

European Parliament

THE MIDDLE EAST : A BACKGROUND NOTE

A. THE CAMP DAVID AGREEMENTS AND THEIR CONSEQUENCES

1. The principal elements of the Camp David Agreements of September 1978 were the signature of a Treaty of Peace between Egypt and Israel; plans for the replacement of Israeli military and civil administration in the West Bank and Gaza by a self-governing authority elected by the inhabitants¹; and arrangements for withdrawal from Sinai by Israeli forces and settlers.
2. Whereas the Peace Treaty was signed in March 1979 and the Sinai was restored to Egypt on 25 April 1982, the elected "self-governing authority" in the West Bank and Gaza has not yet been established. Discussions have however taken place between Egypt and Israel on this point, both between Mr Begin and Mr Sadat and, after the latter's death, Mr Mubarak, and at official level.
3. One difficulty has been to define the authority or "Administrative Council" to be elected in the Palestinian areas. In the discussion of February 1982, for example, the Egyptian side defined it as a legislative body of 80 elected members (which the Egyptians argued should appeal to the Israelis as it might well rival or replace the influence of the Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO); the Israelis however saw the Council as an executive body of 13, each the head of an administrative department of government.
4. The principal obstacles to progress in the negotiations on Palestinian autonomy have been the settlement policy of the Israeli government; Arab opposition to the Camp David Agreement and the demand for an independent Palestinian state; and the passive role played by the US government in the negotiations.

¹ See Penders Report on the situation in the Middle East, Annex 5, pp 43-5 (PE 73.166)

5. By September 1982 the Israeli government plans to have 30,000 settlers in 102 settlements on the West Bank, and by 1985 100,000 settlers there. Ironically, it can be argued that this aggressive settlement policy does much to destroy any possibility of an Arab movement developing in the West Bank which is not linked to the P.L.O., although it is Israeli policy to foster such a movement.

6. The replacement in December 1981 of Israeli military administration by civilian government in the West Bank (which made Arabs despair of progress towards a self-governing authority), led to violence on the West Bank, resulting in several deaths. The Arab mayors of three towns were for the second time deposed by the Israeli administration. Since the enunciation in August 1981 of the Plan of Prince Fahd, Foreign Minister of Saudi Arabia,¹ the Palestinians of the West Bank have increasingly sought the "creation of an independent Palestinian State with Jerusalem as its capital" after the West Bank and Gaza have been placed under UN supervision for a short transitional period.

7. As regards the role of the US government, Secretary of State Haig visited Cairo and Jerusalem in January 1982 and President Mubarak met President Reagan in Washington in February, but the US government has failed to persuade Mr Begin to break the deadlock in the autonomy negotiations, which still continues.

8. Despite the Camp David guideline that "peace requires respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every state in the area", in December 1981 the Knesset adopted a law "annexing" the Golan Heights to the territory of Israel, and the Heights were captured by Israeli forces from Syria.

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¹ See Annex 6, p.49 (PE 73.166), op. cit.

/.. The law was declared null and void and the invasion was condemned by the UN General Assembly by 141 votes to 1, with 3 abstentions; it was also attacked by Mr Shimon Peres, leader of the Israeli Labour Party, and the Foreign Minister of France, among others. The "annexation" of Golan has probably helped to push Egypt into the arms of her former Arab allies in the Arab League, by whom she was ostracised after signing the 1979 Peace Treaty, and has forced Syria to rely even more heavily on the USSR for military support against Israeli aggression

9. On 5 February 1982, at a special session on the Golan invasion the General Assembly of the United Nations voted by 86 votes to 21 with 34 abstentions for an Arab resolution calling on Member States to take "global sanctions" against Israel and preparing the way for suspension of Israeli membership. The Ten (apart from Greece), and the USA voted against this resolution.

B. THE ROLE OF THE TEN SINCE THE VENICE DECLARATION

10. This subject is dealt with in the Explanatory Statement to the Penders Report¹, which it is only necessary to update for the purpose of this note.

11. The Thorn and Van der Klaauw missions of 1980 and 1981 essentially sought to explain the principles contained in the Venice Declaration and to search for common ground between Egypt, Israel and the Palestinians. Neither mission was notably successful but each helped Lord Carrington to maintain the process of discussion which led next to the participation of four Member States in the United Nations peace-keeping force which, pursuant to the Treaty of Peace between Egypt and Israel, was to guarantee the frontier /..

¹ op.cit, Part I, Chapter 4, paras 41-57 (pp. 17-21)

/.. between the two countries after the withdrawal from Sinai. In the event, the Foreign Ministers finally agreed in January 1982 that France, Italy, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom should between them contribute a few hundred men to the force of 2500, which comprised also 1,500 United States marines, Egyptian and Israeli troops, and elements from Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Fiji, Colombia and Uruguay.

12. The publication of the Fahd Plan in August had led Lord Carrington to make several visits to Middle Eastern states to test Arab support for it. The Ten adopted it as a further step towards a settlement, but it was rejected by the Arab League Summit at Fez in December, which proved to be a setback to the Ten's approach to the Arab-Israeli dispute. The "annexation" of Golan ~~marked a further check to the Ten's efforts, and was condemned by~~ them in a strong statement.

13. Nevertheless, by March and April 1982 the Ten were, in consultation with the United States government, preparing to make yet another attempt to seek the agreement of Middle Eastern governments to the principles of a possible settlement. As a prelude to these efforts, the Secretary General of the Arab League, Mr Klika stated¹ that the Arabs were ceasing to believe that the Ten were genuinely seeking a settlement; that the Ten should press the US to face up to the Palestinian problem; and that they should take "dynamic action" for peace. About this time, President Mitterand visited Israel and, in his speech to the Knesset, urged acceptance of a Palestinian homeland and State.

14. The Ten find themselves in almost as much difficulty however as do the Arabs in arriving at a concensus on the next steps to take. Whereas France and Italy have within the last year moved closer to Israel, the Federal Republic has moved away; the UK /..

¹ Le Soir, 9 March 1982

/.. is principally concerned with the Falklands dispute and Lord Carrington's departure underlines its loss of interest in the Middle East; Greece has emphasised its traditional links with Arab countries , while the Netherlands have suffered from a divided Cabinet in recent months.

15. The President-in-Office of the Council, Mr Tindemans, has however just visited Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Israel, with the object of "re-evaluating" the Venice Declaration of 1980. His objectives have probably been to seek the views of moderate Arab governments on the Declaration, the Fahd Plan, the failure of the negotiations on Palestinian autonomy, the Euro-Arab Dialogue the future role of the United States government, and the Lebanon. An Arab Summit is planned by July to discuss the Fahd Plan, and this could lead to the Dialogue meeting at ministerial level, postponed in 1981, being held later this year. Work has been continuing on technical aspects of the Dialogue at official level, but a political impulsion is long overdue, thanks to the failure of the Ten hitherto to agree upon its content.

16. On the Lebanon, the Ten have issued numerous statements, offering their services in restoring the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country, and condemning Palestinian and Israeli raids in South Lebanon. The Israeli invasion of 6 June is still in progress, so little more can be said at present upon it.

C. RESOLUTIONS OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

17. See Annexes 1 to 4, and also the Penders Report, due to be adopted in the Political Committee on 23 June and possibly to be debated at the July session.

Outcome of the Camp David Summit (vote)

Parliament adopted the resolution tabled by Mr Bertrand and others (Doc. 372/78/rev.):

RESOLUTION

on the outcome of the Camp David Summit

The European Parliament,

- in the desire to see a just and lasting peace in the Middle East,
 - aware of the responsibilities of the countries of Europe in this matter and, in particular, of the Member States of the European Community,
 - referring to its resolution of 15 December 1977 on the historic meeting between Mr Anwar el-Sadat, *President of the Arab Republic of Egypt*, and Mr Menahem Begin, *Head of the Government of the State of Israel*.
1. Welcomes the successful outcome of the Camp David Summit;
 2. Promises its full support for the negotiations to follow, so that they may lead to a just and lasting peace in the whole region;
 3. Calls urgently on the other parties involved in the conflict to join in the negotiations;
 4. Invites the Council and Commission to draw up, in consultation with the Arab Republic of Egypt and the State of Israel, practical proposals for multilateral cooperation aimed at speeding up the economic, technical and social development of the region;
 5. Calls upon the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation to adopt a constructive attitude to the process of achieving peace and to all measures aimed at helping that process, not only within the Community, but also in the international organizations to which they belong;

6. Instructs its Political Affairs Committee to follow developments in the Middle East and to report to it when it judges necessary;
7. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Council and Commission and to the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation.

26 APRIL 1979

Peace Treaty between Egypt and Israel (vote)

Parliament adopted the resolution contained in the report by Mr Blumenfeld (Doc. 82/79):

RESOLUTION

on the signature of a Peace Treaty between Egypt and Israel and a Community contribution to a comprehensive peace settlement

The European Parliament,

- having regard to its resolution on the historic meeting between Mr Anwar-el-Sadat and Mr Menachem Begin (1),
- having regard to its resolution on the outcome of the Camp David Summit (2),
- having regard to the statement on the signature of the Peace Treaty made on 26 March 1979 by the Nine Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation,
- having regard to the report of the Political Affairs Committee (Doc. 82/79).

1. Warmly welcomes the signature of a treaty of peace between Egypt and Israel after 30 years of hostilities and shares the desire of its signatories that this event should be considered as the first important step in the direction of a comprehensive peaceful settlement of the Middle East conflict;
2. Congratulates President Carter on his perseverance and dedication, and President Sadat and Prime Minister Begin on their courageous efforts in laying the foundations of a just and lasting peace in this area;
3. Endorses the declaration made by the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation in Paris on 26 March 1979;
4. Urges the Council and Commission and the Governments of the Member States to do all in their power to intensify, within the framework of the Community and of European political cooperation, the existing links between the Community, Egypt and Israel and to offer stronger cooperation to those States of the area which are willing to participate in the process of achieving a comprehensive peace settlement;
5. Requests the Commission to bring forward concrete proposals to increase industrial cooperation between the Community and Israel and the Community and Egypt, as a contribution to the development of the region, and including suggestions for specific projects, in order to increase the industrial capacity of both countries and to diversify their economies;
6. Emphasizes the desire of the European Parliament to seek to make an effective contribution to the Community's efforts to assist in the achievement of a comprehensive settlement;
7. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Council and the Commission, to the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation, to the governments of the Member States, the United States of America, Israel and Egypt and to the Knesset and the People's Assembly of Egypt.

(1) OJ No C 6, 9. 1. 1978, p. 47.

(2) OJ No C 261, 6. 7. 1978, p. 32.

Friday, 10 April 1981

Paragraph 4

Explanations of vote

— amendment No 2 by Mr Bettiza and others: rejected. Mr Marshall, Mr Kappos and Mr Hord spoke.

Paragraph 4 was adopted.

Parliament adopted the following resolution:

RESOLUTION

on the crisis in the Lebanon

The European Parliament,

- concerned at the renewed outbreak of hostilities in the Lebanon, which is causing many casualties among the civilian population, especially in the Christian town of Zahle, thereby exacerbating the dangers of war in that area,
 - having regard to United Nations Resolution No 436 of 6 October 1978 calling for a ceasefire and proposing a return to peace and national reconciliation on the basis of the preservation of unity, territorial integrity and sovereignty in the Lebanon,
 - having regard to the terms of the communiqué adopted by the European Council at Maastricht,
1. Calls on all the parties concerned to allow the representatives of the International Committee of the Red Cross to enter the areas of conflict in order to evacuate the injured and provide humanitarian assistance;
 2. Calls for an immediate ceasefire and ending of the Syrian bombardment;
 3. Calls for the withdrawal of all outside forces apart from Unifil and the re-establishment of the legitimate Lebanese Government's authority throughout the territory by its own national, military and police forces;
 4. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation, the Secretary-General of the UN, the Governments of the Lebanon, Syria and Israel, and the Secretary-General of the Arab League.

RESOLUTION

on the situation in the Lebanon

The European Parliament,

- shocked by the assassination of an official of the Embassy of France and his wife in Beirut, following the murder of the French Ambassador, Louis DELAMARE,

1. Expresses its outrage and indignation at these murders and demands that the legal and all de facto authorities in Lebanon respect and protect diplomatic representatives;
2. Notes that this murder is part of a general state of instability which is leading embassies to leave Lebanon;
3. Notes that Lebanon's territorial integrity and national sovereignty are essential for peace in the Middle East;
4. Insists that the sovereignty of the Lebanese Government be restored over the whole of the country and that ~~all foreign~~ armed forces be withdrawn from Lebanon;
5. Condemns the attacks upon the Lebanon people, especially in the city of Zahlé by the Syrian Armed Forces;
6. Requests the Palestinian Liberation Movement to recognize the legitimacy and sovereignty of the Government of Lebanon and to lay down its firearms;
7. Requests, with the people of Lebanon, that free elections be organized rapidly to allow a democratically elected government to assure such national sovereignty within the territorial integrity of the Lebanon;
8. Supports the Lebanese Government and all the religious communities in their efforts to implement the democratic process which will enable Lebanon to regain peace and sovereignty;
9. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Commission, the Council and the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation.