#### Greetings Delegates,

Welcome to SRMUN XVI! My name is Rusty Graham, and I will be serving as the Director of the League of Arab States at this year's SRMUN conference. This is my fourth year at SRMUN and my second year on staff. I recently graduated from the University of North Carolina at Charlotte with a degree in Political Science with a concentration in International Politics. I am currently seeking a Masters degree in Public Administration at the University of North Carolina at Charlotte. This year the Assistant Director will be TJ Harvey. This will be his first year on staff.

I have been to many different Model United Nations conferences around the world, yet SRMUN has always been my favorite conference. SRMUN has always focused on providing an exceptional educational experience and this year will be no different.

The League of Arab States is the best committee to be in at SRMUN. This committee has more freedom than any other committee at SRMUN. This committee only answers to the member nations of this committee. There were many great choices for topics this year. TJ, Brian and I had a hard time deciding what topics would be the best to challenge you dear delegates. In the end, however, we believe we picked the best three topics for this committee. The topics are:

- I. The League of Arab States Responses to Terrorism
- II. An Arab View of the Road Map for Peace in the Middle East
- III. The League of Arab States and the Situation in Sudan

A position paper is required for this conference. **The position paper MUST be sent by October 29 at 11:59 pm. to Director General Brian Halma at <a href="mailto:srmundg@yahoo.com">srmundg@yahoo.com</a>. The correct format can be found on the SRMUN website at www.srmun.org. The position paper is your opportunity to state what your country plans to accomplish in this committee.** 

This background guide is an excellent start for your research; however, it should not be your only source of information for this conference. A great delegate is someone who does their own research and is prepared to explain why their idea is the best solution to the situation that the topic gives you. Please do not restate what TJ and I have written in the background guide in your position papers. This is your chance to impress us with your own research. Another helpful tip to writing position papers is to answer the questions that TJ and I ask you to answer in the background guide.

In this committee I will require all delegates to bring a copy of the Road Map for Peace. I highly suggest that all delegates bring an international treaty book and an international law book. Please note do not go out and buy either of these books; go to your school's library and borrow them.

If you have any problems with the position paper or need any other type of assistance, please feel free to email TJ or myself at <a href="mailto:las@srmun.org">las@srmun.org</a>. Good luck with the position papers. We are looking forward to seeing you in November.

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# **History of the League of Arab States**

The League of Arab States was officially created on March 22, 1945. It consisted of seven nations and a representative from Palestine, who was given the right to vote. The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) was granted full membership in 1976. Since that time the League of Arab States has grown to over twenty-two member states.<sup>2</sup> It is also important to note Palestine is seen as an individual state by the league.<sup>3</sup>

The original idea for an Arab League was conceived in 1942 by the United Kingdom, who hoped this idea would secure Arab assistance in World War II. The British fear was that the Arab community might consider siding with the Axis Powers. Yet by this time the Arab world was already beginning to emerge from colonialism. The original document that created the LAS was the Arab League Pact which was signed in Alexandria, Egypt. This Arab League Pact would be expanded until it became the framework for the current LAS Charter.<sup>5</sup> The charter "states that the League shall coordinate economic affairs, including commercial relations; communications; cultural affairs; nationality, passports, and visas; social affairs; and health affairs." The charter also includes clauses protecting each nation's sovereignty and a pledge that no member shall use force against another member.<sup>7</sup>

In response to the creation of Israeli on May 14, 1948, the League of Arab States created the Joint Defense and Economic Cooperation Treaty.<sup>8</sup> It is also important to note that the Joint Defense and Economic Cooperation Treaty in Article 11 states that:

No provision of this Treaty shall in any way affect, or is intended to affect, any of the rights or obligations devolving upon the Contracting States from the United Nations Charter or the responsibilities borne by the United Nations Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security.9

This is important to note because the League respected their obligations to the international community. This document shares many traits with the North Atlantic Treaty that created NATO. Article 2 of the Joint Defense and Economic Cooperation Treaty is very similar to Article 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty that pledges all member-states to defend any other member-state that is attacked. 10

The League has been involved in several armed conflicts. In 1945 the League of Arab States supported Syria and Lebanon in their conflict with the French. 11 At the same time, the LAS demanded that Libya be allowed to become an independent state.<sup>12</sup> In 1961, the League sided with Tunisia during its disagreement with France. The League of Arab States did try on several occasions to free Palestine. In recent years the LAS has tried to use diplomatic means to end that conflict. 13

http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle\_east/country\_profiles/1550797.stm

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The History of the League of Arab States. The League of Arab States. http://www.arableagueonline.org/arableague/english/search\_en.jsp

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> "Profile: The Arab League." BBC News. December 29, 2004.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> The History of the League of Arab States. The League of Arab States.

http://www.arableagueonline.org/arableague/english/search\_en.jsp

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> The League of Arab States Charter. The League of Arab States. March 22, 1945.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> The Columbia Electronic Encyclopedia. 6th ed. 2005. http://www.infoplease.com/ce6/history/A0804481.html

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> The Joint Defense and Economic Cooperation Threat. The League of Arab States. February 16 1952.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Ibid. Essentially this means that an attack against one is an attack against all.

<sup>11 &</sup>quot;The History of the League of Arab States." The League of Arab States.

http://www.arableagueonline.org/arableague/english/details\_en\_jsp?art\_id=1175&level\_id=10

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> "Profile: The Arab League." *BBC News*. December 29, 2004.

The League of Arabs States has enjoyed successes in its attempts at coordination of economic development within the League. Successes include the Arab Financial Organization, Arab Telecommunications Union, the Arab Postal Union and the Arab Common Market. These organizations have helped developed an easier way for business to be conducted in the Middle East, promoting economic development and integration.

The League of Arab States also plays a role in social development, improving the everyday life of the citizens of member nations. The League has preserved many ancient manuscripts. It also helps set educational standards in member nations, helping to guarantee the quality of education across the region.<sup>16</sup>

There are several top priority issues that the League of Arab States is facing today including the Palestinian issue, the Golan issue, the consolidation with the Lebanese Republic and the situation in Iraq.<sup>17</sup> Other issues include water scarcity in the Middle East, weapon proliferation and forming stronger relationships with Asia and Africa.<sup>18</sup>

The current list of LAS member states include:

Algeria, Bahrain, Comoros, Djibouti, Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Kuwait, Mauritania, Morocco, Oman, Palestine, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates and Yemen.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> The History of the League of Arab States. The League of Arab States. http://www.arableagueonline.org/arableague/english/search\_en.jsp

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> "Profile: The Arab League." BBC News. December 29, 2004

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Arab Issues. The League of Arab States.

http://www.arableagueonline.org/arableague/english/search\_en.jsp

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

## I. The League of Arab States Responses to Terrorism

"The Arab League is calling upon the international community for unified action to bring about peace and realize the world wide warfare, adding that the adverse impact that hit the world following those events, requires accentuation of such conflicts as forgiveness, and co-existence. Likewise, it requires eradication of all causes that may lead to the outbreak of conflicts and disputes, like poverty, ignorance, and all forms of coercion, particularly racism, anti-Semitism, and occupation." Amre Moussa, Secretary General of the League of Arab States

Terrorism has been a prominent international issue long before September 11, 2001. This topic has been discussed extensively at the United Nations and by regional organizations. This committee will be focusing on an Arab definition of terrorism and an Arab response to terrorism. This background guide will be different than most background guides on this topic because it includes several types of terrorism for this committee to consider. Having a working definition of terrorism will be one of the important initial tasks for the committee. The guide contains the types of terrorism that academia has studied for years. It should be considered a starting point only.

### **Defining Terrorism**

There is no international definition of terrorism. Each country has a definition, but there is no universal legal definition of this important term. To make the matter more confusing, each country that has a definition states that there exist circumstances when the definition is not applicable. This body must work on a definition of terrorism before it can create a regional acceptable response to terrorism.

State Actors

There are two very different ways that states can be involved in terrorism. The first way is called state terrorism. The second way is as a state sponsor of terrorism. They are often confused for each other; however, they do not share anything in common except the fact that the state has made the decision to actively support terrorism.

State terrorism is when a state use "terrorism to subdue a nation's own people or to spread confusion and chaos among its enemies." Examples of state terrorism include the use death squads on the citizens of the country and the killing and/or jailing of political opponents. In these instances, the state itself is acting as the terrorist entity. <sup>21</sup>

State sponsors of terrorism provide outside groups funding, arms, and other forms of material support. They may also provide training, logistical support, sanctuary or diplomatic facilities.<sup>22</sup> In these instances, the government is not actively organizing the terrorist organization; instead, it is supporting it with material, facilities or other support. State sponsors of terrorism often provide a safe haven for terrorists to train and recruit without fear of prosecution or interference. The number of countries sponsoring terrorism is declining, and the support is often becoming more subtle, such as allowing for easier border crossing.<sup>23</sup> This definition is based on the United States of America's definition of a state sponsor of terrorism.

<sup>22</sup> "Terms Page." The United States of America Department of State. <a href="http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ho/pubs/fs/">http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ho/pubs/fs/</a>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> "Marking 1<sup>st</sup> Anniversary of September 11: Arab League Urges World to Unite Against Terrorism, Promote Tolerance." The League of Arab States. September 10, 2002.

http://www.arableagueonline.org/arableague/english/details\_en.jsp?art\_id=1305&level\_id=219

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Cindy Combs and Martin Slann. *Encyclopedia of Terrorism*. New York: Facts on File Books Inc. p. 200.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Kenneth Katzman. *Terrorism: Near Eastern Group and State Sponsors 2002.* CRS Report for Congress. February 13, 2002. http://www.fas.org/irp/crs/RL31119.pdf

#### Non-State Actors

Rushworth M. Kidder, a prominent researcher on terrorism, has interviewed several prominent terrorists around the world and found several common characteristics.<sup>24</sup> Terrorists' characteristics are: an oversimplification of issues; frustration about an inability to change society; a sense of self-righteousness; a need to assert one's own existence; and a willingness to kill.<sup>25</sup> Additionally, many terrorists are highly educated and sophisticated.<sup>26</sup>

According to Dr Fredrick J. Hacker there are three types of terrorists.<sup>27</sup> The first type of terrorist is the criminals who are doing terrorist acts for monetary gain.<sup>28</sup> The second type is known as the crusaders who are performing terrorist acts for religious, political, or social reasons.<sup>29</sup> The third type is terrorists suffering from a mental or emotional imbalance. The one thing they have in common is their willingness to kill civilians to further their personal or organizational agenda.

#### Current Trends

According to recent studies, the average age of a terrorist in the 1970's and 1980's was in the early to mid-twenty's. The average age of terrorists is generally declining, with many Arab and Iranian terrorist organizations preferring teenagers due to their willingness to follow orders with questions and their lower visibility. Another factor driving the average age down is the increasing number of intrastate conflicts that are drawing in younger and younger participants both as soldiers and terrorists. Leaders of terrorist organizations continue to be relatively older, though. Terrorists tend to have some form of university education, even if they did not complete a degree. Most of the rank and file terrorists are recruited from among students and unemployed, but there is a great variety of professions represented. Approximately two-thirds of terrorists are from a middle or upper class upbringing, with notable exceptions among Palestinian and Iranian terrorist groups. The acts of violence are increasing in intensity.

### Types of Terrorism

## Assassinations

Terrorism was often narrowly construed as assassination until World War II.<sup>35</sup> The legitimacy of killing world leaders continues to be a moral question to this day, but for a long time, they were viewed as legitimate military targets.<sup>36</sup> There have been several prominent assassinations that have impacted the League of Arab States.

Anwar el-Sadat, the President of Egypt, was assassinated in 1981 by the Muslim Brotherhood. This group was angered by Sadat's signing of the Camp David Peace Accords with Israel. Sadat had earlier led an invasion to attempt to recapture the Sinai peninsula from the Israelis.<sup>37</sup> This action had gained him respect within the League of Arab States, but the signing of the Camp David Accords resulted in Egypt being removed from the organization.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Davis, Paul. "The Terrorist Mentality." Cerebrum: The Dana Forum on Brian Science. Summer 2001.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Cindy Combs and Martin Slann. *Encyclopedia of Terrorism*. New York: Facts on File Books Inc. p. 207.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Frederick J. Hacker. *Criminals, Crusaders, and Crazies: Terror and Terrorism in Our Time*. New York: Norton. pp. 24-26.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Rex Hudson. *The Sociology and Psychology of Terrorism: Who Becomes a Terrorist and Why?* The Library of Congress. September 1999. p. 48. <a href="http://www.loc.gov/rr/frd/pdf-files/Soc\_Psych\_of\_Terrorism.pdf">http://www.loc.gov/rr/frd/pdf-files/Soc\_Psych\_of\_Terrorism.pdf</a>

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Ibid., p. 49.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Adam Roberts. "The Changing Face of Terror." BBC. September 3, 2005. <a href="http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/war/sept">http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/war/sept</a> 11/changing faces 02.shtml

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Cindy Combs and Martin Slann. Encyclopedia of Terrorism. New York: Facts on File Books Inc. p. 213.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> "Egypt—the Aftermath of Camp David and the Assassination of Sadat." AllRefer.com. <a href="http://reference.allrefer.com/country-guide-study/egypt/egypt55.html">http://reference.allrefer.com/country-guide-study/egypt/egypt55.html</a>

<sup>38 &</sup>quot;Egypt—Peace with Israel." AllRefer.com. http://reference.allrefer.com/country-guide-study/egypt/egypt54.html

Yitzhak Rabin the Israeli Prime Minister was assassinated on November 4, 1995, by Yigal Amir.<sup>39</sup> Amir was a Jewish extremist who believed the prime minister was giving away Israel to the Palestinians.<sup>40</sup> This assassination disrupted the Palestinian-Israeli peace process.<sup>41</sup>

#### Tactical Terror

This type of terrorism is only focused against a specific target, usually against a government target. It is most commonly performed in guerrilla warfare. It is important to note that some planning is done to insure innocent bystanders are not unnecessarily harmed.<sup>42</sup> An example of this type of attack is the King David Hotel Bombing. Sadly the target of this attack was the military and administrative offices inside the hotel.<sup>43</sup> The goal of the bombing was to expedite the British withdrawal from the future state of Israel. Ninety-one people were killed in the attack,<sup>44</sup> but the terrorist organization was clearly focused on a specific aim because it could have used the explosives elsewhere in Jerusalem if it was seeking to maximize casualties.

#### Random Terror

Random Terror is the most common type of terrorism committed in the world today. The type of terrorism involves placing explosives in areas were people gather. The goal of the terrorist is maximum damage and destruction. An excellent example of this is the September 11, 2001 attacks on the World Trade Center.

#### The Current Situation

This committee will be reviewing the League of Arab States current policies on counter terrorism and antiterrorism. The committee will have the opportunity to generate new policy in this area. Counter terrorism represents efforts to disrupt the organization and activities of terrorist groups.<sup>45</sup>

Covert operations "seek to destabilize, degrade, and destroy terrorist groups." One type of covert operation is the counter terrorism assassination. This method is utilized by the Mossad, the Israeli intelligence and covert operations agency. Another Israeli covert operations group is the Wrath of God. They were responsible for tracking and assassinating everyone involved in the Munich Massacre of Israeli athletes. The Wrath of God was officially disbanded after it killed an innocent waiter in North Africa. Another type of covert operations includes the use of Special Forces or tactical units. The Special Forces can be used when terrorist have taken hostages or are in a known location. Such groups as the Egypt 777 have been used to end standoffs with terrorists. This group is similar to the British Special Air Services, The United States Delta Force and the Israeli Sayaret Matkal. Other regional agencies have discussed creating a rapid reaction forces to handle these situations.

Intelligence in counter terrorism is found in two forms. The first is signal intelligence, using modern equipment to intercept information from terrorists. This type of information includes financial data and communication interceptions including e-mail interception. <sup>50</sup> The second form of intelligence is human intelligence. Human

41 Ibid

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Martin, Chris. *Understanding Terrorism Challenges, Perspectives, and Issues*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications Ltd. p. 199.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Cindy Combs and Martin Slann. *Encyclopedia of Terrorism*. New York: Facts on File Books Inc. p. 207.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Milton Meltzer. *The Terrorists*. New York: Harper and Row. 1983.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Martin, Chris. *Understanding Terrorism Challenges, Perspectives, and Issues*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications Ltd. p. 362

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Ibid., p. 300

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Ibid., p. 352

Alexander B. Calahan. "Countering Terrorism: The Israeli Response to the 1972 Munich Olympic Massacre and the Development of Independent Covert Action Teams." 1995 Master's Thesis. <a href="http://www.fas.org/irp/eprint/calahan.htm">http://www.fas.org/irp/eprint/calahan.htm</a>
 Martin, Chris. Understanding Terrorism Challenges, Perspectives, and Issues. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications Ltd. p. 348.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Ibid., p. 367.

intelligence is intelligence gathered by the observations of a human. This can be from humans monitoring an observation post or a spy. The major difficulty is that terrorist organizations are difficult to infiltrate. Even if they join a terrorist group, most groups today are divided into cells, so the agent can only gather information on that one cell only. The information is useful to destroy that cell only and not the larger organization.<sup>51</sup>

Economic Sanctions are used against state terrorism and state sponsored terrorism. Some of the advantages of economic sanctions include the symbolism of strong condemnation of the behavior of the sanctioned regime, the considerable pressure that can be brought to bear on a sanctioned regime and the show of power of the sanctioning body. The difficulty with sanctions is they rarely hurt the regime; they usually hurt the citizens of the nation being sanctions. Economic sanctions almost rarely remain firm, as the nations imposing the sanctions eventually begin to trade with the offending nation again. Even when nations remain firm with there sanctions, there are always leaks in the embargo.<sup>52</sup>

Law enforcement is also a very effective option for counter terrorism. Organizations such as INTERPOL provide coordination of counter terrorism and criminal investigations. The primary purpose of INTERPOL is sharing of information among members.<sup>53</sup> Most of the regional organizations have some type of forum for combating terrorism. Each government has some form of law enforcement agency designed to handle terrorists and also has some form of information gathering service. One obstacle is that bureaucratic rivalries often block the smooth, easy flow of information between intelligence organizations and law enforcement agencies.<sup>54</sup>

Antiterrorism is defensive measures used to protect targets also know as target hardening. This process includes hiring more security guards for specific targets. It includes building structures to protect civilians and government offices. An example would be the Morocco's Desert Wall built to protect the citizens in the Western Sahara territory that were being attacked by guerrilla fighters. This wall has protected these citizens for over thirty years. It is know as a short term solution to the problem, but it has been effective.<sup>55</sup>

Some of the most effective forms of counter terrorism do not involve direct action against the terrorists themselves. It takes financial resources to be able to arm, equip, train and house terrorists. The most devastating terrorist attacks require a high degree of coordination that requires financial resources for training, communication equipment, research and to support both terrorist cells and the planners. Attacking the sources of finances is widely viewed as one of the most successful means of combating terrorism. Terrorists generally finance their operations through three different ways: donations from individuals which are sometimes funneled through sham charities; finances from a country that sponsors terrorism; or other legal or illegal economic activity such as shipping or illicit drug sales.<sup>56</sup>

Another way to counter terrorism is to undercut its political or economic roots. Terrorist organizations often use political or economic injustice as a recruiting tool. Working to eliminate either political and economic injustice or the perception of such injustices can restrict terrorist groups' fundraising and recruiting efforts. This can be accomplished through concerted efforts to solve these problems, the use of economic aid or education that changes perceptions on issues.<sup>57</sup>

# Actions Taken by the League of Arab States

The League of Arab States has always spoke out against terrorist tactics; however, this body always reminds the world community that the reasons that people turn to terrorist tactics need to be eliminated. Those reasons are poverty, denial of education and an unheard voice.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> David Childs. "Combating Terrorist Financing: A Key Aspect of the War on Terrorism." Center for Defense Information. May 20, 2005. http://www.cdi.org/friendlyversion/printversion.cfm?documentID=3024

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Francisco Gutierrez. "Terrorism and Inequality." Responding to Terrorism: What Role for the UN? Conference hosted by the International Peace Academy, New York October 25-26, 2002. http://www.ipacademy.org/PDF\_Reports/Conference\_Report\_Terr.pdf

#### **Conclusion**

This topic will require a great deal of research. Each delegate should look at the 12 international accepted conventions on terrorism. Delegates should also consider look at the United Nations Counter Terrorism Committee website and review all documents that their government has submitted to the committee. Each delegate should also look at their country's counter terrorism and antiterrorism policies. Such areas to consider are does your nation have a counter terrorism tactical unit. If it does what is it success record?

Questions the resolution should answer include what will be the Arab definition of terrorism? What will the League of Arab States do in the area of counter terrorism? Should covert operations be allowed at the regional level? If they are what types of covert operations should be allowed? Will this body create a tactical unit to handle terrorist groups? What will be the level of intelligence sharing? Will information only be shared between member nations or shall the information be given to groups such as INTERPOL? What will the League of Arab States do in the area of antiterrorism?

## II. The League of Arab States and the Situation in the Sudan

## Introduction to the problem

In the spring of 2004, the concern about the situation in the Darfur Region of Sudan became one of the most prominent international concerns. A year later the United Nations Security Council and League of Arab States continue to express grave concern about Darfur.

Sudan has a history of conflict. Currently, two conflicts tear at Sudan. One is between the Muslim North and Christian South. The other conflict is between ethnic Arabs and darker ethnic Africans. With the exception of a 10 year period, Sudan has been in a state of civil war since it gained its independence from the United Kingdom in 1954.<sup>58</sup> The government has been Islamic-oriented and supported by military regimes. The conflict that began in 1983 between the Moslem north and non-Moslem South as the longest uninterrupted war in the world.<sup>59</sup> The north is dominated by the Islamic government. These ongoing conflicts have resulted in Sudan suffering more than 2 million deaths and over 4 million displaced.<sup>60</sup>

## Background

The Darfur region is home to a number of different ethnic groups. The largest ethnic group, the Fur, are farmers. <sup>61</sup> The central area of the region is inhabited by the Fur as well as several non-Arab farming ethnic groups. <sup>62</sup> The northern part of the region, which is part of the Sahara Desert, is inhabited by a mixture of ethnic Arab and non-Arab nomadic groups. <sup>63</sup> The eastern and southern portions of Darfur are dominated by nomadic Arab ethnic groups that herd cattle. <sup>64</sup>

The conflict in the Darfur region is fed by both ethnic differences and environmental issues. <sup>65</sup> Repeated drought has hurt agricultural capacity, leading to conflict over land between the ethnic groups and farmers against herders. <sup>66</sup> The difficult situation has led many of the young and most productive people to leave the region, leaving behind a more difficult situation for the marginalized groups of elderly and sick who can not leave. <sup>67</sup> Two central issues are

<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> "Sudan." *CIA World Factbook*. Central Intelligence Agency. August 9, 2005. http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/su.html

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> "Military." GlobalSecurity.org. August 7, 2005. <a href="http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/para/darfur.htm">http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/para/darfur.htm</a>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> Ibid.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> Ibid.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid.

whether or not this migration is voluntary and whether or not the Sudanese government is playing a role.<sup>68</sup> The ethnic non-Arabs in the region claim that the government is sponsoring the Janjaweed which is destroying villages and killing and pillaging in the region.<sup>69</sup> Witnesses who claim to have seen helicopters and jets participating in these attacks would bolster these claims.<sup>70</sup> The Sudanese government counters that the Janjaweed are a local militia group operating independently, and the conflict is between farmers and herders.<sup>71</sup> The conflict is exacerbated by the fact that the ethnic non-Arabs feel marginalized politically and in ongoing peace negotiations.<sup>72</sup>

## What has been done through international entities

86 Ibid.87 Ibid.

In November of 2004, the Security Council adopted *Resolution 1564*, sponsored by Germany, Romania, the US and the UK.<sup>73</sup> Utilizing Chapter VII of the UN Charter, the resolution authorized sanctions against Sudan and its petroleum sector. The Security Council also asked for an inquiry by the UN Secretary-General.<sup>74</sup> On January 10th of 2005, the signing in Nairobi of the Naivasha Protocols took place to bring an end to the struggle between North and South Sudan.<sup>75</sup> A concern in this agreement is that there is no justice for those that committed a wrong.<sup>76</sup> It is strongly believed that the lack of accountability by the Sudanese government has played a role in the devastation that the world has seen in Darfur.<sup>77</sup> The events taking place in Darfur have been those seen in the crimes committed against the south.<sup>78</sup> Only this time they are happening much faster.<sup>79</sup> The devastation and genocide in the south took 20 years while the genocide in Darfur has taken only 2 years.<sup>80</sup> Already 1.6 million are displaced and 70,000 are presumed dead.<sup>81</sup> While peace was coming to the south at the very same time the government continued to force thousands from their homes in Darfur.<sup>82</sup> The 1,000 African Union troops are not enough to offer protection.<sup>83</sup> Even as the media has picked up on the atrocities, it has not been enough to rally the international community's interest to send troops.<sup>84</sup>

"After referring the crimes in Darfur to the ICC, the Security Council should now give its vigorous support to the court's investigations into those crimes. Since the prosecutor has no police force to implement his orders, the Security Council needs to help him meet this challenge," stated Richard Dicker, Director of the International Justice Program. Following the referral to the Security Council by the ICC the Sudanese set up a special court to find perpetrators of the conflict in Darfur. This could compliment the ICC by getting lower level officials, but it can not replace the ICC's prosecutions of higher level individuals responsible for the crimes in Darfur. Dicker, also stated that these lower level initiatives by Sudan are needed, but also pointed out that the government of Sudan has

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<sup>68</sup> Ibid.
<sup>69</sup> Ibid.
<sup>70</sup> Amy Costello. "Chad/Sudan: A Question of Genocide." September 16, 2004.
           http://www.pbs.org/frontlineworld/elections/chad.sudan/
71 "Military." GlobalSecurity.org. August 7, 2005. http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/para/darfur.htm
<sup>73</sup> SC/8191. Security Declares Intention to Consider Sanctions to Obtain Sudan's Full Compliance with Security, Disarmament
            Obligations on Darfur. Security Council Press Release. September 18, 2004.
            http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2004/sc8191.doc.htm
<sup>74</sup> Ibid.
75 "No Justice." Human Rights Watch. January 10, 2005 <a href="http://hrw.org/english/docs/2005/01/10/darfur9976.htm">http://hrw.org/english/docs/2005/01/10/darfur9976.htm</a>
<sup>76</sup> Ibid.
<sup>77</sup> Ibid.
<sup>78</sup> Ibid.
<sup>79</sup> Ibid.
80 Ibid.
<sup>81</sup> Ibid.
82 Ibid.
<sup>83</sup> Ibid.
<sup>84</sup> Ibid.
85 "Darfur: ICC Prosecutor Briefs Security Council." Human Rights Watch. June 29, 2005.
            http://hrw.org/english/docs/2005/06/29/sudan11233.htm
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made no real effort to prosecute those most involved with the crimes in Darfur. <sup>88</sup> During the ICC's investigation is must be able to insure witness-protections as well as open communication with those most affected by the conflict. <sup>89</sup>

In early August of 2004 the League of Arab States Council assembled to discuss the crisis in Darfur and composed *Resolution 6425.* The council welcomed effort by the Sudanese Government and the United Nations in the work they were doing to develop peaceful resolution in Darfur. The LAS stated its support for the African Union and that the LAS would participate in the mediation process and provide financial, technical, and logistical support to the government of Sudan. <sup>92</sup>

By mid-August the LAS met again as the United Nations Security Council planned to place sanctions on the government of Sudan. <sup>93</sup> The LAS voiced strong opposition and stated that placing sanctions would only backfire. <sup>94</sup> Although, many Arab states urged Sudan to follow UN guidelines they remained reserved about using sanctions. <sup>95</sup> The LAS stated that the situation in Darfur is too complicated to be resolved in the limited time issued by the UN Security Council *Resolution 1556*. <sup>96</sup> *Resolution 1556* was issued in July 2004 and gave Sudan 90 days to focus on the situation in Darfur. <sup>97</sup> The LAS did join the African Union in mediation between the Sudanese government and the Darfur rebels. <sup>98</sup> However, the LAS continues to support Sudan's decision to reject foreign intervention in Darfur. <sup>99</sup>

#### Current status of the Darfur situation

<sup>102</sup> Ibid.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid.

In January 2005 and peace resolution was brought forth in Sudan and many hoped that the peace process was building momentum. Unfortunately that would not be the case as March 2005 neared worries and speculation that a new day for Darfur had much waiting left. Concerns increased with an appeal from UNICEF to Arab countries to support women and children who have been displaced. There were reports of very little Arab support to UNOCEF. UNOCEF.

Human Rights First began to pressure the UN Secretary General Annan to encourage the Arab to community to give the International Criminal Court jurisdiction to investigate and prosecute the crimes committed in Darfur. The AU reported that the situation in Darfur is deteriorating, and the United Nations has predicted that, unless conditions improve, the number of displaced persons in Darfur will grow form 1.8 million to 3 million before the end of this year. 104

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88 Ibid.
89 Ibid.
90 League of Arab States Resolution 6425. Darfur. League of Arab States. August 8, 2004. Available at:
          http://www.caabu.org/press/documents/arab-league-darfur.html
<sup>91</sup> Ibid.
<sup>92</sup> Ibid.
93 Reem Nafie. "Reaching out to Darfur." Al-Ahram Weekly On-line. Issue No. 703. August 12, 2004.
          http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/2004/703/re6.htm
94 Ibid.
95 Ibid.
96 Ibid.
<sup>97</sup> Ibid.
98 Ibid.
99 Ibid.
100 "UNICEF Goodwill Ambassador Mahmoud Kabil appeals to Arab Countries for Darfur support." UNICEF. March 6, 2005.
          http://www.unicef.org/emerg/darfur/index 25489.html
101 Ibid.
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http://www.humanrightsfirst.org/media/2005\_alerts/ij\_0322\_darfur.htm

<sup>103</sup> "U.N. Secretary General Should Push for Action on Darfur at Arab League Summit." Human Rights First. March 22, 2005.

Recently, the LAS thanked the international community on its work and help in Darfur and looked forward to a Peace in Sudan to create a better tomorrow for the Sudanese people. The LAS has five areas of focus to aid in the reconstruction and development in Sudan. First, the LAS and Sudan has achieved progress in addressing the debt in Sudan. Second, the Inter-Arab States and Funds are working to create an account to speed up development plans in Sudan. Third, the LAS Arab Specialized Organizations and Funds have set up plans in infrastructure rebuilding at a cost of \$200 million and have also launched a Human Development program. Fourth, the LAS has asked all sectors of the Arab community to pledge financial support in developing Sudan. Fifth, the LAS will work closely with the Government of Sudan, the World Bank, United Nations, Norway and other supporters to discuss the financing of the different projects.

# III. An Arab View of the Road Map for Peace in the Middle East

"All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights."

- The Universal Declarations of the Rights of Man<sup>112</sup>

The history of the struggle for Palestine spans several thousand years. The background for this topic will begin with the Balfour Declaration of 1917. The conflict over Palestine is very interesting for several reasons. The first reason is it was the only mandate that the British had following World War I that did not become an independent state. The British had decided to make it a homeland for the Jews. The second fact is that Palestinians did not know about this plan so they kept living on the same piece of property they had occupied. The Jewish population grew steadily through 1937 as many Jews migrated to the area, which encompassed the historical area of the Israeli kingdom. In 1937, Palestine rebelled against the United Kingdom, seeking independence. The independence movement was crushed by the British. Throughout the 1940s, Jewish terrorist groups, most notably the Stern Gang, waged a campaign to force the British to withdraw from Palestine. One of the most infamous terrorist acts during this period was the King David Hotel. These acts of terrorism led the United Kingdom to turn this problem over to the newly formed United Nations.

The United Nations hoped it could solve the conflict with the famous two state solution; however Israel stopped that by declaring its independence in 1948.<sup>119</sup> The United Nations recognized Israel as a nation and promised that an Arab nation would be created very soon after. Two issues played a role in international support for the state of Israel. The first is that more than 6 million Jews had been systematically killed by Nazi Germany prior to and during World War II, <sup>120</sup> creating vast sympathy for the creation of a Jewish state and the decision to recognize Israel

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<sup>105</sup> "Speech Delivered by H.E. Amre Moussa The Secretary General of the League of Arab States At the Sudan Donors
          Conference Oslo." League of Arab States. April 4, 2005.
          http://www.arableagueonline.org/arableague/english/details_en.jsp?art_id=3461&level_id=219
<sup>106</sup> Ibid.
107 Ibid.
108 Ibid.
<sup>109</sup> Ibid.
110 Ibid.
111 Ibid.
112 The Universal Declaration of the Rights of Man. Article 1. Available at:
          http://domino.un.org/UNISPAL.NSF/85255a0a0010ae82852555340060479d/805c731452035912852569d1005c12011
          OpenDocument
113 "The History of the Question of Palestine." The United Nations. New York. p. 10.

http://domino.un.org/UNISPAL.NSF/9a798adbf322aff38525617b006d88d7/533b4714451b48bf0525651b00488d02!O
          penDocument
114 Ibid.
<sup>116</sup> Jeffrey Laurenti. "Preface to Combating Terrorism: Does the UN Matter." (Excerpt) UNA-USA.
          http://www.unausa.org/site/pp.asp?c=fvKRI8MPJpF&b=405623
117 "The History of the Question of Palestine." The United Nations. New York. p. 10.
          http://domino.un.org/UNISPAL.NSF/9a798adbf322aff38525617b006d88d7/533b4714451b48bf0525651b00488d02!O
          penDocument
118 Ibid.
119 Ibid.
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120 "Holocaust Memorial Day 2005." BBC. http://www.bbc.co.uk/religion/religions/features/holocaust/memorial day.shtml

that both the US and USSR made in 1948 following the declaration of the state of Israel. Egypt and Jordan would control the area assigned to an Arab state until the state was ready to take over. In 1967 during a seven day conflict, Israel was able to capture all the territory assigned by the United Nations to an unnamed Arab state.

Attempts at a peaceful settlement were made in the 1970's and 1980's. The first important effort resulted in the Camp David Accords, which were agreed to between Israel and Egypt. The United States of America served as the mediator in resolving this part of the peace process. The US also provided a very powerful financial incentive to Egypt and made Egypt the second largest recipient of US foreign aid. Both parties recognized peace must be the ultimate goal of all parties involved. Israel showed a willingness to both negotiate and provide concessions, as Israel restored the Sinai peninsula to Egypt as part of the negotiations. Egypt was removed from the League of Arab States for their part in the talks, and Anwar Sadat was assassinated soon afterwards.

The Madrid Conference is very important for several reasons. It was held jointly by the United States of America and the newly formed Russian Federation. It allowed Israel to have bilateral talks in an international conference framework. Many important ideas from this conference laid the ground work for the current Road Map for Peace. 128

On September 10, 1993, the PLO and Israeli government official signed letters of mutual recognition. This meant that the PLO finally admitted that Israel had the right to exist. It also meant that Israel admitted that the PLO was the representative of the Palestinian people. It had taken over a year of secret meetings for both sides to admit this in writing. Prime Minister Rabin was assassinated for his part in this peace agreement. 129

### **Current Situation**

The current effort to find a solution to the Palestinian issue is the Road Map for Peace. It was written by the European Union, The United States of America, The Russian Federation and The United Nations. It was a three step process that guaranteed a two state solution by 2005. Progress has not matched the schedule, though, as the Roadmap is currently on step one which should have ended two years ago. One positive development is the decision by Israel to pull out of the Gaza Strip and hand it over to the Palestinian Authority. This new development has created hope, but also new issues to be solved. The Palestinian police force was destroyed when Israel reoccupied the Gaza Strip following the death of the Oslo Accords. There is no infrastructure the Gaza Strip. The Israelis controlled the banks, the postal service and the welfare capabilities. What Israel does not control Hamas at this point controls in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The largest problem Israel faces is the withdraw may look like Hamas won the Gaza Strip by using terrorist tactics. The pull out creates other possible complications. One

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>121</sup> David McCullough. *Truman*. New York: Simon & Schuster. 1992. pp. 618-619.

<sup>&</sup>quot;The History of the Question of Palestine." The United Nations. New York.

http://domino.un.org/UNISPAL.NSF/9a798adbf322aff38525617b006d88d7/533b4714451b48bf0525651b00488d02!O
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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>123</sup> Ibid., p. 15.

Robert A. Strong. Working in the World: Jimmy Carter and the Making of American Foreign Policy. Baton Rouge: LSU Press 2000

<sup>125</sup> Charles Levinson. "\$50 Billion Later, Taking Stock of US Aid to Egypt." Christian Science Monitor Online.
<a href="http://www.csmonitor.com/2004/0412/p07s01-wome.html">http://www.csmonitor.com/2004/0412/p07s01-wome.html</a>. Israel and Egypt have moved to #2 and #3 respectively since 2004 as Iraq is now the largest recipient of US foreign aid.

<sup>126 &</sup>quot;Camp David Accords." Encyclopedia Britanica. 1997. http://www.britannica.com/nobel/micro/100\_16.html

<sup>127 &</sup>quot;Egypt—Peace with Israel." AllRefer.com. http://reference.allrefer.com/country-guide-study/egypt/egypt54.html

<sup>&</sup>quot;The History of the Question of Palestine." The United Nations. New York.

http://domino.un.org/UNISPAL.NSF/9a798adbf322aff38525617b006d88d7/533b4714451b48bf0525651b00488d02!OpenDocument

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>129</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>130</sup> A Performance-Based Roadmap to a Permanent Two-State Solution to the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict. 2003. Available at: http://www.un.org/media/main/roadmap122002.html

<sup>&</sup>quot;The History of the Question of Palestine." The United Nations. New York.

http://domino.un.org/UNISPAL.NSF/9a798adbf322aff38525617b006d88d7/533b4714451b48bf0525651b00488d02!O

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>133</sup> Ibid., p. 21.

is that the Palestinian Authority is not able to exert control over the Gaza Strip and Israel reoccupies it. Another concern is that the Israeli government will use the Gaza pull out as an excuse to keep more territory in the West Bank.<sup>134</sup>

#### **Terrorism**

The Roadmap for Peace commits the Palestinians to end terrorism and violence against Israel. This will prove difficult for a number of reasons. One is that the Palestinian Authority has only limited resources to exert its control. A second is that the Palestinians are not full unified, and there are several entities that operate independently of each other. Some of these entities, such as Hamas, are a political group that have grown out of a terrorist organization. Many of the entities are also influenced by foreign countries.

## Refugees

The original refugees were forced to leave Palestine by terrorist organizations as the Stern Gang and the Irgun Zvai Leumi. The Stern Gang was involved in the massacre of the Arab village of Deir Yassin. Most Jew in the area at the time condemned the attack, but the Arabs in the surrounding areas understood they were no longer safe in British mandate of Palestine. The League of Arab States mentions that many other guerilla groups were in the area at the time and were targeting Arabs. The League of Arab States believes that is the start of the refugee situation. Once Israel was granted statehood, the following war, 750,000 Palestinians fled the new state or were expelled. The situation had become so bad that the United Nations Security Council passed *Resolution 194* calling for the Israelis to allow the Palestinians the right of return or fair compensation. In 1967, during the Seven Day War the situation became worse when 500,000 Palestinians were forced to flee when Israel occupied the remaining portions of a promised Palestinian state. In 1982 Israel invaded Lebanon in an effort to capture Yassir Arafat.

Currently there are four million refugees according to the UNRWA. The number of refugees goes up ever day due to natural growth. This is a problem since these people are in refugee camps in several member territories. These refugees cause several problems for their host governments. The host government must police the area. There are epidemics because of sanitation problems. Refugees are poverty stricken and hinder social and economical growth in the host country because the host country must provide for these people without taxing them. The refugee camps are natural places for terrorism to grow because the youth are looking for away out of this situation. These temporary camps have been in operation for over 52 years. There is no major structure so the average refugee was born in the camp and will most likely die in the camp. It was the same fate there parents had.<sup>139</sup>

## Right of Return

One issue that has usually been avoided in all of the peace plans is the Palestinian peoples Right of Return. Under international law they have been granted this right, <sup>140</sup> yet at this time Israel does not allow them to do. However a Jewish person wishing to become a citizen of Israel is allow to return to Israel. This is a major issue for this committee because the refugees are currently living in refugee camps in member nation's territories.

#### Jerusalem

Etgar Lefkovitz. "Olmert: Gaza not trade off for W. Bank." *The Jerusalem Post*. August 10, 2005. http://www.jpost.com/servlet/Satellite?pagename=JPost/JPArticle/ShowFull&cid=1123640627311

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>135</sup> Cindy Combs and Martin Slann. *Encyclopedia of Terrorism*. New York: Facts on File Books Inc. p. 203.

<sup>136</sup> Resolution 194. United Nations Security Council. December 11, 1949

<sup>137</sup> The Universal Declaration of the Rights of Man. Article 13. Available at:

http://domino.un.org/UNISPAL.NSF/85255a0a0010ae82852555340060479d/805c731452035912852569d1005c1201!
OpenDocument

<sup>138</sup> Ibid

<sup>139 &</sup>quot;Who is a Refugee." UNRWA. http://www.un.org/unrwa/refugees/wheredo.html

This city is considered holy by three of the world's major religions, Christianity, Judaism and Islam. That fact has not stopped intense fighting between Israelis and Palestinians over who will control the city. The original plan was for the city to become an international city with the United Nations being responsible for peacekeeping. That did not happen because of two major wars between Israel and the Arab world. Israel has been in control of the area since 1967. Since 1967 Israel has built several settlements on property owned by Palestinians. Today there are over 220,000 settlers living on land that was once legally owned by Palestinians. The settlements are forcing Muslims in the area to be surrounded by settlers on all four sides and are encroaching on what is know as the Muslim quarter of Jerusalem. <sup>141</sup>

The settlements are not the only issue that is currently causing conflict. Israel claims Jerusalem to be its capital. The rest of the world states that Tel Aviv is the capital of Israel. No nation recognizes a capital for Palestine. The problem is particularly intractable because an Israeli demand at peace negotiations is a unified Jerusalem as the capital of Israel. This creates an issue because the Palestinian stance is that Jerusalem will be the capital of the Palestinian state.

## Actions Taken by the League of Arab States

154 Ibid.

During September 1982, the League of Arab States signed the Fez Declaration. The Fez Declaration called for the withdrawal of Israel from all occupied areas, the full dismantlement of all settlements in these areas and reaffirmation of Palestinian right of self-determination. It went on to state that there should be a Palestinian state. The declaration also called for the United Nations to help the Palestinians begin self government. The declaration further asked the United Nations Security Council to guarantee peace amongst all nations in the area including the newly created Palestinian State.

In 1991 the League Assembly passed *Resolution 5092*. This resolution simply stated that peace was the ultimate objective in the Israeli-Arab conflict. This openness allowed for a peace treaty between Jordan and Israel in 1994. It has also called for Israel to withdraw from parts of Lebanon.

Resolution 6053 of the League Assembly at the Ministerial Level was passed on March 12, 2001. It called for the peace process to continue under the current international legitimate resolutions, which placed special emphasis on Security Council Resolution 242 and Resolution 338. Resolution 6053 goes on to call for legitimate rights of Palestinian people including refugees, the right of return or fair compensation, borders, control over Jerusalem and the final status of Palestine according to Security Council Resolutions 242, 338 and 194. Resolution 6053 calls upon all Islamic, Arab and friendly states to recognize Palestine state once the state is declared. Resolution 6053 calls for Israel to uphold civilian rights inside the occupied territories under the Fourth Geneva Convention. The resolution calls for all concerning parties to meet and discuss possible violations. The resolution asks the new American government to make the peace process a top priority. The resolution also calls upon the European

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<sup>141</sup> "The Status of Jerusalem." The United Nations. New York. p. 21.
           http://domino.un.org/UNISPAL.NSF/9a798adbf322aff38525617b006d88d7/533b4714451b48bf0525651b00488d02!O
           penDocument
142 "The Question of Palestine and the United Nations." The United Nations. New York. Chapter 7. Page 4.
           http://www.un.org/Depts/dpi/palestine/ch7.pdf
<sup>143</sup> Ibid.
<sup>144</sup> Ibid.
<sup>145</sup> Ibid.
<sup>146</sup> Ibid.
147 "Peace Process." The League of Arab States.
           http://www.arableagueonline.org/arableague/english/details_en.jsp?art_id=777&level_id=279
<sup>148</sup> Ibid.
<sup>149</sup> Resolution 6053. The League of Arab States. March 12, 2001. Available at:
           http://www.un.org/documents/ga/docs/55/a55943.pdf
150 Ibid
<sup>151</sup> Ibid.
<sup>152</sup> Ibid.
<sup>153</sup> Ibid.
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Union and the Russian Federation to active stance to make sure that Israel does not try to stop the formation of a Palestinian state. <sup>155</sup>

#### **Conclusion**

This topic will require a great deal of research. As stated earlier there is at least 24 other peace plans that failed. You should look at them and find out why they did not make a lasting peace. You should consider looking at other areas of the world with similar problems and see how the conflict was resolved. The history of failure means that a new solution will have to be creative and imaginative. Remember, however, that when Egypt signed a peace treaty with Israel this body suspended their membership to the league, and the man who signed it was assassinated.

Elements of this issue include the following: Should the League of Arab States abandon the Road Map for Peace and design its own plan? What role will the League of Arab States play in the Israeli withdrawal from the Gaza Strip and the West Bank? What will this organization do to make sure the Israelis does not return to the Gaza Strip and the West Bank? What will be the legal status of the Gaza Strip and the West Bank after Israeli withdraws? What will this body due to ease the refugee crisis? Who should control Jerusalem and what will be done about the settlements?

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>155</sup> Ibid.