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Dedication

*To the dearest and the special one, the shining star who lightens my way and
guides me through, my MOTHER*

*To all my friends for their unconditional support,
who encourage and help me.*

To all whom I know, I express my gratefulness.

Thanks for all.

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My sincere thanks also go to all my teachers,

Least but not last, I am thankful of the Jury members who evaluates my work,

I am thankful to each one who helped me even with one word without their assistance I would never reach this moment

Abstract

This dissertation concentrates on the role of the United Nations in settling international conflicts, particularly the Arab-Israeli conflict in (1967-1979). The paper investigates the historical events of the Arab-Israeli wars since the Suez crisis 1956 until the Camp David Accords in 1978, in an attempt to show the real facts of the Arab-Israeli conflicts. Thus, It highlights the United Nations intervention in the Middle East conflict by the Security Council Resolution. In addition, the dissertation refrains the role of Egypt in representing the Arab countries in the Arab-Israeli peace treaties during the 1970s and the hidden purposes of the American-Israeli cooperation in the region. To conduct this study we have opted for the historical qualitative approach. This study uncovers the role of the United Nations in solving the Arab-Israeli conflict (1967-1979) which was not really effective in settling peace in the Middle East, in accordance with the Egyptian leadership of the Arab countries in the peace treaties since (1975).

Key words: United nations, Arab nations, Israel, the Arab-Israeli conflicts, security council resolutions

List of Abbreviations

PLO	Palestinian Liberation Organization
UN	The United Nations
US	The United States

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General Introduction

1 Background of the Study

An International decision has changed the history, and political events in the Middle East particularly the Arab Nations, the General Assembly decision on November 1947. This decision had declared the partition of Palestine into two religious states that decision had made huge political diplomatic conflicts between the Arab and modern state of Israel.

Furthermore, the Arab countries established the PLO in order to present the Palestinian people as their legitimate sole, which was led by the Palestinian young Yasser Arafat since 1964. The organization played an important role in the Arab-Israeli conflict. It was a Palestinian independent state, which was present in the UN to defend the Palestinian Cause.

Thus, this conflict leads to an international intervention by the United Nations as an International organization to settle conflicts around the world. The United Nations Security Council voted on two security decisions declared in (1967-1973) to put an end to the wars and peacefully settle the conflict. So, the United Nations had worked to apply the second article in accordance with both decisions in order to come up with an effective resolution.

The Arab-Israeli wars merely end in 1973 to begin treaties since (1973-1979), those treaties were supported by an American attendance, while, after the Arab countries rejection of peace treaties, they represented by Egypt which was leading the Arab Nations since the first Arab-Israeli war.

This study attempts to discuss the role of the United Nations in settling the Arab-Israeli conflicts (1967-1979), also it discusses the role of Egypt in leading and representing the Arab countries on the Arab-Israeli peace treaties specifically in (1973-1979).

2 Motivation

The historical events that happened in the Middle East during (1967-1979) gave us the insight to go deeply into the Arab-Israeli wars. Also we would like to explore the real history of the Arab Nation during the Arab-Israeli wars.

This paper tries to help understanding the decisions and agreements that the United Nations tried to achieve in accordance with its International Charter.

3 Aims of the Study

This study deals with a critical period of time that the Middle East went through. Thus, the study tackles the subject of the Arab-Israeli wars (1967-1979), and the decisions of the United Nations towards the Arab world after June 1967.

This study aims:

-Highlight the reaction of the United Nations against the Arab nations.

-Highlight the United Nations treaties between Israeli-Arab states during (1974-1975) and its role in settling the Israeli-Arab conflict.

4 Research Questions

To achieve the objectives above the following questions have been formulated:

1-What was the reaction of United Nations against the Arab decisions towards the Israeli-Arab conflicts (1967-1979)?

2-To what extent does the United Nations succeed in settling the Arab-Israeli conflict?

5 Methodology

To conduct our study we have to opt for the historical qualitative research approach which involves gathering evidence and examines past events to draw and eventually come up with a conclusion that would uncover the role of the United Nations in settling the Arab-Israeli conflicts.

In fact, there are so many historical documents, evidence and agreements that explain the resolutions, and decisions that the United Nations voted on during the Arab-Israeli wars, which would highlight the traces of the United Nations and its implications in the Arab world. So, the Egyptian-Israeli accords will be discussed in order to reveal the role of the United Nations in settling separately the Arab-Israeli conflicts.

6 The Structure of the Study

This study is divided into three main chapters. The first chapter deals with the United Nations Principles and its role in solving international conflicts. Also it investigates the Israeli-Arab world conflicts in the period (1967-1979), which extends from the third Arab-Israeli war until the Camp David Accords. The second one is concerned with the Arab-Israeli peace treaties (1974-1975). While the last chapter analyses documents and treaties to detect the traces of resolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict by the UN.

7 Limitation of the study

The present research study attempts to discuss the political and critical situation of the Arab world from (1967-1979). It is to uncover the reactions of the United Nations towards the Arab world against Israel after the war of June 1967. It is intended to study profoundly the struggle between Israel and the Arab Nations, also to reveal the contribution of the United Nations to settling down the above mentioned conflict.

CHAPTER ONE:

The United Nations Overview and The Arab Wars (1967-1979)

Introduction

1.The United Nations Overview

1.1 .The United Nations Principles

1.2 .The Role of United Nations in Settling International Conflicts

2.The Arab Wars (1967-1979)

2.1 . Suez crisis (1956)

2.2 . War of June (1967)

2.3. The Karameh Battle (1968)

2.4. War of October (1973)

Conclusion

Introduction

The chapter deals with the principles of the United Nations, and its role in settling international conflicts; and go deeply in the Arab-Israeli conflicts. The conflicts had started from the Jewish refugees since 1948, but the worst was the Suez crisis, when the Egyptian president Gamal Abdel Nasser nationalized the canal, after the rejection of the International Bank to support Egypt financially in order to build the Aswan High Dam on July 26, 1956. After that crisis, there were other wars like the war of six days 1967 (June), and the war of October 1973.

1 The United Nations

The United Nations is an international organization created in October 1945, since it worked to stop all wars whenever it was in Europe, Africa and even in the Middle East then the main target for the powerful countries(western countries), which situated in San Francisco in the United States of America. (U N Charter,p.1)

After the first world war, there was an organization which was the League of Nations, since the organization had failed in the political role to ensure safety and to end the wars with the beginning of the second world war. In this situation, the American president Roosevelt thought of establishing a new organization in order to reign the world in a peaceful political solution.

So there was another suggestion to establish a new organization, which would retrieve peace in the world, the idea of the name of the organization was by the American president Franklin D. Roosevelt.

The United nations "*Coined by United States president Franklin D. Roosevelt, was first used in the declaration by United Nations of 1 January 1942*" (The history of the United Nations. n.d), and this was the beginning of the United Nations.

1-1-The United Nations Principles

The United Nations message to all humans in its first words, "*we, the peoples of the United nations*", (UN Charter.1945,p.1) they had talked as one person giving a promise that they would save all humankind life even the coming generations from wars that threatened their social, political and military danger whenever and wherever it was to make a peaceful world.

The organization which has the right to vote, accept or refuse the decisions discussed in the security council among the principles and purposes that designed the United Nations steps that are working " *to develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principles of equal rights*", (UN Charter. 1945,p. 3). On one hand, from these words we notice that all nations and countries are the same in social, political; Also especially the military issue after the second world war with the beginning of the Jews refugees from Germany ,but on the other hand all the seven principles started with " All Members" which are considered the more, only the members of the United Nations which are (United States, Britain, China, France, Russia), these are the permanent members of.

According to the second Article in the first chapter of the UN charter, there were seven principles tackling the relations of the permanent members with the other states.

This is the second article principle :

"4. All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the integrity territorial or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations." (ibid,p. 3)

This means that the organization orders the power countries to solve their political and military issues with the occupied territories and regions in Asia, Europe, and Africa; of course, they would leave all territories; however, they would keep military bases to move on their hidden goals such as:

"The entry of the United States into World War II fundamentally altered Americans' conception of the Middle East. For the first time, U.S. officials saw the geopolitical orientation of that region as vital to American national security." (Yakub. 2003,p. 23)

So, the members of the United Nations work for their own targets no more, specially their need for oil and the importance of the geographical area of the Middle East countries, which satisfied their economic and military needs in their war against territory groups.

1-2-The Role of the United Nations in Settling International Conflicts

The role of the United Nations was to settle conflicts and put an end to wars in the world, for that in order to preserve the international Security and peace, the United Nations worked according to the charter declared in 1945. In the first chapter of the organization and the main purpose was to keep up peace and security and must take an effective measures to get a peaceful solution without a military intervention. The first purpose in the international charter was;

To maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and

removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law... (UN Charter. 1945,p.3)

The Third principle of the United Nations deals with the international relations and cooperation between all countries not only the members of the organization; and all countries must cooperate in order to find solutions to the international problems, "*3. To achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic...and encouraging respect for human rights...*", (ibid ,p. 3)

Each two countries or more who have political or military problems, the intervention of the United Nations would be peaceful by negotiations and official meeting with the presidents; however if the method did not work the United Nations would use military way by the peacekeeping forces.

After the second world war, the world was in a big mass everywhere, an especially political crisis such as the conflict of the Arab-Israeli, which was the biggest and worst political problem in the world; it began from the declaration of the state of Israel 1948.

The Arab world had three main conflicts from the Suez crisis in 1956, the war of June (1967), and the war of October (1973) of course, the United Nations had a significant role in settling this crisis using official meeting, political negotiation just as; the agreements and the Knesset visit by Sadat in November (1977), in order to solve these conflicts.

1-3- The Period(1967-1979)

One of the most complex conflicts in the history of the twentieth century was the Arab-Israel conflicts which had started from the first settlement of Israel in 1948, after the British mandate of Palestine. But the hardest period of that conflict was from the war of the Six Days in (1967) to the true implication of the Camp David Accords in (1979), and this is the timeline of events that happened in the period of (1967-1979).

One worthy introducing event is The Black September which marks the conflict in Jordan between the Jordanian Forces and the Palestinian Liberation Organization under the leadership of Yasser Arafat. Firstly, this conflict was between 16-17 September (1970). The conflict happened because of a group of people called "Fedayeen" who were belonging to the PLO, in the camps of the Palestinian refugees, were organizing operations and taking a foreign nationals as hostages, because they considered that as a way to support their revolution against Israel. However, the groups of "Fedayeen" put Jordon in a political risk with the neighboring countries and even the United Nations.

Another event that took place in the previously mentioned period is The appointment of Golda Meir; the third prime minister of Israel (1969-1974), and the first woman in the Israeli government as a prime minister, she was elected to be the minister of Israel after the sudden death of the minister Levi Eshkol in (1969). *"Her short tenure in office is mostly remembered by the Yum Kippur war, when Israel was surprised by a joint attack devised by Egypt, Syria and other Arab nations, on October 6, 1973"* (Article.08/06/2019)

In addition, she launched a counter-offensive attack in order to retrieve the most occupied territories, and end the Yum Kippur war.

One more event is The treaty of 1975 was between Egypt and Israel just after the October war 1973. The agreement was on 4 September 1975, which was signed in Geneva; also, it was an interesting step to reach the targets of Israel and the United States in accordance with the UN security council Resolution 338.

In addition, after the October war 1973, Sadat had visited the Knesset 1977, and after a long period of political tension between Israel and the two Arab states Egypt and Syria; the Egyptian president Anwar Al Sadat tried to work on a peaceful solution with the Israeli government by visiting the Knesset of Israel in November 1977, which was an initial step to the Camp David Accords which was influenced by the American president Jimmy Carter.

"I have come to you today, with both feet planted firmly on the ground, so that we may build a new life and establish peace for all of us on this land, the land of God."; (Sadat visit, 1977,p. 3) a part of the speech of Sadat on the Israeli parliament on November 22, 1977, which expressed his good intentions about a peaceful solution to the Arab-Israeli war.

Furthermore, the Camp David accord 1978, according to the second Article of the United Nations that signed to achieve peace and respect between neighbor states :

To achieve a relationship of peace, in the spirit of Article 2 of the United Nations Charter, future negotiations between Israel and any neighbor prepared to negotiate peace and security with it are necessary for the purpose of carrying out all the provisions and principles of Resolutions 242 and 338. (Camp David Accords 1978,p.1)

Since the Sadat visit to the Knesset in 1977, Egypt-Israel come up with a pacific solution to their political conflict. Finally, after a long time of political, social, religious, and cultural

problems, they got an effective instrument to put an end to this dilemma. From the 5-17 September 1978, in Camp David, the president of the United States Jimmy Carter met the president of the Egyptian president Anwar Al Sadat and the prime minister of Israeli Menachem Begin was to achieve the principles of the United Nations to build international peaceful relationships.

2 The Arab Wars (1967-1979)

The Arab wars, were a global political crisis affected all the world not only the Arab Nation. It had started from 1948 to the unreal end in 1973. The Arab struggle was divided into two parts which are the Arab-Israeli conflicts (wars), and the Egyptian-Israeli war, to signal that the Egypt-Israeli conflict is a part of the struggle; to deal with the Suez crisis which was the huge Egyptian-Israeli military and political war in 1956, than the war of Attrition was along (1967-1970) considering the Karameh battle 1968. Also, many confrontations in camp refugees in Jordan, in fact the war attrition was particularly between Egypt to retrieve its territories in addition to Jordan and the PLO the Palestinian representative.

2-1- The Suez Crisis of 1956

The Suez crisis is considered as a turning point in the Arab nation history, the crisis happened because of the nationalization of the Suez canal by the Egyptian president Gamal Abdel Nasser, when the International bank rejected to give financial support to Egypt to build the Aswan High Dam, also the company was an international and they cannot control it while the president made the decision.

The decision of Abdel Nasser to build the Dam was surprising to the western countries; France, Britain, and Israel, for that they plan for an attack against Egypt on the 26 July 1956. (the Suez crisis, n.d).

There were many reasons for the attack against Egypt, however, there was a hidden target they were working to, especially the geographical situation of the canal, which was an international Waterway; also, it had an important role in the economy of the world while all ships went through to get their destination, whatever the nationalization of the canal made a global political-military tension between great countries such as Britain and France in addition to Israel.

Among The announced and clear reasons for the countries that attacked Egypt are the following:

The causes of France were that; *"the French were angered by Nasser's support for a nationalist rebellion then taking place against French colonial rule in Algeria"*, (Yaquub ,p.51).

The French were angered of Nasser's military and financial support to the Algerian revolution was the clarified reason.

In addition, Israel had a significant cause; *"Israel feared that Nasser's was building up his army in preparation for war against them"* (ibid ,p. 51.).

Furthermore, Israel was feared of Abdel Nasser the most powerful Arab leader, also the first president that made an Armistice agreement with the Soviet Union. Abdel Nasser was a hard obstacle that faced Israel.

For Great Britain, they were feared to lose control over the region or abandoned their order.

But, the main interesting reason for them was that they were in need of the region because of its geography as an international waterway for all the goods in the world, the geographical place of the canal had made one of the biggest diplomatic and military crucial in the history of the world.

The reaction of the United States was by the president Dwight D. Eisenhower, after the reelection of Eisenhower for the second time on 1956. He addressed a message to the Congress which contained his framework towards the Middle East during the Suez crisis.

While the Truman doctrine 1947 was known as a global measure, the Eisenhower doctrine 1957 was directly designed specially to the Middle East.

"There is general recognition in the Middle East, as elsewhere, that the United States does not seek either political or economic domination over any other people. Our desire is a world environment of freedom, not servitude." (Transcript from the National Archives Online Portal, n.d.)

As usual, all diplomatic and political decisions that the United States designed were to serve their relations and economic interests, put programs to influence the American existence in the Middle East; also, to never lose the control over the territories they had occupied during the last wars. (See appendix 1)

2-2- The War of June 1967

The war of June 1967; Firstly, the war was between Israel and the Arab states (Egypt, Syria, Jordan, and Lebanon), in addition to military and financial support from other states such as Iraq, Algeria, Tunisia, and Pakistan...

A new war among the Arab states and Israel, mainly Egypt because of the high political and military tension between them after the war of 1956, because of the Suez canal, like (Reich, 2004,p. 127); "*The casus belli of the announced closure of the Strait of Tiran led to an Israeli preemptive strike against Egypt*". The strait of Tiran was connecting the Red Sea with the Aqaba Gulf which was very interesting to Israel.

When Egypt decided to close the Strait that decision threatened Israel, and the Egyptian government was in high pressure from all countries, but the most was by the western ones in order to open the Straits.

The Six Day War was on the 5 June 1967, when the Israeli forces attacked the Egyptian air forces in order to struggle their reaction and they gone to the Syrian and Jordanian lands, after that they destroyed all the Air Forces of Egypt even the planes on the ground.

The main reason which led to the war was the results of the Suez war, the Israeli forces had occupied many Arab cities from Egypt, Syria, and Jordan.

The war was only on six days from 5-10 June 1967, but the Israeli government retrieved all the occupied lands that lost on the Suez crisis.

Nasser had been quick to act exactly where the most damage could be done. He scuttled dozens of ships filled with rocks and cement and old beer bottles, effectively blocking the waterway, and thus choking off the supply of oil, the security of which had been the immediate reason for the attack.²⁴⁸. (Yargin. 1991)

As all confrontations in the world, there were many reasons which lead to the war of June 1967, the causes of the war organized into two types the shown and the headen reasons which were considered the interests of the Israeli government to achieve, Among the shown reasons that Israel was feared of the establishment the PLO on 1964, by Ahmed Alshigiri.

On one hand, the power of the Arab forces by the guiding and empowerment of Gamal Abdel Nasser mainly Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, in addition, to the Arab summit controlling the

River of Jordan in 1964, as all Israel was stressed by the Arabic policy and their union against it.

On the other hand, *"But if he blocked the strait, the Israelis would go to war against Egypt, because they had made it clear that free passage through the strait was a vital interest for which they were willing to fight."* (Yakub. 2003 ,p.60)

At that situation, Israel considered any decision from the Arab states a threat to their existence in the Middle East. In addition to the close of the Strait of Tiran which was geographically in an important position.

The war was on 5 June 1967, Israel had attacked Egypt and the neighboring countries; The Israeli forces attacked firstly the Air forces of Egypt and destroyed them completely as a step to stop their resistance, although the Egyptian army was unprepared and the attack was surprising, after The damage of the Egyptian plans, they attacked Syria and Jordan.

After while Israeli forces achieved an air control over the Sinai, and the Egyptian army moved Eastwards of the Suez canal.

After all of the unexpected events, Egypt signed an agreement with Israel on the 9 of June, and Israel continued advancing on the West Bank and the Golan Heights, also they signed a cease-fire with Syria on the 11 of June.

At the end of the war of 1967, There were many ambiguous policies and declarations, in addition to the doctrine of American president Nixon as a reaction to the conflict.

"During Richard Nixon's first term, the United States forged quasi-alliances with Iran, Saudi Arabia, and Israel. These relationships were buttressed by a new policy formulation known as the Nixon Doctrine." (Yakub,p.66)

The announcement of the Nixon doctrine in 1969, which all concerned the Middle East in order to keep their diplomacy and relations especially with Iran, Saudi Arabia...; also, Israel established domestic relations with Iran and Saudi Arabia as a source of oil in order to save their role in controlling the Middle East. (See appendix 2)

2-3- The Karameh Battle 1968

The Karameh battle 1968, was between the Israel Defense Forces with the Forces of the Palestine Liberation Organization and the Jordanian Armed Forces in Karameh the Jordanian town on 21 March 1968 during the war of Attrition.

"The Israeli attack targeted the village of Karameh, which Israel considers to be the headquarters of the leadership of the Palestinian resistance. Israeli statements spoke of extensive "killing" operations on the 30-kilometer wide front targeted by the attack." (Karameh Battle, n.d)

The Israeli forces were targeting the village of Karameh while it was considered one of the cities that contained the Palestinian refugees camp, so the Israeli forces pretending they are attacking the camps, while the truth was to occupy more Jordanian cities to achieve their geopolitical goals, also to control other Arab lands after Palestine, the Sinai in Egypt and the Golan in Syria.

This battle was the only one that the Arabs won the Israeli with a heavy loss in their army, also they lost so many soldiers. *"Israel lost at least 28 killed and 90 wounded, and a number of knocked-out tanks and other vehicles were abandoned during the hasty Israeli retreat."* (Karameh Battle, n.d) Moreover; The cease-fire agreement 1970, which had reached between Egypt and Israel signed on, 7 August 1970. In order to put an end to the war of Attrition, although the principals of the agreement did not publish officially. (See appendix 3)

2-4- The War of October 1973

For the Israeli it is known as the Yum Kippur war, but in the Arab world known as the war of the Six-Days, it was the third war between Israel and the Arab states during the Arab-Israeli conflicts (1956-1979).

From the 6-25 October; the Egyptian and Syrian forces attacked the Israeli who were settling on the Sinai and Golan, that they had occupied on the war of June 1967. It was a sudden attack against the enemy forces by two Arab states which are the neighbors of Israel in order to retrieve their territories (Sinai, Golan), the Arab forces broke the Israeli defenses and back again to the lines of the Suez canal. *"The second part envisioned a subsequent advance to a series of mountain passes in the Sinai, about 25 miles east of the Suez Canal."* (Yakub. 2003,p. 74), so the most important thing in the war was that the Egyptian and Syrian

forces succeeded in retrieving the Suez canal, it was a great victory for the two the Arab states against Israeli since the war of the Suez on 1956.

"The United States sent Israel a massive airlift of military equipment." (ibid ,p.74); and, *"The Soviets could provide Egypt with arms, but only the United States could induce Israel to return captured Arab territory."* (ibid ,p. 75)

The two superpowers, the United, and the Soviet Union were in touch and supported both sides. They had assisted them militarily and even politically all of that to influence their existence and role on the Middle East, but at the same time the American president was working on strengthening their position because they were in competition with the Soviets about the Middle East as all.

Consequently, the Arab world precisely the Middle East had suffered the most along (1956-1973) which was the bloody historical era to the Arab as all, so the United Nations and its permanent Members specially the United States who produced many policies by its presidents since the Truman Doctrine in 1947. United States intervened to control the Middle East as benefits resulting while it is a member of the organization.

America foreign policy widely existed in the Middle East after the Suez conflict while that crisis was between two of the most powerful western countries and at the same time a permanent Member of the United Nations, and the United States intervened strongly intervened in the crisis because they knew that the British attack on Egypt would inflame a military confrontation in the area consequently the United States during the Eisenhower presidential tried to organize and contributed an international conferences as a step to reduce the military confrontation between Egypt and Britain.

In light of the involvement of the United Nations in the Arab conflict since 1948, although it was divided into two main affective parts which were; the Arab-Israeli wars and the Egypt-Israel war each one aside. Despite of the United States intervention in the Middle East officially was since the Suez crisis to solve the Egypt-Israeli conflict while the Suez canal has had an interesting geographical position in international commerce especially for the western countries, so the United States intervened as a step to protect their achievements all of that was under the umbrella of the United Nations. However; the dispute of the UN was by the security council which was the only responsible on peace and international security according to the VII chapter in the charter of the United Nations Charter in the Article 39;

"the security council shall determine the existence of any threat to the peace, Breach of the peace..." (See appendix 4)

Conclusion

This chapter, deals with the United Nations as an international organization in accordance with its function, and interventions in conflicts around the world, in addition to the main principles that were working on to ensure peace and security; however, there was an interesting conflict to resolve in the Middle East which was the Arab-Israeli, and the Egyptian-Israeli conflict since the Suez crisis (1956).

Furthermore, we discussed the most important events that happened in the Middle East in the period (1967-1979), the existence of the United States and the Soviet Union by their assistance to both sides of the confrontation, especially after the October war.

Moreover, we have dealt the Arab wars were in the region since the Suez crisis 1956, until the October war in 1973, that affected the Arab countries and their diplomatic situation with the western countries.

CHAPTER TWO:

The Palestinian-Israeli Conflict

Introduction

1 .Treaties Between Israel and the Arab States

1.1. Syria and Israel (Golan)

1.2. Egypt and Israel (Sinai)

2.Palestinian Liberation Organization

2.1. The Establishing of the Palestinian Liberation Organization

2.2. The Impact of the PLO on the Palestinian Cause

3.The United Nations and Israel-Arab States

Conclusion

Introduction

On 22 November 1977, it was the Sadat Knesset visiting Israel in order to negotiate the Camp David peace treaty with good intentions to build strong pacific relations, as well as Syria and all of that were supported by the United Nations. Although the superpower members of the United Nations were unsatisfied about the events in the Middle East they must show their good intentions in order to achieve what they are looking for.

Despite the Palestinian Organization has established in 1964, as a representative for the Palestinian issue in the United Nations and all conferences, the majority of the Palestinians were all with the PLO. We should go deeply on the armed groups of the organization in order to release Palestine from the Israeli occupation.

The United Nations interventions and existence in the Middle East had a great interest during the Arab-Israeli conflicts, but it is really increased by the 1970 and it was a very stressed period in all the world not only for the Arabs.

1 Treaties between Israel and the Arab states (1974-1979)

The historical era (1974-1979) was known with a universal political pressure, but the most terrible one was the Middle East because of the conflicts and relations with the western superpower. The U.S was the main supporter of the Israeli government due to the Arab-Israeli geographical borders. Consequently, that made the US use its foreign policy in order to balance the competing countries power in the Middle East.

The unreal end of the Arab-Israeli wars 1973 the Middle East was in a political and diplomatic dilemma. Also, the assistance received by the Eastern countries, The United States tried the most to solve those problems by several agreements and negotiations between Israel, Egypt and Syria in Geneva agreement and the Sinai disengagement.

Furthermore, the special American-Israeli relationships which were characterized by strategic interests and the exchanges of goods both of them benefited by, also Israel was an indirect military alliance to America. This was the American assurance to the Israeli government in order to control the occupied territories.

"If Israel is unable to secure the necessary means to transport such oil to Israel, the United States government will make every effort to help Israel secure the necessary means of transport." (Memorandum of Agreement, 1975 .p. 7)

1-2- The Syrian-Israeli Agreement 1974 (Golan Heights)

After the Attrition war, the United States while it is a permanent Member in the United Nations seized used this opportunity and politically intervened in the Arab-Israeli conflict in order to solve that problem by the means that stated in UN Charter particularly in the fifth chapter (Article 33)

" ... shall, first of all, seek a solution by negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means of their own choice." (UN charter.1945 ,p. 8)

The United States benefited from the horrible situation of the Arab world especially the Middle East in a step to ensure peace and the other to maintain their existence in this strategic space. Furthermore, the United States immediately started working by creating Agreements and political negotiations between Egypt, Syria, and Israel who were the main targets of the American-Israeli cooperation, firstly they started with Syria by the Syrian-Israeli Disengagement 1974, then the Sinai Agreement 1975.

The Syria Disengagement was between Syria and Israel immediately after the ceasefire that ended the war of 1973, when the Golan Heights under Israel control. The Secretary of the United states Kissinger was interesting in the Arab states after the six-day war 1967, especially Egypt and Syria were discussing the decision of Sadat to join the waging war against Israel to retake the occupied territories (Yakub, 2003,p.78)

The American secretary Kissinger with the considerable American-Israeli relations, worked hard to keep the Israeli control on the occupied places, for that he made negotiations between Israel and the Arab states and finally after the Yum Kippur war they got a solution and signed the Geneva in May 1974.

After a time of discussing and negotiating by the U.S contribution the Syrian government and Israeli, in a Pacific political strategy they found a solution through signing the disengagement agreement about the Golan Heights which was a buffer zone between Syria and Israel. Ultimately, Israel concurred to withdraw from territories that occupied in the war, but with consisting

"...of approximately 25 square kilometers on the Israeli side of the Purple line (1967 the armistice line). In exchange, a 235 square kilometers UNDOF buffer zone was formed on the Syrian side of that line." (Israel-Egypt Peace treaty,2019)

Finally, after more than seven months of deliberating, they signed the Disengagement agreement on May 31, 1974, in Geneva. (See appendix 5)

1-2- The Sinai Agreement 1975

There were a series of agreements by the United States to build new Pacific relations between Egypt and Israel by the end of the war of 1973. Firstly, among them the agreement of Sinai 1975 and the Camp David 1979, which was between the Egypt-Israeli about the Sinai area, while the US and Israel were working to recognize the same target.

The Sinai disengagement was the first and official one since 25 years of conflicts, That treaty was an armistice deal between the Egyptian government and Israel to withdraw the armed forces after the war of 1973, by the American support both sides agreed to sign the agreement which consisted so many conditions that the U.S and Israel thought about. The agreement was about the 101 km marker of the Cairo-Suez which meant that the Egyptian forces would take the West of the Suez canal while the Israeli had the eastern one.

In addition, the Egyptian-Israeli armistice communication was between the General Abdel Ghany el-Gamasy and the General Aharon Yariv which had started from 27 October. (see appendix 7).

2- Palestinian Liberation Organization

2-1- The Establishment of The PLO

During the Arab summit held for the first time in Egypt in 1964, it was held to discuss and negotiate the situation of the region that was getting through; at that time, the PLO came to light. The League decided to establish the PLO as a legal representative for the Palestinian groups. the PLO has established in 1964, as a strategy that the Arab followed to include Palestinian cause in the Arab League. Egypt was the main country that suggested to establish such an organization and they head it until 1969.

The organization had established for two main objectives which were; to keep the organization under the Arab League control, and to include the Palestinian movements against Israel which would be made any other Arab-Israeli conflicts (Hassassain, 1975, 75). By the year of 1969, Yasser Arafat the chairman of FATAH the largest armed and political Palestinian group became the chairman of the PLO. In addition, the organization has defined

as a Palestinian independent state not only a group of people in order to present Palestinian in all global and local conferences.

"...in terms of a teleology of evolution from a liberation movement to a Para-state that would eventually lead the Palestinians to full-fledged statehood and independence." (Khalidi. 2006 ,p. 150)

Whereas, Ahmed Shuqayri the first leader of the PLO thought that the Arab states would destroy Israel and liberate Palestine by their own political strategies and no need for other conflicts. Whilst, Yasser Arafat assumed that the guerrilla actions of Palestinian were pushing the Arab governments into a new war against Israel (Rubin,1994 ,p. 9).

Furthermore, the establishment of the PLO appeared after the Arab failure in protecting Palestine from the Britain-Israeli plans. First of all, it was the legitimate sole representative of the Palestinian people, and an Arab political strategy in order to liberate and keep the Palestinian movements under control to prevent the Arab-Israeli from other wars and conflicts.

2-2- The Impact of PLO in the Palestinian Cause

Palestine had faced a cohesive American-Israeli alliance along the 1960s particularly the new organization which was fighting to stand with their peoples, they were fighting westerns aside and the Arab governments who wanted to control the Palestinian other side all those reasons were a strengthen points that made the leader of the organization challenged them and proved his capacity in controlling the independence state also the people who suffered omnipresent such in bordering countries and in so many camp refugees around borders, the PLO as a multi grouped organization suffered a lot since the establishment not only by the Arab community but also by the first organization in the world the United Nations because; it was so hard to convince such a foundation with a new Arab (Palestinian) political organization under a pure Palestinian young leadership.

The roots of the Palestinian and Jews conflicts started from the Jewish immigration from Germany to Palestine on the early of the 20th century. The British and Israeli have made a deal to give them the land of Palestine according to the Belfour Declaration in 1917, that named for the British foreign secretary Arthur James Belfour which gave them the right to establish their national home in Palestine (Khalidi, 2006 ,p. 32). That conflict is known with the Palestinian cause and there was many Palestinian movements that fight in order to take

back the land of Palestine but all failed. The PLO, since it was the legal representative of the Palestinian people, the PLO as any organization in the world and it has a unique role if it was succeeded or failed while they are defending their people cause.

The newly independent state was playing a unique role in presenting the Palestinian cause and defending the United Nations Security Council and even signing agreements with Israel on the few years after the war of 1967, all of that because of the sage of its chairman Arafat, who was the founder of the Fatah, the first liberation movement in Palestine. In addition, all the contribution of the organization has a huge impact on the Palestinian cause in its way to freedom.

There were three main achievements of the PLO which was; first, to create a vehicle for the achievement of their national aims in order to achieve national and international acceptance; the second was related to the recognition by the Palestinian people of the PLO as their representative, and by the Arab states also by the international community; while the third great success was to recognize the ultimate useless politics and made hard political decisions in order to change the center of the cause from the bordering countries to Israel into the occupied territories (Khalidi, 2006 ,p.165-167-169).

3- The United Nations and Israel-Arab States

The importance of founding the United Nations was to provide peace around the world as a result of the second world war, all its concern was to establish pacific relations between all countries. There was a specific case that made the United Nations ineffective organization which was the Arab-Israeli conflict which had regional and religious roots; however, the United Nations intervened indirectly to come up with a resolution by the United States which was presenting the deep existence of the UN in this conflict by many political decisions and agreements between Israel and the Arab states especially in the period (1970-1979) mainly all the negotiations and treaties were among Israel, Syria, and Egypt to find a final solution to the Middle Eastern crisis.

Peace treaties all started by the General Assembly of the UN on 1947, which was the announcement of the partition of Palestine into two states, this decision was as a result of the Belfour declaration in 1917. All the Arab states were against the General Assembly decision while it would divide Palestine and put it under different political control, the reaction of the Arabs against Israel was by invading Israel in order to save the Palestinian land.

Although the United Nations was recently founded at the beginning of the Arab-Israeli conflict they appointed a number of countries in order to come up with a political solution by dividing Palestine, mainly all countries disagreed the decision because they need an agreement in order to make such a decision while it was a people land cause.

In addition, the U.S had benefited from its position in the United Nations and supported Israel economically to build a settlement in West Bank and Gaza and military in its war against the Arab States, in fact, Israel was the American player in the region to secure their national interests. Since the declaration of Israel in 1948, it was an American tool to preserve and control the region in explicit the U.S was a superpower country who interested in solving the Arab-Israeli however this was the job of the Security Council but America was the more interested of this horrible international problem. In contrast implicitly the U.S was openly supported Israel and cooperated together in the region also they have made the region as a testing field for the American arms. American-Israeli political policy to cover their hidden works was by creating a series of Agreement and negotiation especially the ones during the 1970s, and all the Agreements was by American but not the United Nations and the Security Council who were really interested in peace and International security.

In fact, the UN was absent in the Arab-Israeli conflict precisely from the Suez crisis 1956, while the United Nations was considered an international peacekeeper; it must contribute in solving all political problems around the world, but unfortunately the organization intervened indirectly by the United States while it was the superpower Member of the UN; the US worked hard to provide peace to the region by signing many political and armistice agreements between Israel and the Arabs.

Conclusion

In this chapter we dealt with the Arab-Israeli agreements and accords that signed during 1974-1979 by purely American support in order to ensure peace in the region. It was clear that their important goal was to save their existence and to keep the region under their control.

Despite all events in the Arab world, the Arabs during their summit found a new organization that would serve the Palestinian people which was the Palestinian Liberation Organization in 1964, in a very sensation period in all the world, in addition to its role and impact on the Palestinian cause.

CHAPTER THREE:

Analysis and Interpretation of Documents

Introduction

1.The First Document Sadat Visit to the Israeli Parliament1977

2.The Second Document the Camp David Accords1978

Analyses and Interpretition of the Documents

Conclusion

Introduction

During (1948-1973), the Arab states under the leadership of Egypt, were in a war against Israel. By the first time the war was as a reaction on the General Assembly Palestine partition on 1948, then their destination has changed to waging war against Israel to regain their occupied lands.

In October 1967, two Security Council Resolutions 242-338 were designed for achieving peace in the Middle East, after bloody wars for decades between Israel and the Arabs by an Egyptian leadership. Since 1974, the historical starts of the Arab-Israeli peace negotiations by International support with respect to the Charter and Principles of the United Nations.

Egypt had played an immense role in settling the regional conflict between Israel, and the Arab by presenting the Arab countries, particularly the Palestinian cause which was the root of this conflict in modern history.

1-Egypt Overview**The Role of Egypt in The Arab-Israeli Peace Treaties**

The Arab-Israeli peace treaties during the 1970s were known as the most by separate agreements between Israel and the Arab states, among them Syria and Egypt. While Egypt was the most Arab country which signed treaties with the absence of the Arab states, according to the Charter of the United Nations and its Principles.

The Features of Egyptian Success in Presenting The Arab Countries

Along time, Egypt was a spot in the Arab world, also a bridge between the West and the East of the Arab Nation; as well, a connecting point between two main continents, Africa and Asia. Its geographical location is important for all the world, not only the Middle East or the Arab.

Egypt is located in an essential geographical location, surrounded by the Mediterranean and the Red Sea, also the most important international waterway the Suez canal; as it is considered an essential international way for goods ships. Moreover the Nile River, which divides it into two different parts, and because of the Nile Egypt played a significant role in both the Arab world and Africa.

In addition, among the regional features that build the importance, and responsibility of Egypt was the composition of its population, while it contained a mixture of religions. However, the majority of the Egyptians were Muslims. This strengthened the diplomatic situation of Egypt towards the Arabs and specifically the Palestinian Question and influenced its role in settling the conflicts in the region.

Concerning Nasser's era, Egypt is considered as the strongest Arab country, especially after the military and financial support to Egypt by the Soviet Union during the June war (1967); as well its cooperation in the military field to strength the Egyptian army. Consequently, The geopolitical location allowed Nasser to support the liberation movements in Africa. Thus, Egypt during his reign was in the center of a circle includes three parts which are; Islam, Arab and Africa.

The peak of the relations between Nasser's regime and the USSR, has been witnessed after the 1967 defeat, when he asked Moscow to supply him with defense systems to be installed throughout the Suez Canal to protect Egypt from the Israeli raids. (Rania, Egyptian Foriegn Policy. 2018 ,p. 115)

After the ejection of the Soviet's relations and the friendly Agreement, "*Sadat took a decision to expel all the soviet military experts in July 1972, by asking them to leave Egypt at the earliest possible chance.*". (ibid,p.129) Consequently, he worked to build new relations with the U.S as a western superpower, and he thought that the U.S would support him to regain the Egyptian and Arab territories, but it was the opposite while America since the war of 1956, was supporting the Israeli existence and dominance in the Middle East.

Sadat accepted as true that the U.S. was the only state capable of putting pressure effectively on Israel. Sadat has always been convinced that the United States was the only international power capable of resolving the ongoing conflict politically. (ibid ,p.133)

After the defeat of the Arab-Israeli war 1967, Egypt had lost other Arab territories which affected its role in leading the Arab states (armies). Also it was a turning point in Egypt's role as a strategic international political country in the region, as well as losing the leading of the Arab world.

Taking into account the features supported Egypt in influencing its position in the Arab world, Africa and Asia. Thus, it helps the most in shaping its foreign policy, in accordance with its essential function in settling the Arab-Israeli conflicts. As an Arab country, Egypt is considered as an important part of the Arab world, as well as the most Arabic-speaking country since it had the political capacity to represent all the Arab countries. Then, Egypt considers itself the only responsible for and the leading light of the Arab Nations.

The factors mentioned above impact on the role of Egypt in presenting the Arab countries in the peace negotiations with Israel, but those separate treaties paid up Egypt the loss of its Arab alliance among them Syria which was the strong supporter for the Egyptian policy.

Egypt has a natural ability to lead the Middle East toward foreign policy goals of stability, this stems not only from the country's geopolitical location, demographic weight, and military capability, but also from its notable and historic role as the core of intellectual and cultural innovation in the Arab world. (Rania, Egyptian Foreign Policy, 2018)

Thus, the geography of Egypt has impacted the most on its political, and military strategy during the Arab Israeli wars,

The Traces of The United Nations in The Arab-Israeli Conflict

Through years the United Nations has a significant role in handling international political conflicts, which threatened the security of the world, particularly the international relations of countries. Thus, the organization acts according to the Charter in order to protect and achieve its future provisions which were to save the future of the coming generations.

The United Nations has a specific existence in the Arab-Israeli conflict, since the Western countries were interested in the region. Consequently, there were many interesting events that happened in the Middle East in the 1970 to reestablish peace in the area and to construct a friendly International relationship between the considered countries. (UN Charter, 1945)

Thus, The United Nations intervention in the Arab-Israeli conflict was according to two main decisions by the Security Council in order to ceasefire, also the contribution of all the states in a political negotiation for achieving peace in the region. The Resolution of 242 and 338 are the principles of the Arab-Israeli peace treaties in accordance to the second

Article of the United Nations that call all the parties of the disputes to contribute in settling their conflicts. (Security Resolutions, 1967-1973)

2 The First Document Sadat visit to the Israeli Parliament 1977

Anwar Al Sadat ruled Egypt just after the death of Gamal Abdel Nasser, thus, Sadat was seeking for peace achievement in the region. The visit came after an official invitation from the Israeli Prime Minister to work on a new political agreement between them, in addition to the invitation of all the other states which are; Syria, Jordan, and the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian the PLO which was headed by Yasser Arafat.

The meeting took place in the Israeli Knesset (Parliament), by the intending of Egyptian president and Israeli Prime Minister, in November 1977. Then, while peace is not that easy to hold between two countries that were in a continuance war, there must be such an exception. There was only one specific purpose of this meeting, which is to put an end for suffering years of wars and separately diplomatic relations damage.

Furthermore, The rejection of financial support by the International Bank, the Suez canal and its war 1956, the High Aswan Dam the war of October 1967, Six-day war 1967, the Karameh Battle 1968, the Black September 1971, and the June war 1973, those are the most bloody events in the Arab-Israeli conflicts. So, the Middle East indeed needs a peace treaty.

Thus, Since the October war any peace treaty has signed, with Israel must involve all the withdrawal of the occupied territories of 1967. Well, Egypt was known as the largest Arab state, in addition to its dominant role in the Arab-Israeli war, which was the leader of the Arab armies. Egypt was the strongest country in the region, specifically during the presidency of Gamal Abdel Nasser.

Throughout the speech of the Sadat in the Knesset, it is considered, that he would go to the End of the world for the interests and security of Egypt; The Sadat visits considered a political step to settle the regional conflicts. In general, it took place in the Arab world, but precisely in the Middle East. With the attendance of the Knesset members, and the absence of the Arab states except for Egypt which accepted the invitation represented by its president.

Even though the other Arab parties rejected the Israeli proposal of peace, Sadat has made his decision by going to the Knesset, with his good intentions to build new diplomatic relations with Israel. The Egyptian destination this time was the opposite of the Arab

countries which were against it, and some of them assume that it is a political tactic that would lead them into a new war. (Elias. 1978)

Despite the high importance of the Palestinian question, it was not really the entire problem for the Arab since they have lost their lands in the last wars with Israel, however, at the same time the Palestinian cause cannot be denied by any country, as long as it is accepted and discussed in all international ceremonies and Agreements.

In spite of, the tremendously diplomatic situation of the neighbouring countries, they had signed separately Agreements with Israel, since the Syria Agreement in 1974, the Sinai Disengagement in 1975, then the Israeli negotiating proposal by inviting the Arab states to the Knesset in 1977. Despite of all Agreements, it was hard to reach a stabilized peace between parties that were in the depth of the most complicated political crisis in the world.

In this case, there was an international pressure on the Arab-Israeli problem which led the United Nations to appoint a Special Representative to the Middle East. The Egyptian-Israeli meeting achieved according to the Security Resolution, that was created precisely for the Middle Eastern problem.

Most of the considered states, however, ignored the invitation of participating in peace negotiations; Egypt and Israel have met in the Israeli Parliament, according to the Decision of the United Nations, which has announced in 1967. In addition to the permanent maintenance of the US in all the conferences and meetings between them; firstly, as a permanent Member in the United Nations assisting in achieving peace and security in the region; secondly, as a western superpower which cares about the growth and development of the region. (Sadat, 1978)

The countries which rejected the political invitation negotiations thought that there is no real purpose of the Sadat and Begin meeting, just to oblige the Arab nation in realizing peace, and security precisely under the withdrawal of the Arab occupied territories. In-depth this was a step to expel the Palestinian question existence in the International conferences and ceremonies.

None of the international organizations can be similar to the United Nations. It had an affecting role and the permanent existing deeply in all international and regional conflicts. It was closer to the Arab-Israeli conflict since 1947, the date of dividing Palestine into a Jewish and Arab state. Explicitly, the United Nations was neutral not beside Israel nor the Arabs,

however, their decisions were only on papers since Israel was not really interested in the organization implications.

As soon as Israel was interested in its agreements with Egypt because it considers that it is the only Arab country which has the capacity in improving its strategies and suggestions on the other countries, though they erupted it for several years from the Arab League they cannot be denied it for more than that period.

Moreover, Peace would never be achieved unless it is focused on international justice and the self-government of the conquered lands. Peace is not only signing on papers unless it becomes real facts. Thus, peace cannot be demanded from others, but the confronting countries must work on prevailing peace. So, Israel was waiting for an easy acceptance of the Arab states with their peace proposals, which had destroyed the unity of the Arab countries. Israel has called them according to the International Charter not on the seek of security, but for satisfying its needs. (See appendix 7)

3 The Second Document the Camp David Accords 1978

The Camp David Accords 1978, were a historical Agreement between Egypt and Israel that came after 30 years of bloody wars in the Middle East; this resulted in huge destruction and political tension between Israel and its neighbouring countries. The purpose of this Agreement is to establish peace in the Arab world, specifically the Middle East which was suffering for decades of wars and political tension between its countries and the colonials which have widely existed in the region.

The most important points which had been discussed in this document are; firstly, the establishment of peace and security in the Middle East taking into account the principles of the United Nations, secondly, self-government of the Palestine authority of the Palestinian question presented by the PLO which was the main conflict of the Arab world.

"1-Peace requires respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every state in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force." (Camp David Accords, 1978)

"2-When the self-governing authority (administrative council) in the West Bank and Gaza is established and inaugurated, the transitional period of five years will begin."(ibid)

The Camp David Accord all started by an invitation by the U.S president Jimmy Carter to the leaders of both Egyptian and Israeli met privately in Camp David seeking for a solution to their problem which had started since 30 years.

This peace treaty basically in the Middle East established under the United Nations Charter and the Security Council Resolution 242 (1967), 338 (1973), those two resolutions and in accordance with the second Article of the International Charter which introduced the intervention of the United Nations in the Arab-Israeli wars. (Sadat, 1977)

After months of negotiations to ensure peace between both countries, the Egyptian president Al Sadat and the Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin with American support and observation by the president Jimmy Carter. The Agreement had respected the International Charter to bring peace and Security to the Middle East and to protect the generations life and the future of the coming generations from wars that already had destroyed the world. (Camp David, 1978)

Because of the Israeli compliment, to the Security Council,

"After several more days of Syrian shooting, Israel again complained to the Security Council, drawing attention to official Syrian communiques that admitted opening fire on Israeli tractors." (Eric. 1967,p. 11)

The Council voted on the Resolution 242, on 1967 during the Six day war, implicitly the decision of the council was a headen reason by the permanent Members the strong supporters of the Israeli existence in the Middle East, who were The U.S, Britain, and France vote the decision after the primary statistic which wages a heavy failure to the Israeli army.

Also, it was a chance for the Israeli army in order to rearm its forces. Explicitly this decision applied according to Article 33, which declared that all the parties of the dispute must negotiate to settle their own conflicts by peaceful means that already mentioned in the Charter. Furthermore, the Security Council shall call the parties when it supposed and settle the problem by other means, the Parties of the Conflict in the Middle East are Egypt and the other most affected countries Syria, Jordon, Lebanon and the representative of the Palestinian people the PLO.

While the Agreement was between Egypt, which was the strongest Arab country at that time, the other Arab states lost hope in confronting Israel again. Israel and Egypt had

already discussed, since the Sadat visit to the Israeli parliament. So that the invited audience Palestine and Jordan hid their real intentions towards the negotiations.

Later on, Egypt accepted the provisions and principles of the Agreement, with good intentions to build new relations with Israel, based on respect and contributed to settling international disputes. Since Israel succeeded in maintaining its relations with Egypt this means that it had only one front of war, which is Syria while they are still occupying the Golan Heights since 1967.

Although, before the Arab-Israeli peace treaties that had to begin in 1975, Both treaties, the Sinai Disengagement, and the Camp David Accords have signed separately with Israel.

The Sinai Disengagement is considered a military Agreement because it worked only on the first Resolution 1967, which contained only the military aspects. The Disengagement had clarified the Israeli and Egyptian withdrawal of the armament forces, and the demarcation of the army lines of both countries with the intendance of the Special Representative of the United Nations, who appointed by the security Council as it is stated in the Resolution's document 242.

"Requests the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council on the progress of the efforts of the Special Representative as soon as possible." (Security Council, Resolution 242, 1967)

By contrast, the Camp David dealt with military and political problems in the region, since it works on the two Resolutions in accordance to the Second Article of the Universal Charter.

Even though Camp David explicitly seems a peace treaty to ensure security in the Middle East, implicitly, it hides many historical facts that were covered by the United Nations provisions. The only benefits of the Accords is Israel, since it succeeds in signing Agreements separately, with its neighbours specifically Egypt, Syria, and negotiations with Jordan.

In addition, by time conquered and retrieved the territories that lost during the June war 1967, among them the West Bank and the Golan Heights during the Five years period of the transitional arrangements to gain time and more geographical areas. Israel builds new relations with Egypt in accordance with the Camp David Accords, which it was obliged to

respect for the coming years under the provisions of the United Nations and the International peace and Security.

The diplomatic disengagement Agreement signed by Egypt and Israel, which has taken place in Geneva in September 1975. The main purpose that the Agreement needed to realize was to retake new buffer zones by the UN, within the countries of the region.

In fact, finally, Egypt and Israel recognized, that war and force would never bring them peace and security. Consequently, this agreement considered a slight hope for Egypt, since they thought they would retrieve the Sinai because of this peaceful political step. Unfortunately, these accords were just like the previous once Israel was the most advantages by those diplomatic steps.

Taking into account, the American participation in all the Egyptian-Israeli meetings and negotiations, the attendance of America those regional ceremonies proving the ultimate support to Israel in whatever decisions had made.

Throughout, the three previous historical documents, we considered the dominant and significant impact of the United Nations in establishing peace and security around the world, specifically on the Egyptian-Israeli conflict. Thus, managing such political and military conflict has really affected by the International Charter of the organization that had stated in 1945. Those historical events, which were turning points in the history of the Middle East on the last century.

Despite all the previous documents dealing with one conflict, each paper has a significant role in solving this problem, even though they were in different separate date and time. Three various Agreements all signed by Egypt and Israel, the affected other countries were absent but their situations have discussed by the present ones. There was a main Arab problem which is the Palestinian request that was obtained by all the Agreements, but it was negatively managed by them since there was no representative would defend their decisions.

In a world full of wars, hungry for peace, in the Middle East the most affected area in the world after the damage of the second world war. Presidents seeking for peace everywhere, within their relations, cooperation, and Agreements. The absence of violence and peace in the world is not a competition among states in what could save his ambitions and desires, also not by signing documents, but by modifying or reproducing a new history empty of conflicts, violence, and disputes. (See appendix 9)

Analyses and Interpretation of the Documents

Facts reached from dealing with historical documents, which are the Sinai Disengagement (1975), Sadat visit to the Knesset (1977), and the Camp David Accords (1978), had clarified the American-Israeli ambitions in the Middle East, which justified their insistence on separate peace treaties with Egypt.

The important role of the United Nations, even though there was no real presence just by the Special Representative, and the American dominant presence benefiting of its position in the organization. Despite the interesting role of the organization, merely it was all supporting the existence of Israel in the region.

While Egypt was representing the Arab countries in the Middle East and Africa, also they were working for a similar purpose which was to liberate Palestine, and retrieve the occupied lands the Golan Heights, and the Sinai, since the defeat of the war on 1967. Consequently, Egypt provisions were to achieve the global Arab Nation goal and not only for its interests. Egypt was the most affected of those Agreements, it had accepted, signed, and agreed on the peace process separately, also it had erupted from the Arab League. After their interacting with Israel in more than occasions, Egypt was the only loser among the other Arab states.

Discussing those documents not to rewrite new history, but to highlight facts hidden for decades. Explicitly, Israeli plans were looking for stabilized peace in the region, implicitly; they were a political trap to gain time and other occupied lands through official Agreements and negotiations.

Conclusion

After analyzing the historical documents, the study deduced that the United Nations has a huge influence in the Middle East, and in settling down its conflicts. While it was the responsible for peace and security in the world, extracting its impact on the Arab-Israeli peace treaties through its principles and purposes stated in the International Charter. Also, it shows the succession of Israel in dividing the Arab countries through its strategies since the first Agreement between them according to American participation as an international power.

The changing of the Egyptian foreign policy at the beginning of the 1970s, from the Soviet companion to the American had affected its political role in all the world not only on the Arab area. So, the leading role of Egypt had declined just after its failure in retrieving the Arab occupied territories, also after the Camp David 1978, Israeli had succeeded in withdrawing from the Middle Eastern area according to its interests.

General Conclusion

General Conclusion

The Arab-Israeli conflict since 1948, the first settlement of the Jews in Palestine as their homeland according to the General Assembly Council 1947, and the rejection of the Arab countries of the decision led to years of war (1948-1973), which resulted in international diplomatic conflict in the region and to international intervention. Thus, this study deals with the Suez war in 1956 that was a Western reaction towards Nasser decision after the nationalization of the canal; thus, resulted in the Arab-Israeli and the Egyptian-Israeli wars until the war of October in 1973.

Moreover, the establishment of the PLO in 1964 which was fundamentally turning point in the history of the Palestinian Cause since the Declaration of Israel in 1948. The PLO was the sole of organization which represented the Palestinian people and their political voice such as in the Arab League or even in the UN by the leadership of Yasser Arafat.

The Arab-Israeli conflicts (1967-1979) need an international solution in order to settle peace in the Middle East; so , the UN as the new international organization intervened to solve these military confrontations in accordance with its Charter that seeks to reestablish international peace and security.

Undoubtedly, the function of the United Nations in the Middle East was not only to settle their diplomatic problems, but also to stop a series of wars had started decades before. So that, the role of the United Nations at that time in this region is not that easy. In addition to the political confrontations of the western countries about the strategic location of the Middle East specifically the Arab Nation, the Soviet, and the Americans each of them were supporting a side of the Arab-Israeli conflicts during the wars (1948-1973).

The Arab-Israeli peace treaties were completely complicated, while they had signed separately with Egypt according to its effective governing role to the Arab countries, especially in the Camp David Accords in 1978, led them to freeze their relations and ejected it from the Arab League.

Despite that the western superpowers supported the Arab-Israeli peace treaties through calling them to a peaceful meetings or getting them into negotiations, even though their intervention hid their real intentions. Thus, it appears that the United Nations intervention had no real effective results except for stopping the military war since 1973

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Egyptian Foreign Policy

Appendices

Appendix 1

The Suez Crisis 1956

The Suez Crisis (1956) Map and chronologic overview



- 1 Oct. 29 Israeli paratroops dropped east of town of Suez
- 2 Oct. 30 More paratroops dropped east of Mitla Pass, troops begin crossing the border at Qussaima
- 3 Oct. 31 British bombs dropped on Cairo and Cairo International Airport
- 4 Nov. 2 Israeli paratroops land near Al-Tor, in the south-west Sinai
- 5 Nov. 5 British paratroops land west of Port Said
French paratroops land south of Port Said
Israelis capture Sharm al-Shaikh to lift blockade of Gulf of Aqaba
- 6 Nov. 6 Anglo-French invasion force bombardment and landings
- 7 Nov. 7 Anglo-French occupy most of Suez Canal zone as far as Ismailia, when UN orders a halt
- 8 Nov. 21 First UN troops land at Port Said
- 9 Nov. 23 British and French forces withdraw
- 10 Dec. 22 Withdrawal completed at midnight
- 11 March '57 Israeli withdrawal completed in March

Paratroopers



Israeli's



British



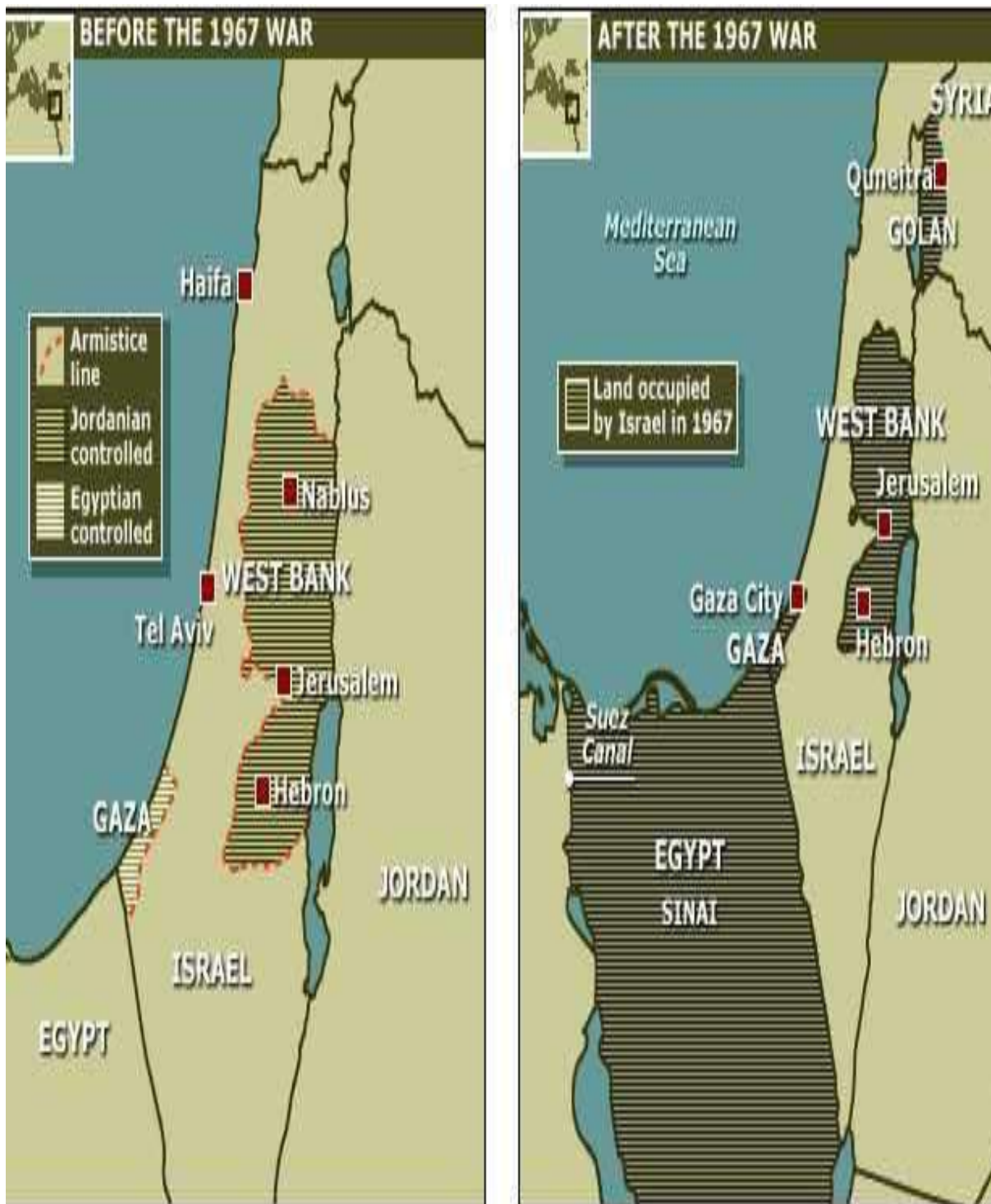
French

Israeli troop movements



Appendix 2

The War of June 1967



Appendix 3

The Karameh Battle 1968



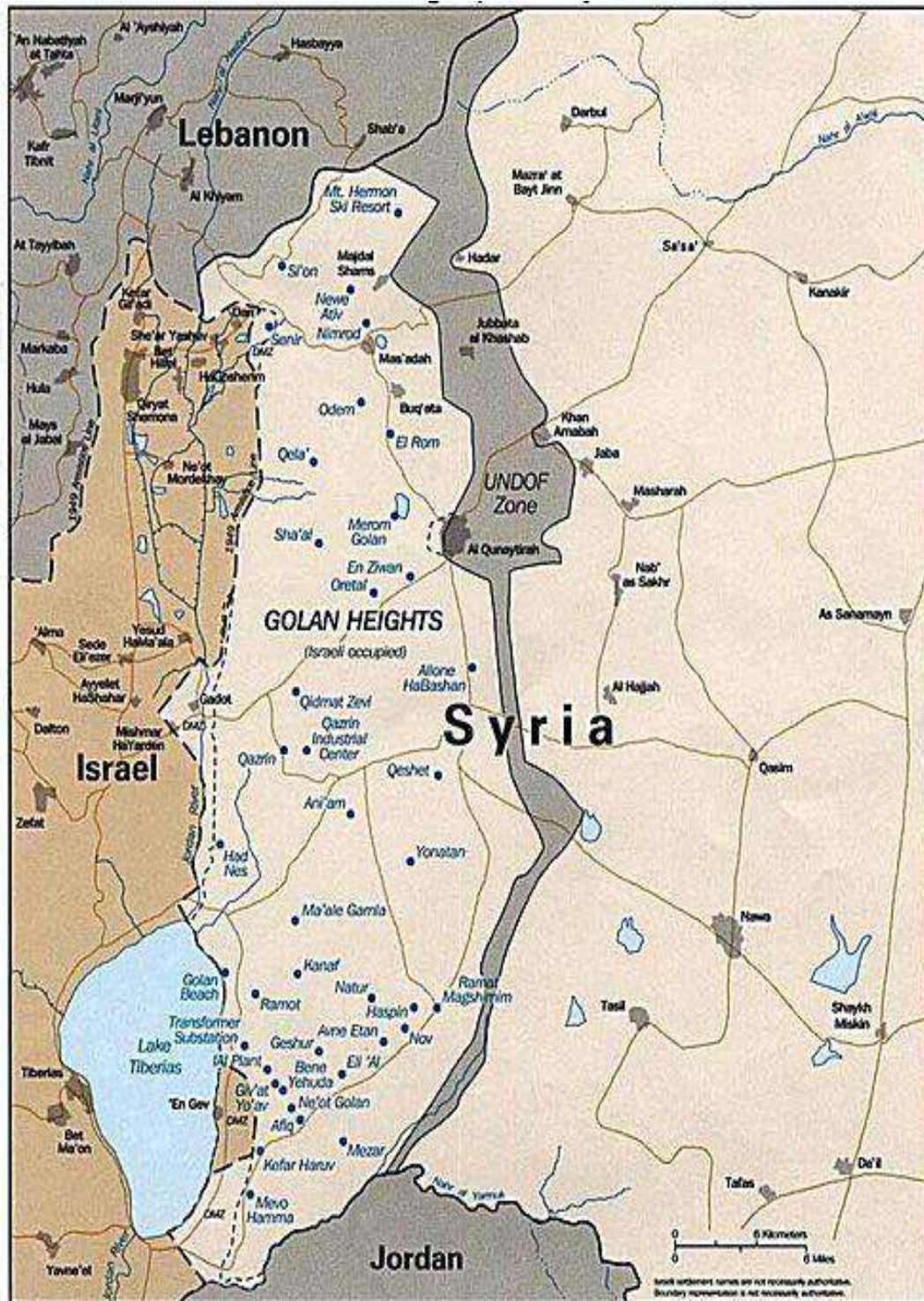
Appendix 4

The War of October 1973



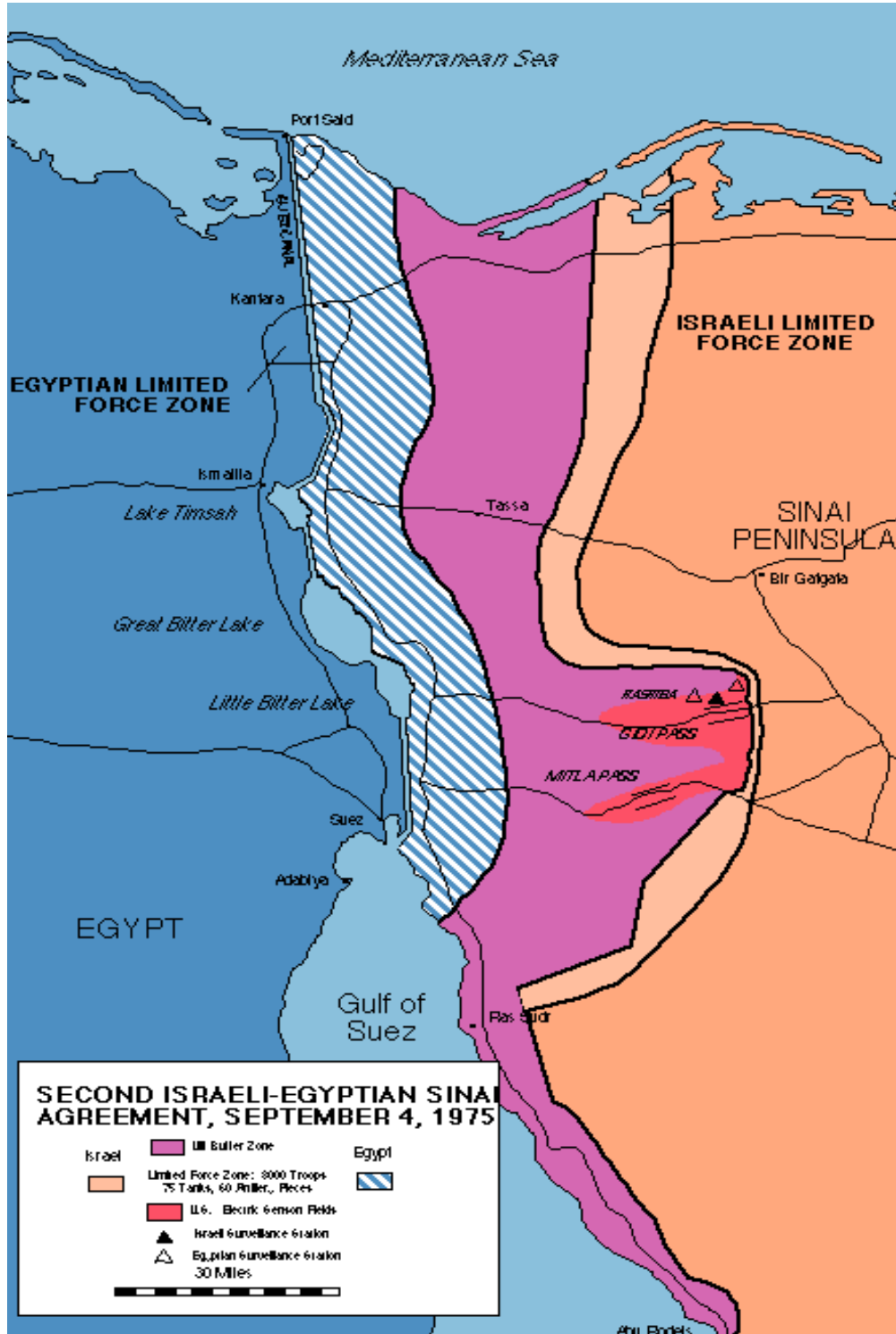
Appendix 5

Syria Disengagement 1974



Appendix 6

The Sinai Agreement 1975



Appendix 7

The Resolution of 1967

Resolution 242 (1967)

of 22 November 1967

The Security Council,

Expressing its continuing concern with the grave situation in the Middle East,

Emphasizing the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war and the need to work for a just and lasting peace in which every State in the area can live in security,

Emphasizing further that all Member States in their acceptance of the Charter of the United Nations have undertaken a commitment to act in accordance with Article 2 of the Charter,

1. *Affirms* that the fulfilment of Charter principles requires the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East which should include the application of both the following principles:

- (i) Withdrawal of Israel armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict;
- (ii) Termination of all claims or states of belligerency and respect for and acknowledgement of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force;

2. *Affirms further* the necessity

(a) For guaranteeing freedom of navigation through international waterways in the area;

(b) For achieving a just settlement of the refugee problem;

(c) For guaranteeing the territorial inviolability and political independence of every State in the area,

through measures including the establishment of demilitarized zones;

3. *Requests* the Secretary-General to designate a Special Representative to proceed to the Middle East to establish and maintain contacts with the States concerned in order to promote agreement and assist efforts to achieve a peaceful and accepted settlement in accordance with the provisions and principles in this resolution;

4. *Requests* the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council on the progress of the efforts of the Special Representative as soon as possible.

Adopted unanimously at the 1382nd meeting.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

Appendix 8

The Resolution of 1973

Resolution 338 (1973) of 22 October 1973

The Security Council

1. *Calls upon* all parties to the present fighting to cease all firing and terminate all military activity immediately, no later than 12 hours after the moment of the adoption of this decision, in the positions they now occupy;

2. *Calls upon* the parties concerned to start immediately after the cease-fire the implementation of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) in all of its parts;

3. *Decides* that, immediately and concurrently with the cease-fire, negotiations shall start between the parties concerned under appropriate auspices aimed at establishing a just and durable peace in the Middle East.

Adopted at the 1747th meeting by 14 votes to none²⁷

²⁷ One member (China) did not participate in the voting.

Appendix 9

The Camp David Accords 1978

The Camp David Accords

The Framework for Peace in the Middle East

Muhammad Anwar al-Sadat, President of the Arab Republic of Egypt, and Menachem Begin, Prime Minister of Israel, met with Jimmy Carter, President of the United States of America, at Camp David from September 5 to September 17, 1978, and have agreed on the following framework for peace in the Middle East. They invite other parties to the Arab-Israel conflict to adhere to it.

Preamble

The search for peace in the Middle East must be guided by the following:

- The agreed basis for a peaceful settlement of the conflict between Israel and its neighbors is United Nations Security Council Resolution 242, in all its parts.
- After four wars during 30 years, despite intensive human efforts, the Middle East, which is the cradle of civilization and the birthplace of three great religions, does not enjoy the blessings of peace. The people of the Middle East yearn for peace so that the vast human and natural resources of the region can be turned to the pursuits of peace and so that this area can become a model for coexistence and cooperation among nations.
- The historic initiative of President Sadat in visiting Jerusalem and the reception accorded to him by the parliament, government and people of Israel, and the reciprocal visit of Prime Minister Begin to Ismailia, the peace proposals made by both leaders, as well as the warm reception of these missions by the peoples of both countries, have created an unprecedented opportunity for peace which must not be lost if this generation and future generations are to be spared the tragedies of war.
- The provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and the other accepted norms of international law and legitimacy now provide accepted standards for the conduct of relations among all states.
- To achieve a relationship of peace, in the spirit of Article 2 of the United Nations Charter, future negotiations between Israel and any neighbor prepared to negotiate peace and security with it are necessary for the purpose of carrying out all the provisions and principles of Resolutions 242 and 338.
- Peace requires respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every state in the area and their

Appendix 10

Sadat Visit to the Israeli Knesset 1977

all of us, if it be God's will. May peace be upon everyone on earth, both in Arab countries and in Israel, and everywhere in the whole wide world which is embroiled in bloody battles, which is shaken by sharp divisions, which is subject to the threat of destructive war from time to time, by wars which make one man kill his fellowman. In the final event, in the ruins of what man has built and the remains of the corpses of man's victims, there is no victor and vanquished. In actual fact the true vanquished is man, the highest of God's creatures, man who was created by God, in the words of Ghandi, the emissary of peace: "in order to walk upright, build his life and serve his God."

I have come to you today, with both feet planted firmly on the ground, so that we may build a new life and establish peace for all of us on this land, the land of God. All of us, Moslems, Christians and Jews, all worship God, and God alone. Accordingly, what God has commanded us is love, truth, honesty and peace.

I justify all those who received my decision to come to your parliament, when I made my intentions public, with astonishment and even confusion. The surprise led some of them to assume that my decision was merely a verbal maneuver intended to deceive world public opinion; others even described it as a political tactic designed to disguise my intentions of embarking on a new war.

I will not conceal from you the fact that one of my aides in the Ministry of the President of the Republic contacted me late at night after I had returned home from the People's Assembly and asked me with concern: and what will you do if Israel really does extend you an invitation? I replied quietly: I will accept it immediately. I have already said that I am ready to go to the ends of the earth. I will go to Israel, because I wish to present the full and complete facts to the nation in Israel.

I justify all those who were astonished by my decision or doubted the genuineness of the intentions underlying it. No one imagined that the President of the largest Arab country, which bears the heaviest burden and the prime responsibility for the subject of war and peace in the Middle East, could announce that he was prepared to go to the enemy's country when there was still a state of war between us. Even more than that, when we are all still suffering from the consequences of four cruel wars during thirty years. And above all, when the families of the casualties of the October 1973 War are still enduring the tragedy of widowhood and orphanhood, of having sacrificed fathers and sons who fell in battle.

Similarly, as I have already stated, on the subject of this decision I did not consult any of my colleagues or my brethren the presidents of the Arab countries, or the countries involved in the conflict. Some of them, who contacted me, even evinced opposition after I had announced my decision, because there is a situation of doubt and disbelief in the hearts of the Arab countries, including the Palestinian nation, on the one

hands an official invitation, signed by Prime Minister Menahem Begin. On Thursday, November 17, in the late afternoon, it was announced that Sadat would arrive in Israel on Saturday night, after the conclusion of the Sabbath, and would address the Knesset, which was to convene for a special sitting, exceptionally—on a Sunday, in the afternoon of November 20.

Sitting 43 of the Ninth Knesset

20 November 1977 (10 Kislev 5735)

The Secretary-General of the Knesset, N. Lorch: Their honors, the Presidents! (The Knesset Members rise and applaud the President of Egypt, Anwar Sadat, and the President of Israel, Ephraim Katzir.)

The Speaker, Y. Shamir: I hereby open the Knesset sitting. Knesset Members, this sitting has been convened under clause 65A of the Knesset's rules of procedure, at the request of the government and in accordance with the decision of the House Committee of 8 Kislev 5735 (18 November 1977).

Knesset Members, permit me to open this special sitting with a few verses from the Book of Books: "And it shall come to pass in the last days, that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills; and all nations shall flow unto it. And many people shall go and say, Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob; and he will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths; for out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem. And he shall judge among the nations, and shall rebuke many people; and they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruninghooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

Knesset Members, in the spirit of the Prophet Isaiah the son of Amoz I extend a warm welcome to our distinguished guest, the President of the Egyptian Arab Republic, Mr. Mohammed Anwar Sadat. With joy and admiration we accepted his offer to come to the Knesset and address it. We will listen to him eagerly and with hope in our hearts.

I hereby invite his honor the President to address the House.

(The Knesset Members applauded the President of Egypt.)

The President of Egypt, A. Sadat: (Translated from the original Arabic.) In the name of Allah, distinguished Speaker, gentlemen, permit me first of all to express my sincere gratitude to the Speaker of the Knesset for having allowed me to address you on this occasion. I would like to begin by saying, peace and the mercy of the Lord be upon you, and on

Abstract

This dissertation concentrates on the role of the United Nations in settling international conflicts, particularly the Arab-Israeli conflict in (1967-1979). The paper investigates the historical events of the Arab-Israeli wars since the Suez crisis 1956 until the Camp David Accords in 1978, in an attempt to show the real facts of the Arab-Israeli conflicts. Thus, It highlights the United Nations intervention in the Middle East conflict by the Security Council Resolution. In addition, the dissertation refrains the role of Egypt in representing the Arab countries in the Arab-Israeli peace treaties during the 1970s and the hidden purposes of the American-Israeli cooperation in the region. To conduct this study we have opted for the historical qualitative approach. This study uncovers the role of the United Nations in solving the Arab-Israeli conflict (1967-1979) which was not really effective in settling peace in the Middle East, in accordance with the Egyptian leadership of the Arab countries in the peace treaties since (1975).

Key words: United nations, Arab nations, Israel, the Arab-Israeli conflicts, security council resolutions

Résumé

Cette thèse se concentre sur le rôle des Nations Unies dans le règlement des conflits internationaux, en particulier du conflit israélo-arabe (1967-1979). Le document examine les événements historiques des guerres israélo-arabes depuis la crise de Suez de 1956 aux Accords de Camp David en 1978, dans le but de montrer les faits réels du conflit israélo-arabe. Ainsi, il souligne l'intervention de l'ONU dans le conflit du Moyen-Orient par la résolution du Conseil de sécurité. En outre, la thèse a pour but de limiter le rôle de l'Égypte dans la représentation des pays arabes dans les traités de paix israélo-arabes des années 1970 et les finalités cachées de la coopération américano-israélienne dans la région. Pour mener cette étude, nous avons opté pour l'approche qualitative historique. Cette étude révèle le rôle des Nations Unies dans la résolution du conflit israélo-arabe (1967-1979), qui n'a pas été vraiment efficace pour régler la paix au Moyen-Orient, conformément aux décisions égyptiennes des pays arabes dans les traités de paix (1975).

Mots clé: Nations Unies, nations arabes, Israël, conflits israélo-arabes, résolutions du Conseil de sécurité

ملخص

تهدف هذه المذكرة لمناقشة دور الأمم المتحدة في حل الصراعات الدولية و خاصة الصراع العربي الإسرائيلي (1967-1979). كما تدرس الأحداث التاريخية المتعاقبة للحروب العربية الإسرائيلية منذ أزمة السويس في (1956) حتى عقد اتفاقية كامب ديفيد في 1978 في محاولة لتوضيح الحقائق القاطعة لدور الأمم المتحدة في معالجة الصراع العربي الإسرائيلي للحروب سابقة الذكر (العربية الإسرائيلية) لهذا فان هذه الدراسة تسلط الضوء على تدخلات الأمم المتحدة في صراعات الشرق الأوسط عبر مجلس الأمن بالإضافة إلى دور مصر في تمثيل الدول العربية بخصوص معاهدات السلام العربية الإسرائيلية خلال سبعينات القرن العشرين. وكذلك الأهداف الخفية للتعاون الأمريكي الإسرائيلي في المنطقة. اتبع هذا البحث المنهج التاريخي التحليلي. كشفت هذه الدراسة على وظيفة الأمم المتحدة في حل الصراع العربي الإسرائيلي 1967-1979 و الذي لم يكن فعالا ولا ايجابي في نشر السلم بالشرق الأوسط بالتوازي مع الدور الفعال لمصر على تمثيلها للدول العربية خلال معاهدات السلام العربية الإسرائيلية.

الكلمات المفتاحية: الأمم المتحدة, الدول العربية, إسرائيل, الصراع العربي الإسرائيلي, قرارات مجلس الأمن