyptian rulers.

#### RULE OF LAW

Mr. Chairman,

My delegation presented last year, and on numerous other occasions in this Committee, a thorough analysis of the Rule of Law in the areas administered by Israel. We stressed, in particular, the access of the inhabitants to lawful juridical process and to the High Court of Justice. The Special Committee's report has, in fact, recorded numerous petitions presented by the inhabitants to the Courts although the reports of the Committee have been less

than scrupulous in pursuing the cases quoted to their conclusion. These purposeful omissions stem from the fact that the Committee seeks to substantiate, by its silence, its allegations that "judicial recourse has rarely given satisfaction;" or that such recourse has not gone beyond "temporary injunctions and similar dilatory remedies." This is a premeditated lie, for which there can be no justification whatsoever. The judicial system in Israel and in the territories under its administration has in fact become a safeguard of the interests of the population. The judicial authorities are not subject, in any way at all, to the discretion vested in any authority, save their own. To say the contrary, as does the Special Committee's report, is merely to reflect the Committee's own dishonesty and incompetence as well as its subservience to the political ends it has been chosen to promote.

We recommend to the Special Committee that it peruse the booklet published by the Israel National Section of the International Commission of Jurists, entitled, "The Rule of Law in the Areas Administered by Israel" for a timely elucidation of a subject which the Committee seems to ignore.

FREEDOMS; ISRAEL PRACTICE IN THE AREAS:

Israel's military government has tried throughout the last sixteen years to ensure normal day-to-day life for the residents of the areas, who have enjoyed a degree of freedom hitherto unknown under any military administration.

Newspapers hostile to the military government are permitted, as are political assemblies protesting against its actions; freedom of movement between Israel and the areas under its administration is virtually unlimited; free municipal elections are encouraged; strikes are tolerated.

The Judea and Samaria Regional Commander, in Order No. 101 - "The Prohibition of Incitement and Hostile Propaganda" of 1967, did not prohibit assemblies or demonstrations per se, but made them conditional on obtaining an appropriate permit from the government.

This is the accepted practice in many states which fully respect civil and political rights. If the application indicates that the assembly or demonstration will cause incitement or hostile propaganda, the permit is withheld. Following are some examples of political demonstrations which were permitted during 1979 - 1980:

- 14 November 1979 - Demonstration at the Freres Bethlehem University calling for the release of Bassam Shak'a, then Mayor of Nablus.
- 19 December 1979 - Political assembly of mayors at Bir Zeit University.
- 21 December 1979 - Mass demonstration of 3,000 people against the requisition of land at Beit Amar.

- 24 December 1979 - Demonstration of solidarity with Bir Zeit University at Al Najah National University, in which Bassam Shak'a and 1,000 other people participated.
- 17 February 1980 - Conference at Nablus in which mayors, heads of local councils, and representatives of the Chamber of Commerce, trade unions, professional associations, women's organizations, charitable organizations, educational institutions and centres, participated.
- 25 March 1980 - Demonstration at Bir Zeit University in protest against the decision of the Israel Cabinet regarding settlements in Hebron and the closing of Abu Dis College.

The only absolute prohibition is of hostile incitement and propaganda which may endanger public order.

CENSORSHIP/  
NEWSPAPERS

In practice, censorship is applied only with regard to passages which clearly incite to hatred and disorder, thereby constituting a threat to security and day-to-day life.

Despite the very liberal censorship system, newspapers

licensed in the Judea and Samaria region often fail to comply with the requirements of the Defence (Emergency) Regulations of 1945 (which apply equally to all newspapers and journals in Israel). Thus Al Fajr and Al Sha'ab have on numerous occasions refrained from submitting their articles to censorship prior to publication, as required by the local Jordanian law. In May 1980 the publication of these two newspapers was suspended for two weeks, after they had published headlines extolling and encouraging terrorism and strikes and calling for "armed struggle" and continued acts of murder.

#### BOOKS

Regarding the alleged ban on "thousands" of books under the censorship rules contained in the Defence (Emergency) Regulations,

the supervision of books is designed to control the import into the region of tendentious material published abroad. In fact, during the sixteen years of Israel administration, the import of only 648 such books-- all published in countries still in a state of war with Israel-- has been prohibited, and this figure represents a minute proportion of the more than one hundred fifty thousand titles imported. An example is an adaptation for children of Shakespeare's play, "The Merchant of Venice," which was clearly aimed at inciting children to anti-semitism. This was distorted by various critics into an allegation that the

play itself had been banned. In fact, the authentic version of the play has always been readily available in the bookshops of the Judea and Samaria area.

ACADEMIC  
FREEDOM

The requirements of international law as regards academic freedom are comparatively strict, but Israel adopts a liberal attitude and does not, in fact, exercise all its legal options. The British Manual of Military Government describes the situation regarding the continued functioning of schools, thus:

"...schools and educational establishments must be permitted to continue their ordinary activities, provided that the teachers refrain, if so required by the Occupant, from referring to politics and that they submit to inspection and control by the authorities appointed. If these conditions are not complied with, the establishments may be closed."

EDUCATIONAL  
SYSTEM

By virtue of the 1967 Order concerning Powers in Educational Affairs, the Military Commander assumed authority on education in the Judea and Samaria region and, largely owing to the encouragement and assistance of the Israel authorities, the scope of Arab education and culture has widened considerably.

In comparison with the data of 1967/68, the number of students in Judea and Samaria has increased by 96%, educational personnel has increased by 90%, and classrooms by 93%. The educational system in Gaza has almost doubled in its scope since 1968-- the number of students increasing from

100,000 to 153,000 and the number of classes from 2075 to 3697. Some 14,000 students take matriculation tests annually and receive certificates which are recognized in neighbouring countries. Some 7000 take the exams in the Gaza district. These are carried out under the supervision of the Egyptian Ministry of Education.

HIGHER  
EDUCATION

A great deal of hypocrisy has been exercised by the Arab governments regarding higher education in the areas administered by Israel. Before 1967 there were no universities in Judea and Samaria, and only a few institutes of higher learning. Today, there are four university-level academic institutions:

Bir Zeit University: Since receiving university status in 1973, this institution has operated two major faculties - humanities and natural sciences - and an engineering faculty is planned. Today, Bir Zeit's enrollment stands at 1,675 students, while the teaching staff numbers 185.

An Najah University (Nablus) : This university, which operated as a high school until 1977, now offers a four-year programme of studies. A teachers' college is affiliated with it as well. The institution has a student body of 2,801 and employs 147 instructors.

Freres University (Bethlehem): Freres University has two faculties-- humanities and social sciences - with institutes of hotel management, business administration, etc. 132 teachers are employed by the university.

Al-Shariya Islamic College (Hebron): Founded in 1971 by the Israel administration on the initiative of the former mayor of Hebron, Ali al-Jaabari, to prepare teachers for the study of Arabic and Islam. This institution has a four-year study programme, 1,142 students and 31 lecturers.

The following academic institutions also provide programmes of higher education in Judea and Samaria:

Abu Dis College of Sciences: This college was founded in 1981 and has some 180 students.



Holy Book College (Bethlehem): Holy Book offers a two-year programme in Old and New Testament study.

El Bireh Medical Aid College: El Bireh offers programmes in various medical auxiliary branches, laboratory techniques, etc. It has 152 students.

Hebron Polytechnic Institute: Founded in 1978, Hebron Polytech offers study programmes in various technical and engineering fields. It has 338 students and 24 instructors.

Islamic Studies Institute (Kalkilya): Founded in 1978 to train students in Islamic studies, this school has 60 students and 6 lecturers.

#### VOCATIONAL TRAINING

Virtually no vocational training was available in Judea and Samaria before 1967. Since then, the Israel administration has been establishing a steadily increasing number of vocational schools and programmes, which have become an important factor in upgrading the work-force. By the end of March 1983, there were over 50,000 graduates of the vocational training system, comprising about one-fourth of the work-force.

Structurally, this system combines theoretical studies with on-the-job training, thus making the students economically independent.

In addition to the foregoing there is, of course, the UNRWA educational network, including vocational training, and the

private educational system as well. It should be stressed that more than 99% of the 10,878 educational staff employed throughout the educational system are from among the local population. These members do not include faculty in the institutions of higher learning.

The region's accelerated economic development (of which we shall speak in a moment), full employment and mounting demand for skilled manpower, as well as the generous support of the Government of Israel, have brought about major improvements in education. Between 1967/68 and 1982/83 the total population of the areas increased by 30%: this in itself brought about extensive additions to the school system. In brief: In 1967 there were 223,561 pupils, in 1982--424,486. In 1967 there were 6,187 classes; in 1982--11,615.

Mr. Chairman,

These are extraordinary achievements. Israel is rightfully proud of their attainment. It is quite understandable that Arab governments cannot forgive Israel for having done what they had so outstandingly neglected over the 19 years of Jordanian and Egyptian occupation. The Arab leaders have been, of course, quite silent about the shameful regimes in those territories between 1948-1967, covering their uneasiness with a loud cacophony of criticism against Israel. A typical complaint of the Arab governments has been that there is not sufficient higher education in

the territories under Israel's administration. There has been a move to set up a university specifically limited to the refugees-- in itself an aberration of the ideals and logic of education. Experience has shown that the strongest proponents of such a university have themselves neglected higher education in their own countries.



AMERICAN JEWISH  
ARCHIVES

Here are some statistics, drawn from the UNESCO statistical yearbook for 1980-81, the last one available to us, regarding the number of students learning in institutions of higher education in the following countries, per 100,000 population:

Jordan	683
Iraq	805
North Yemen	74
South Yemen	145
Saudia	601
Iran	448
Afghanistan	79
India	740
Bangladesh	224
Sri Lanka	126
Vietnam	174
Judea & Samaria	888

Although these statistics are not completely up-to-date, they are most indicative. I think, Mr. Chairman, there is no better answer to all the would-be detractors and denigrators who have been trying hard to criticize Israel. They should take a look in the mirror.

AGRICULTURE

Until June 1967, the economies of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district were based primarily on agriculture, which accounted for 24 percent of the GNP in Judea and Samaria and 30 percent in the Gaza district. About 45 percent of the work-force was engaged in agriculture, supporting more than half the population.

Cultivation methods were primitive, relying mostly on some 50,000 farm animals (the majority of them donkeys), with fruit-picking and crop harvesting done mainly by hand. Much of the water that flowed through open irrigation canals evaporated or seeped into the ground; little fertilization was applied; and the level of government guidance and supervision was low, as was per capita income.

During the administration of these territories by Israel, production per unit of land and water doubled between 1967-80.

Increasing mechanization (some 3,000 tractors in 1982 as compared with about 460 in 1968) reduced the demand for labour, causing a relative decrease in the number of those employed in agriculture as a percentage of total employment in the areas. By 1979, only 24 percent of the work-force was engaged in agriculture .

Expanding productivity and the opening up of the relatively high-priced Israel food market (in addition to traditional markets in the Arab countries which continued to receive produce over the Jordanian bridges left open by Israel) have led to large increases in agricultural income. In 1980, for example,

the income of self-employed farmers rose by some 20 percent in Judea and Samaria and 15 percent in the Gaza district, with similar growth rates for agricultural wages. Growth in agricultural production since 1967 has averaged about 10 percent a year (compared with 5 percent a year in Israel). During the years 1967-1982, total cultivated land increased by 20 percent. Increased agricultural production of the district has been accompanied by increased purchasing power.

WATER

Water utilization for agricultural and domestic purposes has been expanded; domestic water consumption in Judea and Samaria has increased from 5.4 to 14.6 million cubic meters between 1967 and 1979. Water networks have been improved and repaired in both urban and rural areas; regional public water-works systems have increased from two to ten, with vast improvements in water quality and distribution. Many new wells have been sunk, storage pools built, water mains extended, and household connections developed. Over 200 villages have been supplied with indoor running water 24-hours-a-day, compared with the situation before 1967 in which villages were dependent on winter rain-water collected in cisterns or water transported from distant sources. Conservation methods have been established and more efficient irrigation systems are now used widely in the area.

## INDUSTRY

Prior to 1967 industry was minimal in Judea and Samaria and the Gaza district because the governments of Jordan and Egypt were interested in concentrating on industrial development in their own countries. In Judea and Samaria, the plants which did exist manufactured traditional products--food, plastics, and textiles; only small workshops and one soft-drink plant operated in the Gaza district. Before 1967, there was virtually no industrial physical infrastructure (roads, railways, high power electricity, telephone lines, water lines, etc.) nor human infrastructure (vocational training, technological experience, institutes for technology and engineering, etc.). Between 1967 and 1981, however, the real annual growth in the industrial sector was 6 percent in Judea and Samaria and 14.2 percent in the Gaza district.

## HEALTH

Before 1967 the level of public health in Judea and Samaria and the Gaza district was relatively low, due to the prevailing social and economic conditions. Epidemics and infant mortality were common, particularly in the Gaza district, because of poor sewage systems, overcrowding in refugee camps, lack of running water in homes, and a consequently low level of personal and family hygiene. Hospitals, particularly in Gaza, were poorly equipped and overcrowded. Doctors, as in most developing areas, were few in number.

In view of the severity of these health problems, resulting from generations of neglect, the administration undertook a comprehensive programme of improvements that has already had a marked effect on the area's medical facilities. The programme included the introduction of advanced medical technology and expertise provided by Israel medical teams; the expansion of existing training facilities for local Arab medical teams; the establishment of new hospitals, medical centers, nursing schools and para-medical schools; the training of local Arabs in Israel hospitals; the introduction of new equipment; the expansion of immunization programmes; the establishment of school health services; the collection of information on contagious diseases; the improvement of sanitation systems; installation of running water; and the establishment of mother-and-child health care centres.

Higher nutritional levels resulting from greater prosperity and greater awareness of the principles of basic hygiene have also contributed to improved health standards in the area, which are now virtually free of epidemics known previously. Infant mortality -- at 28.3 per 1,000 live births in Judea and Samaria and 43 per 1,000 in the Gaza district--is far lower than in the Arab countries (ranging from 59 per 1,000 in Lebanon to 152 per 1,000 in Saudi Arabia).

Favorable impressions regarding the overall improvement and year-to-year progress of the health services in Judea and Samaria were recorded during the annual visits of the World Health Organization,

the International Red Cross delegate and the United States Undersecretary of Health, Education and Welfare.

### HOUSING

Largely as a result of growing personal income, a tremendous boom in residential construction has taken place in Judea and Samaria and the Gaza district in recent years. New housing starts escalated from 130,000 square meters in 1969/70 to 795,000 square meters in 1981/82.

The scope of investment in real estate reflects an atmosphere of permanence and security among the population in these areas, contrary to accusation that, because the residents are under the Israel administration, they are apprehensive about their future in the area.

### MOTOR VEHICLES AND DRIVERS

Between 1970 and 1982 the number of motor vehicles and drivers in Judea and Samaria and the Gaza district rose substantially. There were 6.5 times more motor vehicles in Judea and Samaria and 7.5 times more in the Gaza district. Private cars increased 11-fold in Judea and Samaria and 18-fold in the Gaza district; and there were 5 times more drivers in Judea and Samaria and 9 times more in the Gaza district.



Mr. Chairman,

The Special Committee report before us has for obvious political reasons purported to attack Israel in what it considers to be the field of human rights. Even if we were to limit the definition of human rights to those dealt with in the report, we would discover their utter inadmissability as evidence, for the thrust, the substance, and the atmosphere of the report are thoroughly warped. Human rights are not circumscribed in any way by the definitions of the Special Committee. We have given here a short factual description of what the Government of Israel considers to be the inhabitants' right to economic security, social development, and education, among others. As we have already said, there have been great achievements in Judea and Samaria and Gaza in spite of the adverse political situation where pressures are exerted from without and from within by hostile forces whose aim is to maintain this hostility rather than seek solutions. But these are all circumstances beyond Israel's control.

The Special Committee has had nothing to say on all this. It has drawn on every rumor, expanded on every untoward incident, and embellished every difficulty. A good example is the now well known calumny of the alleged poisoning of the school girls in the Jenin District at the end of March 1982. The report has devoted fifteen paragraphs to this occurrence, laboriously narrating the stages of an hysterical school girl affectation. The report

ponderously quotes from the conclusive evidence of the Centers for Disease Control in Atlanta and from the WHO investigation showing the outbreak to have been caused by psychogenic factors-- but manages to leave a lingering doubt that there was something beyond--a suspicion that somehow it was not conclusively determined that Israel was not at fault. Israel's newspapers were replete with commentary on the alleged "poisonings." The Arab states tried to play at psychological warfare at the UN. But the Special Committee, though markedly enamoured of quotations from the Hebrew press, studiously circumvented the articles which showed Israel as the innocent victim of a well-orchestrated exploitation of a minor incident.

Paragraphs 236-237, which go on with misrepresented minutiae for many pages, for example, are a lengthy enumeration of incidents seized upon by the Committee, without explaining the obvious connection between the incitement related invitation of these incidents and their resultant violence.

The authorities in any country cannot, and will not, tolerate manipulation of school children or others which results in the throwing of stones or metallic projectiles against innocent passersby. These are reprehensible acts which will be forcefully restrained and punished, not only in Judea and Samaria and the Gaza district, but anywhere -- including Sri-Lanka, Senegal, and Yugoslavia.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, we must not lose sight of the nature and the function of the Special Committee whose 15th report we have been discussing. It was set up by the automatic

anti-Israel majority of the Assembly; its mandate, hostile in design, is easily reflected in its reports, which are characteristically aimed at feeding the wide-flung anti-Israel operation at the UN. The reports do not respect reality even though they are purported to. Everything positive is ignored; their substance is anchored in misrepresentations, half-truths, and outright lies.

We must try to go beyond the report and its customary vilification. Israel did not seek to conquer the territories under its administration. The present situation which existed at the close of the Six Day War was not of Israel's making. For 16 years Israel has sustained a tremendous effort to maintain an administration aimed at a steady improvement of the conditions in Judea, Samaria, and the Gaza district. The results have been satisfactory from every point of view save the overall political one over which Israel cannot, alone, exercise control. Yet Israel has ensured and maintained many freedoms and rights of the inhabitants, whose condition has been ameliorated very appreciably since 1967. All this in face of constant provocation and pressures by Arab states and their paid surrogates, the terrorist organizations. All this accompanied by unrelieved, strident, and injurious criticism, ganging up, and mob tactics at the UN and elsewhere. Nevertheless, Israel has been able to maintain a stable hand in its determination to continue the promotion of equitable conditions of life and work in the areas under its administration.

Israel is being attacked for its settlement policy. Mr. Chairman, there were Jewish settlements in Judea and Samaria and the Gaza

district before 1948 and there are no reasons -- except racist ones -- for there not being any settlements there now. There has been an unbroken Jewish presence in these areas, barring periods of anti-Jewish policies of foreign conquerors and administrations and the forcible ejection of Jews, as after the 1948 war when all Jews were kept out by Jordan. The Government of Israel has not forced Arabs to abandon their homes, their land, their culture, nor their heritage.

As regards the Jews, in 1982 the Jewish population of Judea and Samaria and the Gaza district totalled some 23,000 persons, while in the same year the total Arab population was 1,187,000. Thus, in Judea and Samaria and the Gaza district the Jewish population accounts for only 2 percent of the total. In 1982 alone, the number of births among the Arab residents of the areas was 52,000, more than double the total number of Jewish residents. Between 1968-1981 some 70,000 Arabs were permitted by the Israel authorities to enter Judea and Samaria and the Gaza district.

This number alone is thrice the size of the Jewish population of the areas. Taking the areas of Judea and Samaria separately from the Gaza district, I would like to present some facts. The total Jewish population of Judea and Samaria is 22,000 persons, compared to the total Arab population of 722,000 persons. In other words, the Arab population in Judea and Samaria is 32 times the number of the Jewish population which constitutes only 3 percent of the total population in the area.

The total number of births among the Arab residents was 31,000 in 1980 alone--9,000 more than the entire Jewish population in the area. The total growth among the Arabs of Judea and Samaria since 1975 was 122,000 persons--5.5 times the total Jewish population.

In the Gaza district, the total Jewish population is 700 persons, compared to a total Arab population of 465,000 persons--664 times greater than the Jewish population which represents 0.001 percent of the total. The total number of births among the Arab residents of the Gaza district in 1982 alone was 21,600 -- 30 times the total Jewish population.

There is, of course, the overriding security consideration as well. Israel has been faced with attacks and threats of annihilation for over 36 years in a country whose geographical and topographical deliniation do not afford protection against the great numbers of its enemies. As long as this enmity is nurtured by official hatred and no relief is in sight, Israel has to tend to its defences. The tiny Jewish population established on permanent settlements in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district will do a great deal to assure that security by being a protective shield and serving as a warning against the kind of sudden and surprise attacks demonstrated on Yom Kippur in 1973.

Mr. Chairman,

The delegation of Israel has demonstrated in its statements today that the work of the Special Committee is primarily a political anti-Israel act, illegal in

nature and malicious in intent. Israel unreservedly rejects the allegations contained in the Special Committee's report and the remarks of its Chairman. Israel's delegation has shown the true situation of the inhabitants of the area under its administration, while the Arab countries have shown the nature of their concern for the Palestinian Arabs -- before 1967 and most recently in the north of Lebanon. In spite of the chasm that divides Israel from the Arab states, Israel has demonstrated what it has materially done to promote the well-being of the Palestinian Arabs in Judea, Samaria, and the Gaza district. It is not the reports of the Special Committee which will determine the truth, but, rather, the reality, from which the Special Committee has averted its eyes.

