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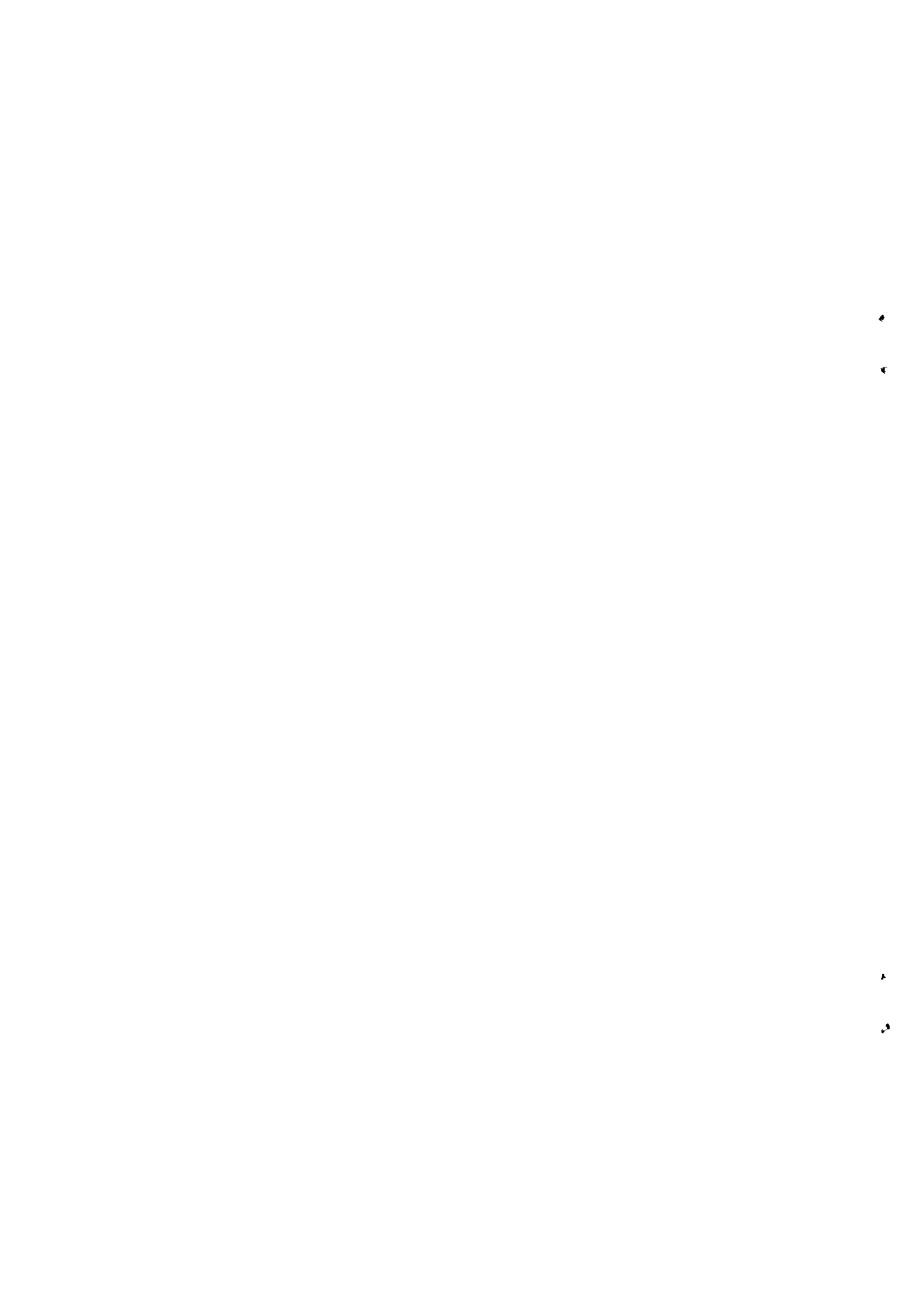
REPORT

drawn up on behalf of the Political Affairs Committee
on the political situation in the Middle East

Rapporteur: Mrs G. CHARZAT

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By letter of 8 November 1984, the Political Affairs Committee requested authorization to draw up a report on the political situation in the Middle East.

At its sitting of 14 January 1985, the European Parliament authorized the Political Affairs Committee to draw up a report on this subject.

The following motions for resolutions have been included in this report. The European Parliament referred them to the Political Affairs Committee pursuant to Rule 47 of the Rules of Procedure:

- on 8 May 1985, the motion for a resolution tabled by Mrs DURY on Israeli raids in Southern Lebanon (Doc. B 2-199/85);
- on 8 May 1985, the motion for a resolution tabled by Mr LOMAS and others on the massacres in South Lebanon (Doc. B 2-243/85);
- on 9 September 1985, the motion for a resolution tabled by Mrs LIZIN on the situation in Lebanon (Doc. B 2-624/85);
- on 21 October 1985, the motion for resolution tabled by Mr MALLET on the European Community and the situation in Lebanon (Doc. B 2-938/85);
- on 23 October 1985, the motion for a resolution tabled by Mr PIQUET and others on the situation in the Israeli-occupied territories (Doc. B 2-970/85);
- on 11 November 1985, the motion for a resolution tabled by Mr MALLET and Mr DEBATISSE, on behalf of the EPP Group, on the European Community and the situation in Lebanon (Doc. B 2-1037/85);
- on 11 November 1985, the motion for a resolution tabled by Mr MALLET and others, on behalf of the EPP Group, on the fate of the Soviet hostages held in Lebanon (Doc. B 2-1039/85).

At its meeting of 23 January 1985, the Political Affairs Committee appointed Mrs Gisèle CHARZAT rapporteur.

At its meetings of 19-21 December 1985 and 21-23 January 1986, the committee considered the draft report. It adopted the motion for a resolution as a whole on 22 January 1986 by 34 votes to 1, with 5 abstentions.

The following took part in the vote with Mr FORMIGONI, chairman, in the chair: Mr HÄNSCH, first vice-chairman; Lord DOURO, second vice-chairman; Mrs CHARZAT, rapporteur; Mr ALMEIDA MENDES, Mr BALFE (deputizing for Mr Lomas), Lord BETHELL, Mr BLUMENFELD, Mr BROK (deputizing for Mr Bernard-Reymond), Mr CAAMANO BERNAL, Mr CERVETTI, Mr COSTE-FLORET, Mr EPHREMIDIS, Mr ERCINI, Mr B. FRIEDRICH, Mr GALLUZ I (deputizing for Mr Segre), Mr GARCIA-PAGAN (deputizing for Mrs Flores Valencia), Mr GLINNE, Mr HABSBURG, Mrs van den HEUVEL, Mr KLEPSCH, Mrs LENZ, Mr MALLET (deputizing for Mr Croux), Mr MEDEIROS FERREIRA, Mr MEDINA ORTEGA, Mr NEWENS, Mr PELIKAN (deputizing for Mr Amadei), Mr PENDERS, Mr PERINAT ELIO, Mr PETERS (deputizing for Mr Boesmans), Mrs PIERMONT, Mr PIRKL (deputizing for Mr Antoniozzi), Mr PLANAS PUCHADES, Mr POETTERING, Mr PRAG, Mr ROMUALDI (deputizing for Mr Le Pen), Mr SABY (deputizing for Mr Jospin), Sir James SCOTT-HOPKINS (deputizing for Lady Elles), Mr SEEFELD, Mr VANDEMEULEBROUCKE (deputizing for Mrs Hammerich) and Mr WEDEKIND (deputizing for Mr Calvo Sotelo).

The report was tabled on 22 January 1986.

The deadline for tabling amendments to this report will be indicated in the draft agenda for the part-session at which it will be debated.

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The Political Affairs Committee hereby submits to the European Parliament the following motion for a resolution, together with explanatory statement:

A

MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION

on the political situation in the Middle East

The European Parliament,

- having regard to its previous observations on the situation in the Middle East,
- having regard to its resolution of 11 January 1983¹ adopted on the basis of the report drawn up by Mr Jean PENDERS on behalf of the Political Affairs Committee (Doc. 1-786/82),
- having regard to the following motions for resolutions:
 - motion for a resolution tabled by Mrs DURY on Israeli raids in South Lebanon (B 2-199/85)
 - motion for a resolution tabled by Mr LOMAS and others on the massacres in South Lebanon (B 2-243/85)
 - motion for a resolution tabled by Mrs LIZIN on the situation in Lebanon (Doc. B 2-624/85)
 - motion for a resolution tabled by Mr MALLET on the European Community and the situation in Lebanon (Doc. B 2-938/85)
 - motion for a resolution tabled by Mr PIQUET and others on the situation in the Israeli-occupied territories (Doc. B 2-970/85)
 - motion for a resolution tabled by Mr MALLET and Mr DEBATISSE, on behalf of the EPP Group, on the European Community and the situation in Lebanon (Doc. B 2-1037/85)
 - motion for a resolution tabled by Mr MALLET and others, on behalf of the EPP Group, on the fate of the Soviet hostages held in Lebanon (Doc. B 2-1039/85)
- having regard to the report of the Political Affairs Committee (Doc. A 2-211/85),

¹OJ No. C 42 of 14 February 1983, p. 15

- A. repeating its desire for a comprehensive, just and lasting peace settlement in the Middle East,
 - B. convinced that a lasting settlement must resolve all aspects of the Palestinian problem,
 - C. noting with interest all the initiatives towards a peaceful solution of the conflict in the Middle East,
 - D. believing that the current efforts being made by the parties to the conflict must be encouraged,
1. Repeats that any negotiated settlement must:
 - (a) be based on resolutions 2423 (1967) and 338 (1973) of the Security Council;
 - (b) have due regard for the right to existence and to security of all the States in the region, including Israel, and the right of the Palestinians to self-determination with all that that implies;
 2. Considers that the agreement of 11 February 1985 between Jordan and the Palestinians and President Mubarak's support for this agreement, the plan submitted by King Hussein to the United Nations on 27 September 1985 and the plan submitted in reply by Mr Shimon Peres to the United Nations on 22 October 1985 represented a step in the right direction towards a peaceful solution of the conflict;
 3. Declares that it is willing to support any attempt to find an appropriate international framework which would have the agreement of all the parties involved in the conflict and would facilitate the opening of negotiations;
 4. Recalls the role of the United Nations Security Council, and in particular of its five permanent members, in the maintenance of peace and international security;
 5. Considers that, in order to play this part to the full it would be advisable for all the permanent members of the Security Council to maintain diplomatic relations with all the parties to the conflict;
 6. Takes the view that the establishment of a climate of confidence is essential for the negotiations and that in order to achieve this:
 - (a) Israel, the occupying power, must comply with the Fourth Geneva Convention of 12 August 1949 on the protection of civilians in war time:
 - observe the fundamental rights of the populations of the occupied territories, in particular their right to freedom of movement, education and economic development;
 - refrain from any unilateral measure the aim of which is to modify the physical character, composition of the population and legal structure of the territories which it has been occupying since 1967, including the Syrian Golan Heights;
 - (b) the Palestine Liberation Organization, which must be included in negotiations, must make a clear commitment to a peaceful solution of the conflict;

7. Condemns terrorism wherever it occurs and whatever its cause;
8. Considers that, in order to ensure that the comprehensive peace settlement is lasting, all the parties concerned (Israel, Egypt, Jordan, Syria, Lebanon and the Palestinians) must take part in the negotiations, since it is for the Palestinians themselves to choose their representatives;
9. Reaffirms its deep concern over the situation in the Lebanon, hopes for a return to civil peace in the Lebanon, a sovereign State in which the various communities living there must co-exist and stresses that, within the framework of a comprehensive settlement, the territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence of the Lebanon within its internationally-recognized frontiers must be strictly respected;
10. Calls upon the European Council and the Foreign Affairs Ministers to consider this resolution and to examine the means of implementing it within the context of European political cooperation;
11. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Commission, the Council, the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation, the governments of the Twelve Member States and the United Nations Secretary-General.

EXPLANATORY STATEMENT

Report on the fact-finding mission on the prospects for peace in the Middle East

1 - Introduction

Since February 1985 the first steps towards diplomatic developments have been taken, at the initiative of King Hussein of Jordan and with the support of the Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, with a view to reaching a peaceful settlement of the Israeli-Arab conflict.

In its resolutions, the European Parliament has encouraged the revival of the peace-making process with a view to a fair, comprehensive and peaceful solution to the Middle East question based on a dialogue between all the parties to the conflict.

2. Although the recent first steps towards a revival of the negotiations seem to be positive in certain respects, there are, on the other hand, still many points to be clarified. For this reason, with a view to preparing a report on the situation in the Middle East, your rapporteur carried out a fact-finding mission in Egypt, Syria, Jordan and Israel from 26 October to 7 November 1985 with the authorization of the European Parliament's enlarged Bureau.

3. Your rapporteur's objective was not only to clarify certain questions raised by the current initiatives towards a return to peace in the Middle East but also to collect, from the governments and high-level public figures in the States visited, information for a resolution which might be adopted by the European Parliament in order to support their efforts towards dialogues and peace.

4. Your rapporteur would like to express her gratitude to the European Parliament and its Political Affairs Committee for entrusting this fact-finding mission to her. She would like to express once more her gratitude to the four States, Egypt, Syria, Jordan and Israel for the warm welcome they gave her as well as to Mr Philippe Ventujol, member of the Secretariat of the Political Affairs Committee.

5. Your rapporteur met the following public figures:

Egyptian:

- Mr Rifaat El Mahgoub, President of the People's Assembly;
- Mr Mohammed Abdellah, Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the People's Assembly;
- Mr Esmat Abdel Meguid, Deputy Prime Minister, Minister for Foreign Affairs;
- Mr Butros Butros-Ghali, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs.

Syrian:

- Mr Mahmoud Al Zo'bi, President of the People's Council;
- Mr Mohsen Bilal, Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the People's Council;
- Mr Naheb, Junior Minister for Foreign Affairs;
- and Commander Shean Brennan, of the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF).

Lebanese:

- Mr Hussein El Hussein, President of the Lebanese Parliament (in Damascus).

Jordanian:

- Your rapporteur had the very great honour of being granted an audience by His Majesty, King Hussein, then by the following:
- Mr Ahmad Lauzi, President of the Senate;
- Mr Akef EL Fayez, President of the House of Representatives;
- Mr Rizk Batayneh, Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives;
- Mr Kanaan, Minister of Occupied Territories Affairs;
- Mr Taher EL Masri, Minister for Foreign Affairs;

and three Palestinian leaders:

- Mr Rachad Chawa, deposed Mayor of Gaza;
- Mr Masri, Member of Parliament;
- Mr Anouar AL Khatib, former Governor of Jerusalem.

Israeli:

- Mr Shlomo Hillel, President of the Knesset;
- Mr Aharon Nahmias, Vice-President of the Knesset;
- Mr Itzhak Shamir, Minister for Foreign Affairs;
- Mr Itzhak Rabin, Minister of Defence;
- Mr Ezer Weizman, Minister without portfolio, Member of the Inner Cabinet;
- Mr Shahal, Minister of Energy;
- General Aharon Yariv, President of the Institute of Advanced Strategic Studies in Tel Aviv;
- Dr Avraham Rozenkier, Secretary for International Affairs of the Mapam Party;
- and Mr Elias Freiz, (Palestinian) Mayor of Bethlehem.

6. In addition to these meetings with the authorities of the countries visited, there were close contacts both with the ambassadors and diplomatic representatives of our Member States, including the Spanish Ambassador in Syria, especially those entrusted with the task of chairing political cooperation meetings, as well as with delegates of the Commission of the European Communities. The latter, particularly in Damascus and Amman, provided very useful help which was greatly appreciated.

II - Reminder of the main initiatives taken by the parties concerned towards the peace process

7. First of all the agreement between Jordan and the Palestinians

The agreement of 11 February 1985 between Jordan and the Palestinians on a 'joint action formula' which was concluded between King Hussein of Jordan and Mr Yasser Arafat, President of the PLO, is as follows:

'The Government of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and the Palestine Liberation Organization have agreed to work together towards a fair and peaceful settlement of the crisis in the Middle East and an end to the occupation by Israel of the occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem, on the basis of the following principles:

1. Total withdrawal from the territories occupied in 1967 in return for a comprehensive peace settlement as laid down in the resolutions passed by the United Nations and the Security Council.
2. The right of the Palestinian people to self-determination: the Palestinians will exercise their inalienable right to self-determination. The Jordanians and Palestinians will have the opportunity to do so within the context of the formation of a Confederation of the Arab States of Jordan and Palestine.
3. Solution to the problem of the Palestinian refugees in accordance with the United Nations resolutions.
4. Solution of all aspects of the Palestinian problem.
5. On this basis, negotiations will be held under the aegis of an international conference in which the five permanent members of the Security Council and all the parties to the conflict, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, will take part within the context of a joint delegation (a joint delegation of Jordanians and Palestinians)¹.
8. The Jordanian-Palestinian agreement of 11 February 1985 provides, having regard to that document, for the following:
 - acceptance of the PLO's participation in any peace negotiations within the context of a 'joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation';
 - a pre-established confederation between Jordan and the Palestinians. There is no mention of an independent Palestinian State.

¹This bracket forms part of the agreement

9. The speech given by King Hussein of Jordan at the United Nations on 27 September 1985. On that occasion King Hussein stated inter alia as follows:

'We are prepared to negotiate rapidly and directly with the Government of Israel under the appropriate auspices and within the context of the basic principles laid down in resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) adopted by the Security Council. These negotiations must result in implementation of resolution 242 (1967) of the Council and resolve all aspects of the Palestinian problem.

According to Jordan, it would be appropriate for the negotiations to take place under the auspices of an international conference hosted by the Secretary-General of the United Nations to which the five permanent members of the Security Council and all the parties to the conflict would be invited with the aim of establishing comprehensive, fair and lasting peace in the Middle East'.

10. The British Government's proposal that it should receive a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation including two members of the PLO, Bishop Elia Khouri and Mr Mohammed Milhem, on 14 October 1985 in London.

This meeting, which Sir Geoffrey Howe, Foreign Secretary, was supposed to have with the two Palestinian officials, was cancelled on 14 October 1985 because Mr Mohammed Milhem had refused to approve the following document:

'The members of the joint delegation all reiterated their personal support for a peaceful settlement of the Arab-Israel dispute on the basis of the relevant UN resolutions, including 242 and 338 of the Security Council. They stated that, in accordance with these resolutions, a settlement should recognize the rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to self-determination within the context of a Jordanian-Palestinian Confederation, as well as the right to secure existence of all States in the area including Israel within its 1967 borders.

They confirmed their opposition to all forms of terrorism and violence from whatever source'.

A Jordanian-Palestinian delegation came to visit certain Member States of the European Community, including Italy and France, in order to present the Amman agreement. After the setback in London, the Jordanian-Palestinian delegation finally decided not to go to Luxembourg.

11. The speech given at the United Nations by the Israeli Prime Minister, Shimon Peres, on 21 October 1985

The Prime Minister's main proposals are as follows:

- a call to open the way for the parties to the conflict to a fresh diplomatic initiative whose objective would be the 'conclusion of peace treaties as well as the solution of the Palestinian problem'.
- the parties cannot impose preconditions;
- the negotiations will be based on resolutions 242 and 338 of the United Nations Security Council and on the will to listen to the suggestions made by the other participants.
- the negotiations will be conducted directly between States.

- if necessary, these negotiations can be started with the support of an international conference, subject to the agreement of the States called upon to negotiate.
- negotiations between Israel and Jordan will be carried out by an Israeli delegation on the one hand and a Jordanian or Jordanian-Palestinian delegation on the other, both consisting of delegates wanting peace, not terror. 'Nobody has brought more tragedy to the Palestinians than the PLO's terrorism. We know that there is a Palestinian problem. We recognize the need to solve it honourably ... let us negotiate. Let us talk, but don't let's fight' added the Prime Minister.

III. State of the matter

12. As a result of these various peace initiatives your rapporteur, who went to Egypt, Syria, Jordan and Israel, in that order, wished to clarify the following points:

- (1) the international cover to be given to the negotiations;
- (2) Palestinian participation;
- (3) the search by Jordan for Arab support;
- (4) the role of the two great powers, the United States and the Soviet Union;
- (5) the support which can be given by the European Parliament.

13. Egypt

13.1. - The international cover to be given to the negotiations

The Egyptian authorities support the proposal made by King Hussein to the United Nations on 27 September concerning 'appropriate auspices'. It would rely on the mechanism laid down in resolution 338 (1973), adopted unanimously by the Security Council and accepted by the States which are parties to the conflict. Direct negotiations make it necessary for King Hussein of Jordan to have international support.

13.2 - Palestinian participation

Egypt attaches basic importance to the Jordanian-Palestinian agreement of 11 February 1985 on the 'joint action formula'. The agreement mentions the right to self-determination which must be exercised within the framework of a pre-established Jordanian-Palestinian Confederation.

On 24 February 1985 President Mubarak proposed a negotiation scheme which should encourage a Jordanian-Palestinian meeting on the basis of the agreement of 11 February. In this respect Egypt regrets the failure of the meeting in London on 14 October 1985. The Palestinians seem to be very divided at present. The Achille Lauro affair was a monumental error.

The PLO President, Mr Yasser Arafat, must support the joint action formula and vouch for the Palestinian leaders who are necessary to the peace negotiations. Any peace-making process involves a large number of Palestinians taking part including leaders from the Occupied Territories as well as from outside (Diaspora).

13.3. -The search by the Jordanians for Arab support

Egypt intends to devote all its efforts to encouraging the peace-making process. In this respect it approves the rapprochement between Jordan and Syria under the aegis of Saudi Arabia.

13.4 - The attitude of the two Great Powers

President Mubarak went to the United States on 23 September 1985 to help explain the international conference formula enabling the peace initiatives begun by King Hussein to be supported.

On 26 September, Mr George Schultz, United States Secretary of State, made a statement to the United Nations Security Council, mentioning in particular the role of the Secretary General of the United Nations who has the power to convene the Security Council.

As for the Soviet Union, a permanent member of the Security Council, it might take part in these 'appropriate auspices' in order to support the peace-making process. Soviet participation would encourage that of the Palestinians.

13.5 - The support of the European Parliament

The European Parliament has great powers with regard to human rights. In the Occupied Territories, the situation has constantly deteriorated over the years because of collective punishments and housing demolitions which constitute serious violations of human rights. By changing the quality of the life of the Palestinians in the Occupied Territories, the moderates will be strengthened. Both the extremists amongst the Palestinians and the extreme right in Israel aim to destroy the moderate element in both camps. It is necessary to put an end to the deterioration in the situation of the Palestinians in the Occupied Territories and to the construction of settlements.

Finally, as regards the peace-making process, the European Parliament might, as a result of the London communiqué, find a fresh opportunity to revive the dialogue between the parties to the conflict.

14. Syria

14.1. - International cover

The Syria authorities reject the Israeli 'peace proposal' set out on 21 October by the Israeli Prime Minister, Mr Shimon Peres, at the United Nations.

Israeli peace would mean Arab capitulation. They also repeat that they are opposed to the Jordanian-Palestinian agreement of 11 February.

In order to reach a settlement and establish a fair peace in the region, Israeli occupation of part of the Arab territories must cease. The Arab population in the Lebanon, the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and Golan must resist Israeli aggression.

To achieve peace, Syria supports the idea of an international conference on the Middle East in which all the parties concerned would take part and which would be placed under the auspices of the United Nations. The two super powers would take part as well as other European States, non-aligned States and Islamic conference States.

14.2. - Palestinian participation

Syria confirms that its country will defend the cause of the Palestinians and will be at their side until they recover their territory and their usurped rights. The Palestinian cause is confused with the Arab cause.

However, in the view of the Syrian leaders, the present PLO leaders cannot alone negotiate peace for this Arab cause. A large section of the PLO is opposed to the option of capitulation chosen by Yasser Arafat. In Syria's view, the Palestinians' decision-making autonomy is being used by the current leaders of the PLO as an argument in their search for a compromise.

14.3. - The search by Jordan for Arab support

Syria declares that it is in favour of peace but hostile to any separate peace with Israel. It refuses direct negotiating procedures as a substitute for an international conference.

14.4. - The role of the two Great Powers

The Syrian Leaders regret that United States policy aims to isolate Syria from the Middle East.

The United States take the view that only Israel is their ally in the Middle East. American aid is constantly pouring into Israel. Israel speaks of peace without any preconditions. The United States forgets that Israel is imposing preconditions by occupying Arab territory. For this reason, a strategic balance must be established between Syria and Israel.

14.5. - The Lebanon

The Lebanon is described as an Arab state, a member of the United Nations which is linked by its history and its past to the great countries of the world such as the United States and France.

After the invasion of Israel, the capital of the Lebanon and its territory were occupied. The world remained indifferent to this occupation. Israel and the United States wanted to impose the agreement of 17 May 1983. The Lebanese people resisted it fiercely. The agreement was repealed. Israel has withdrawn from a large part of the Lebanon but wishes to ensure that there is a buffer zone. Israel must withdraw completely from the Lebanon. The war in the Lebanon, which has lasted ten years, must be brought to an end. The Syrians and the Lebanese form a single people but are two different States. Anything which threatens the security of one threatens the security of the other. In the Lebanon, a national agreement must be reached but a group of PLO leaders headed by Yasser Arafat, are trying to hinder the process of reaching a national agreement. Yasser Arafat is fomenting trouble in Saida, Beirut and Tripoli so that the situation in the Lebanon remains unstable. The PLO President has opted for capitulation.

Syria is, by means of the Geneva and Lausanne conferences, gradually reaching an agreement enabling the crisis in the Lebanon to be overcome. Syria is having talks with all parties. Syria is holding a dialogue with the Lebanon.

14.6. - The support of the European Parliament

Syria, having regard for the concept of security between the two regions, Europe and the Middle East, hopes for a revival of the European-Arab dialogue with a view to closer cooperation. Above all, it expresses the wish that interparliamentary relations between the European Parliament and the People's Council should become more frequent and regular.

15. The Lebanon

The President of the Lebanese Parliament, Mr Hussein El Hussein, visited Damascus. Despite his heavy schedule, President El Hussein was kind enough to grant your rapporteur an interview during which the following analysis emerged:

15.1 - Internal situation

The Lebanese people form a single nation with a common history and a common civilization.

This nation of a single origin is formed of various religious communities, a situation which is a source of enrichment for the Lebanese nation. During the war, which has lasted 10 years, the main cause of the crisis has been the question of South Lebanon.

South Lebanon is still under Israeli occupation at present.

Resolution 425 of the United Nations which requires Israel to withdraw from South Lebanon, has not been complied with. This occupation has repercussions on the situation in the Lebanon as a whole.

The Lebanon is opposed to the presence of any armed force on its territory. This attitude essentially concerns the Palestinian force. Negotiations are being held to ensure the withdrawal of heavy weapons from all parts, with the support of Syria, in order to re-establish Lebanese sovereignty throughout Lebanese territory. All Lebanese are hostile to the 1969 Cairo agreements, which have now expired.

15.2. - National agreement

To enable agreement to be reached between all Lebanese and a return to a peaceful life, three principles are emphasized:

First principle: a decisive and steadfast agreement on the part of all Christians and Muslims to live together in a single country.

Second principle: all Lebanese wish to live under a system of parliamentary democracy. All the communities must take part in democratic life. Anarchy must be brought to an end in the Lebanon.

Third principle: the institutions must be based on a secular State. In 1943, the Lebanon set up temporary institutions which are now backward by comparison with those of other countries in the world. Any religious leaning given to the State would cause an imbalance. A secular State enables the 17 communities to express themselves whilst holding their own religious beliefs as they wish.

The State must be one of all Lebanese.

The election of a new Lebanese parliamentary assembly could be organized as soon as possible. The Lebanese army must be rebuilt. It must include citizens from all the communities and extend Lebanese sovereignty to all the fully-liberated territory.

15.3. - The hostages

Your rapporteur appealed, in accordance with the resolutions adopted by all European Parliamentarians for the release of the hostages, not only French and British but also American. The Soviet hostages had just been liberated. The President of the Lebanese Parliament stated with emotion that these terrorists acts of taking and keeping hostages ruined the Lebanon. They had nothing to do with the Lebanese resistance in the South Lebanon. Great efforts have been made to have the hostages released. In the South Lebanon, no act of resistance has affected a civilian in Israel or outside Israel.

16. Jordan

16.1. - International cover

The Jordanian authorities wish for lasting peace in the region. They hope to plan for the future in peace and stability.

An international conference must include all the parties to the conflict and lead them to the negotiating table. The international conference, called by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, would convene, in addition to the parties to the conflict, the five permanent members of the Security Council.

The Jordanians insist on the presence of the five permanent members of the Security Council. They hope that an agreement with Israel will be achieved rapidly.

16.2. - Palestinian participation

The security of the Occupied Territories since 1967 affects Jordan. After so many years of occupation, Jordan has reached the 'joint action formula' because the Palestinians must take part in the peace negotiations.

Jordan cannot negotiate with Israel without the Palestinians. In Israel's view, it is also advantageous to have the Palestinians taking part in the negotiations.

Recent events such as the Achille Lauro affair have led to a setback in the peace initiatives. The Jordanian authorities deplore the attitudes of the PLO, whose organization seems to be very scattered. They repeat their wish to work in close cooperation with the PLO but wonder whether its President, Yasser Arafat, has the power to control his own organization. King Hussein and Yasser Arafat discussed the subject of terrorism. In the view of the Jordanians, the President of the PLO must ensure that all terrorist activities against Israel cease, including those carried out in the Occupied Territories.

On the other hand, Israel should be persuaded to regard itself as a nation belonging to the region.

The Israeli Prime Minister, Shimon Peres, believes that he can make a distinction between good Palestinians and the others. This approach excludes the refugees outside the Occupied Territories. In the view of the Jordanians, the PLO is the sole representative of all the Palestinians, in other words, almost four million people. The President of the PLO, Yasser Arafat, must be encouraged to take part in peace negotiations.

16.3. - The search by Jordan for Arab support

Jordan has obtained an implied guarantee for its initiative at the extraordinary Arab Summit in Casablanca in 1985. It has had contact with Syria under the aegis of Saudi Arabia. Egypt has supported Jordan in its peace initiatives since the Amman agreement.

16.4. - The role of the two great powers

According to the Jordanian authorities, the United States should be more active with regard to peace negotiations.

As for the Soviet Union, it has interests in the region. It may be useful to the peace negotiations because of its relations with Syria and the PLO. The USSR would like to guarantee an international conference with the United States alone. Jordan repeats its desire for the five permanent members of the Security Council to meet at the international conference.

16.5. - The support of the European Parliament

The Jordanian authorities are pleased to record that Israel has not established new settlements in occupied territories since July 1984. However, they consider that the condition of the people is becoming increasingly intolerable in the Occupied Territories. Social services are deteriorating, agriculture is in difficulties and there are too many taxes and they are too heavy. Nearly 50% of the area of the Occupied Territories is used by Israel. If this situation were to continue it would affect not only the future of Israeli democratic institutions but might bring about the risk of social unrest. Many Israeli colonists in the Occupied Territories hold extremist views. To continue the occupation would strengthen extremist views and the rise of integralist doctrines both on the Israeli and on the Arab side.

The European Parliament must work towards the withdrawal of Israel from the Occupied Territories, a confederation of the latter with Jordan, and from there to peace, having due regard for human rights.

17. The Occupied Territories

17.1. - Palestinian Leaders

The Palestinian leaders in the territories occupied by Israel recall that they were not consulted when the Arab states rejected the United Nations' plan for the division of Palestine in 1947.

After the June 1967 War, the West Bank and Gaza territories were totally occupied by Israel. Although Israel handed back the whole of Sinai to Egypt in April 1982 after the conclusion of the Washington Treaty, settlements have continued to be established in the Occupied Territories. Prime Minister Begin's Government believed in the concept of autonomy for the inhabitants but not in handing back the West Bank and Gaza.

In those territories, Israel has made many mistakes. There have been no normal elections of Palestinian leaders since 1976. A political vacuum has been created little by little. At present the Palestinians are living under a military rule, i.e. under 1 200 regulations having the force of law originating in the Turkish, British, Jordanian and Israeli Administrations which govern all areas of the daily life of the inhabitants. The Palestinian people are being destroyed by the numerous direct and indirect taxes, the deterioration in the economic situation and unemployment.

The PLO has therefore seemed to be the legal representative of the Palestinians. It has, however, made many mistakes in its turn.

The terrorist attacks which are contrary to the Palestinian cause are barbarous crimes. This was so in the case of both the Larnaca and the Achille Lauro affairs. The failure of the meeting in London was felt to be an intolerable mistake which postpones the establishment of a federation with Jordan. In the Occupied Territories, as in Jordan, there is a consensus in favour of peace in exchange for the Occupied Territories.

The inhabitants of the Occupied Territories must have representatives for the peace negotiations which can be chosen only by the PLO. However, the PLO must recognize the existence of Israel with its 1967 frontiers and renounce violence.

Finally, the Palestinian leaders hope that the European Economic Community can grant the agricultural products of the occupied territories an export quota, mainly for their fruit and vegetables.

17.2. - Israeli Leaders

These leaders, who criticized the raid on Tunis, aim to clear the obstacles to the peace-making process or else the situation in the Occupied Territories may well become irreversible. At present nearly 40 000 Israeli colonists have made their home in settlements in the Occupied Territories. The cause of this new development is that the large urban centres in Israel have become less popular. The Occupied Territories have infrastructures such as water, electricity and various facilities which are attractive to a proportion of the Israeli population, young people looking for lower rents and a better quality of life.

A bi-national state would be rejected by the Israelis in the same way as by the Palestinians in the Occupied Territories. However, the PLO must renounce terrorism. The Palestinians form a nation which may well lose its chances of territorial sovereignty.

Europe could promote the conditions for a dialogue based on mutual recognition.

Israel should put an end to evictions and the demolition of houses and improve the quality of life in the Occupied Territories. These signs would strengthen the aim of a peace settlement between Israel and a future Jordanian-Palestinian confederation.

18. Israel

18.1. - International cover

Israel at first rejected the idea of an international cover. Then on 21 October 1985, the Prime Minister, Shimon Peres, proposed an 'international forum' to which the permanent members of the Security Council might be invited, with the exception of those who do not have diplomatic relations with Israel. The role of the 'international forum' would be to support direct negotiations and not to be a substitute for them.

18.2. - Direct negotiations and the parties thereto

In the same speech of 21 October 1985, the Israeli Prime Minister stated that the Jordanian delegation in direct negotiations could also include Palestinians 'on condition that they represent peace and not terror'. This is an indirect reply to King Hussein's initiative to take part in the negotiations within a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation according to the agreement of 11 February with the PLO leader.

The Israeli authorities take the view that the PLO, which is hostile to peace with Israel, would be an obstacle to peace negotiations between Israel and the Arab countries. They deplore the assassination in Cairo of a diplomat from the Israeli Embassy and the massacre of Israeli tourists in Sinai in October 1985.

The PLO is seeking recognition by the United States without however recognizing Resolutions 242 and 338 of the United Nations Security Council.

Israel hopes to continue to improve its peaceful relations with Egypt, which is taking part in the negotiations with Jordan. On a wider level, Israel is ready to negotiate with all the neighbouring States without any preconditions.

As regards its northern frontier with the Lebanon, Israel's sole preoccupation is that of its security.

18.3. - The role of the two great powers

Israel hopes for the support of the two great powers. However, the latter cannot dictate peace plans or impose solutions on the Middle Eastern regions. The solutions must come from the region itself. Israel entirely rejects a regional 'Yalta' treaty which could not help peace.

Although the Soviet press has recognized certain positive points in Shimon Peres' proposals, on the other hand, at the official level the USSR still maintains a rigid attitude towards Israel and shows reservations towards the idea of a Jordanian-Palestinian confederation. If the Soviet Union wishes to play an important part in the Middle East it must re-establish diplomatic relations with Israel beforehand.

18.4. - The assistance of the European Parliament

This would be to uphold the need to begin direct peace negotiations and to work towards the re-establishment of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and Israel.

MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION (DOCUMENT B 2-199/85)
tabled by Mrs DURY
pursuant to Rule 47 of the Rules of Procedure
on Israeli raids in Southern Lebanon

The European Parliament,

- A. whereas armoured columns are crossing the demarcation line marking the withdrawal of Israeli troops on 16 February in order to conduct search operations in the Shi'ite villages near Sidon,
 - B. whereas these punitive expeditions are causing the deaths of large numbers of Shi'ite villagers whom the Israelis have described as 'terrorists',
 - C. whereas during one of these expeditions, on 12 March 1985, an Israeli tank shelled a group of reporters from the CBS network, killing a cameraman and a Lebanese sound technician,
 - D. whereas the Israelis had previously fired on a UP-ITN television crew, wounding a Lebanese who was working for them and destroying their vehicle,
 - E. whereas, according to Western reporters who were present, the incident could not be put down to an error caused by the confusion of the moment, but was a deliberate attack against clearly identifiable press vehicles (the word 'press' was marked on them in English and Arabic) and their occupants,
1. Strongly condemns the punitive operations conducted by Israeli troops in Southern Lebanon;
 2. Condemns the deliberate acts of aggression perpetrated by Israeli troops against radio and television crews and war correspondents, irrespective of their status or nationality;
 3. Requests the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation to send an urgent protest to the Israeli Government, demanding that searches of villages in Southern Lebanon and acts of aggression against journalists in the discharge of their duties should be stopped immediately;
 4. Requests the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation to liaise with the International Press Association (IPA) and the International Federation of Journalists (IFJ) in order to guarantee as fully as possible the protection of journalists.

MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION (DOCUMENT B 2-243/85)

tabled by Mr LOMAS, Mr BALFE, Mr NEWENS and Mr SEAL
pursuant to Rule 47 of the Rules of Procedure
on massacres in South Lebanon

The European Parliament,

- A. expressing its deep concern at the "iron fist" policy of Israel, which is causing so much death and destruction in South Lebanon,
 - B. expressing its horror at the recent massacres in two villages in South Lebanon, when 21 citizens including two old men of 65 and 70, and two American journalists, were murdered by Israeli forces,
 - C. expressing its opposition to the continuing attacks of Israel on the Lebanese people,
1. Calls on Israel to speed up its withdrawal from South Lebanon;
 2. Calls on the United States, the Soviet Union, and all E.E.C. Member Governments, to use their influence in the Middle East to secure peace in the Lebanon;
 3. Instructs the President to forward this Resolution to the Council of Ministers, the E.E.C. Commission, the Governments of the Member States, and the Governments of the United States and the Soviet Union.

MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION (DOCUMENT B 2-624/85)
tabled by Mrs LIZIN
pursuant to Rule 47 of the Rules of Procedure
on the situation in Lebanon

The European Parliament,

- A. having regard to the tragic course of events in Lebanon, both as regards the massacres of Christians and the recent Shi'ite atrocities in the Palestinian camps of Sabra and Chatila and Barnj Barajneh,
- B. struck by the lack of any organized European response to these massacres,
 - 1. Calls on its Ministers meeting in political cooperation to make an urgent approach to the Syrian Government;
 - 2. Insists on the need to ensure that the rights of those injured are respected and access to humanitarian organizations, especially the Red Cross, guaranteed.

MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION (DOCUMENT B 2-938/85)

tabled by Mr MALLET

pursuant to Rule 47 of the Rules of Procedure

on the European Community and the situation in Lebanon

The European Parliament,

- A. having regard to its previous resolutions on the situation in Lebanon,
 - B. seriously concerned by the ever-increasing scale of the Lebanese drama and in particular by the fate of the Christian community,
 - C. aware of the traditional ties linking Europe to Lebanon and to the Middle East as a whole,
 - D. believing that the lack of consistency, follow-up and coordination in the policies of the European countries in this area over the last ten years is partly to blame for the never-ending tragedy of Lebanon,
 - E. awaiting publication of the report of its Political Affairs Committee on the situation in the Middle East,
1. Calls on the relevant Parliament committee to draw up a report which :
 - a) assesses the policies pursued over the last few years in Lebanon by the various countries of the Community;
 - b) studies the options open to our countries, in the medium and long term, in the light of the strategic choices of the neighbouring countries, those made by the superpowers and the means available to the various parties and to Europe in particular;
 - c) outlines, in the light of the above, a long-term and consistent European policy, respecting the aspirations of all the Lebanese peoples, which will help to secure the future of a pluralist, democratic, sovereign and independent Lebanon;
 2. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the relevant committee.

MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION (DOCUMENT B 2-970/85)

tabled by Mr PIQUET, Mr GREMETZ, Mr PRANCHERE, Mr WÜRTZ, Mr CHAMBEIRON
and Mrs DE MARCH

pursuant to Rule 47 of the Rules of Procedure
on the situation in the Israeli-occupied territories

The European Parliament,

- A. concerned at the increasing severity of repression against the Palestinian population in the occupied territories,
 - B. disquieted by the measures taken by the Israeli Government on 4 August 1985 authorizing administrative internment for an unlimited period in the occupied territories,
 - C. shocked that the Israelis are once again resorting to expulsion (fifteen Palestinians were deported to Jordan on 15 September and three other West Bank Palestinians now face the same treatment),
 - D. shocked at the closure of the charity hospital in Jerusalem,
 - E. concerned at the closure of universities such as the An-Najjah University in Nablus and the banning of certain newspapers,
 - F. concerned that the policy of expropriation and the requisitioning of land continues to violate the human and economic rights of the Arab residents of the occupied territories,
1. Condemns the discrimination practised against the Palestinian population and the numerous infringements of human rights and international agreements;
 2. Calls on the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation to persuade the Israeli authorities to put an end to these practices;
 3. Calls on the Community to increase its aid to the Palestinian population in the occupied territories and refugee camps through bodies such as the UNRWA and ICRC and by awarding study grants to Palestinian students;
 4. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation, the Commission, the Council and to the Israeli Government.

MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION (DOCUMENT B 2-1037/85)

tabled by Mr MALLET and Mr DEBATISSE

on behalf of the Group of the European People's Party (CD Group)

pursuant to Rule 47 of the Rules of Procedure

on the European Community and the situation in Lebanon

The European Parliament,

- A. having regard to its previous resolutions on the situation in Lebanon,
 - B. gravely concerned at the ever increasing scale of the Lebanese tragedy and, in particular, at the fate of the Christian community,
 - C. aware of the traditional links uniting Europe with Lebanon and the whole of the Middle East,
 - D. considering that the lack of consistency, follow-up and coordination in the policies of the European countries in this area over the past ten years is at least partly to blame for Lebanon's endless suffering,
 - E. pending the report by its Political Affairs Committee on the situation in the Middle East,
1. Requests its committee responsible to draw up a report that will:
 - (a) assess the policies pursued in recent years in Lebanon by the various Community countries;
 - (b) study the medium- and long-term options open to our countries, having regard to the strategic choices of the neighbouring countries, to those of the superpowers and to the means available to the various partners and, especially, Europe;
 - (c) propose, in the light of the above, the basic elements of a continuing and coherent European policy which respects the aspirations of all the peoples in Lebanon and can help guarantee the future of a pluralist, democratic, sovereign and independent Lebanon;
 2. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to its committee responsible.

MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION (DOCUMENT B 2-1039/85)

tabled by Mr MALLET, Mr FORMIGONI, Mr McCARTIN, Mr EVRIGENIS, Mrs BOOT,
Mr TZOUNIS and Mr KLEPSCH

on behalf of the Group of the European People's Party (CD Group)

pursuant to Rule 47 of the Rules of Procedure

on the fate of the Soviet hostages held in Lebanon

The European Parliament,

- A. having learnt of the kidnapping of four Soviet diplomats in Beirut, one of whom has been executed,
- B. taking the view that violence committed against a country's nationals should not be tolerated just because that country often violates human rights on its territory or in the countries it seeks to control,
- C. having also learnt of the execution of one of the American hostages held in Lebanon,
- D. drawing attention to its previous condemnations of terrorist methods and kidnappings and its appeals for the unconditional release of all hostages in Lebanon,
 1. Repeats its appeal for the release of all hostages held in Lebanon;
 2. Requests once again the governments in the Community to coordinate their response to the kidnappings and terrorist methods employed as a means of pressure by extremist groups, particularly in Lebanon;
 3. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Council, the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation, the governments of the Member States and the Soviet Government.

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