

The Middle East

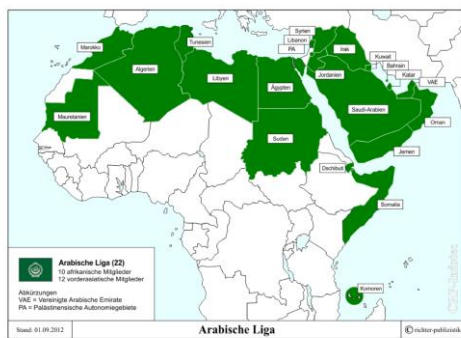
ARAB UNITY AND INTERFERENCE FROM THE OUTSIDE WORLD

Arab have several things in common

They all speak the Arabic language. They are all nearly all Muslims, except from half of Lebanon who are Christian. And most of them wanted to see the destruction of Israel so that the Palestine Arabs could have back the land which they feel is rightfully theirs. Many Arabs wanted unity in some sort of political and economic union just like the European community. Several attempts were made to create unity among the Arab states.

- Arab league formed in 1945
- United Arab Republic (Egypt and Syria) 1958-1961

Arab League



Aim:

- increase social, economical relationships.
- Create the state Palestine

They were led down by the British and French. However, they managed to regain independence step by step.

Allies were helped by the Arabs in the fight against Germany.

> The Arab League never really worked: too much difference in interests

Interference in the Middle East by other countries

British and French involvement in the Middle East stretched back many years. Britain ruled Egypt from 1882 until 1922, when the country was given semi-independence under its own king. However, the British troops remained there and still had a lot to say. By the Versailles Settlement at the end of WW1, Britain and France were given large areas of the Middle East from the defeated Turks. Britain gave independence to Iraq, Jordan which remained still pro-British. France gave independence to Syria and Lebanon.

The Middle East has a strategic important position. They acted as crossroads of Western Nation, communist bloc and the third world of Africa and Asia.

The Middle East is an important oil supplier. The European nations were heavily dependent and wanted to make sure that they had friendly governments that would sell oil cheaply.

One-by-one governments that were thought to be pro-west were swept away and replaced by regimes which wanted to be non-aligned.

1. Egypt/ At the end of WW2 British troops stayed in the canal zone which allowed Britain to control the canal, in which over half the shares was owned by British and French. 1952 a group

of Egyptian army officers were tired of waiting the British to leave, overthrew Farouk and seized power themselves. By 1954 Colonel Nasser had become President and his policy led to the Suez war.

2. Jordan/ Abdullah had been given the throne by the British in 1946. He was assassinated 1951 by nationalist. The successor King Hussein ended the treaties which allowed British troops to use bases in Jordan.
3. Iraq/ Faisal and Nuri-es-Said, were pro-British. In 1955 they joined the joint and defense policy with Turkey, Pakistan, Iraq and Britain. The Suez War encouraged the anti/British movement in Iraq to act. The two were murdered and Iraq became Republic.
4. Iran/ Iran had frontier with the USSR. In 1945 Russians tried to set up a communist government there. The western/educated Shah of Iran, Reza Pahlavi, resisted and signed a defense treaty with the USA. The USA saw it as part of cold War & prevention of communism. However, there was a strong nationalist movement that resented all foreign influence. 1951 the Premier of Iran, Mussadiq, nationalized the oil company. Most of the world boycotted Iran's oil exports and Mussadiq had to resign. 1954 a compromise was reached (40% to Britain and 50% to the Shah to be usable for modernization and land reform). This was not enough for the left and the devout Muslims. They did not like the connection to the USA and feared that wealth was finding its way to his private fortune. He was forced to leave the country, and an Islamic republic was set up under a religious leader Ayatollah Khomeini.

THE CREATION OF ISRAEL AND THE ARAB-ISRAELI WAR, 1948-1949

Since the 7th century there was a relatively peaceful co-existence of Muslims and Jews. The Jews made up roughly 10% of Palestine. In 638 A.D Muslims conquer Jerusalem. From 15th century onwards Palestine was under the rule of the Ottoman Empire. In the 19th century nationalism and antisemitism encouraged Zionism. Zionism describes the idea or the intention of establishing a Jewish national state. The term was "invented" by Theodor Herzl. This led to the Balfour-Declaration in 1917 which was a double promise of GB. It promised a national state for the Jews and for the Arabs. They told the Arabs to fight against the Turkey and the Ottoman Empire in order to get this promise. After the collapse of the Ottoman Empire in WWI Palestine becomes a mandate territory of GB. The plan of how to GB and FR on what to do with the colonial interest in the east after the Ottoman collapse was agreed in the Sykes-Picot agreement. This and also later WW2 led to an increase in Jewish immigration. Since the British had a feeling of guilt they established the Jewish agency during WWII and transferred a lot of competences to it. It was only allowed to be made up by Jews. That led to prejudice for Jewish self-administration in Palestine even though they made up the smaller part of the population. As a consequence, the socioeconomic differences between Jews and Arabic Palestinians increased. Arab League and near end of GB Mandate encouraged Palestinian resistance. In 1947 the British returned their Mandate to the UN. They wanted to no longer deal with this problem. Invented the UN partition of Palestine which was rejected by the Arabs. David Ben-Gurion proclaimed the state of Israel. He successfully united and organized a successful army.

UN partition plan 1947



Main Problems about the UN Partition plan:

- Question about Jerusalem is not solved: Jerusalem is a problem, it is the meeting point of different religions. Arabs in Jerusalem are surrounded by Jews
 - The southern state of Jewish state is not linked to the northern part with sea access
 - Excessive amount of border war
 - Arabs lost access to Ellat
 - Distribution of land is in favor of the Jews
 - Jews and Palestinians had no say
- It was motivated with a feeling of guilt from WWII. It's an important point but it isn't the Arabs fault. So why should they suffer from European mistakes?
- The feeling of guilt led to a non-objective distribution of land.

Why did the creation of the Israel State lead to a war

1. Origin almost 2000 year back, when the Jews were driven out of Palestine, which was then their homeland, by the Romans. The Arabs look at Palestine as their Homeland now.
2. In 1897 Jews living in Europe founded the World *Zionist* Organization at Basle. Zionist were people who believed that the Jews ought to be able to go back to Palestine and see it as homeland. Jews would have a place for refugees.
3. In 1917 foreign Minister, Arthur Balfour, announced Britain supported the idea if a Jewish national home in Palestine. The British only hoped to persuade Jews and Arabs to live together peacefully in the same state. They failed to understand the deep religious gulf between the two.
4. Nazi caused a flood of refugees and by 1940 half of the Palestine population was Jewish. The Arabs protested and the British tried to suppressed this. In 1937 the British Peel Commission proposed to divide Palestine into two separate states. The ideas was rejected.
5. WW2 made the situation much worse. The Jewish refugees from Hitler desperately looked for a place to go. After the suffering the Jews were determined to fight for their "national home". They began a terrorist campaign on Arabs and Britain.
6. November 1947, the UN voted to divide Palestine. Although fighting between Jews and Arabs was going on, the British withdrew their troops. In May 1948 Ben Gurion declared the independence of the new state Israel. It was immediately attacked by Egypt, Syria, Jordan, Iraq and Lebanon.

Who was to blame for the tragedy

Most of the world seem to blame Britain. The criticized Britain for doing to much in this affair and they say that British should have stayed to ensure that the partition of Palestine was carried out smoothly. Some historians also say that the British only wanted to be fair to bothsides and simply could not afford to provide more assistance.

USA is to blame because it was President Truman who pressured Britain to allow extra Jews to go to Palestine. Truman also refused to provide any troops to help this situation and refused Jews to enter USA. It was the USA who pushed the idea of a parted Palestine through the UN.

The war and its outcome

The Israelis defeated the Arabs and even gained more of Palestine than what was given to them surprisingly. They won because they fought desperately and some gained experience in British army during WW2. The Arabs were divided and badly equipped.

The most tragic outcome of the war was that the Palestinian Arabs became the innocent victims. They had lost a lot of land and the majority were without a state of their own. The city of Jerusalem was divided between Israel and Jordan. Refugee camps were established. The Palestinian refugees had no self-determination. They wouldn't question if Palestine should be a state again. It led to a bipolar system where USA supported Israel and the USSR supported the Arabs. Israel turned into a foremost of western economy and technology.

THE SUEZ WAR OF 1956

The refugee problems promote anti-Israeli Panarabism, the ides of uniting the Arab nations against Israel.

First War in the Middle East 1948



Who was to blame for the war

- Arabs blamed Israelis, who began hostilities by invading Egypt.
- Communist bloc and Arab states blamed GB and FR accusing them of imperialist tactics.
- GB, FR and Israel blamed Colonel Nasser of Egypt for being anti-Western. However, even USA thought that GB and FR had overreacted.

Colonel Nasser was aggressive in favor of the Arab unity and independence, including the liberation of Palestine.

- He organized guerilla fighter, fedayeen, to carry out sabotage and murder in Israel.
- Egypt blockaded the Gulf of Aqba which led to Eliat.
- He cancelled the agreement which allowed British troop to be stationed at Suez.
- He signed an arm deal with Czechoslovakia in order get military aid and training by Russians.

Americans were outraged since they no longer control Egypt's arms supplies. The whole problem became part of the Cold War - Eisenhower Doctrine: No American aid for communist supporter.

Crisis point was reached when Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal, to use the income to finance the dam.

Anthony Eden, the British conservative prime minister, believed that Nasser was on the way to forming a united Arab under Egyptian control and communist influence. He feared that they would cut off Europe's oil supplies. He was dedicated to not appease Nasser as they did Hitler or Mussolini.

Secret talks took place between British, French and Israelis. A plan was hatched: Israel would invade Egypt across the Peninsula, whereupon British and French troops would occupy the canal zones. They hoped that their success would topple Nasser from power. In 1956 Eden was still willing to continue talks by peaceful means. There seemed a good chance of compromise being reached over the control of the Suez Canal. However, there was pressure from the British and French government.

Events in the war

It began with a planned Israeli invasion on Egypt with GB and FR support. Within weeks the Israelis have captured the whole Sinai Peninsula. Meanwhile, GB and FR bombed Egypt and landed troops. The attacks caused an outcry from the rest of the world. Americans refused to support because they feared to upset the Arabs and lead them into a closer tie with USSR. At the UN the Russians and Americans for once agreed. They demanded immediate ceasefire. They wanted to show who was the world police. GB, FR and the Israelis agreed to withdraw.

The outcome of the war

- Humiliation for Britain and France
- Triumph for president Nasser. For ordinary Arab people he was a hero.
- Egyptians blocked the canal and reduced oil supplies which led to petrol rationing in western Europe. Russian aid replaced American aid.
- Britain lost ally Iraq, where premier Niro-es-Said got increasingly attacked for his pro-British attitude.
- Britain was weak and depended on USA.
- Israel was not without any success. They managed to damage Egyptian in men and equipment. They now looked at USA as their chief supporter.
- Climax of Arabic nationalism and formation of United Arab Republic (Egypt and Syria)
- (Cold War led to an increased formation offload in the Middle East.)

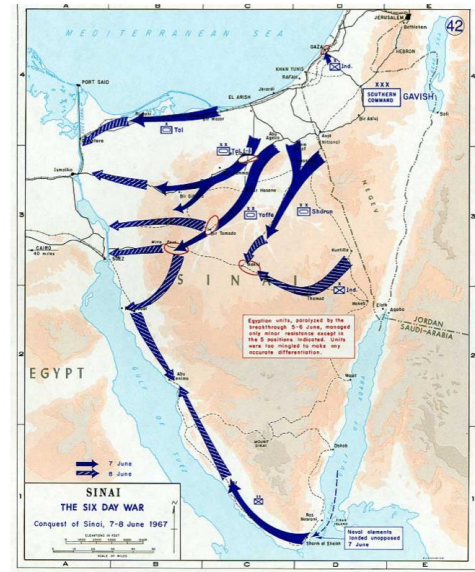
THE SIX-DAY WAR OF 1967

The Arab states had not signed a peace treaty at the end of the 1948-9 war and were still refusing to acknowledge Israel. In 1967 they joined together to destroy Israel. The lead was taken by Egypt, Iraq and Syria.

The build-up to the war

In Iraq, a new government, inspired by Ba'ath Party in Syria, came to power in 1963. They believed in Arab independence and unity and were left-wing. They were prepared to cooperate with Egypt.

In Syria, the Ba'ath Party came to power in 1966 due to political upheavals. It supported El Fatha, a Palestine liberation movement. It eventually became the core section of the Palestine Liberation Organization, with Yasser Arafat as one of its leaders.



In Egypt, Nasser was immensely popular. He followed socialist policies and attempted to industrialize the country. The dam project was completed in 1971. With all going well and the prospect of effective help from Iraq and Syria, Nasser decided the time was ripe for an attack. He closed the Gulf of Aqaba.

The Russians encouraged Egypt and Syria and kept up anti-Israeli propaganda (because Israel was being supported by USA). Their aim was to increase their influence on the Middle-East. They hinted that they would send help if war came.

Syria, Jordan and Lebanon also massed troops along their frontiers with Israel while further Arab countries joined. Israel's situation seemed hopeless.

Israel decided that the best policy is to attack first rather than wait to be defeated. They launched devastating air strikes and managed to destroy Egyptian air forces on ground. Their troops moved with remarkable speed. The Arabs had no choice but to accept the UN ceasefire order, and it was all over in less than a week. Reasons for their success: Slow and ponderous Arab troop build-up which gave them plenty of warning and superiority in the air.

Results of the war

- UN Resolution 242: Said something about integrity and political independence. However, it was very vague and only talked about recent borders. They didn't address the partition plan or refugee problem. —> no advance

From the demands of UN Resolution 242 (November 22, 1967)

„1. Withdrawal of Israeli forces from the territories that have been occupied in the recent conflict.
2. Cessation of all military statements or any warlike state, as well as respect for and acknowledgment of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of any state of the region and its right to live in peace with secure and within recognized borders free of threats or acts of violence.“

- The Israelis had a spectacular success: They ignored UN order and didn't returned gained territory and had a buffer zone now. However, they had to deal with new Arabs on Israeli ground. Many lived in refugee camps set up in 1948 on the West Bank and Gaza strip.
- It was a humiliation for the Arabs states and Nasser: They realized that they needed outside help to free Palestine. The Russian did send no help. However, the Russians supplied the Arabs with modern weapons to improve their relations again.

- The refugee problem provided breeding ground for terrorist organizations. Those have joined together since 1964 under the Umbrella of PLO under Yassir Arafat. (That's why Integration is so important!). The PLO did. Similar speeches like the Nazis and wanted to have as much Palestinians fighting for them as possible. They used aggressiveness and simple language to appeal to people.

4th War in the Middle East / Jom-Kippur-War

1973: Surprise attack of Egypt and Syria against Israel

Successful counter-attack, Arab oil embargo

Ceasefire under pressure from the USA, USSR and UN → **Status quo**

1974: Israel pulls back from some of the conquered territories, but keeps the strategically important Golan Heights occupied. [\(source\)](#)

PLO intensifies terror fight and extends it to Israel's allies (e.g. hijacking). Arab States to discover „oil weapon“ as an important way to increase pressure towards West.

Increasing awareness of Palestine Problem in the West and partial understanding of Palestinian demands.

Amazing change of course in Egypt under Anwar as Sadat (from 1973): Departure from the USSR, approach to USA and Israel

Camp-David-Agreement 1979: Separate peace between Israel and Egypt strengthens position of Israel

Increased colonization of the occupied territories creates settlement problem!

GOLAN HEIGHTS - QUOTE FROM YEHUDA HAREL

Quote from Yehuda Harel, founder of an Israeli village in Golan, 1976

„Wer den Golan besitzt, der hat nicht nur Galiläa in der Hand, der kann auch ... das Wasser des Jordans umleiten und die Lebensader der israelischen Landwirtschaft abschnüren. Zuerst müssen wir unser Überleben sichern, erst dann können wir an Frieden denken ... Israel ist ein Land ohne feste Grenzen. Wir ziehen von einer Waffenstillstandslinie zur anderen ... Unser einziger Halt sind die Siedlungen und die Tatsache, dass Israel in den letzten achtzig Jahren noch nie freiwillig eine Siedlung aufgegeben hat. Überall, wo unsere Kibbuzim und unsere Truppen stehen, da ist auch Israel, da ist die Grenze.“

Before 1976 Golan has been "occupied" when the first Jewish wave came at around 1900. At 1979 Syria, Israel and Palestine claimed this territory for themselves. Since the six-day war, the western two-thirds of the Golan heights have been occupied and administered by Israel and the eastern third remained under Syrian Arabic control. According to Y. Harel settlements are important for Israel because it gives them a reason to stay there and to control the water supply in order to increase agriculture and population. Israelis have no fixed borders. With the settlements rough borders are formed allowing them to survive. Only if the possibility of surviving exists, they can start talking about peace settlements.

Israeli Settlements



CAMP DAVID AND THE EGYPTIAN-ISRAELI PEACE 1978-9

Why did the two sides begin to talk to each other?

President Sadat had become convinced that Israel could not be destroyed by force and that it was only a waste of Egypt's resources. It took great courage to take the step and recognize Israel as official state. He knew that the PLO and more aggressive Arab states, Iraq and Syria, would resent and approach.

The Israelis were suffering economic problems, partly because of defense expenditure and partly because of world recession. The USA were pressing them to seek peace at least with some of the Arab states. So, they did accept Sadat's offer.

President Carter played a vital role in setting formal negotiations between the two sides, which began in September 1978 at Camp Davids.

The peace treaty and its aftermath

They were signed March 1979 in Washington. The main points were:

- State of war between Egypt and Israel since 1948 was now ended
- Israel had to withdraw troops from Sinai
- Egypt promised to not attack again and guaranteed to supply Israel with oil from the new wells in southern Sinai
- Israel could use the Suez Canal

The treaty was condemned by the PLO and most other Arab states and it took long until similar treaties could have been signed between Israel and Syria or Jordan. World opinion began again move against Israel. When USA tried to bring PLO and Israel together, Israel refused to co-operate. November 1980 it was announced that Israel could never go back to the Golan Heights in Syria and that they would never allow the West Bank to become part of an independent Palestinian state.

The peace also seemed threatened when President Sadat was assassinated by some extremist Muslims. They believed that he had betrayed the Arab and Muslim by doing a deal with Israelis. However, his successor, Hosni Mubarak, announced that he would continue Camp David.

In the 1980s the Arab-Israeli fight was overshadowed by the Iran-Iraq War. It all began in December 1987 where there was a massive demonstration by Palestinians living in the refugee camps of the Gaza Strip and the West Bank. The infada campaign did involve strikes, non-payment of taxes and an attempt to boycott Israeli products. The Israelis' tough methods earned them UN and worldwide condemnation.

PEACE BETWEEN ISRAEL AND THE PLO

The election of a less aggressive government (labor) in June 1992 raised hopes for better relations with the Palestinians. Prime Minister, Yitzak Rabin and Foreign Minister Shimon Peres believed in negotiations. Yasser Arafat, the PLO leader, responded and talks opened. It was difficult but early 1996 remarkable changes had taken place.

The peace accord of September 1993

First breakthrough took place in Oslo - Oslo Accords.

- Israel recognized the PLO.
- PLO recognized Israel's existence and promised to give up terrorism.
- Palestinians were to be given limited self-rule in Jericho on the West Bank and in part of the Gaza Strip.

Extremist groups on both sides opposed the agreement.

Self-rule for the Palestinians (September-October 1995)

- Israel withdrew its troops from the West Bank, handing over civil and security power to the PLO.
- Election for the Palestinian Council were planned.
- Palestinian prisoners were released in three phases.

Most of the world's leader welcomed this brave attempt. However, extremist on both sides claimed that they were guilty of shameful surrender. Yitzhak Rabin got assassinated which led to a feeling against extremists. In January 1996, King Hussein of Jordan visited Israel and also talks between Israel and Syria opened. Yasser Arafat became the new Palestinian president.

The situation changed rapidly during the spring of 1996. Four suicide bombings were carried out by militant Palestinian group Hamas (Islamic Resistance Movement).

THE CARTER DOCTRINE 1980

The USA feared that the USSR attacks the oil business and said that if it will be regarded as a threat since the whole world relies on the oil. It showed the importance of oil and led to USSR losing Egypt.

THE IRAN-IRAQ WAR 1980-1988

In September 1980 Iraqi troops invaded Iran. Saddam Hussein from Iraq had several motives.

Iraq's motives

- He feared that militant Islam from Iran spread across the border into Iraq. Iran had become Islamic republic in 1979 under Ayatollah Khomeini and his Shiite Muslim supporters. They believed that the country should be run according Islamic religion. The population of Iraq was mainly Sunni Muslim but with a large Shia minority. Saddam himself had a non-religious government.
- The Iraqis claimed that the Iranian border of Khuzestan should rightfully belong to them. They hoped to get support since a lot of Arabs lived there (most Iranians were Persians)
- There was a dispute over Shatt-el-Arab Waterway which was an important outlets for oil exports for both. The Iraqs were forced five years earlier to share this region with Iran.
- Saddam thought that the Iranian forces would be weak and rapidly demoralized. He miscalculated that.

Iran-Iraq War 1980-1988

	Iraq	Iran
Pol. System	Sunnit Baath-Regime under Saddam Hussein	Fundamentalistic-schiite regime under Ayatollah Khomeini (theocracy)
Goal	Better access to Persian Gulf (Schatt-al-Arab) Oil reserves in south-west Iran Overthrow of Iranian regime	Defence of country and regime
Strength	Technical superiority, broad internat. support (arab. and europ. states, USA, USSR)	Numerical superiority, religious enthusiasm and motivation for „holy war“
result	Heavily armed Iraq as dominating military power at Gulf	Militarily and economically heavily shaken state, enforcement of regime

The war drags on

The Iranians quickly organized to fight against the Iraqi seizure of the waterway. On paper Iraq seemed much stronger being supplied by foreign (R,GB,USA) and more modern equipment. However, the Iranian revolutionary guards, inspired by religion, were ready to become martyrs and to die for

their country. Eventually they became modern equipment from China and secretly from USA. Iran managed to capture Iraq territory. Territorial dispute has become lost in deeper racial and religious conflict.

Important international repercussion:

- Stability of the entire Arab world was threatened. The conservative states Saudi Arabia, Jordan and Kuwait supported Iraq. Syria, Libya, Algeria, Yemen and the PLO were critical of Iraq for starting the war at a time when they believed, all Arab states should be concentrating on the destruction of Israel.
- Attacks on Iran's oil exports threatened the energy supplies to the west. This also led at various times to appearance of GB, FR, R and USA.
- The success of Iran's Shia fundamentalist troops alarmed the non-religious Arab governments and many were afraid of what might happen if Iraq was defeated. An Islamic conference was held in Kuwait but no agreement could be reached since Iran's leaders refused to attend.
- Towards the end of 1987 the war entered a more terrible phase. Both sides began to bombard each other's capital cities Tehran (Iran) and Baghdad (Iraq).

The end of the war

No side achieved its aim but lost a lot. Both wanted to end the fighting, though for a time continued to pour out propaganda. The UN became involved and did some straight talking to both sides. Ceasefire was arranged in August 1988. This was monitored by UN troops. Terms were finally agreed in 1990.

THE GULF WAR 1990-1991

ISRAELI AND PALESTINIANS FIGHT AGAIN

The failure of the Oslo accords

Israeli Prime Minister, Binyamin Netanyahu 1996-1999, never accepted the agreements reached in Oslo. He tried to build a large Jewish settlement on the outskirts of Jerusalem, which would cut off Arab villages on the eastern side of Jerusalem from the rest of the West Bank. This caused more protest from the Palestinians. Yasser Arafat release some Hamas from jail and suspended security co-operation with Israel. Clinton tried to keep the peace but little progress could be made. Ehud Barak candidate for the labor party for prime minister. He promised economic growth and renewed drive for peace. He won a decisive victory. He wanted to include Syria and Palestinians in the peace settlement but his efforts failed.

- Syria wanted to return to the pre-six-day frontiers which Barak couldn't accept.
- May 2000 Barak removed troops from southern Lebanon.
- Barak offered to share Jerusalem but Arafat continued to demand full Palestinian sovereignty in East Jerusalem.

By the summer 2000, Barak's government was falling apart, many of his supporters thought that he made too many concessions and getting nothing in return. Clinton made one last effort to bring peace. At the meeting in the White House. He moved towards accommodating Palestinian demands recognizing their independence and with a general principle that the Arab areas are Palestinian and the Jewish are Israeli. At the conference at Taba in Egypt the agreement couldn't be reached because of the problem Jerusalem.

The problem of Jerusalem

The Oslo Accords had by-passed several vital questions, such as the status of Jerusalem, the right of return of the 1948 refugees, and the future of the Jewish settlement in the areas occupied by Israel since 1967. The first time they were discussed in detail was the Clinton's Camp David summit in July 2000. The UN wanted Jerusalem under international control but this wasn't possible as thought. The

problem is that Jerusalem has great symbolic and emotional significance for both sides. For Jews it was their ancient capital city and that Temple Mount was the site of their temple in biblical times. For Muslims, Jerusalem is the side which the Prophet Muhammed ascend to heaven. This is why 1995 agreements, which for the first time recognized the possibility of Jerusalem being divided was such a big breakthrough. When Clinton's Camp David summit failed, another outbreak was inevitable.

Palestine in the Biblic area



Sharon and the intifada

28 September 2000, Ariel Sharon, the leader of the opposition Likud party, surrounded by a large contingent of security men, paid a visit to Temple Mount. He claimed to deliver a message of peace but others think that he wanted to provoke violence by emphasizing Israel's sovereignty over the whole of Jerusalem. This could end the peace process and this was indeed his motive. It soon turned into a full-scale uprising, which became known as the al-Aqsa intifada. After failure of Clintons attempt in 2001 Sharon was elected prime minister. He said negotiations only continued if violence would stop. His aim was to control the intifada by international pressure and tough military action. He started to built walls around the West Bank which he claimed were purely defensive. But some Palestinians were trapped on the wrong side. The more drastic Israel was the more it lost international support. For the next three years the tragic cycle of suicide bombings, massive Israeli retaliations and short ceasefires interspersed with fruitless international efforts at mediation, continued unabated. --> See examples page 249 and 250

The road map for peace

The road map for peace as delayed by Israeli election, war in Iraq and USA and Israeli only wanting to talk to Abbas and not Arafat. The road map aimed to achieve a final settlement of the entire Palestinian-Israeli conflict by the end of 2005. Its basic points were:

- Creation of independent and democratic Palestinian state.
- An unconditional cessation of violence on both sides.
- After Palestinian election there would be an international conference to draw up frontiers.
- Israel and Palestine would negotiate final details such as remaining settlements, refugees and the status of Jerusalem and frontiers.

Both sides agreed but had several reservations, especially Israel. But Sharon had to realize after three years of violence, that his policy wasn't working.

In 2003 some Israelis held talks with some Palestinian leaders and together they produced a rival, unofficial peace plan. This was launched in Geneva and welcomed by a sign of hope. By the spring of 2004 no process was made. They were well behind schedule. It had proved impossible to achieve a lasting ceasefire and violence continued.

Why did the peace process stall in this way?

- Israel didn't acknowledge their illegal occupation of Gaza and West Bank and they ignored the UN order.
- Frontiers were referred to as provisional. Palestinian thought Sharon wanted to lead Palestinian to a weak state.
- There was a thorny problem of Israel settlements.
- There was no reference to the massive security wall.
- The question of refugee is still not answered.

--> Developments since 2004 on page 252-255