



PARALLEL REPORT TO THE UNITED NATIONS COMMITTEE ON ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL RIGHTS: ISRAEL

JANUARY 14, 2019

AL-MARSAD

ARAB HUMAN RIGHTS CENTRE IN THE GOLAN HEIGHTS

www.golan-marsad.org

I. Organization

1. Al-Marsad: Arab Human Rights Centre in Golan Heights ('Al-Marsad') is the only human rights organization, and one of the few civil society organizations, operating in the occupied Syrian Golan Heights ('Golan') today. Al-Marsad engages in a wide array of legal, advocacy, cultural enrichment and education activities to contest Israel's discriminatory policies and preserve Syrian-Arab identity in the Golan. Al-Marsad was founded in 2003 by a group of human rights activists and intellectuals from the Syrian villages of the Golan and today has become an essential component of the social, cultural and political resistance against Israel's occupation.

II. Introduction

2. Al-Marsad submits this report in response to the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights' ('CESCR') call for parallel reports to elaborate on issues relevant to Israel's implementation of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights ('Covenant'). The following report discusses how Israel has manifestly failed to fulfill its obligations under the Covenant, specifically with regards to its administration of the Golan. The CESCR, which often addresses Israel's treatment of minorities, Arabs and Palestinians, has never touched on Israel's egregious violations of the Covenant in the Golan.
3. This report does not acknowledge Israel has sovereign authority over the Golan; however, Israel unilaterally annexed the Golan in 1981¹ and has repeatedly held the Golan out as territory of its state. Israel has denied it needs to implement the Covenant in the Occupied Palestinian Territories because they are not under its sovereign control.² Israel cannot make this same argument for the Golan based on its own actions and statements. Thus, the Covenant should apply in the Golan. Additionally, the CESCR has held that the Covenant applies in any territory under Israel's "effective control."³ Israel, accordingly, cannot avoid the duties embedded in the Covenant in its administration of the Golan.

III. The Context of the Golan

4. The Syrian Golan Heights is a land mass of about 1,750 square kilometers in southwestern Syria. The area had its original border drawn during the British and French mandates in 1923.⁴ After the 1948 Arab-Israeli War, much of the Israeli-Syrian border consisted of a demilitarized zone based on a 1949 armistice agreement that virtually maintained the mandate boundaries.⁵ However, during the 1967 Arab-Israeli War, the Israeli army extended deep into the Golan, seizing two thirds of the region.⁶ An additional brief conflict in 1973 saw Israel give some territory back to Syria, including the city of Quneitra, which Israel demolishing beyond repair before leaving. Today, Israel occupies around 1,159 square kilometers of the Golan, all of which was seized in 1967.⁷
5. The 1967 war was disastrous for the Syrians of the Golan. During its offensive, Israel razed 340 of 345 Syrian communities.⁸ This led to the mass expulsion of over 130,000 civilians.⁹ The diaspora of native Syrians of the Golan forcibly displaced in 1967 now

numbers well over 400,000.¹⁰ Today, about 27,000 native Syrians remain in the Golan in five villages: Buq'ata, Ein Qiniya, Mas'ade, Ghajar and Majdal Shams.¹¹ Israel controls 95 percent of the Golan's land, leaving just five percent accessible to native Syrians.¹²

6. Between 1967 and 1981, Israel governed the Golan through military rule, much like how the West Bank is administered today. In 1981, however, Israel unilaterally annexed the Golan and began applying Israeli civil law.¹³ The entire international community rejected and condemned this act, a sentiment that is reinforced today by most of the world.¹⁴ Local Syrians have also always rejected and protested the annexation, holding demonstrations and refusing to accept Israeli citizenship, maintaining their Syrian identity despite Israeli efforts to dilute it.¹⁵ This has led to a legal regime in the Golan that is extremely oppressive – politically, socially and culturally – to the native population. For instance, land use restraints, residency laws, labor restrictions and lack of access to independent educational opportunities have all led to basic human rights violations.
7. Within weeks of occupying the Golan, the Israeli army started to build settlements in direct contravention of international law. Today, there are 34 settlements that are home to around 27,000 settlers in the Golan.¹⁶ Additionally, there are at least 167 settlement businesses operating throughout the Golan.¹⁷ Settlements, supported overwhelmingly by government subsidies and other state maintained incentives, are expanding quickly with different Israeli officials calling for 100,000 new settlers to relocate to the Golan in the next five to 10 years.¹⁸
8. Negotiations were ongoing for a final peace deal to resolve the status of the Golan up until the outbreak of the Syrian conflict in 2011.¹⁹ Since 2011, peace negotiations have been stalled and Israel has accelerated attempts to solidify its hold on the Golan. With the conflict raging, Israel has held its first cabinet meeting in the Golan, expanded housing units in its settlements, began utilizing more of the Golan's natural resources, renewed calls on other states to recognize its claim over the Golan and stated the Golan will remain in Israel's possession forever.²⁰
9. All of this has led to a systematic and sustained international human rights catastrophe in the Golan. Israel violates international human rights and humanitarian law with impunity throughout the region.

IV. Israel's Violations of the Covenant

1. Article 1: Self-Determination and Utilization of Natural Resources

10. The Covenant recognizes that “all people have the right to self-determination” and that State Parties that administer “Non-Self-Governing and Trust Territories, shall promote the realization of the right to self-determination.”²¹ Similarly, the Covenant declares, “all peoples may, for their own ends, freely dispose of their natural wealth and resources without prejudice.”²² In the past, the CESCR has urged Israel, due to its failures to adhere to the

Covenant, to “respect the right to self-determination as recognized in [A]rticle 1(2) of the Covenant.”²³

11. In the Golan, Israel has denied the local Syrian population its inherent right to self-determination. Israel first began occupying the Golan after using force to seize the territory. This is unequivocally outlawed by the United Nations Charter.²⁴ Israel then unilaterally, without consulting the native community in any meaningful way, annexed the Golan.²⁵ Following the annexation, Israel attempted to force Israeli citizenship on the local Syrian population.²⁶ However, the native Syrians rejected this move through demonstrations, protests and a six month strike.²⁷ Israel eventually gave up this initiative and has since allowed Syrians to voluntarily acquire citizenship.
12. To date, only 20 percent of the local Syrian population has accepted Israeli citizenship.²⁸ This number drops to 12 percent if one subtracts Ghajar village, whose population was given Israeli citizenship after a deal was cut between religious leaders and the Israeli government decades ago.²⁹ The majority of the native Syrians in the Golan that have Israeli citizenship today have acquired it through marriage, birth or change of residence, not through free choice.³⁰
13. Israel’s actions and the native Syrians’ subsequent responses, throughout the last 50 years, have shown that native Syrians have no desire to be Israeli citizens and do not want the Golan to be a part of Israel. Israel has ignored this fact and instead has administered the Golan in direct contradiction to the will of its native people. Israel, in maintaining its hold on the Golan, is therefore directly violating Article 1(1) and Article 1(3) of the Covenant.
14. Additionally, since it initiated its occupation, Israel has stymied native Syrians’ ability to utilize their natural resources. Israel has done this by seizing the vast majority of Syrians’ lands and utilizing them to benefit Israeli settlements and settlement businesses in direct violation of international law. This was first seen by Israel’s hijacking of the Golan’s water resources.³¹ Recently, this has been evidenced by Israel’s granting of licenses to private companies to drill for oil³² and establish massive wind and solar farms across the Golan.³³
15. Israel utilizes all of these resources at the expense of the native Syrians whose accesses to the same resources is blocked. In fact, there have been instances where Israel has directly thwarted native Syrian projects attempting to develop natural resources, then supported Israeli projects aimed at conducting the same activities. The overwhelming majority of the benefits generated from Israel’s manipulation of the Golan’s resources go to Israel and Israelis.³⁴ Israel’s actions unambiguously violate Article 1(2) of the Covenant.

2. Article 2: Discrimination

16. The Covenant holds that “State Parties to the present Covenant undertake to guarantee that the rights enunciated in the present Covenant will be exercised without discrimination of any kind as to race, colour . . . national or social origin . . . or other status.”³⁵ Israel has made numerous submissions to the CESCR concerning its compliance with the Covenant, but its

compliance is selective based on race, nationality and social origin, especially when it comes to the Golan. This has even been acknowledged by the CESCR, which has noted how Israel “encourages discrimination.”³⁶

17. Israel engages in systematic discrimination throughout the Golan. Much of this discrimination is seen through Israeli policies that favor and support Israeli settlers in the Golan at the expense of the Golan’s native Syrian inhabitants. The Israeli government offers tax incentives, low housing costs, expansive housing plans and low prices on basic utilities to Israeli settlers in the Golan.³⁷ Simultaneously, Israel’s regulations destroy Syrians’ opportunities to develop housing projects and cultivate, build on and expand their land while forcing them to spend more on basic services.³⁸ A simple illustration of this blatant discrimination is Israel’s issuance of about 1,570 demolition orders for native Syrian structures since 1983.³⁹ As Israel has been quick to hand out these demolition orders to Syrians, it has allowed Israeli settlers to build without proper permission near Syrian villages in the Golan.⁴⁰
18. Israel’s discriminatory practices are advanced in direct violation of numerous provisions of the Covenant, for instance Article 11(1), which guarantees all persons the right to an adequate standard of living with proper housing.⁴¹ Israel’s policies and practices, especially in the Golan, are aimed at favoring Israelis over all others; therefore, it is evident Israel does not comply with Article 2(2) of the Covenant.

3. Article 6: Right to Work

19. The Covenant articulates that State Parties should “recognize the right to work, which includes the right of everyone to the opportunity to gain a living by work which he freely chooses or accepts.”⁴² The Covenant also states that State Parties should provide “technical and vocational guidance and training programmes.”⁴³ The CESCR has previously highlighted its concern with Israel’s failure to properly implement Article 6 with regards to Arab and Druze minorities.⁴⁴
20. Israel’s discriminatory policies in the Golan have deeply impacted Syrians’ ability to find work within their skillset and gain training to seek out the employment they desire. This starts in the Syrian education system in the Golan, which is heavily bias, maintains inadequate facilities and is underfunded.⁴⁵ Once they make it through their secondary education, Syrians have way less opportunity for higher education because of school expenses and the lack of scholarship and/or foreign study prospects.⁴⁶
21. Israel’s policies further restrict Syrians’ ability to work freely in the industries they choose because Israel redirects resources, land and opportunity to settlements to restrict Syrian businesses. For instance, Israel has appropriated the agricultural industry in the Golan, which was the staple industry for Syrians prior to occupation. This has destroyed the possibility for Syrians to work in the field they have long been engaged in in the region.⁴⁷ Similarly, Israel has built a large tourism industry in the Golan at the expense of native

Syrians, who are not given the same access, approvals and opportunity to host tourism activities.⁴⁸

22. The theft of these large industries has meant that native Syrians are unable to freely work in the industries they would like. Instead, Syrians are forced to work for the very settlement businesses that have stolen their opportunities.⁴⁹ When Syrians do find work, they tend to settle for low-paying jobs that they are massively overqualified for due to lack of prospects for other employment.⁵⁰ Additionally, Israel maintains inadequate skills and vocational training programs for native Syrians in the Golan.⁵¹ Israel's administration of the Golan has deeply disturbed Syrians' access work in violation of Article 6.

4. Article 7: Enjoyment of Just and Favorable Conditions of Work

23. The Covenant requires that State Parties "recognize the right of everyone to the enjoyment of just and favorable conditions of work" that ensure fair wages as well as safe and healthy working conditions.⁵² The CESCR has noted Israel's failure to comply with Article 7's principles in the past, especially with regards to Arabs and other minorities.⁵³
24. In the Golan, Israel has done nothing to ensure native Syrians have fair working conditions. After Israel first occupied the Golan, it dissolved all trade unions in the region because it saw them as linked to Syria.⁵⁴ Later attempts to form grassroots labour organizations were also frustrated by Israel.⁵⁵ Today, only one grassroots labour organization exists for Syrians in the Golan.
25. Since Israel unilaterally annexed the Golan, it has done little to guarantee that Syrian workers are aware of their basic labour rights or protected in their respective industries.⁵⁶ Research has shown that nine in 10 Syrians have no or very little awareness of their labour rights.⁵⁷ This has led to rampant workers' rights violations against Syrians in the Golan without any proper avenues for redress.⁵⁸ For instance, settlements in the Golan have been known to use contractors to hire Syrians so that they do not have to secure full employee privileges for their workers. Many of these contracting companies do not provide proper benefits for workers and pay workers extremely low wages. Syrians in the Golan are offered no alternative to this structure due to the Israel's mass appropriation of the Golan and its policies aimed at suffocating Syrian businesses and business development. The result is that many Syrians work in unjust conditions.
26. Through Israel's initial dismantling of labour unions and its failure to ensure labour rights are upheld in the Golan, Israel has allowed rampant labour abuses against Syrians. This has restricted Syrians' ability to enjoy favorable and just working conditions in violation of Article 7.

5. Article 11: Adequate Standard of Living

27. The Covenant articulates that State Parties should "recognize the right of everyone to an adequate standard of living for himself and his family, including adequate food, clothing,

housing, and the continuous improvement of living conditions.”⁵⁹ The CESCR has addressed concerning issues with housing and living standards in Arab, Palestinian and other minority communities throughout Israel numerous times in the past.⁶⁰

28. In the Golan, Israel has failed to support an adequate standard of living for native Syrians by limiting housing expansion and land development, which has stifled community growth. For instance, Israel only approves a very limited number of building permits for native Syrians while simultaneously placing restrictions on the land around Syrian villages to outlaw expansion.⁶¹ When Syrians defy these discriminatory practices, Israel issues demolition orders.⁶²
29. Some of the existing lands that Syrians can still expand onto contain minefields, which further restricts development.⁶³ Syrians are often, therefore, forced to build directly up to minefield fences, which causes severe risk to life.⁶⁴ The Syrian community has experienced dozens of civilian injuries and deaths, the majority of which have been children, from mines since the occupation began.⁶⁵
30. In addition to these specific examples, Israel’s broad favoritism for settlement expansion and settlement business development has placed extreme restrictions on Syrian economic development, which destroys the possibility for living conditions to improve.⁶⁶ It does not seem possible that Syrians’ living conditions will get better any time soon. In fact, the only possible change seems to be for conditions to get worse as Israel continues to maintain systematic discrimination and oppression in the economic⁶⁷ and education systems⁶⁸ in the Golan. Israel’s practices have destroyed Syrians’ access to an adequate standard of living in violation of Article 11(1).

6. Article 13: Education

31. The Covenant declares that State Parties “recognize the right of everyone to education. They agree that education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and the sense of its dignity, and shall strengthen the respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.”⁶⁹ In enforcing this right, the Covenant states, “higher education shall be made equally accessible to all, on the basis of capacity, by every appropriate means.”⁷⁰ The CESCR has long noted Israel’s failure to adhere to Article 13 and has recommended Israel create more educational opportunities, especially for minorities.⁷¹
32. Since its occupation began, Israel has manipulated the native Syrian education system in the Golan to undermine Syrian-Arab identity. This has led to school programs that detract from human personality, dignity, human rights and fundamental freedoms. Israel has done this by creating a “Druze curriculum,” which is enforced in Syrian schools, that emphasizes a Druze identity and diminishes an understanding of Syrian-Arab culture.⁷² In the past, Israel closely monitored teachers to ensure the state sanctioned curriculum was being properly taught but today this surveillance has eased.⁷³

33. Additionally, Israel has welcomed Israeli youth programs into the Golan's schools in an attempt to further indoctrinate local Syrian children and create an Israeli-Druze identity among them.⁷⁴ At the same time, Israel thwarts efforts from the Syrian community to create and administer its own youth programs that focus on Syrian culture and identity.⁷⁵ This all undercuts the dignity, human rights and freedom of the native Syrians.
34. Furthermore, Israel has not offered Syrians the same access to higher education it has to its own citizens. Syrians face administrative and financial discrimination when they choose to attend Israeli universities.⁷⁶ For example, Syrians do not get offered the same scholarship opportunities as their Israeli counterparts.⁷⁷ When Syrians attempt to seek out alternatives and travel overseas to study, they are met with even more obstacles that hamper their access to higher education.⁷⁸ Israel has consistently failed to fulfill its obligations under Article 13(1) and Article 13(2)(c) of the Covenant.

7. Article 15: Accesses to Cultural Expression

35. The Covenant requires that State Parties recognize the right of everyone to “take part in cultural life.”⁷⁹ The Covenant further conditions that State Parties should take the steps necessary to achieve this right and that these steps should include the “development and diffusion of science and culture.”⁸⁰ The Covenant attempts to uphold these principles by calling on State Parties to “respect the freedom indispensable for . . . creative activity.”⁸¹ The CESCR has, to date, failed to meaningfully address Israel's suffocation of minority communities' cultural expression throughout Israel and in the Golan.
36. Israel has systematically attacked and degraded native Syrian-Arab culture in the Golan, thereby failing to uphold its obligations under the Covenant to respect cultural life. Israel has done this by characterizing the native Syrians of the Golan simply as “Druze” in order to cleanse the area of any Syrian identity. Israel constantly characterizes the Syrian villages as “Druze villages” to link native Syrians to Druze in the Galilee, who, unlike Syrians in the Golan, are Israeli citizens, serve in the Israeli army and are actively integrated into Israeli society as a minority group. Israel's characterization of the Syrians of the Golan as “Druze” attempts to wash out Syrian culture from the area.
37. Israel has also directly attacked Syrian culture in the Golan. This is most clearly seen by Israel's attempted manipulation of the youth in the Golan.⁸² In addition to hijacking the content taught in the education system, Israel has made many other attempts to influence Syrian culture among the youth. For instance, the General Federation of Working and Studying Youth, a Zionist organization, is gaining influence in Syrian schools in the Golan.⁸³ This group tries to inspire Syrian children to join many of its programs and strongly supports the Druze narrative for the Syrian villages of the Golan.⁸⁴ Similarly, the Druze Boy and Girl Scout Association has created formal ties with all the Syrian schools in the Golan except the Majdal Shams schools, which rejected it as a tool for the Israeli government.⁸⁵ This organization rallies around Druze identity. These programs have been advanced at the expense of similar grassroots youth programs in the Syrian villages that focused on maintaining and developing the local Arab-Syrian culture of the area.⁸⁶

38. In addition to youth and school programs, Israel has attempted to diminish Syrian culture by bringing art initiatives from Israel into the Golan. This has involved Druze linked groups to further supplement the Druze narrative of the Golan, but it has also included Israeli groups like the Chlore Foundation. The Israeli backed Local Counsel is attempting to bring the Chlore Center for Music and Dance into the Syrian villages to host events and workshops. Such initiatives are aimed at diluting Syrian culture and diminishing opportunity for grassroots arts programs that actually support Syrian-Arab identity. Another example of Israel's cultural cleansing is the fact that many tourist signs throughout the Golan have no Arabic on them whatsoever, despite the fact that half the current population of the Golan and many of its visitors are native Arabic speakers.
39. All these practical effects are simply a result of Israel's long held strategy to use Druze identity to drive a wedge between Druze, as "good Arabs," and the rest of the Middle East as bad Arabs.⁸⁷ Syrians in the Golan have long rejected this attempt at reshaping their identity but it has not stopped Israel from attacking and suppressing their culture. In the Golan, Israel has actively tried to thwart Syrian-Arab identity in direct contravention to Article 15(1)(a) and Article 15(2)-(3) of the Covenant.

V. Conclusion

40. Israel has failed time and again to fulfill its obligations as a State Party to the Covenant. Although the CESCR has addressed Israel's failure to uphold basic minority, Arab and Palestinian rights under the Covenant, it has *never* directly addressed Israel's failures to uphold its obligations under the Covenant in the Golan. In the Golan, Israel has systematically instituted policies that violate the core principles of numerous provisions in the Covenant with impunity. These policies discriminate against and harm the native Syrian population of the Golan immensely on a daily basis. Israel has simply failed to properly, thoroughly and in good faith implement the Covenant.

¹ Golan Heights Law 5742/1981.

² United Nations Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, *Fourth Periodic Report of Israel-Advance Unedited Version*, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/ISR/4, pg. 3, 2018.

³ United Nations Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, *Concluding Observations of the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights: Israel*, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.27, pg. 2, 1998.

⁴ Exchange of Notes Constituting an Agreement Between the British and French Governments Respecting the Boundary Line Between Syria and Palestine from the Mediterranean to El Hamme, 7 March 1923, 13 L.N.T.S. 364.

⁵ United Nations Security Council, *Communication Dated 20 July 1949 from the United Nations Acting Mediator on Palestine to the Acting Secretary-General Transmitting the Text of an Armistice Agreement Between Israel and Syria*, U.N. Doc. S/1353, 1949.

⁶ Dr. Ray Murphy et al., *Forgotten Occupation – Life in the Syrian Golan after 50 Year of Israeli Occupation*, pg. 2, Al-Marsad – Arab Human Rights Centre in Golan Heights (2018).

⁷ Publication of a New Map of Syrian Villages and Farms Destroyed by Israel, Al-Marsad Arab Human Rights Centre in Golan Heights (1 March 2017), available at <http://golan-marsad.org/publication-of-a-new-map-of-syrian-villages-and-farms-destroyed-by-israel/>.

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¹⁰ Brian Whitaker, 'Syria Dusts Off Maps of Golan Heights Battlefields Following Israeli Attack', THE GUARDIAN (10 November 2003), available at <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2003/nov/10/israel>.

¹¹ Dr. Ray Murphy et al., *Forgotten Occupation – Life in the Syrian Golan after 50 Year of Israeli Occupation*, pg. 15, 110, Al-Marsad – Arab Human Rights Centre in Golan Heights (2018).

¹² Dr. Ray Murphy & Declan Gannon, *Changing the Landscape: Israel's Gross Violations of International Law in the Occupied Syrian Golan in: Forgotten Occupation – Life in the Syrian Golan after 50 Year of Israeli Occupation*, pg. 17, Al-Marsad – Arab Human Rights Centre in Golan Heights (2018).

¹³ Golan Heights Law 5742/1981.

¹⁴ United Nations Security Council, *Resolution 497*, U.N. Doc. S/RES/497, 1981; United Nations General Assembly, *The Syrian Golan*, U.N. Doc. A/RES/71/24, 2016.

¹⁵ Hannah Russell, *Breaking Down the Fence: Addressing the Illegality of Family Separation in the Occupied Syrian Golan*, pg. 24, Al-Marsad Arab Human Rights Centre in Golan Heights (April 2010), available at http://golan-marsad.org/wp-content/uploads/Family_Separation.pdf.

¹⁶ Dr. Ray Murphy & Declan Gannon, *Changing the Landscape – Israel's Gross Violations of International Law in the Occupied Syrian Golan in: Forgotten Occupation – Life in the Syrian Golan After 50 Years of Israeli Occupation*, pg. 15, Al-Marsad Arab Human Rights Centre in Golan Heights (2018).

¹⁷ Isobel Cowey & Dr. Nazeh Brik, *Selling Settlements: The Occupied Golan's Settlement Industries*, pg. 1, Al-Marsad Arab Human Rights Centre in Golan Heights (2018).

¹⁸ Isobel Cowey & Dr. Nazeh Brik, *Selling Settlements: The Occupied Golan's Settlement Industries*, pg. 2, Al-Marsad Arab Human Rights Centre in Golan Heights (2018).

¹⁹ Shimon Shiffer, 'Report: Netanyahu Agreed to Full Golan Heights Withdrawal', YNET NEWS (12 December 2012), available at <https://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-4291337,00.html>.

²⁰ Isobel Cowey & Dr. Nazeh Brik, *Selling Settlements: The Occupied Golan's Settlement Industries*, pg. 3, Al-Marsad Arab Human Rights Centre in Golan Heights (2018); Ivan Levingston & Margaret Talev, 'Netanyahu Raises Golan Heights Sovereignty During Bolton Visit', BLOOMBERG NEWS (6 January 2019), available at <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2019-01-06/netanyahu-raises-golan-heights-sovereignty-during-bolton-visit>.

²¹ International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 16 December 1966, 993 U.N.T.S. 3, art. 1(1), (3).

²² International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 16 December 1966, 993 U.N.T.S. 3, art. 1(2).

²³ United Nations Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, *Concluding Observations of the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights: Israel*, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.27, pg. 8, 1998.

²⁴ Charter of the United Nations, 24 October 1945, 1 U.N.T.S. XVI, art. 2(4).

²⁵ Golan Heights Law 5742/1981.

²⁶ Hannah Russell, *Breaking Down the Fence: Addressing the Illegality of Family Separation in the Occupied Syrian Golan*, pg. 24, Al-Marsad Arab Human Rights Centre in Golan Heights (April 2010), available at http://golan-marsad.org/wp-content/uploads/Family_Separation.pdf.

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